

**KOREAN BIBLE WOMEN:
THEIR VITAL CONTRIBUTION TO
KOREAN PROTESTANTISM, 1895-1945**

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**A THESIS PRESENTED TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

AUGUST 2005

DECLARATION

I declare that I have composed this thesis and that it is original material not previously submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Sungjin Chang

Date

ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to describe and assess the contribution of *chōndo puin* (Korean Bible Women) to the growth of Protestant Christianity in Korea during the second half of the 19th century (late *Chosōn* period) to the end of the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1945. The thesis will question western missionary perceptions of the *chōndo puin*, and challenge their ignorance in contemporary Korean historiography. It will demonstrate that *chōndo puin* were active subjects in the development of Korean Protestant Christianity, rather than the passive objects of evangelism.

The research seeks to bring into visibility the “micro-histories” of the *chōndo puin* through a critical re-reading of missionary archives, and oral research, the combination of which reveals the hidden stories of the *chōndo puin* as a fertile source for Korean historiography. In this way the research seeks critically to advance women’s approaches to the writing of Korean Protestant history, and to revise those traditions of Korean historiography that privilege missionary perceptions and institutional interests of male-dominated churches.

The thesis is organised in two parts. Part One provides a critical reconstruction of the cultural landscape from which the *chōndo puin* emerged with critical assessment of present historiographies by male and female historians in mission studies and Korean church history. Part Two examines the diverse roles that the *chōndo puin* fulfilled in the growth of Protestant Christianity from 1895, when they are first mentioned in missionary documentation, to 1937-1945 when they played an important role in resistance of Japanese military imposition of Shinto practices.

The main argument of the thesis is that the *chōndo puin* were creative agents of mission in the development of the Protestant Church in Korea, and that their significance has been neglected or ignored in Korean Protestant historiography under the influence of western missionary and Korean male perspectives. This is demonstrated in a methodological and missiological framework that integrates three analytical paradigms: the West-Third World; the female-male; the powerless-powerful. The result is a grass-roots historiography that builds upon the micro-histories of the *chōndo puin*, and constructs a theory that resolves problems in existing studies of the history and mission of Protestant Christianity in Korea. It is hoped that the historiographical conclusions to which the thesis comes may contribute to the larger field of women’s studies in Korea, and to the contemporary global studies of the role of women in mission, confirming the thesis that women have been vital catalysts in the global history of Christianity and Christian mission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this thesis to Korean Bible Women; *puin kwonsŏ, chŏndo puin*, and present Korean Christian women.

Special thanks to

My family (Yi Sun-hee, Yi Wan-ju, Chang Hang-yang, Chang, You-jin and Yi Young); the family of Do Ha-young & Keum Jooseop, that of Yi Nanhee & Yang Seung-Hyung', that of Kim Bo-hyun, that of Moon Hyun-sook & Pak Chang-do, that of Hwang Jung-shin & Kang Dae-heung, that of Kim Suk-ho, that of Hong Ji-youn and Pak Myung-woo and the Rosschapel family;

My two supervisors, Dr. E. Köpping and Prof. D. Kerr; Prof. Dana Lee Robert, Martina Lee, Alex & Gudrun Reid, Norman & Claire Macrae, Rev. Kenneth Ross;

Rev. Yi Jung-pyo, Rev. Pak Jong-hwa, Rev. Jun Byŏng-keum,

Prof. Choi Sung-il, Prof. Joo Jae-yong, Prof. Kim Ae-yŏng, Prof. Joo Sun-ae, Lee Yon-ok, Marrion Current, and my interviewees in Korean churches and academics;

The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, Hanshin Presbyterian Church, Kyŏngdong Presbyterian Church, Kangnam Presbyterian Church, the Church of Scotland, The Institute for Korean Church History, The Centre for Studying Christianity in the Non-Western World of Edinburgh University, The Hanshin University, Yŏnsei University, The Theological College of Boston University and Victoria Archives in the United Church of Canada.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARFMC: The Annual Report of the Foreign Mission Committee

ARKWC (ME. C): Annual Report of the Korean Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church

ARMEC: The Annual Report of Methodist Episcopal Church

ECI-BFBS: Editorial Correspondence of the British Foreign Bible Society- Inward

KMF: Korea Mission Field,

KR: Korean Review,

KRP: Korean Repository,

NBSS AR: Annual Report of National Bible Society of Scotland

OLSPMK: The Annual Meeting of the Open Letters of Southern Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea

PCUSA AR: The Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The BFBS AR: The Annual Report of British Foreign Bible Society

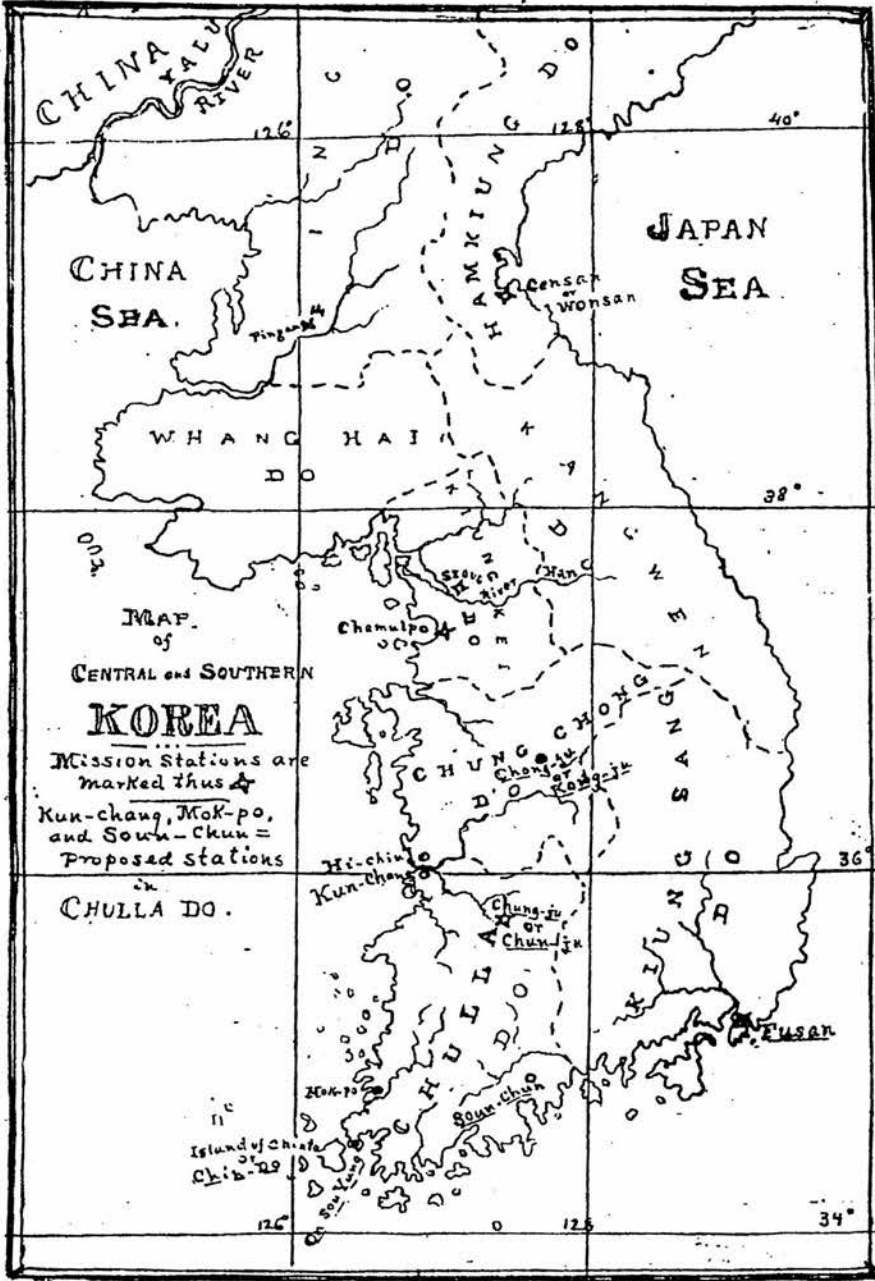
WMM: The Women's Missionary magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland.

WWFW: Women's Work for Women

WWW: Woman's Work for Woman of the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Mission.

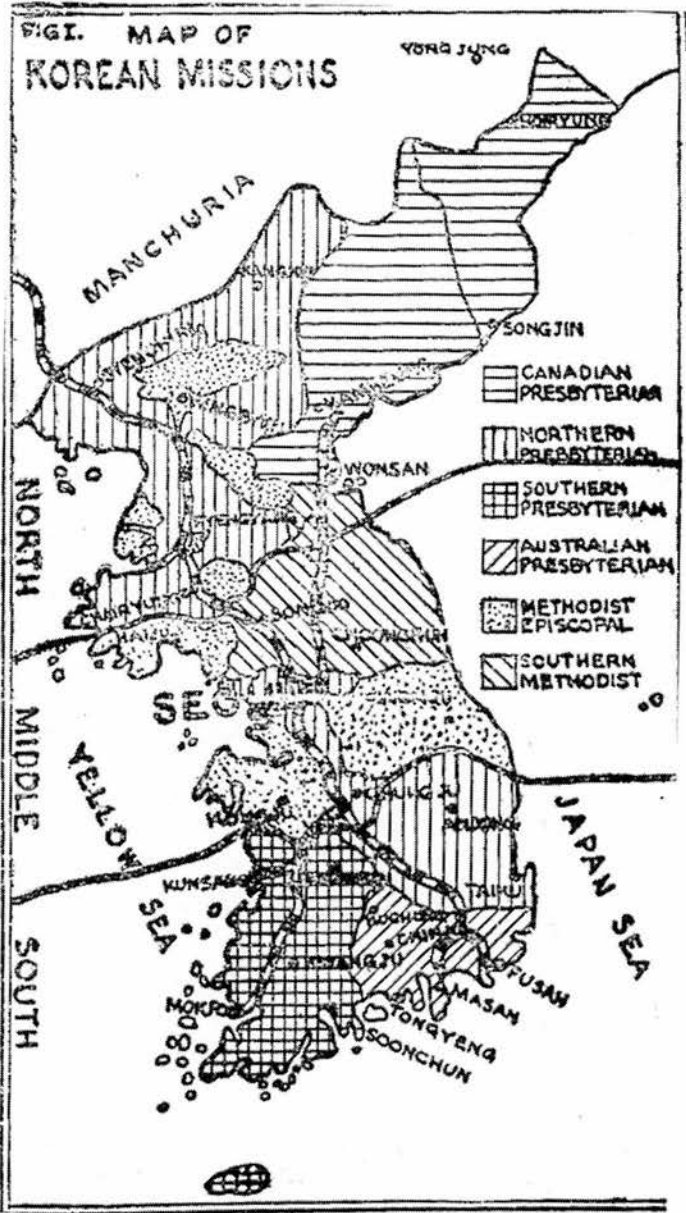
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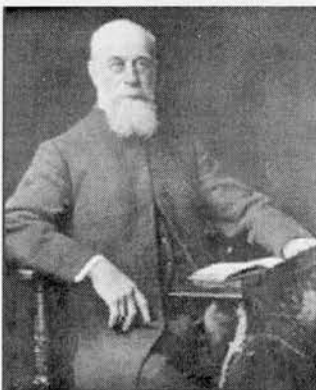


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Introduction

This is a history of Korean Protestant Christianity, centring on the Korean Bible Women who contributed remarkably to early Korean Protestant mission and the development of Korean Protestant churches. Through this research, I will make women visible in mission studies, reveal problems in existing histories, and suggest approaches, which may stimulate Korean Protestant Christianity to move beyond its present plateau.

1. Korean Bible Women! Who were they?

They are known mainly as *chōndo puin*¹ to Korean people (sometimes in the early period also called *puin kwonsō*) and as ‘Bible Women’ to missionaries approximately from the end of the *Chosōn* monarchy to Korean independence in 1945. In Korean, ‘*chōndo*’ means evangelistic and ‘*puin*’ means married woman or lady. *Chōndo puin* therefore means a woman who works for evangelism. The other term used ‘Bible Women’, *puin kwonsō*, means simply ‘women who sell Bibles’. In addition, the initial role of *puin kwonsō* for the beginning of Korean Protestant mission and the basis of Korean churches is vital even though their work mainly relied upon institutions such as Bible societies. Owing to the *puin kwonsō*’s foundation, *chōndo puin* were enabled to play larger leadership roles in local churches and society of Korea; based upon Korean traditions through indigenising the process of Christianity in the Great Awakening of Korea and social events of Korean

¹ I will follow this McCune-Reischauer system of Korean romanisation for this paper, unless another spelling has become the norm for a certain term (or name) in which case I will use the norm. <http://www.mccune-reischauer.org/>

history. However, in terms of their mission work for religious propagation and enterprise, ‘Bible Women’ in English should be translated into Korean as *chōndo puin* rather than *puin kwonsō*: it is therefore the former term which I shall use.²

From 1898 to 1913, the number of *chōndo puin* is given for every year in mission records. Also in the documents of ‘Women’s Work for Women’, most missionaries repeatedly presented the important achievements of *chōndo puin* in the area of education, evangelism and medical mission. From 1895 to 1945, the number of *chōndo puin* in Korea was 1,215 (the survey dates from 1999); 717 in the Methodist Church, 209 in the Presbyterian Church, 138 in the Holiness Church and 151 women in other churches.³ Some recent historical research on *chōndo puin* has been done, but has referred more to their existence and subordination to missionaries rather than to what they did. Moreover, as I shall argue, it has tended towards male-dominated and elite focused historical descriptions. Given their place in the actual growth of the Protestant churches in Korea from 1890, the relative lack of interest in them may relate to current issues in the Korean churches, but in terms of Korean Church history and Korean mission studies by both Korean and foreign scholars it leaves a yawning gap which this thesis will hope to fill.

2. Originality of this research

History is objective and simultaneously subjective, influenced by social, cultural, religious, political, ideological, and gender positions, depending on who the

² In addition, I shall say that interview-based data for *puin kwonsō* is impossible to present in this thesis because my interviewees were mostly born after 1910s and then only remembered the works of *chōndo puin* since 1920s.

³ Kim Seung-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han’guk kyohoe chōndo puin jaryōjip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), (Seoul, The Institute for Korean Church History, 1999).

historiographers or the historians are. Accordingly, history should be written not as 'the history' but as 'a history' because there is scant objectivity. What is important to historical study for both historians and readers is balance and variety in historical descriptions. Considering these essential characteristics of history, I am assessing the existing history of mission and the Korean church as a Korean woman. Let me therefore place myself. I am a Korean woman from a relatively elite family, an ordained minister of the Protestant church with childhood experience of Roman Catholicism, and have been educated in Korea. Inevitably, that forms a subtext to this research which aims to discover the hidden and existing history of native mission agents and female contributors to the Korean Protestant mission and churches.

In mission studies, there are a number of perspectives from which to view history; western and third world, indigenous peoples and missionaries, female and male. Some church historians such as R. Pierce Beaver have described the role and contribution of women in mission in respect to their leadership and innovation. However, existing history and theology have generally concentrated on the ideas and stories of men, as the usual social, cultural and religious hierarchy -that is, of power- has been of men, in this case white male missionaries, or Korean male Christians of the middle class.

An analysis of 'power relations' should be part of any evaluation of world Christianity. It will allow a more balanced perspective from which to view the past and present of each area. Without this some 'gentile' researchers (to which I consider myself to belong), experience serious barriers when researching in their areas for their views are liable to be subordinated to the implicit Euro-American yardstick. A regular feature of mission studies and church historical research has been the

devaluing of the role and contribution of local leaders and of female leaders in the history of Christianity. Intentionally or not, historical descriptions have been and continue to be heavily influenced by the institutional churches, frequently supporting conservative local theology and discrimination in local hierarchy.

In this sense, the historical subject of *chōndo puin* represents a vital element in the development of Korean Protestant Christianity, which needs to be seen in relation both to female leadership with traditional religions and to the Korean-American interface in Korea. Through this research, we may see the way in which historiography of mission and the Korean churches has been dominated by male-dominated or elite-centred descriptions and evaluations. Evaluating the existing history by simply reversing the male centred hierarchy in substituting a simplistic feminist one is far too limited. Through looking for balance in both sources and argument, the contribution and the voice of *chōndo puin* can speak for themselves and their vital contribution to the church be made so clear that ignoring it will be an intentional act.

The main research questions are the following; were the *chōndo puin* creative agents of mission in the development of the Protestant Church in Korea? If so, why has their significance been neglected or ignored in Korean Protestant historiography, and to what extent is this due to the influence of western missionary and Korean male perspectives? In the indigenous development of Korean Protestant churches, the role of *chōndo puin* was very practical, active but invisible because their position was perceived as supporting the leaders of mission institutions and churches who were mainly Korean male leaders or missionaries from western countries. While discussing these issues, we also need to consider what the status of Korean women

was in the late *Chosŏn* period with reference to the socio-cultural background of the *chŏndo puin*'s activity, especially in the context of state-supported Confucianism and shamanic practice, owing to the origin of *chŏndo puin*'s leadership. *Puin kwonsŏ*, in a sense is a pattern of missionary inspired workers rather than *chŏndo puin* of Korean indigenous churches in Korean religious context.

I propose that *chŏndo puin* in the early development of Korean Protestant churches were creative native evangelistic leaders, and not submissive to male pastors and missionaries. Through their passionate and even sacrificial activities, they contributed to the rapid growth of the churches. Moreover, while missionaries and church historians imply or claim that Korean women's position was elevated only through Christianity, I argue that independent movements and opportunities in Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and even *Tonghak* increasing enabled women to exercise agency, even though the Christian church certainly increased this process. I shall therefore briefly set out the four religious traditions, for the general reader, before continuing with the central issue and organisation of the thesis.

3. Women and religions in Korea; the background of Korean traditions in religious context

In Korea, there were three traditional religions before Christianity came; Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Basically, the practice of all was based on Korean Shamanism,⁴ part of North Asian Shamanism. Coinciding with the initial Roman Catholic conversions in the middle of nineteenth century and the Protestant mission for 1885, there was a degree of social chaos within the ruling class. Amid

⁴ Apparently, some records show the trace of Shamanism from Samguk period (4th century to mid 7th century) by firstly the name of the second King of Shilla, Namhae Chachaung (南解次次雄) and secondly historical books such as Samguk sagi (1145) and Samguk yusa (1281 ~ 1283).

and indeed beyond this period, several new religions were created in the late *Chosŏn* period (1864-1910) and during the persecution of the Japanese occupation (1910-1945)⁵. These involved approximately 35% of the Korean population. Religious fervour was remarkably extensive in society in comparison either to the past or the present,⁶ particularly the *Tonghak*⁷ movement, much disliked by the other three religions, especially Confucianism. Women related to these various major traditions differently than to new movements, their attitudes towards Buddhism and Confucianism appear firmly linked to politics. To see how the religions had come to and existed in Korea and their relation to Korean women, we will now briefly turn our attention to these religions.

3.1 Shamanism

Shamanism in Korea can be explained simply by saying that it is a form of integrating the Korean populace's consciousness with the visible and less visible world. As a folk religion, Shamanism had existed in Korean life having both a practical role and psychological influence. As elsewhere in northeast Asia, Shamanism was already present in Korea in the Neolithic period. Early Koreans believed that all natural objects possessed souls whose conscious life was expressed in natural phenomena.⁸ For spiritual expression, the objects which represented or

⁵ Accordingly, we call the period 'Kyojo sidae (period of religious founders)' because four major new religions were indigenously created in Korea. (1860-1910).

⁶ See 'Shinhŭng Jongkyo (the Newly-Risen Religions)', *Han'guk minsok tae kwan* (The General Survey of Korean Folk Custom) Vol. III, (Seoul, the Institute of Korean Culture in the Koryŏ University, 1984).

⁷ The representative examples are *Tonghak* which rose under Ch'oe Jae-u (1824-1864) in the area of Kyŏngju (Southern Korea), Jŏng Kyo (正教) in 1884 by Kim Hang (1826-1898), Jŏngsangae in 1901 by Kang Il-soon (1871-1909) and Daejŏngkyo in 1909 by Nah Chul (1863-1916).

⁸ Kim Yŏng-chŏng, *Women of Korea; A History from Ancient Time to 1945*, (Seoul, Ehwa University Press, 1977), pp. 11-14.

expressed this spirituality were mountains, rivers, trees, rocks and so forth. The aim of shamanistic rituals is largely to foresee the future, heal illness, and exorcise demons. The ritual processes have become a Korean art form using various forms, whether in dancing, singing, poetry, and philosophy on drawing. The base of Shamanism is that the world exists both in the visible and less visible form centring on a point outside of the visible world. This can be accessed in the process of the shamanistic ritual called *Kut*. During this ritual, the shaman (usually female in South Korea) enables a special conversation and connection between people in this world and mortal souls in the world beyond. In this respect, the role of shamans is that of a mediator between the spiritual and secular world.⁹ The foci of Korean Shamanism can be simply divided into Ch'önsin (天神, heavenly gods), Jisin (地神, the gods of earth), Insin (人神, the gods of humans) and Japkwi (雜鬼, the other fiends).¹⁰ These are intimately connected to the cycle of Korean agriculture. The people see the heavenly gods or earthly gods (*Jigosin*, *Ch'ilsöngghin*, *Obansangun* and *Sinjang*) as controlling natural phenomena. Particularly for women, some gods are considered very important for their powers to create babies, heal illness and protect women's financial fortunes.¹¹ Gods also affected the productivity of agriculture and fishing.

⁹ We consider the meaning of the Chinese character, Mu (巫), as 'the people who exist between heaven and earth'.

¹⁰ See Kim Tae-göŋ, 'Han'guk musuk üi sinkwan (The View of Gods in Korean Shamanism)', *Han'guk sasang* (Korean Thought), (Seoul, the Research Group of Korean ideology, 1974), p. 11. And Yi To-hyöŋ, *Han'guk Shamanism üi sinkwan* (The View of Gods in Korean Shamanism) (Seoul, Sinsangsa, 1969), pp. 2-10.

¹¹ Cho Yun Hae-yöŋ, *Han'guk üi Shamanism* (Korean Shamanism), (Seoul, The Seoul National University Press, 2002), p.16.

3.2. Buddhism¹²

Buddhism was the central religious doctrine for the first three Korean dynasties, but it lost power from the end of *Koryŏ*, for two reasons. Firstly, corruption: there were too many monks and nuns in the *sangha* (Buddhist monk schools) because becoming a monk was a means of escaping taxation or government service.¹³ Buddhist rituals supported government power, not people's needs. Neo-Confucian groups in the fourteenth century demanded its removal from its current position of power.

Secondly, the new *Chosŏn* dynasty needed a new ideology or religion to differentiate it from the old *Koryŏ* dynasty. Yi Seong-gye (李成桂, 1380-1400), a founder of the *Chosŏn* dynasty, turned to Neo-Confucian scholar-officials to consolidate his position against the entrenched aristocratic political opponents, and skillfully used them to help in the radical reorganization of his new government. Helped by the *Ming* dynasty of China in 1388, he carried out a *coup d'état*, establishing himself as the first ruler of the *Chosŏn* dynasty as *T'aejo* (太祖) in 1392. These political events led to the removal of Buddhism from state affairs, resulting in a period of government suppression of Buddhism, increasing in severity reign by reign for the entire *Chosŏn* dynasty.¹⁴

¹² The researcher merely dealt with Buddhism and Korean women in the *Chosŏn* period and the beginning of the Japanese occupation. For recent studies where the relation between Buddhism and women is presented, see 'Jamin Sŭnim: Prison Work of a Korean Nun/Monk, Myohi Sŭnim: A Korean Nun/Monk Teacher of Elderly Women, and Pomyŏng Sŭnim: Flower Arranging for the Korean Lay' written by Martine Batchelor and 'Sickness and Health: Becoming a Korean Buddhist Shaman' written by Pak Hwi-ah, Ellison Bank Findly, *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women*, (Boston, Wisdom Publications, 2000).

¹³ Yi Gi-yŏng, *Han'guk ūi pulkyo* (Korean Buddhism), (Seoul, Sejongdaewang Memorial publication, 1974), pp. 159-161.

¹⁴ *The Culmination of the East Asian Confucian-Buddhist Debate in Korea: Jŏng To-Jŏn's Array of Critiques Against Buddhism (Pulssi jappyŏn) vs. Kihwa's Exposition of the Correct (Hyŏnjŏng non)* <http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/jeong-gihwa/index.html>

Buddhism re-formed and survived strongly opposed to Confucianism, firmly supported by women and allied to Shamanism, effectively run by women, to a considerable extent. Centring on the *Sōn* School, *Sōn* Buddhism of the *Chosōn* further refined its doctrine and practice in the antagonistic situation of Korean Neo-Confucianism.¹⁵ Various developments avoided Neo-Confucianism or combined Buddhism with Shamanism, interweaving the various elements in the long Korean tradition.¹⁶

3.3 Confucianism

Confucianism was adopted as China's state religion by the *Han* Dynasty (BC 202-AD 220), becoming the state ideology of Korea during the *Chosōn* Dynasty in Korea from 1392. The introduction of Confucianism transformed Korean culture and according to scholars brought about a period of great change in Korean history. Many of the customs, rituals, rites of passage and beliefs that are presumed to be native to Korea such as veneration of ancestors, filial piety, social roles and system of societal commitments are in fact the legacy of Confucianism. By 4 CE, *Koguryō* had a centre of Confucian scholarship, and there is evidence that other areas had Confucian schools known as *kyōngdang*. When the southern kingdom of *Shilla* was

¹⁵ Mu Hak Ja Ch'o (無學自超; 1327-1405) and Kiwha (己和; Ham Hō Dūk Tong 涵虛得通; 1376-1433). They formed a Korean tradition, suggesting Buddhist views of reformation to the Korean people under strong suppression from the government and vehement ideological opposition from Korean Neo-Confucianism.

¹⁶ There were important masters in the various factions of Buddhism; for instance, Mu Hak Ja Ch'o (1327-1405) established a meditation tradition wandering in mountains, leading to Buddhism being characterised as a mountain religion keeping its own religious ethos and doctrine whilst escaping from the force of Neo-Confucianism in the *Chosōn* Dynasty. *Kiwha* (1376-1433) had a synthetic approach combining the Shamanistic religions of the average Korean to his school of Buddhism this 'Three Teaching' unity was based on the complementary doctrines of native East Asian *Ch'eyong* (體用 'essence-function') and Hwaom *sa sa mu ae* (事事無礙 'mutual interpenetration of phenomena') See *The Exposition of the Correct Hyōnjōngnon* 顯正論 by Kihwa 己和 (Ham Hō Dūk Tong 涵虛得通) <http://www.hm.tyg.jp/~acmuller/jeong-gihwa/hyeonjeongnon.html>

absorbed in 7 CE, Confucianism and Chinese culture were rapidly integrated into all aspects of Korean life. From the very first, Korea adopted the strictest observance of Confucian values to the extent that even the Chinese regarded Koreans as being the most virtuous of people. China was to refer to Korea as “the country of Eastern decorum”, a reference to the punctiliousness with which the Koreans observed all phases of the doctrinal ritual.¹⁷

Confucianism emphasised the relationship between people in society. The relationships are the following. Firstly, Parent - Child: Symbolizing filial piety, the parent-child relationship is considered life's most stable, unchanging, lasting relationship. It is debatable whether the specific relationship in consideration is actually parent - child, parent - son, or even father - son. As we shall see later, a daughter's filial piety to her parents was less critical than a son's. Secondly, Ruler - Subject: Symbolizing loyalty, the ruler - subject relationship can be seen as an extension of the parent - child relationship. Just as a parent cares for his or her child, the ruler cares for his or her subject. Thirdly, Elder - Younger: The elder - younger relationship represents the inherent higher status of someone who is senior in age, experience, and therefore, presumably, wisdom. Furthermore, this type of relationship is not restricted to blood brothers, the elder brother - younger brother relationship being extended to any senior-junior relationship. Fourthly, Friend - Friend: Based on mutual trust, the relationship between two friends most closely resembles the Western ideal of equality. Lastly, Husband - Wife: The Confucian husband - wife relationship is marked by segregation, as we shall see later. Three of the five cardinal relationships are familial relationships, two of which are

¹⁷ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1992).

consanguineous: the least important familial relationship is the conjugal.¹⁸ It is too simple to assume Korean women were totally oppressed by Confucianism, women being elite or commoner, free or slave, and their actual position ameliorated by their involvement in Buddhism and Shamanism. This will be explained.

3.4 *Tonghak*

Tonghak began in 1860, towards the end of *Chosŏn*. As an indigenous religion, *Tonghak* (eastern teaching in opposition to western *Sŏhak*) was created by Ch'oe Ch'e-u, who thought that the national power of western countries came from their religion, Christianity. *Tonghak* combined the religious doctrines of Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity according to Korean nationalistic ideas or needs.¹⁹ From 1894, there were several revolutions and movements of the *Tonghak* which influenced Korean society strongly. Mostly the movements were social reforms but even some outright violent revolutions took place, some of which were endorsed by the *Tonghak*. There were 2,000,000 *Tonghak* members in 1930.²⁰

The highest *Tonghak* priest, Ch'oe Si-hyŏng (Choi Si Hyung), was especially important in establishing the right to remarry and other rights of women in the name of equality, human respect, and reform. *Tonghak* doctrine, "Sa In Yŏ Ch' ŏn" (people

¹⁸ *Confucianism's Influence On Marriage In The Chosŏn Dynasty Of Korea*
<http://www2.soc.hawaii.edu/css/dept/owr/Haejin.html>

¹⁹ Korean Institute of Philosophical History, *Han'guk chŏlhak sasang sa* (The History of Korean Philosophical Thought) (Seoul, Hanul Academy, 1997), pp. 384-394.

²⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (The University of Chicago, 1963), p. 486. Spencer J. A. Palmer gives a good example of the western powers' response to *Tonghak* activities. In the spring 1893, there was information suggesting that around 10,000 *Tonghak* followers were going up to Seoul in order to demand for expulsion of western powers. Owing to this, the British warship, *Peacock* and German warship *Illis* came to *Jemulpo* harbour, returning without confrontation because it turned out to be a rumour. "Despatch from A Heard to the Secretary of State, 4, April, 1893" in Spencer J. A. Palmer ed., *Korean-American Relations*, Vol. II, No. 381, (Berkeley, The University of California Press, 1963), p. 308.

must be treated like God)²¹ insisted that there was to be no discrimination between men and women in the customs and ceremonies of Korean people. Ch'oe Si-hyŏng promulgated gender equality “Nae Su To Mun” (內修道文, the practical theory of humanisation) in 1890.²² He insisted on practicing “Ka To Hwa Sŏn” (the family morality of harmony) in which men guide women to their spiritual zenith and ultimate egalitarianism differing strongly from the established Confucianism, even though with a somewhat paternalist flavour.²³

In 1894, there was an insurrection which had both a religious-political and social character: the *Tonghak* peasants' uprising.²⁴ *Tonghak* people revolted, giving a list of twelve points stating maladministration and demands for reform. Some of their points related to women: 1) eliminating slavery documents of the *Chosŏn* government: in order to sustain themselves after losing husbands and sons during several wars, women readily became slaves to survive. 2) Reforming the class system; when a woman belonging to the lowest class married a high class men, her children still belonged to the low class, and 3) permitting widows to remarry: Korean widows under Confucian law could not remarry, leading to the sexual, mental and economic suffering of women.²⁵ The *Tonghak* demands were called for by a number of Korean people, especially the oppressed such as people of the lower classes,

²¹ Basically, this idea is in ‘In Nae Chŏn (人乃天)’ : ‘Humans are equal without any qualification and there should be no discrimination.’ It is a secular-centred idea that rejected the discrimination between *Yangban* (upper class) and merchant class, legitimate children and illegitimate children, and women and men. Based on the idea of human equality, the ideology pursued the value of humans in the world. *Korean Institute of Philosophical Thought, Guide to Korean Philosophy*, (Seoul, Yemoon Seowon, 1995), pp. 246-248.

²² Bae Yŏng-ki, *Shin Ingan*, No. 615, <http://chondogyo.or.kr/P/Shiningan/n2001/n10/n1032.htm>.

²³ Yi U-jŏng, *Han'guk kidokkyo yŏsŏng baeknyŏn ūi paljach'wi*, (100 Years in the Footsteps of Korean Christian Women), (Seoul, Minjungsa, 1985), p. 18.

²⁴ See ‘Kyŏngsangdo jiyŏk ūi 1894nyŏn Sanghwang kwa Nongmingun Chidobu ūi Sŏngkyŏk (The Characteristics of Peasant Leaders and the Situation of Kyŏngsang Area in 1894)’ by Sin Yŏng-u, in *Tonghak Hyŏngmyŏng kwa Nongmin jidobu ūi Sŏngkyŏk* (The Characteristics of Peasant Leaders in Tonghak Peasant Revolution), Kim Sung-kyung (ed.), (Seoul, Seokyeung Moonhwasa, 1997), pp. 88-119.

²⁵ *Chŏndokyo*, <http://www.chondogyo.or.kr/intro/intro41.htm>

farmers or fishers. The wide positive response amongst Koreans meant the leader Chun extended his group's power to *Chŏnju* area in *Chŏlla* province and then established *Jipkangso* (the reformation centre of *Tonghak*) in order to reform Korea.²⁶ In 1907, *Tonghak* women adopted personal names, adding 'Hwa' to their name.²⁷ Because of several socially progressive traits such as naming, this group was persecuted by the Korean Confucian government.²⁸ According to the *Tonghak* research, *Nae Ch'ik* (內則)²⁹, the women's society of *Tonghak* challenged feudalism and corruption of the existing Korean society.³⁰ This religion, too afforded Korean freedoms which were and are part of their cultural heritage and gave potential for independent activity in the Christian era.

²⁶ Unexpectedly, the 1905 war between China and Japan changed the situation decisively and led to Japanese domination in Korea. In October of that year, Chun changed his reform plans and supported the war effort to save Korea. Eventually his peasant army failed against the modernised Japanese army in *Uh Kŭm-ch'i* (于金峙). This was the second peasant uprising. When we compare the two revolutions, the second one is more patriotic. This shows that *Tonghak* revolutions possessed nationalism and religious piety on the basis of reform including women's liberation.

²⁷ *Chŏndokyo yŏsŏng undong ūi sŏnguja dŭl* (the Pioneers of the Chŏndokyo Movement) written by Cha Yŏng-yŏl, <http://www.chondogyo.or.kr/shiningan/n2002/n01/n0125>

²⁸ *Tonghak information*, http://www.donghakinfo.com/donghak_history And Park Young-uk, *Han'guk hyŏndae yŏsŏng undongsa yŏngu* (The Research of the History of the Modern Movement of Korean Women), (Seoul, Han'guk Jungshin Munhwa Unduwon, 1984), pp. 26-43. Additionally, there were several movements in the period such as the March First Movement (1910) and the involvement of the New Korea Society (*Shinganhoe*, social rationalists group) (1927-1931) *The Introduction and History of Chŏndokyo* (the materials are written in English), <http://www.chondogyo.or.kr/chon/ce006.htm#66>

²⁹ *Tonghak's* view of Korean women's status implied in these doctrines is still debatable. Chŏng Yo-sŏb explores the meaning of *Tonghak* to Korean women, showing the evidence, 'permitting widows to remarry' of twelve points stating misadministration and demands for reform: "*Tonghak* bravely refused the male dominated view of Korean women in Confucianism centred high class, founded the national view of women, made Korean women awaken and consoled them" (Chŏng Yo-sŏb, *Han'guk yŏsŏng undongsa* (The History of Korean Women Movement), (Seoul, Jungwoomsa, 1979), p. 20.) Agreeably, Kim Yong-dŏk assesses that *Tonghak* is 'the first frame of women liberation' and the *Tonghak's* respect for women is the starting point of women's liberation from feudalism in Korea. (Kim Yŏng-duk, *Han'guk sa tamgu* (The Study of Korean History), (Seoul, Eljimunhwasa, 1971), p. 61 and pp. 221-222.) On the contrary, Kim Kyŏng-yae insists that there are not different between Confucian and *Tonghak* view of Korean women through the research between *Naeon* (the women's rules) and *Nae Su To Mun* (內修道文) and *Nae Ch'ik* (內則) for Women's doctrines and rules. (Kim Kyŏng-yae, *Tonghak, chŏndokyo namnyŏsasang yŏngu* (The Research of the Ideology of Gender Equality in *Tonghak* and *Chŏndokyo*), dissertation, Ewha Postgraduate School, Seoul, 1984). This discussion will be more detailed later in the main text.

³⁰ Through these political activities, *Tonghak* women approved positively to liberal tendency of Korean reform. Their effects can be shown through their elaborate doctrines *Nae Su To Mun* (內修道文), *An Shim Ga* (安心歌).

3.3 Relevant themes in the four religions

While shamanism involved a wide-cross section of Korean people, it was indigenous to Korea and organised rather more by women than by men, especially in the south of the country. There were no set texts owned by an elite literate group, but orally transmitted song cycles and rituals learned by female specialists who could come from any background. Buddhism and Confucianism both had ritual and philosophical texts controlled by a male elite who also 'owned' the official presentation of the religion. However, women worked their way round this too either by maintaining ritual practice when Buddhism had lost court favour or, in Confucianism, organising themselves within their own space. *Tonghak* gave clear recognition to women's roles and potential, drawing on the three religions and (to a small extent) on the early Roman Catholic presence. But actual people in ordinary non-elite situations related to all the traditions to which they wished to relate, there being no demand for religious or ritual purity, and it appears to have been women who were especially adept at or willing to interweave the various religious strands. This, as I shall develop in the following chapters, gave them the initiative and leadership capacity within the Protestant missions to become active as *chōndo puin*, utilising their Korean religious roots to develop that role far beyond the more limited *puiin kwonsō* of the early missionaries. With regard to the traditional religious leadership of Korean women, female religious leaders and believers could be very active and contributed much to their society. By the understood process, they would play a leadership role of each religion, Shamanism, Confucianism, Buddhism, *Tonghak* and even Christianity in every period of Korea.

4. Research questions and arguments of chapters

The main body of this thesis consists of two parts in six chapters.

Part one is covered by the title of ‘Suppression and Superpower; The Leadership Foundation of *Chōndo Puin* from the Practical Roles of Korean Women in Historical Writings of the Early Protestant Mission of Korea, 1864 to 1938’

This demonstrates that, contrary to received historical views that Korean women, particularly *chōndo puin*, attribute all aspects of their improved status to the Christian mission, their status actually depended both on their position within the various Korean religions and on their own negotiated status vis á vis the missionaries, especially missionary women who had their own status problems.

Chapter One ‘From Hidden to Visible; the Review of the Existing Historiographies on *Chōndo Puin*’ criticises many views on Christianity and Korean women in research; the history of Korean Protestant Mission, Korean Church history, and mission history of feminism and women’s studies. Through this chapter’s assessment, I can prepare the basis of my historical perspectives on this thesis, situated in the next chapter.

In Chapter Two ‘Cultural Religion and Christian Mission; Female Leadership in the Korean Tradition in Late *Chosŏn* and the Early Korean Protestant Mission, 1864-1938’, I shall ask several questions; What roles did Korean women play in traditional Korean society, and how can their activities and contributions be evaluated in a traditional setting and history? Through these research questions, we will see the relation between traditional religions and Korean women in terms of practical leadership by missionaries’ view of Korean women in traditional religions. My main

claim is that Korean women played a leadership role in practice in traditional religions of Korea despite their marginalized position in society and culture. I deal with Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and *Tonghak* in the research period 1864-1940.

Then, in Chapter Three 'Equality and Enlightenment; American Missionary Women's 'Woman's Work for Woman' in the Early Protestant Mission of Korea, 1886 to 1945', we cover such research questions as: What were American female missionaries' views of Korean women in the Korean religions? What were the ideas of the missionaries about Korean women in "Women's Work for Women"? And which aim did the missionaries in Korea, particularly female missionaries, have in their work with Korean women? In detail, the early feminist movement in Korea in terms of gender equality movement based on western human dignity was established not only by missionaries of the Korean Protestant mission but also by the roles of women in traditional religions of late *Chosŏn*. Accordingly, it will be demonstrated by that the reformed role of *chŏndo puin* in Christianity and Korean society came not only from the activities of missionaries, i.e. 'Woman's Work for Woman', but the existing potential of Korean women in traditional religions seeking equality and enlightenment. In order to show this, I shall analyse missionaries' background and activities in Korea, suggesting that American female missionaries in Korea tended to misunderstand the position of Korean women in light of western background, women's movement and mission concept of the period, civilization.

Through these chapters, we will see what female leadership in the traditional context of Korea is and how western missionaries in the early Korean mission influenced Korean women in the period 1886-1910 in both positive and negative

ways. It will be argued that Korean women exercised roles of leadership in traditional Korean society, of which the western missionaries were generally unaware, and that Christianity contributed to rather than originated the social enhancement of Korean women. Part one thus gives the base line from which to access the activities of *chōndo puin* in the second part.

Part two of this thesis is ‘The History of *Chōndo Puin* in Korea, 1895 - 1945’. Through part two, it will be argued that *chōndo puin* played a leadership role in the practical areas of Korean Protestant mission, the growth of Korean churches, and reform of Korean society as native mission agents, evangelists, educators, doctors, nurses, counsellors, and social actors. On the basis of this argument, three chapters in part two will detail *chōndo puin*’s stories.

Chapter Four ‘Subordinate Mission Assistants Or Active Early Evangelists? The Activities of the *Chōndo puin* as *Puin kwonsō*, 1897-1920’ presents the initial work of *chōndo puin* in the significant period of Protestant mission. In this chapter, we can ask the following; what role did *puin kwonsō* play in the early beginning of Korean protestant mission with missionaries? Did John Ross, who translated the first *Ōnmun* Korean vernacular Bible, have links with *puin kwonsō*? And how did the *puin kwonsō* work in relation to non-Christian women in the initially difficult context of social antagonism towards Protestant Christianity? Through this, we shall show that the early work of *chōndo puin*, which included selling books, was different from that of colporteurs and significantly helpful to the missionaries’ work. Accordingly, I suggest that *chōndo puin* in their early version of *puin kwonsō* were not just mission assistants but initial agents of evangelism in the practical arena by comparing mission works of colporteurs and missionaries. Flowing this chapter to the next

chapter, we can see how *puin kwonsō*, who played a limited role under controls of Christian institutions in the initial step of Korean Protestant mission, became *chōndo puin* who performed more independent and powerful leadership in indigenesed churches of Korea.

In Chapter Five ‘Church Supporters Or Church Leaders?: the Practical Role of *chōndo puin* in the Indigenous Development of Korean Protestant churches, 1907-1945’, we will see more concrete activities of *chōndo puin* from this newest historical viewpoint. Where did *chōndo puin* stand in relation to Korean local churches, mission societies and denominations in the period of growth of Korean churches? In the practical area of churches, how did *chōndo puin* contribute to the spiritual revival of Korean Protestant churches when these were transformed into indigenous Korean churches? And how did they survive during the religious persecution of Japanese occupation? Through these questions, I will show how *chōndo puin* played a great leadership role in Korean churches as active evangelists supported by laypeople and non-Christians.

Chapter Six ‘New Elites Or Social Pioneers?: The Social Role of *Chōndo Puin* in Modern Korean society, 1910-1945’ shows both positive and negative facts about *chōndo puin*. This chapter’s question is what role *chōndo puin* played in education and medicine as social actors. Some *chōndo puin* worked in mission schools, hospitals, and girl’s colleges as teachers, nurses, doctors, or counsellors. These areas were very beneficial to Korean women from the point of providing a good chance to enhance their social position and formulate relational networks based on women’s approaches influenced by the work of western missionaries. It has been and will be argued here that Christian Protestant mission had a positive social and emancipating

impact on Korean women. However, women cannot be seen as an undifferentiated category, a fact which applies as much to men as to Christian women and others. Where work in education and health lead to the formation of classes amongst Korean women, similar to those found in the traditional *Chosŏn* class system, high class women became the 'Christian New Elite' women as *chŏndo puin*.

Through part one and part two, we can see how the *chŏndo puin* established and developed Korean Protestant Christianity, 1895 to 1945 despite political hardship, religious persecution, cultural difference from missionaries, and social reform. Without their work, the church would not be as it is now.

Next I will present the methodology for this thesis.

5. Sources

5.1 Archival research

The archival research took place in three regions for six months. The first region ① was Seoul and some parts of Kyŏnggi area in Korea from 15th March to 25th May 2003 in order firstly to interview people who remembered *chŏndo puin* and worked in churches similar to *chŏndo puin*, and secondly to investigate and collect materials such as magazine, newspapers, missionaries' letters and denominational documents.

② The second region was North America; Boston University, Harvard University, and Yale University from 12th June to 1st July 2003. In these university libraries, I found microfilms and records of the Methodist Episcopal mission and the Presbyterian mission of the Unites State. Moreover, I met the female historian Dana Lee Robert who is an expert in mission history and received great help about the information of American mission relating to female missionaries' activities. The last region was

③ Canada; Victoria Archives, Emmanuel College, and John Knox College in Toronto from 1st to 21st September 2003. Particularly the Victoria Archive centre of the United Church of Canada was a remarkable place to collect materials on the Korean mission. There are a number of mission magazines and annual reports of Methodists and Presbyterian missionaries about the United North American mission in the period from the mid 1800s to early 1900s, which achieved great results in East Asian Mission. Here, I met a female scholar Ruth Compton Brouwer who is director of history of Toronto University and obtained recent historical views and information about female missionaries from her.

④ Additional sources in Britain have also been important for this research. These are mission reports and magazines of the British Foreign Bible Society in the archival department of Cambridge University and the Scottish National Library in Edinburgh. There, I discovered many hidden stories of Bible Women in East Asia and materials on *puin kwonsŏ* in Korean Mission.

5.2 Sources

For this research, literature based data was collected in four categories. Firstly, mission files such as letters, financial records, diary entries and memos were investigated and collected in Archives centring on North American, Canadian and Australian Presbyterian missions. I also found missionary journals, magazines and annual reports of mission societies, such as the Annual Reports of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, Annual Reports of North Presbyterian mission of the United State, Annual Minutes of Victorian Presbyterian mission, Woman's Work for Woman, and so forth. In addition, I also carefully inspected materials of the Bible Foreign Society.

Published sources are the stories of the *chōndo puin* and female missionaries in newspapers, articles, and printed sources such as Korean Mission Field, Korean Review, Gospel in All Lands, The Mission Review, The Church at Home and Abroad, The Independence Newspaper (Dong Nip Shin Mun), Daily Magazine (Meilshinbo; Japanese government magazine), Methodist Magazine (Kamnihoebo) and so on. Through these materials, I examined historical materials on the *chōndo puin* and the background of the research period. To support this research, I also utilised published sources, which were mainly in English and Korean.

Interview based data were the following: feminist theologians and female scholars (6), male theologians and scholars (1), female ministers & women evangelist (12), male ministers or head pastors of large churches (4), and the leaders of laywomen deaconesses (9), and missionaries' families or individual missionaries such as Horace G. Underwood (the grandson of Mrs. L.H. Underwood, now a professor of Yonsei University) and Marrion Current (a diaconal Minister in the United Church of Canada); all in all 33 people. At the time, I prepared different questionnaires for each interviewee group based on the main question of what they knew about *chōndo puin* who had worked as female leaders in Korean Protestant mission and church growth. Subsequently I asked them, depending on interviewees' position, whether they had been taught about or come across pastoral work of women in their theological studies in educational institutions or theological colleges. If they had not, I enquired about what they thought the reason was for the omission, and explored more general issues about gender in the church and in ministry, and their views on the contribution of recent and current Korean women's status.

5.3 Using sources

I have used English and Korean sources. Too much earlier work on Korean Protestant Church relied on English sources, which privileged male and American women's views of the mission process, enabling as I shall argue, a view of Korean Protestantism to be maintained which stressed Korean passivity and lack of agency. There are many Korean sources; I have used them, while naturally using English writings.

Secondly, I will deal more with mission materials written by women than by men. In detail, women's documents mainly will be treated to reveal historical events and views: men's materials play a subordinate role. Considering the existing histories have been written from male perspectives, the aim is a balance between using sources and analysing particular documents in the process of historical research.

For centuries, missiological history has focused on western perspectives, although mission has always been produced from the interaction between missionaries and those who converted to Christianity.³¹ This research considers the problem of western perspectives and other perspectives in historical writing. Also, it is possible that the established mission history has resulted from the power play and hierarchy in mission society and church systems and continues even if written by Korean scholars. To overcome this barrier some sociological approaches need to be considered in writing this history with regard to cultural and situational understanding.

³¹ See David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, (New York, Orbis, 1995) esp. pp. 4-5 and pp. 420-431.

Part One
Suppression and Superpower;
The Leadership Foundation of *Chōndo Puin* from the
Practical Roles of Korean Women in Historical Writings of
the Early Protestant Mission of Korea, 1864 - 1938

Introduction

A common scholarly approach has been to assess Korean women's identity from a viewpoint of suffering, sacrifice, and tolerance by *Han* (恨, 恨)³². Such analysis is based on the blatant sexual discrimination by the male-dominated Korean Confucianism in the late *Chosŏn* period (1864-1910). The word means mental oppression and social confinement, experienced by women as victims, absolutely powerless within Korean tradition.

In this manner, a Korean church historian, Rhie Deok-joo interprets the situation of Korean Christian women including *chōndo puin* in a famous magazine of Korean feminist theology, as follows,

For her (Chun Sam-tök, a *chōndo puin*) the Christian gospel had a meaning beyond the religious realm. It was the power to claim Korean women's human rights expressed as principles of "redemption" and "independence"... For them (Korean Christian women), the Christian gospel had the meaning of freedom and liberation from the feudalistic hierarchical structure of the male-dominant patriarchy.³³

Like him, other historians have concluded that the traditional religions of Korea

³² 'Han' is a profound pain or inner suffering experienced by the Korean people, especially women and children who had been the innocent victims of society. This will be discussed in detail later.

³³ Rhie Deok-joo, "An Understanding of Early Korean Christian Women's History", *Ehwa Journal of Feminist Theology*, Vol. 2, (Seoul, Ehwa Institution for Women's Theological Studies, 1997), pp. 11-12.

had never given Korean women any freedom, equality, and social status in Korean society, in sharp contrast to Christianity which provided them with the light of liberation through the gospel. This scholar's views were based on missionary documents from the period of the early Korean Protestant mission.

However, I have serious questions about such historical evaluation. If the Korean traditional religions and Christianity dealt with Korean women so differently, if they were as weak and powerless as is implied, then where did the *chōndo puin*'s power for the practical activities like evangelical, medical, and educational works come from so suddenly? Without any tradition of women's leadership, how did the power of *chōndo puin* affect and convert women, children and even men? If we argue that the historians are entirely right in what they say about Korean women's oppression, then how in detail was Christianity able so swiftly to establish the *chōndo puin* as such an effective institution, particularly in relation to female missionaries? By asking these questions, it will be argued that *chōndo puin*, rather than being submissive as many missionaries supposed, had actually begun to play a constructive role within their own traditional leadership styles, from an admittedly marginalized position in a period of rapid transformation of the Korean society, battling against internal colonisation.

The first chapter will critically assess some existing historical views and writings about Korean women and Korean Bible Women, *chōndo puin*. Through this process, we can recognise their hidden stories and contribution of Korean Protestant Christianity apart from our 'idée fixe' of *chōndo puin* from male-centred and western perspectives. The outcome will be a Korean female grassroots' point of view on Korean Protestant Christianity.

Based upon this clarified historical view, the following two chapters will examine

the cultural situation of Korean women in Korean religions by challenging the Protestant missionaries' views on them. We shall, in Chapter Two, see the origin of leadership of Korean women in Christianity from traditional indigenous religions, Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and *Tonghak*. In the third chapter, the reviews of existing historical records show the relationship between American missionary women and Korean Christian women, focusing on one aspect of the Protestant mission, 'Women's Work for Women'. This part will then enable me to show just how the foundation of *chōndo puin* is based on the religious, social and cultural background of Korea through historiographical analysis and critique.

Let us now move to the first chapter, challenging the errors and misunderstanding of the existing historian's works in mission and church history relating to *chōndo puin*.

Chapter One

From Hidden to Visible; the Review of the Existing Historiographies on *Chōndo Puin*

1. Introduction

This chapter poses questions about the problems of historical description and evaluation of the stories of *chōndo puin* whom we will treat seriously in this thesis. I shall review historical approaches and then establish the historical perspective of this thesis. Firstly, I will examine existing research on Korean Church history by both male and female scholars. Moving to the area of mission studies with this similar concern, I will carefully criticise both viewpoints of feminism and women's studies in treating 'women in mission'.

2. Korean historiography relating to historical subject, *chōndo puin*

Let me discuss three almost iconic texts representing Korean church historiography on the *chōndo puin*.

The first text is the groundbreaking *History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* written by George Lark-Geon Paik in 1927 as a Ph. D thesis for Yale University. The book examines the entire process of early Korean Protestant mission. His historical perspective was influenced by his supervisor, K. S. Latourette, who claimed that Christian history is defined as evangelistic history as distinct from general history. Under this historical conviction, Paik wrote the first Protestant

Church history of Korea,³⁴ substantially following western historiography according to Latourette and applying it to the writing down of stories from Korea. However, his research did not fully grasp the Korean church's side of the stories³⁵ because most of his research sources were missionary documents. Accordingly, the description of the *chōndo puin* was not only played down but was also subordinated to that of western missionaries, perhaps in order to stress their work. For example, Paik's sources on *chōndo puin* were female missionary reports, not these emanating from Korean writers, despite the fact, as I shall show, that these exist. Paik was Korean, his perspective was not.

Secondly, let us consider Korean nationalistic historiography; how does that compare with Paik's historiography? The representative historian is Min Kyōng-bae who wrote *Han'guk kidokkyohoe sa* (The History of Korean Churches). In this book, he strongly insisted that Korean church historiography must start from the premise of an ecumenical calling of the churches to Korean people, making history into the ideas and processes of nationalistic centred churches."³⁶ That is to say, Korean church history ought to reflect Korean nationalism. Is this departure from Paik's western centred historiography an advance? In that it focused on local sources, yes, it was, but Min was mistaken in concentrating on nationalistic leaders from the intelligentsia and elites in his works, according to the *Minjung* historian Lee Jang-sik³⁷. Min's description of *chōndo puin* could only be partial, for the majority of

³⁴ Paik Lark-Geon, *Han'guk kaeshin kyohoe sa* (The History of Protestant Missions in Korea), (Seoul, Paik, Yonsei University Press, 1973), 'Jase (the author's preface)'. cf) This book was originally written in English as a Ph. D thesis, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea 1832-1910*, written by Lak-Geon George Paik.

³⁵ As Min, Paik's research never considered the confession and witness of Korean churches. Min Kyōng-bae, *Han'guk kidok kyohoe sa* (The History of Korean Churches), (Seoul, Yōnsei University Press, 1993), p. 9.

³⁶ Min Kyōng-bae, 'Che 2segi Han'guk kyohoe sahak' (The Historical Studies of Korean Church in the Second Century)', *Kidokkyo sasang* (The Ideology of Christianity), July 1986, p. 50.

³⁷ Lee Jang-sik, 'Han'guk sinhak sasang ūi sachōk koch'al (The Historical Studies of Korean

chōndo puin were part neither of the intelligentsia nor the elite. This is important, for each writer seems to be using a carefully chosen approach to support his or her arguments. For instance, the *chōndo puin* are presented as being either largely of the elite or of the marginalized poor. They were neither but rather represented Korean Christian women. While using Korean materials for Korean peoples, Min also followed Paik's western style historiography, focusing on macro-history in the name of Korean nationalism rather than female missionaries or relatively powerless *chōndo puin*.

Against both the missiologized and the nationalistic perspectives of history, *Minjung*³⁸ historiography arose at the end of 1970s, Joo Jae-yong initiating the historical discourse. He asked historians what the identity of Korean Christianity was, or should be. Answering himself, he made clear that Korean Christian history should be understood in the stories of all the suffering Korean people. He demanded that historians pay attention to the formation of social consciousness and aspects of social ideology.³⁹ One scholar applied this point of *Minjung* argument to his Korean historical studies. Yi Man-yōl formed his own historiography, in which Korean ordinary people independently accepted Christianity, being agents of their conversion rather than puppets: but for him the ordinary people mainly consisted of male Christians.⁴⁰ According to *Minjung* theology, all 'women' were traditionally

Theological Ideas)', *Yōksa wa sinhak* (History and Theology), (Seoul, Korean Theological Study Institute, 1987), p. 79.

³⁸ In terminology, *Minjung* are socially the powerless and the oppressed in the present. In the theological and sociological argument to Asian present situations, "who is Jesus Christ" among the people of Asia is very closely related to the question of "who is the *Minjung*". Who Jesus Christ is is very much dependent upon who the *Minjung* are. Two questions are mutually dependent upon each other. In *Minjung* theology, there is an affirmation that the Messiah is of the *Minjung* and the *Minjung* are of the Messiah, and the two cannot exist without each other.

³⁹ Joo Jae-Yong, 'Han'guk Minjung kwa Kesinkyo sa' (The Korean *Minjung* and Protestant Church History)', *Yōksa wa sinhakchōk chūngōn* (History and Theological Witness), p. 266-267.

⁴⁰ Yi Man-yōl, *Han'guk kidokkyo suyōngsa yōngu* (The Research of History of Korean Christianity Acceptance), (Seoul, Dooraesidae, 1998).

oppressed in Korean society through *Han* (한, 恨)⁴¹ and even suppressed by the strongly male-dominated power structure of Korean churches. In this respect, *Minjung* theologians were critical of but actually tended to mirror missionaries' view, assuming all women were weak and powerless and effectively excluding them from agency. In fact, within Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism (quite apart from Christianity) there was a certain power such as, for instance, the women's network within the *anpang* of the Confucian elite, leadership of shamaness at the Korean grassroots, maintenance of Buddhism in the *Chosŏn*. I cannot just talk of male rulers and female oppressed. Indeed, we will see some evidence from historical facts of *chŏndo puin*'s activities in terms of socio-political powers through professional jobs of education and health, and equally important evidence that some *chŏndo puin* even exercised power over men as well as women in the Japanese occupation period. *Minjung* historiography can easily ignore events and process which do not fit.

Furthermore, *Minjung* historiography ignored the fact that *chŏndo puin* made enormous contributions to evangelical growth of Korean churches which impacted on women's and men's lives. To sum up, their historiography is little different from male-centred historiographies based upon conservative Korean ideological view of women, and is influenced by radical western approaches in liberation theology which concentrated almost exclusively on social powers in historical analysis.⁴²

These three writers were men. Let us see if Korean female scholars' views of *chŏndo puin* are different.

Yang Mi-kang's approach to *chŏndo puin* opened a new aspect of women's

⁴¹ 'Han' is a profound pain experienced by the Korean people, especially women and children who had been the innocent victims of society. This will be discussed in detail later.

⁴² See the correlation between *Minjung* and liberation theology, and *Minjung* and Korean culture in *The Korean Minjung in Christ*, written by David Kwang-Sun Suh (Kowloon, The Christian Conference of Asia, 1991), pp. 11-111.

studies to Korean historical research. Through her several articles and her interview⁴³, she attempted to trace the origin of women evangelists and pastors in Korean church history.⁴⁴ Her work opened *chōndo puin* research to historians in order to justify women's ordination in the context of Korean church history. Thanks to her enthusiastic and active research, important studies were published: *The Materials of Chōndo puin in the Korean Church*, and *A Study of Christian Feminist Movement: Faith and Activities of Early Bible Women*. Passionately involved in feminist and social movements in Korea, she worked on historical research on *chōndo puin*. Accordingly, she was concerned with gender, social, and equality issues within Korean Christianity. In her article, 'The research of faith and role of early Bible Women', she strongly insisted on the following,

A number of present women evangelists and female church leaders are independent and creative successors continuing the faith and roles of early Bible Women. However, they recognise that their leadership is being distorted by the male-dominated reality of churches. Accordingly, we need to discover hidden stories of Bible Women and show the processes by which the females have been marginalized in church histories.⁴⁵

This tendency to use *chōndo puin* largely to support modern needs is also represented by Yang's precursor as a female *Minjung* theologian, Yi U-jōng's, historical perspective in: *In the Footsteps of Korean Christian Women*⁴⁶. Lee critically presented oppressed women's histories of Korean Christianity from

⁴³ She discovered many hidden *chōndo puin* such as Paik Shin-yōng in 'In the Footsteps of Korean Christian Women' of *P'yōnghwa rūl mandū nūn yōsōng* (Women who Create Peace), Christian Women Peace Institute, 1989-1992. And the interview with Mi-Kang Yang, 2nd May 2003 in the Office of 'The Regiment for Asian Peace and Historical Education', (<http://www.japantext.net/index.php>) which demonstrate the issue of Japanese texts about Korean history and colonial ideology.

⁴⁴ Particularly, her research aim was revealed in the article, '1930nyōn do kidokkyo yōsōng dūl ūi yōsōng munje insan kwa yōsōng ansu undong (The Female Consciousness of Feminist Issue and Women Ordination Movement in 1930s)', *Ibid.* Vol. 13, September 1992, pp. 61-71.

⁴⁵ Yang Mi-kang, 'Chōgi chōndo puin ūi sinyang kwa yōkhal e kwanhan yōngu (The Research of Faith and Role of Early Bible Women)', *P'yōnghwa rūl mandū nūn yōsōng* (Women who Create Peace)', no. 11, March 1992, Seoul, Christian Women Peace Institute, p. 91.

⁴⁶ Yi U-jōng, *Han'guk kidokkyo yōsōng paeknyōn ūi paljagu*, (100 Years in the Footsteps of Korean Christian Women), (Seoul, Minjungsa, 1985).

nationalistic and radical feminist points of view. Her historiography is a combination of Korean nationalistic, *Minjung*, and feminist views, especially the last. Treating the history of *chōndo puin*, she was mainly interested in *chōndo puin* to the extent that that allowed her to critique the role of clergy in Korean churches within the male dominated church system. Both Yang and Yi aimed to use *chōndo puin* to support the political leadership foundation of women evangelists and pastors in Korean churches, and in doing so they may instrumentalise the *chōndo puin*.

Other historical works by Korean Christian women have a different aim. Joo Sun-ae, a Christian educational scholar, wrote the first Presbyterian history of Korean Christian women, *Changnokyo yōsōng sa* (The History of Presbyterian Women)⁴⁷ in 1979. She wrote in order to educate Christian women about Christian enlightenment and discover faithful women's stories from Presbyterian women's societies. Without a hint of feminist liberation,⁴⁸ Lee Yon-ok in her book, *Daehan yaesukyo jangnohoe yōjōndodaehoe 100nyōn sa* (Centennial History of the National Organisation of the Korean Presbyterian Women)⁴⁹, developed Joo's historical assessment to encourage change among Presbyterian women. Through these historical works, both Joo and Lee attempted to show how Christian women had contributed to the evangelistic growth of churches carried out by missionaries and male pastors in Korean Presbyterian denominations. It seems to me that their historical aim is to prove the status of women in church contexts of denominational background as important contributors and leaders in themselves, without comparison

⁴⁷ Joo Sun-ae, *Changnokyo yōsōng sa* (The History of Presbyterian Women), (Seoul, The Editorial Committee of the National Organization of the Korean Presbyterian Women, 1979).

⁴⁸ Interview with Joo Sun-ae, 9th April, her residence, the Samick Park apartment in *Chunho dong* of Seoul.

⁴⁹ Lee Yon-Ok, *Daehan yesukyo jangnohoe yōjundodaehoe 100nyōn sa* (Centennial History of the National Organization of the Korean Presbyterian Women), (Seoul, The Editorial Committee of the National Organization of the Korean Presbyterian Women, 1998).

to male contributors and missionaries.⁵⁰ Therefore, the *chǒndo puin* for Joo and Lee were people who worked in women's societies to build successful Presbyterian churches and wonderful Christian evangelists who had a wider religious impact upon Korean society.

All four representative female historians appear to share a similar and rather straightforward understanding of Korean women, *chǒndo puin* and Korean Christianity; Christianity liberated Korean women from the suppression of Korean traditional religions, culture, and society. The argument runs thus. Firstly, Korea under 'Strong Male-Centred Confucianism' had oppressed women. Secondly, Buddhism and Shamanism treated women as useless objects within Korean society. Thirdly, Christianity, unaided by any other discourse, challenged the unfair socio-religious structure, gave a chance for independent activities and leadership of Korean women, and, through western missionary teaching, brought Christian ethics, equality and freedom. In short, *chǒndo puin* represent a group of Christian women released from the spiritual and physical oppression of Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, which did not provide full religious spaces to them.

This frame is inadequate, for it gives a biased understanding of female identity in Korean Christianity. Already noted in the introduction, I will make clear in the next chapter that the practical leadership role for Korean women was firstly supported within Buddhism, for it was their strength and status within Buddhism which enabled it to survive under the strong Confucian *Chosŏn* monarchy. Secondly Shamanism depended on women, giving them a valued position in Korean society as an

⁵⁰ Their conservative and evangelistic trends of work in the early research works on Korean Christian women, from 1960s to 1990s had been very important considering the situation which most Korean conservative churches had not recognise the roles of women in church growth of Korea. In the respect, their work made male-female Christians of Korea know the reasonable reason of women's status in churches.

underground religion and, at various points, enabling them to be part of *Chosŏn* religious observance. While the restriction of Confucianism appeared to oppress elite women totally, they did develop in their *anpang* a reliable network within which they exercised considerable power. Korean Elite Women were certainly controlled by their husbands and fathers, following the existing Korean Confucian tradition, but they controlled younger men such as their sons and grandsons in the family and young males in society. The *Tonghak* movement, developing slightly before or at the similar time the Protestants came, made moves to improve the position of women.

In the case of Korean poor women, they may have been marginally more oppressed than men of the same class, but the difference was small. Korean Christian women, therefore, did not receive influence only from imported western theology and ideas of ‘feminist civilisation’ of missionary women, then firmly subordinated to men, but enjoyed Christianity within a religious lifestyle linked to traditional religious leadership and women’s networks in Korea itself. Compared to American missionary women in the Korean Protestant Mission, they had less freedom: yet female missionaries were subordinate to male missionaries. *Chŏndo puin* were a product of this synthesis, and as I will make clear throughout Part two, they contributed to the success of the early Korean Protestant Mission, the growth of Korean churches, and the modernisation of Korean society.

To sum up, what is my critique of the female historians’ approach to women’s issues such as *chŏndo puin* research in historical works? Let me state it step by step. Female historians appear to accept the missionaries’ western centred and religio-cultural evaluation of Korean women as shown in many mission reports. They are also liable to assess Korean women’s stories according to gender views from feminist studies by western academics. In this respect, I see some problems in their historical

perspectives and methods. Firstly, I suspect their underlying intentions. Their wish to pressure for changes in the position of women in current Korean Christian life may lead them to over interpret, indeed twist, the *chōndo puin* of the past. *Chōndo puin* were important in and by themselves. Moreover, without the earlier *chōndo puin*, the present *chōndo puin* would arguably not be as well-established in Korea as they are. Secondly, gender issues in practice include other elements such as racism, social class and cultural diversity. Moreover, we should see that while discrimination commonly comes from males, women are fully capable of oppressing other women (this will be shown in Chapter Three and Six). We cannot say that love and self-denial, necessary for peace, are only manifested in women. Furthermore, historical works by female scholars intended to make women visible and thereby fight for their rights in Christianity should also show the internal discrimination between elite and poor women in mission and church.

Therefore, I strongly insist that many lower status Christian women, who made up over half of Korean Christians in churches and society, played effective roles in the indigenisation and growth of Korean Protestant Churches in every aspect of their work. To that extent, they were at the core of the Korean Protestant Church, which also includes elite women. With this critique in mind, I shall look at general missiological works of feminist historians.

3. Feminist missiological approach to *chōndo puin*

Recent missiological work by female scholars has focussed primarily on female missionary work and only secondarily on the response or dedication of native Christian women. Some articles along these lines exist on Bible Women in English.

Western historians such as Dana Lee Robert dedicate some space to ‘natives’ in their published work, for example in her book, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers:*

Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century. In it, Young Lee Hertig⁵¹ presents links between Bible Women of the nineteenth century and female *chōndosa* (evangelists) of the twentieth century. Through this research, she expresses the need in rather romantic terms to recreate the image of women’s leadership;

As long as sexism, machismo, and domination replace aspects of human relationships, the authentic image of God in humanity is destroyed. Because the value of conquest and autonomy directly challenge gender relationships, they need to be confronted and transformed into the greater values of interdependency, mutuality and respect that builds the loving community in which human relationships can be nourished. Our broken world is in need of many bridges of love.⁵²

Based upon conservative Christian humanism, she expressed why the image of Bible Women should be accepted in Christianity through the method of *Yinist* feminist epistemology from Taoism to stress ecological peace. This article was written aiming to suggest a new understanding of Asian women’s leadership in Christianity. According to the stories of suffering both of Bible Women and women evangelists, Young Lee Hertig gives an ideological answer to these present “broken worlds”, which consist of inferiority, discrimination, and anti-humanity. However, I ask a question from a different definition of leadership: are *Yinist* feminist ideas actually relevant to the description and analysis of women evangelists?’ In addition, I doubt her definition of Korean women leadership; does this historical phenomenon of Korean women’s inferiority in Christianity belong only to the Korean-American

⁵¹ Young Lee Hertig, ‘The Asian-American Alternative to Feminism: A Yinist Paradigm’, *An International Review*, 26:1, 1998, p. 15-22. She presents women’s virtue as Yinist terms from Korean ideology such as Taoism. I think, she tried to show a new direction of feminism from Asian traditional ideology such as Korean Taoism which emphasises upon nature’s balances and, furthermore, ecological peace. That is to say, her idea is based upon ecological feminism or feministic ecology.

⁵² Dana Lee Robert, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, (New York, Orbis, 2002).

situation? This is highly improbable. The history of women in mission shows the same situation in Asia, America, Middle East and even Africa⁵³.

A feminist scholar Fang-Lan Chou has usefully introduced the *chōndo puin* in the context of current theological education in the Korean churches. Presenting the stories, she draws attention to historical problems in the existing scholarly trend: “these women (Bible Women) and their work are usually passed over in favour of those writing the histories, usually western missionaries, or more recently, church historians who emphasize cultural and national identity.”⁵⁴ With this argument, she reaches the conclusion that while *chōndo puin* are an inseparable part of the present growth of the church in Korea, ignoring their contribution is part of the widespread refusal to ordain women in Korea despite the fact that the successors of the Bible women, women evangelists, are part of the success story of Korean churches. She shows how the current patriarchal organisation still treats women evangelists as inferior, though the historical evidence shows Bible Women significantly contributed to education in Korean churches.

Both historians claim the importance of Bible Women in order to ‘show the reasonable and evident facts of present women evangelists and leaders’, ‘demonstrate the errors and mistakes of the masculinalised churches’ and ‘enjoy leadership in churches upon the reasonable basis of present female leaders’. This point is very important to Korean Christian women from the feminist perspective. However, I consider the historical value of Bible Women in mission and churches of Korea

⁵³ Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener, *Women and Mission: Past and Present; Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, (Oxford, Berg, 1993). Here Fiona Bowie presents the historical issue, ‘Making Women visible’ and Deborah Kirkwood shows the stories of female married and single missionaries in African mission. Furthermore, some authors introduce their contextual stories of African women mission as native responses. This is for cross-cultural studies on women.

⁵⁴ Fan-Lan Chou, ‘Bible Women and the Development of Education in the Korean Church’, *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan, The Gospel and Culture in East Asia*, edited by Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young, (Lampeter, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), p. 29.

cannot and must not be restricted to that aim. Considering this incomplete picture, which at times seems an intentioned elision of their role and effect through time, there is an urgent need to look at the story of the *chōndo puin* more precisely from a wider perspective.

4. Toward making *chōndo puin* visible

4.1 Placing *chōndo puin* stories within the mission history power frame through the micro-history method

Micro-history focuses closely on seemingly minor or intensely ‘local’ events from the past in order to discover what possibilities and constraints shaped human behaviour at specific historical moments. The goal is to identify and critique the range of approaches these historians have taken and to explore the potential and limitations of this form of historical writing. Consequently, micro-historians usually undertake preliminary research in micro history such as examining available newspapers, letters, journals and books to locate an event or fill a perceived gap.

Through the historian’s methods, I would say that micro history could contribute to resolving certain problems. Firstly, the mega history of traditional historiography can too readily reproduce power groups of society in the world. This approach produces many gaps in histories and at the end the historical description tends to pass over human’s stories.⁵⁵ Secondly, such history can produce a ‘power-effect’, transforming the past on the basis of public material evidence, excluding or concealing unwritten powerless people’s stories such as the *Minjung* or ‘lower’

⁵⁵ See Jürgen Schlumbohm(ed), Paik Seung-Jong (translation), *Mikrogeschichte Makrogeschichte* (Microhistory, Macrohistory), (Verlag, Wllstein, 1998) and Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, *The Mammoth and the Mouth; Microhistory and Morphology*, (Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1997).

people.⁵⁶ In this respect, this thesis is based upon a kind of 'micro history', considering *chōndo puin* who were mainly though not exclusively Korean women of lower social status in Korean society as this theme of this thesis. In this thesis we will read and discuss micro-historical monographs that examine missionaries' written documents and at the same time, materials of Korean Christian women.

4.2 *Chōndo puin* and the gender issue in mission history

Women's history has to be discovered now and accepted by mission history. For a long time, the roles of women in history have not been adequately described or evaluated. A female historian, Dana Lee Robert, says that 'women's own distinctive contributions to mission practice and theory have been ignored by scholars until fairly recently'.⁵⁷ Agreeing with her evaluation, it seems to me that most histories from mainline mission societies and churches have, unconsciously or otherwise, omitted women's contributions to mission. Yet women have often been represented as the cutting edge of much of Christianity. One might even suspect that conservative circles of theology are prejudiced, even fearful, against feminism when touching on women's themes or gender issues, because there has been virtually no dialogue between feminism and mission studies. However, we have to consider the fact that at least two-thirds of Christians are women in the world churches⁵⁸ and mission of the churches in history have been formed by social and cultural realities where women also participated.

⁵⁶ See Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: two or three things that I know about it', *Critical Inquiry* 20:1 (Autumn 1993) and Giovanni Levi, 'Microhistory' in Peter Burke(ed), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, (1991).

⁵⁷ Dana Lee Robert, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, p.xi.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

However, there are difficulties in studying women's history for the following two reasons. Firstly, women's history has been treated as a subordinate element of mission history because of the male-centred description for its achievement.⁵⁹ Who have the main writers of mission history been? I would say that mission historians have been composed of many male academics from the East to the West for a long time. Secondly, mission history has been evaluated according to denominational perspectives from within male-controlled churches.⁶⁰ In this patriarchal centred perspective, there is little space to record the contribution of women in mission, because most ordained ministers have been men and on the other hand most ordinary women missionaries have been lay people. Consequently, it seems to have been difficult for them to participate in the writing of mission history. In addition, most historical descriptions have generally ignored the impact of women in mission. The concealment of women's history results from the fact that men have contained women to sustain their subordinate social position and role even when women have actually participated in history as independent subjects.⁶¹ It seems to me that history without women's history is not holistic history but merely 'his stories'. Therefore, it is highly important to recover the forgotten and hidden history of women and re-evaluate the scene.

Another point is that the activities, roles, and contributions of indigenous Christians in mission fields should be dealt with fairly, alongside those of foreign

⁵⁹ Scholars, holding both complementarian and egalitarian positions, agree that women played a subordinate role in church history. See chapter 2 'Church History and Women' in *Women in the Church: A Biblical Theology of Women in Ministry*, by Stanely J. Grenz and Denise Muir Kjesbo (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 1995).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Male-centred scholars always insist on the authority of the church from the perspective of male culture and tradition in historical works.

⁶¹ According to Elisabeth S. Fiorenza, "The systemic androcentrism of Western culture is evident in that nobody questions the fact that men have been historical subjects and agents in the church. The historical role of women and not that of men is problematic because maleness is the norm, while femaleness constitutes a deviation from this norm." *Discipleship of equals: a critical feminist ekklesia-logy of liberation*, (London, SCM, 1993), p. 155.

missionaries in Western mission studies. Western studies have been subject to two critical problems that exist in the field of mission history. The first problem is to neglect the apparent acceptances of indigenous peoples in mission fields in the process of writing mission histories. The risk is of them becoming inactive objects. The other is to make cultural blunders in the interpretation of the indigenous situations, including male-female relations, according to the tenets of western civilisation.⁶² When we evaluate western mission since the eighteenth century, there have been seriously problematic relations between mission and western civilisation. Andrew F. Walls has pointed this out in his articles, 'The American Dimension of the Missionary movement' :“our concern has been with origins and prehistory –with the factors that have given American Christianity, and the evangelical missions that are the special subject of our study, a distinctive shape.”⁶³ Accordingly, such an approach, which is so common, is inappropriate in the studies of World Christianity. Now we need a post-colonial and liberation-oriented third world interpretation of people's history.

We need to consider a way, contextualisation, which includes conceptualisation (using the language- and thought-forms of the people) and configuration (using native form and structure).⁶⁴ In the Korean context, contextualisation has been interpreted by both liberals such as the *Minjung* theologian, Suh Nam-dong⁶⁵ and

⁶² The Gender of the Gift, represents the problems of Western social anthropologies. Especially, the author poses the problem of Western centred interpretations in studies in indigenous situations and phenomena. Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*, (London, University of California Press, 1988), pp. 3-21.

⁶³ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, (New York, Orbis, 1996), p. 237. And through the citations from Kanzo Uchimura's writings: “Americans are the least religious among all civilized. Mankind goes down to America to learn how to live the earthly life; but to live the heavenly life, they go to some other people.”, p.222.

⁶⁴ Alvin Sneller, 'Contextualization of Christian Theology in Korea', *Koshin daehak nonmunjip* (The Theses of Koshin Theological Seminary), Vol. 13, 1985, pp. 1-24.

⁶⁵ He insists that a theological work is to discover God's history among the socio-historical events of human liberation and then apply it to Korean historical events characterising on social reform movement, Korean Evangelical Theological Society, Ed, *Bible and Theology*, Vol. I May, (Seoul,

conservatives such as Han Chul-ha⁶⁶. Yet notwithstanding these scholars' consideration of contextualisation of Korean theology, they too neglect the importance of Korean women in Korean contextual theology. Indeed the position for women in Korean theologised and missiological circles reflects wider issues. Nor is the situation resolved by flight. The Korean theologian, Chung Hyun-kyung, pointed out the difficulties of studying theology as a Korean woman:

I have hardly found the time and energy to construct my own theology in white academic settings. I realized clearly that reacting against the oppressive system would not necessarily lead me to constructing a liberating reality. I learned the hard way that I had to get in touch with the power and the history of myself and my people in order to find and construct a new, liberating reality.⁶⁷

I agree with her feminist third-world point of view for researching Christianity. If I extend her view to my research, there are a number of hidden stories based on power relations between women in mission fields: for instance, tensions between female leaders or believers of native religions and those of Christianity; or conflicts between female missionaries and native women. In this respect, most feminist theories that examine research contexts in terms of dual structure, power tension between men and women tend to be limited to the analysis of power tension in the mission field, such as that of the Scottish feminist historian, Lesley Orr Macdonald⁶⁸. While this is an important gender dimension of modern mission studies, this thesis will enlarge the analysis by examining tensions that existed between the more

Jung Em Pub Co., 1983), p. 258.

⁶⁶ He said that the indigenisation of Korean Christianity does not mean the transformation of Christianity and its culture into that of Korean cultural life and in the light of Old and New Testament history, but changing the construction of the Korean social and cultural life to accord with that of basic Christianity. That is to say, Korean contextualisation should be applied by means of effective evangelism in the position of Korean evangelism. Han Chul-ha, 'Indigenization of Christianity in Korea', *Presbyterian Theological Review*, Seoul, Korea, Dec. 1963.

⁶⁷ Chung Hyun Kyung, *Struggle to be the Sun Again: Introducing Asian Women's Theology*, (New York, SCM Press, 1990), p.3

⁶⁸ See Lesley Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission; Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland, 1830-1930*, (Edinburgh, John Donald, 2000).

powerful and less powerful local women themselves.

4.3 *Chōndo puin* stories in the historiography of the Korean Protestant Church

I outlined Korean historiographical problems in section 1. Contemporary approaches to the study of Korean Christianity emphasise three perspectives for establishing Korea's own history. Let me sum up. Firstly, the missiological emphasis looks especially at issues of church growth and propagation. Secondly, the nationalistic perspectives emphasise the indigenous Korean character of Christianity and consider the Korean people's self-perception and tradition of Christianity as more important than the heritage of western missions. Thirdly, the *Minjung* perspective stresses the force of Christianity as a voice of the poor and the oppressed. These historical perspectives may have problems because their methodology and concerns come from western theological studies or male-centred views of Korean academics.

We, therefore, need to examine these historiographies by researching and presenting a history of *chōndo puin*, finding and analysing what historians of Korean church history so often ignore or at best, treat as a trivial adjunct to the "main" narrative.

5. Conclusion

Through analysing the existing historiographies of Korean church history and mission studies, I propose that there has not been an appropriate women's perspective in the historiographies and will suggest a new historiography from

Korean female grassroots' point of view. Using this approach, I shall be asking, in the next chapter, whether Korean traditional religions and Christianity considered the possibility of, and provided the opportunity for leadership by Korean women in order to make a baseline for the history of Korean Bible Women, *chǒndo puin*.

Chapter Two

Cultural Religion and Christian Mission; Female Leadership in the Korean Tradition in Late *Chosŏn* and the Early Korean Protestant Mission, 1864-1938

1. Introduction

Through this chapter, we will see that Korean women possessed their own leadership in traditional religions through the Confucian-based *anpang* network, Buddhist ritual and Shamanistic spiritual power and leadership. This contrasts sharply with the view of missionaries, which has been used in the existing histories of Korean Protestant mission.

American mission societies could send people who had the lack of knowledge of Korea under difficult conditions of the Korean Protestant mission.⁶⁹ These incompetent envoys possibly evaluated Korean women's lives from their own stereotypical perspectives with 'civilisation' of missionaries. They misunderstood the lives of Korean women and presented their misinterpretations in their mission reports, which in turn shaped mission policy. This means that in order to assess the reliability of missionary history, we need to appreciate the bias in the writing on Korea. To do this, we need to look at the history of the Korean Protestant mission, particularly relating to Korean women.

⁶⁹ For instance, one of American missionary, H. N. Allen to Frank Carpenter who was a medical doctor and politician, on 10th October 1899, comments even scathingly on fanatical male and female missionaries who ignored Korean culture and politics: "too many untrained, ungentlemanly, crack brained fanatics...men who could not earn their salt at home." Note by Allen and letters to Frank Carpenter, August 23, 1900, in the Allen MSS. Citing from F. H. Harrington, *God, Mammon, and the Japanese, Dr. H.N. Allen and Korea-American Relations 1884-1905*, (Madison, the University of Wisconsin, 1944), p.92.

The research period covered by this chapter stretches from 1864 to 1938. At the outset, King Kojong and Queen Myung-sung were the leaders of the late *Chosŏn* Dynasty, which had opposed Protestant mission as part of their opposition to western power. However, Queen Myung-sung had slowly given the Protestant missionaries from America, Britain and so on access to Korea. This was in order firstly to restrain her father-in-law Hŭngsŏn Taewon-kun and secondly to bring western technology and systems which would be beneficial for developing Korea.⁷⁰ By the end of this period, in 1938, the occupying Shintoist Japanese government persecuted Korean Protestant churches:⁷¹ a number of foreign Protestant missionaries escaped to other countries.

Within this period, I shall focus on how Protestant missionaries and mission historians described Korean women. On the one hand what was the reality of Korean women in the period compared to the missionary description of womanhood in Korea. Armed with the knowledge, we can then show that the concrete basis of *chŏndo puin's* leadership was in traditional society of Korea. These are my main questions here arising from my suspicion that the existing historical descriptions of Korean women are inadequate.

In order to reveal the inaccuracies, I shall present some of the existing historical descriptions of women made both by missionaries and historians, and then, using their descriptions, suggest a different historical description from that of some Korean

⁷⁰ The power relation between Queen Myung-sung and Hŭng-sŏn Taewongun in the Korean court could express the tension between new reformed power in favour of and old conservative against accepting the influence of western powers.

⁷¹ According to the record 'Pokyō kyuch'ik (The Rules of Religions, pp. 154-155) by *Chosŏn chongdokbu kwanbo* (The Magazine of *Chosŏn* Governing Institution) in 16th August 1915' and such similar documents, the Japanese government in the period of Japanese occupation gradually started to dominate Korea using cultural and religious persecution to eliminate Korean character. In this circumstance, the government started in detail the policy for education in 1932 and religion, particularly as regards Korean churches in 1938.

historians.⁷² In looking at these historical discrepancies, we will recognise that males are privileged in the existing historical and missiological studies. Korean women before and during the mission in Korea have been largely overlooked.

In this respect, we need to examine missionary misconceptions about Korean women in detail. Let us first look at the issue of 'namelessness' of Korean women.

2. Namelessness: questioning missionaries' view of Korean women's obscurity

In this section, I suggest that we need to consider the problem of the missionaries' perspectives. Having a personal identity is an important concern of Western individualism. Korean Confucianism emphasizes the 'family'. Most Korean relationships would be based on families and settlements. Regional groups had been important elements in developing Korean people's experience, reputation and power relations. To use a person's name would be unusual except in the case of someone famous. Surnames or degrees of family-relation was how Korean people's identity was indicated in *Chosŏn* society. Missionaries gave Korean women Christian names such as Esther, Mariah, and so forth, challenging what they saw as Korean women's 'namelessness'. Let us see how missionaries dealt with the issue of female naming in detail.

2.1 True or false?; Two stories requiring the naming of Korean women

Some missionaries pointed out that Korean women did not have their own names. This apparent 'namelessness' enabled missionary women to emphasise the need for

⁷² Such as Yi Kyu-tae on women's rights in his book *Kaehwa baek nyŏn* ('A Hundred Stories of Enlightenment').

Korean women's enlightenment in order to be freed from their poor situation. Mrs. Anabel Major Nisbet, who had worked in Korea for twelve years,⁷³ said the following in her book, *Day in and Day out in Korea*:

Korean women have no names of their own. The way they are designated often sounds to us very funny I have a friend who is known to us as "the woman with the broken tooth." Another is, "the woman with a wart on her nose." After they have a son they are known as "So and So's mother." I have one little friend called "Enough" because she was the third girl, and her father thought girls should stop in his family. So Mrs. Yu, learning from the Gracious Book that the life of Jairus' little daughter was precious in His sight, named her first little girl, "Big Treasure" (Keun Pobai), and her second little girl, "Little Treasure" (Chagun Pobai).⁷⁴

Through her account, we can question what the meaning of naming Korean women was to missionaries. Firstly, she felt that the status of Korean women was epitomized by the namelessness introduced by the Confucian family system, which did favour men. However, if she knew more Korean Confucian custom which whose mother or whose daughter was a kind of identity or honour of Confucian family, I think she would simply deal with the issue of namelessness of Korean women. She might intend that Korean female converts to Christianity were given names by her description of Mrs. Yu. That is to say, what Korean women possessed their own name was to make them get the lives of Christian human beings under male-dominated Confucianism. Missionaries seemed to be wanting to say that their Christian gospel was the only salvation for Korean women who desired to possess rights and equality summed up in having a name and being 'individuals'.

⁷³ She came to Korea with her husband Samuel John Nisbet who was a missionary dispatched by the Southern Presbyterian church of the United States in 1906. Officially, her achievements were not recognised but supposedly she worked with him for the Shinhyeung School, churches in Cheonju and propagation in Mokpo together until she died in 1920. Kim Sŭng-tae and Pak Hae-jin, *Naehan sŏnkyosa jaryojip* (The List of Korean missionaries 1884-1984), (Seoul, The Institute of Korean Christianity Research, 1994), p.398.

⁷⁴ Anabel Major Nisbet, *Day in and day out in Korea: being some account of the mission work that has been carried on in Korea since 1892 by the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, (Richmond, Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1919), p. 30.

Yet the missionaries were misinformed, for there were Korean women who did in fact have their own names at this time. Ko Tae-su mentions a good example in her book, *Kaehwa baek kyōng* (A Hundred stories of Korean Enlightenment).

She was an ugly person who possessed physical powers said to be stronger than those of men. So by Korean custom, she was to be killed but she fortunately survived and grew up to adult age. This monstrous woman was sent to the palace as a *Moosuri* (a maid in charge of the water for the court ladies to wash their faces) by a female shaman of the court. At the time, she was given the surname, 'Ko' after becoming a bodyguard to her Royal Majesty the Queen. But she was isolated because of her ungainly and even masculine appearance... She was positively involved in Kim Ok-kyun's enlightenment revolution. Her duty was to set off the bomb to initiate the *Kapshin* coup d'état of King Kojong (甲申政變) in 1884.⁷⁵

According to this account, the woman, Ko Tae-su had been oppressed on grounds of her physical appearance and poor family background. Nevertheless, she was able to play an important role in Korean historical events after she had gained a job with the help of a sagacious court shaman. Without any Christian support, she accomplished her own ambitions and aims in her context, the religious 'help' she received coming not from Christianity but from Shamanism. In addition, she had her own name uniquely in the Confucian society. This shows that Confucian society did not always prohibit Korean women to possess names. Just in cases, contributed women to the society were able to have their own names like Ko. Having names, Korean women were indeed able to find their own opportunities if they were capable, even though they were living in male-dominated Korean Confucian society.

What was the reality for Korean women? And indeed for Korean men? The

⁷⁵ Yi Kyu-tae, *Kaehwa baek kyōng* (A Hundred stories of Korean Enlightenment), Vol. 2, (Seoul, Shin Tae Yang, 1971), pp. 223-225. The author presented these enlightenment stories including women's lives in 1968. He searched materials mostly from the bookstores and storages of Insa-dong (one of Korea ancient town), and some important witnesses one of Korea's ancient towns who still lived at that time. His historical sources were mainly from original literature sources and interview-based data. *The Jeonbuk Newspaper*, http://www.jeonbukilbo.co.kr/GIHACK/man50/man_18a.htm

missionaries who picked up the issue of Korean women's namelessness almost certainly lacked an understanding of Korean culture and social system. Little did they know that many men who belonged to the lowest Korean class also lacked 'proper' names. The names they had were ones such as *Kae-dongee* (dog-muck), which were chosen deliberately by parents to sound very crude and humble in order to deter bad spirits. Some women were referred to as *aegi õmma* (child's mother) rather than by any personal name, but this pattern of nomenclature did not apply among the highest class called *Yangban*. The widespread system of naming a parent by the child's name is called teknonymy, and occurs far beyond the confines of Confucianism.

Let us explore this issue of the naming of women further within Korean religions, talking our examples from Confucianism and the *Tonghak* movement⁷⁶.

2.2 The female honour of naming; women's name in Confucianism and *Tonghak*

In the case of Confucianism, the naming and prizing of 'yõlmyõ (a heroic woman)' was related to vital concepts and Confucian piety, 'Hyo' in Korean Confucianism. A 'Yõlmyõ' strongly guards her fidelity and honour in the Confucian definition of virtues. According to a female Confucian scholar, Pak Ju, 'heroic women' were awarded wonderful prizes by the government in the late *Chosõn* period. The prizes were, for example indefinite exemption from compulsory labour or the

⁷⁶ Politically, the late *Chosõn* had been in chaos with Korean politicians at the royal court given up to party squabbling. The bureaucracy suffered from wide spread corruption, related closely to several philosophical sects shown in each period. In addition, Western powers such as France, Britain, America and Japan were pushing for Korea to enter into trade relations. Consequently, restlessness prevailed amongst the majority of Korean people, and at the same time, they relied on the religions of Korea for comfort. However, they thought that the existing religions in Korea were corrupted in their interpretations of the meaning of religious piety and social soundness, and that particularly Confucianism had led to the present instability and hopeless future of the country. The Research Group of Korean Philosophy, *Han'guk Chõlhak Sasangsa* (The History of Korean Philosophy), (Seoul, Hanlul Academic, 1997), pp. 386-390.

establishment of honourable status as evidenced in towns like a kind of monument. The reasons why they were deemed suitable for receiving a prize were based on Confucian virtues. For instance, ‘a woman of virtue marries but once’ after their husbands’ death or after experiencing rape by foreign soldiers or other men, Korean women sometimes committed suicide or lived alone for the rest of their lives. One good example is Kim Sosa who committed suicide after being raped towards the end of *Chosŏn* era. After her death, the government and neighbours in the town remembered and honoured her highly. Also, there is a record from 1894 about the government erecting the *Yŏlmun* (a symbol of status for a heroic woman, in the shape of a gate) to pay tribute to the memory of Im Sosa, Na Yong-sŭk’s wife, who drowned herself in a river after her husband’s death at war. From 1907 to 1910, Sunjong, the last king of *Chosŏn*, met and gave prizes to two heroic women. The *Sungjŏng Shillok* (History of King Sunjong) reports how he honoured one woman on the 8th January 1909 and three heroic women on the 13th January 1909.⁷⁷ In her research, Pak Ju found that honoured women mostly came from the upper middle class in contrast to the women of early *Chosŏn* period.⁷⁸ On the other hand some ‘heroic women’ of lower class had existed in the period, their actions “overcoming” their class.

Tonghak’s approach to naming is again quite separate from the Protestant mission. When it wanted to promote female leadership, *Tonghak* began to give names to all female believers, basing this on their history and doctrine. Most female *Tonghak* believers possess their own names adding ‘hwa’ (嬋) to one part of their husbands’ name for example a Mrs. Kwak added her husband’s name Byung to Hwa in 1907, to

⁷⁷ Pak Joo, *Chosŏn shidae ūi hyo wa yŏsŏng* (Women and Filial Acts in *Chosŏn* Dynasty), (Seoul, Gukhakyŏngu, 2000), pp. 292-293.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-301.

make Kwak Byunghwa. Following the trend, there were some famous female leaders, Ju samonim (주사모님, lady Joo) and Son Kwang Hwa samonim (손광화 사모님). These women worked in the Naesudan (내수단, 內修團) which was established in 1924 as the women's organisation of *Tonghak*. This community was divided in two groups Cheondokyo Naesudan and Cheondokyo Yösöngdongmaeng in 1926 representing political conservative nationalism. Finally female believers created the group Naesöngdan (내성단, 內誠團) in 1931, mainly working for the educational movement of enlightenment. For instance, the group published a textbook, *Puin pildok* (부인필독) which aims to develop the practical status and welfare of women.⁷⁹

Through the historical evidence of naming in Korean traditions, the missionary view of namelessness of Korean women is shown to be incorrect. Why did Korean women in Christianity accept new names? Before the Protestant missionaries came to Korea, some Catholic Christians, influenced by *Söhak*, were isolated from the power of the *Chosön* monarchy, and opposed to the government system. Of their own volition, they had accepted new names to break with Confucianism. Later women followed this as part of modernisation, though missionaries saw it as civilising.

Therefore, the issue of 'namelessness' of Korean women by some Protestant missionaries was in fact not a problem for Korean women even though the missionaries shouted and asserted strongly the issue of nameless women in traditional religious situations.

In the next section, we will look at another problem: some missionaries thought women in Korean society were imprisoned in the inner room, 'anpang'.

⁷⁹ *Tonghak Yösöng Kyoyuk kwa Hwaldong* (The Education and Activities of Tonghak Women) written by Bae Yöng-ki <http://www.chondogyo.or.kr/shiningan/n2001/n11/n1128>

3. *Anpang*: prison of or network for Korean women

3.1 Prisoner or organiser: the secret of Korean women in their inner rooms

Some missionaries perceived the *anpang* as limiting women's freedom. The *anpang* is the main room in the traditional Korean L-shaped house. In the inner room Korean women appeared to be imprisoned. An enthusiastic missionary woman, Lilius Horton Underwood explored the following in her autobiographical book, *Fifteen years Among the Top-knots*:

The common people are poor and their homes seem to an American wretchedly poor and comfortless, and yet, compared with the most destitute of London or New York, there are few who go cold or hungry in Seoul. Each dwelling is so arranged that the part of the house occupied by the women, which is called the *anpang*, or inner room, shall be screened from sight from the street and from those entering the gate- for every house has at least a tiny courtyard, part of which is also screened off (either by another wall, or by mats, or trees and bushes) for the women's use... No men nor members of the family or relatives ever enter the *anpang*. It is needless to say that everything in connection with these houses is fearfully unsanitary, and many of them are filthy and full of vermin.⁸⁰

She presented women's lives as if they were not part of social activities and secluded even from men sharing the same home. She finishes her account by deducing that there were many dangers for women, such as family abuse, difficulties in receiving medical treatment, and so on. Consequently, she said the *anpang* should be opened in order for Korean women's lives to improve. A male missionary Frederic Arthur Mackenzie agreed with Mrs. Underwood's evaluation: "Under the influence of the teachers from America, they became clean in person, they brought their women out from the '*anpang*' (*zenana*) into the light of day, and they absorbed

⁸⁰ L. H. Underwood, *Fifteen years Among the Top-knots*, (Seoul, Kyung-In Publishing Co., 1977), pp. 4-5.

Western ideas and ideals.”⁸¹ He strongly asserted that the *anpang* had to be destroyed with the help of western civilization, comparing it with the Indian ladies’ room, *zenana*.

I am wondering about the missionaries’ serious questions; what evidence is there to suggest that the missionary view of the *anpang* was a reasonable reading? On this issue, I found a recent interesting study of Dr. Choi Hye-wöl at Arizona State University: the *anpang* was an important educational place for women in the later period of the *Chosŏn* Dynasty, which stands in opposition to the negative description of Korean women in the *anpang* by the missionaries’ accounts-although it is a recent research but we can know a Korean view to *anpang* in Korean tradition.

Maintaining the separate sphere’s of men in the public and women in the private as well as hierarchical order between men and women was considered essential to the harmonious maintenance of the family, society, and state. Thus, for the ideal woman, literacy was not simply useless, it was undesirable and therefore most remained unlettered. Only a small proportion of women received informal education in the inner chambers of their home from family members.⁸²

That is to say, the room was retreat and also a place for learning and teaching for the admittedly small proportion of women who had a chance to become literate even though the education in *anpang* was socially informal. They learned Chinese characters and *Ŏnmun* (Korean language). Through literacy, they were able to study some important books for women such as *Naehun* (內訓, the rule list for ‘inner women’ women inside the house), *Kyojungyŏram* (閨中要覽, handbook for ‘inner women’), and *Naebangkasa* (內房歌辭, songs in inner room) and so on. These texts emphasised two main themes: 1) the personal character, behaviour and relationship

⁸¹ Frederic Arthur Makenzie, *Korea’s Fight from Freedom*, (N.Y; Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), p. 7.

⁸² Ch’oe Hye-wöl, ‘Women’s literacy and New Womanhood in late Choson Korea’, *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies*, Vol. 6 No. 1 (Seoul, Ehwa Women’s University Press, 2000), pp. 90-91.

women were supposed to have with family and other people; 2) and more practically, how women should take care of their family and how to manage family circumstances and even livelihood.⁸³

In fact, women had communication with each other through ladies' groups, even though Korean Confucian society was extremely andro-centric and provided only men with ample opportunity to socialise. The *anpang* was actually the power-base for women. It was the place from which they organised a good deal, For instance, they could conduct clever politics: 1) to promote the status of their husbands or sons 2) to get their children married into a powerful family in order to gain from the connection, and 3) to be involved in political or economic events. Though this was all informal, it was nevertheless practical and effective, similar to the lobbyists of the present day.

Therefore, one can say the room could make them 'free' within the context of a strong Confucian culture. Women often suffered difficulties such as their husbands' extra marital activity, children's education, and the traditionally tumultuous relationship of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. In the room, they could share their experiences and resolve their stress or difficulties by means of their own forms of entertainment: singing, chatting and sewing. In this respect, we suggest that women were not imprisoned, as some Protestant missionaries such as Lilius Horton Underwood and Frederic Arthur Mackenzie said, by Korean male-dominated Confucianism.

⁸³ Son Jik-su, *Chosŏn sidae yŏsŏng kyoyuk yŏngu* (the Research of Women's Education in the period of *Chosŏn*), (Seoul, The Sunkyunkwan University Press, 1982), pp. 30-90.

3.2 Understanding Korean women through the *anpang*

When extending the issue of *anpang* it is worth considering whether Korean Confucianism was entirely male-dominated in the *Chosŏn* period and whether there was any space for women in the public sphere. This strangely negative evaluation of Korean Confucianism is made from various directions according to their sources. The reasons are 1) the low evaluation of written Confucian doctrines by some feminists, 2) the anti-Confucian analysis by some western and Korean scholars who received modern education influenced by western Christianity. The Confucian doctrine, *Sam Kang O Ryun* (三綱五倫, the three bonds and the five moral rules in human relations), explains that society is divided into the ruler and the ruled, and men and women.⁸⁴ In the latter case, Korean Confucianism insists on some inferior virtue of Korean women expressed in the Confucian moral paradigmatic expressions: *Nam Jun Yŏ Bi* (男尊女卑, predominance of men over women; treatment of women as inferior to men; subjection of women) or *Hyŏn Mo Yang Chŏ* (賢母良妻, a wise mother and a good wife). This means that women always played a submissive or secondary role in society. Minza Kim Boo, in her article, 'The Social Reality of the Korean American Women: Toward Clashing with the Confucian Ideology', describes a typical image of Korean women reflecting on the point of *Hyŏn Mo Yang Chŏ* in the following,

Hyun Mo Yang Chu is a typical traditional sex-role stereotyping that is restricted to the domestic world. The maternal life cycle of women is fixed by a lifetime commitment to lengthy child-bearing, a loss of personal control over her own life, own identity, own voice and the experience of her human rights and freedom.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Ch'oe Bong-yŏng, *Chosŏn sidae yukyo munhwa* (The Confucian Culture of Chosŏn Period), (Seoul, Sakyejŏl, 1999), pp. 85-86.

⁸⁵ Minza Kim Boo, 'The Social Reality of the Korean American Women: Toward Clashing with the Confucian Ideology', Yi Inn-suk, ed., *Korean American Women*, (The Association of Korean Christian Scholars in North America, Inc., 1985), pp. 65-93.

Accordingly, some modern scholars, particularly feminists, have been expressing their antagonism towards the Confucian system and religion because it oppressed women. Nevertheless, I wish to question whether it is in fact a misconception by present day scholars that Korean women did not have a valued position in the Korean Confucian system.

The first reason is that Confucianism emphasises 'relationship' over individuality. There is an important hierarchy of relationships between people. Delineating this hierarchy are the five cardinal relationships, in decreasing priority. 'Husband-Wife' relationships endorsed segregation of women. However, 'Parent-Child' and 'the Elder-Younger' were able to possess influence over younger people of their own society, and were respected regardless of gender. That is to say, even though a son is an adult he must respect his mother and follow his mother's advice or accept her decision. In a sense, Korean women in the *anpang* would utilise the relationship of Confucian piety in order to achieve 'Hyo' (효, 孝) the respect each gives and receives from one person to the other within every human relationship.

Based on the evidence shown in the section, I maintain that the *anpang* was not the imprisoning room as the missionaries insisted upon so avidly. Instead, it can rather be described as an independent space for women apart from men. In fact, the missionaries were able to propagate Christianity effectively to Korean women precisely because of the existence of this room, *anpang*. It was where women encouraged their family and sisters to convert to Christianity. The women, particularly *chōndo puin*, were important native propagators. Therefore I may conclude that the missionaries misjudged the character of the Korean women's 'inner room'. There are further misconceptions, one of which we will turn to now.

Through the above sections, we can see two points: 1) Korean women possessed a lower social position nevertheless played a practical role and contributed to Korean society by networking. 2) Even if some missionaries recognised these they rarely perceived the situation clearly. Moreover the missionaries understandably had another aim when writing about the lives of Korean women in the period, that of elevating their own religious tradition.

Naming and space gives two illustrations of possible misreading of Korean culture by missionaries: Let us now look at overall issues relating to Korean women's status.

4. Women's poverty and oppression: female status in Korean religious culture

4.1 Powerless or powerful; the bias to Korean women

Some missionaries strongly emphasized what they conceived of as the problem of Korea's lack of 'civilization' and insisted that a civilized Korea would rescue women from their primitive circumstances. One of the missionaries, Homer B. Hulbert, asserted the importance of Korean mission in terms of civilization and gender equality.

As for morality in its narrower sense, the Koreans allow themselves great latitude. There is no word for home in their language, and much of the meaning which that word connotes is lost to them. So far as I can judge, the condition of Korea today as regards the relations of the sexes is much like that of ancient Greece in the days of Pericles. There is much similarity between *kisang*⁸⁶ (dancing-girls) of Korea and the *herairai* of Greece. But besides this degraded class, Korea is also afflicted with other and, if possible, still lower grades of humanity, from which not even the most enlightened countries are free. ...in 1531, when some *kisang* indulged in a disgraceful scramble for some oranges that were thrown to them, the death penalty or the public whipping was not

⁸⁶ Please note the two spellings of *kisaeng* and *kisang* are acceptable to refer to the same thing.

wholly undeserved.⁸⁷

According to Hulbert, the 'lack of civilization' of Korean women affected their morality and humanity. The problem thus came from the deep-rooted feudalistic history of Korean society, similar to that of ancient Greece. He presented an example of *kisaeng* as a kind of female professional who lost her own humanity because of the primitive traits of Korean society. He explained that women were oppressed through history by disgraceful treatment. Accordingly, for the freedom of the Koreans, he said that Korea must be civilized by western mission work, accomplished by American and others from a culturally developed background.

I disagree with his evaluation of the situation of *kisaeng* or *kisaeng* in the late *Chosŏn*. According to the historical facts known about *kisaeng* from the entire *Chosŏn* period (1329-1910), the word originally denoted women with exceptional skills in music, dance, medicine and needlework who could be used in the service of the state. All entertainers and prostitutes belonged by law to government offices and were given *Chŏnmin*⁸⁸ status. But since these women were young and comely, and since they were almost the only women with whom men could easily have contact, they were also trained to entertain and enliven feasts. Consequently although they belonged to the lowest social group, they sometimes had a *kibu*, a sort of husband-manager. There were frequent cases of scholars and government officials taking *kisaeng* as secondary wives, but these men were not called *kibu*, living with the entertaining women and taking care of their livelihood. *Kisaeng* could exert a degree of control over some kinds of men, had freedom beyond any other group of women in the traditional society. They did not have to clothe their action and feelings in

⁸⁷ Homer B. Hulbert, *The passing of Korea*, (Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1969), p. 41.

⁸⁸ The social classes consisted of the *Yangban* (ruling groups and the highest class), the *Jungin* (technician groups), the *Sangin* (merchant groups), and the *Chŏnmin* (the lowest class who were servants, shamans, butchers and so forth).

‘respectable’ garb. While some women of the Yi dynasty (*Chosŏn*) were forbidden to go outside the house, the *kisaeng* had no such restrictions. To men, they seemed to be fellow beings, almost equal.⁸⁹ Looking at the entire period of Yi Dynasty, a typical example is Hwang Jin-hŭi (1506-1544) who was a famous *kisaeng* in Songdo, the capital of *Koryŏ*. She was known as one of the three wonders of Songdo by virtue of her beauty, poetry, songs and wit. Her beauty had successfully challenged the pious continence of a renowned Buddhist monk. Her poems continue to be chanted to this day. And her singing earned her the nickname of ‘fairy’ among the celebrated scholars of the day.⁹⁰ In addition, other *kisaeng* like Non’gae in Chinju and Kyewilhyang in Pyŏngyang, were historically shown as patriotic heroines. They risked and lost their lives by killing the generals of the invading Japanese army during the Japanese invasions of Korea 1592-1598.⁹¹

Secondly, I wonder why he did not consider his home prostitutes’ situation, in reading so much of Korean women’s situation from the specific *kisaeng* situation. *Kisaeng*, indeed, were not prostitutes in the usual American nineteenth century mode. He had some biased ideas on Korean women in the culture, and his evaluation of the *kisaeng* led some other missionaries in the same period of mission to look at and judge Korean women’s situations without regard to Korean history and culture. Namely, they trusted that they must make the women recover their humanity in terms of western definitions through their mission activity. In the respect, another issue must be arisen. This is *Han* which has been used as the concept of the female Korean powerless. Let us think about it seriously in order to see the Christian ideas of *chŏndo puin* based on Korean traditions right away.

⁸⁹ Kim Yŏng-chŏng, *Women of Korea: A History from Ancient Time to 1945*, (Seoul, Ehwa Woman’s University Press, 1977), pp. 139-144.

⁹⁰ Peter H. Lee, *Poems from Korea*, (Honolulu, 1974), pp. 77-78.

⁹¹ Kim Yŏng-chŏng, p. 143.

4.2 Korean *Han* (한, 恨); the sorrow of the powerless in the late *Chosŏn* period

In Confucian structure, the social classes consisted of the *Yangban* (ruling groups and the highest class), the *Jungin* (technical groups), the *Sangin* (merchant groups), and the *Chŏnmin* (the lowest class who were servants, shamans, butchers and so forth). Within the ranking of each class, women were placed socially lower than men. *Yangban* women were considered different from the people belonging to other classes. It was for example impossible for them to enter into marriage with a member of a different class. Nevertheless, *Yangban* men treated them as inferior.

Han is the expression of oppression and pain experienced by Korean women. My question is who are the victims of the Confucian powerful classes? Are they the women or is it possible that men suffered, too? In the Korean context, most oppressed people, women and men, possessed *Han*. According to Suh Nam-dong, *Han* can be explored as follows,

- 1) Korea had suffered numerous invasions by surrounding powerful nations so that the very existence of the Korean nation has come to be understood as *Han*.
- 2) Koreans had continually suffered the tyranny of the rulers so that they think of their existence as *Baeksong*.⁹²
- 3) Under Confucianism's strict imposition of the law and customs discriminating against women, the very existence of women was *Han* itself.
- 4) At a certain point in Korean history, about half of the population was registered as slaves throughout the generations and were treated as property rather than as people of the nation. These people thought of their lives as *Han*.⁹³

Considering the above, *Han* can be explained as a sort of pain of the heart, an emotional pain or mixture of anger, grief and yearning. It affected many, but was especially reflected in Korean women's lives and emotions within their family and

⁹² This means, individually or collectively, those are under the rule and control of a sovereign. This term nowadays is used to mean 'common people' including the meaning of 'subordination'. Elite women, though not *Baeksong*, experienced *Han*.

⁹³ Nam Tong-su, *Toward a Theology of Han*, edited by the Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia, (Maryknoll, Orbis Press, 1983), p. 68.

home.

Firstly, they suffered under the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The conflict stemmed almost directly from the Confucian hierarchical system; a mother should be respected by her children, just as a king was expected to receive respect from his subjects. This means that there is a master-servant relationship between women in terms of power and age.⁹⁴ To solve this trouble one family custom stipulated that the bridegroom lived in the bride's house with her family, moving to the husband's family after their children had properly grown up and could marry. But in the late *Chosŏn* period, the uxorial period was gradually shortened emphasising Confucian marriage. Owing to this, the relation between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law became worse.⁹⁵ The latter eventually controlled her sons' wives.

Secondly, there is *Han* caused by the relationship between first wife and second wife. Accordingly, the power of the elder in Korean society is mirrored in the conflict between first wife and second wife, and between the children of each. For instance, the first wife had a public position in the background of her family and so she could insist on her financial rights. Of course she could damage the reputation or position of the first wife, but could not take her official status as the higher ranking of the two. A second or third wife could lay claim to any rights only through her husband, without the official power of her family. There were regular conflicts within families.

To sum up, discrimination amongst women during the *Chosŏn* period existed within a household. Yet this fact is very similar to the political or social struggles for

⁹⁴ Pak Yŏng-uk, *Han'guk kŭndae yŏsŏngsa* (The Modern History of Korean Women), (Seoul, Jungeumsa, 1984), pp. 16-17.

⁹⁵ Pak Tong-in, *Han'guk ūi jŏntong hŏnlye yŏngu* (Research on Korean Traditional Marriage), (Seoul, The National Institute of Koryŏ University Press, 1988), pp. 279-281.

success among men and the conflict between higher and lower classes. As a result of this class system, *Han* appeared amongst both the male and female oppressed and people of the lower class in every Korean social context. Yet, not all women were oppressed in the period. This means that some women could hold a powerful position within a family, over and above ordinary respect if they are first wives, upper class, old enough, or happen to be lucky *kisaengs*.

Female professionals were poorly thought of; what of female religious leaders, particularly female shamans of Korean Shamanism, a religion which people conceived of as lower and female? Let us therefore consider the relation between historical descriptions about female shamans, the value of female professions and the diverse aspects of *Han*.

4.3 The real power of female shamans regardless of their lower social status

Concerning the issue of whether Korean women accepted female shamans as independent leaders, two experts on Korean religious studies, Ch'oe Hyöp and Song Hyo-söp discuss this issue in their article, *Korean Shamanism and Women*.

Ethnic shamanistic customs⁹⁶ of Korea combined and studied with foreign religions⁹⁷, and accordingly contributed to make these religions settle down in Korean style. That is to say, there is inter-supporting relation between them keeping Korean shamanistic function to the satisfaction of Korean people's desire. Therefore, Shamanism can be called a 'general folk' happening from people's secular demands.⁹⁸

In this statement, Korean Shamanism should be understood as a conception of

⁹⁶ According to Cho Yun Hae-yöng, Korean Shamanism and Korean folk custom should be perceived separately.

⁹⁷ Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism from China and sometimes India or Japan.

⁹⁸ Ch'oe Hyöp and Song Hyo-söp, *Korean Shamanism and Women*, in the Institute of Social Science, *Korean Women and Shamanism*, (Kwangju, Chonnam National University, 1988), p.6.

Korean folk culture. In fact, Korean Shamanism had a great influence on real lives of Korean people in addition to any state-based ceremony. Korean Shamans called *mudang* had higher status based upon their spiritual connections. In the *Shilla period*, Shamans even held a position similar to that of Kings. But after the *Koryŏ period*, their position gradually diminished because of the increasing influence of Buddhism. Nevertheless, Shamanism was adopted into the Buddhist faith and mindset. The position of Shamanism in the *Chosŏn* period was described remarkably well in several documents held in Korean public records. There are over one hundred twenty citations of shamanistic rituals against natural disasters in the public record book, *Chosŏn-shillok* (朝鮮實錄).

There are two kinds of *mudang* who are mainly female. One is called *jiobmu* and is a self-appointed shaman. The second kind is a *gamu* who comes from a family of shamans by inheritance. *Jiobmu* are further divided into three categories of shamans: descendent shamans *saesŭpmu* (世襲巫), spiritual shamans *kangsinmu* (降神巫) and apprentice shamans *haksŭpmu* (學習巫). Shamans by inheritance follow in their ancestors' footsteps out of spiritual responsibility or Karma⁹⁹ which is expressed by the 'ŏb' (業) in their category name. Spiritual shamans on the other hand, irresistibly receive the gods' will.¹⁰⁰ Apprentice shamans work for food and a bed until qualified.¹⁰¹ Additionally, the succession of female shamans was determined by a maternal system in which the spiritual daughter of a spiritual mother continues the

⁹⁹ Sanskrit Karman ("act"), Pali kammān Indian philosophy, the influence of an individual's past actions on his future lives, or reincarnations. The doctrine of karma reflects the Hindu conviction that this life is but one in a chain of lives (samsara) and that it is determined by man's actions in a previous life. This is accepted as a law of nature, not open to further discussion. *The Encyclopaedia of Britannica*, <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?eu=45785&tocid=0&query=karma&ct=>

¹⁰⁰ If I compare between shamans by inheritance and spiritual shamans, descent shamans' characteristic is very priestly and on the other hand, spiritual shamans' is so charismatic.

¹⁰¹ Mun Sang-yŏn, 'Han'guk ūi Shamanism (Korean Shamanism)', Bundo publication ed., *Jongkyoran muŏshinga?* (What is religion?), (Seoul, Bundo Publication, 1975), p.150.

line of spiritual shamans.¹⁰²

Who traditionally held the position? In an investigation of Japanese *murahyahmah* in the 1930s, 529 Korean female shamans were asked why they choose to become a shaman. 1) 202 said they wanted to secure a livelihood, 2) 136 said that they continued traditional occupation of a family, 3) 127 said that they had a spiritual calling from the Gods, and 4) gave other reasons (64).¹⁰³ It is apparent that only 24% of the shamans who took part in the survey chose their profession on result of a spiritual calling; the majority of shamans chose their profession because it was available to them. In their situation, this could be an effective occupation for widows or self-supporting women, notwithstanding that social recognition were very humble. Consequently, the job of shaman could have been a very good occasion for women to experience equal or more power than men. (In the rare case of male shamans, they are called *paksu* or *mugyŏk*). This is very important to think about in relation to the origin of *chŏndo puin*. *Chŏndo puin* in the period of the early Protestant mission would have been strongly influenced by this existing leadership role, enabling a more active and independent role than that of mere 'Bible Women', which more closely parallel the *puin kwonsŏ*. The leadership role of female shamans is echoed in the activities of *chŏndo puin* in terms of healing, counselling, advising and so forth.

Having pointed out the misunderstanding of missionaries about Korean women's status in Korean traditions, let us see more deeply the issue of missionaries' view of Korean religions from a western Christian standpoint. Were there serious mistakes in understanding Korean traditions? If so, how was the religious image of Korean women in Korean religions distorted in historical descriptions? Peeling away such

¹⁰² Halla Pai Huhm, *Kut Korean Shamanism*, (New Jersey, Nollym International Corp., 1980), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰³ Lim Dong-kwon, *Han'guk ūi minsok* (Korean Folk Religion), (Seoul, The Memorial Committee of the King Sejong, 1975), pp. 148-149.

misapprehension may allow us to find the basic image of *chōndo puin* passing from Korean traditional religions to Christianity.

5. From reverence to rubbish, the demonising of Korean women's religions by the Protestant mission

5.1 Religious conflicts or harmony within Korean women's spirit

In mission records like *Korean Mission Field, Women's Work for Women (M.E.C.)*, *Korean Review*¹⁰⁴, etc. there are some negative perspectives about Korean women in Korean religions. The main claims of such reports or articles are that, firstly the various religions had made the women remain uncivilized, and secondly into spiritual and social slaves although the women being faithfully devoted to religious lives. L. H. Underwood, one of the first generations of missionary women, described her impression of Korean religions in terms of Korean women.

The majority have very little faith in any religion. Confucianism, otherwise a mere philosophical system of morals has the strongest hold upon the people in the laws it enjoins for ancestor worship. This custom, enforced by the strongest and most widespread superstitions in the minds of the Koreans, binds them with fetters stronger than iron.He or she is looked upon as more than a traitor to home and friends, false to the most sacred obligations. Buddhism has fallen low, until very lately its priests were forbidden to enter the capital and they rank next to the slayer of cattle, the lowest in the land. A few Buddhist temples are maintained at government expense or by endowment. Women and children, all the more ignorant, still worship and believe, to some extent. The same classes fear an infinite number of all sorts of evil deities-gods or demons, who infest earth, air and sea, gods of various diseases and all trades; these in common with Satan himself must be propitiated with prayers and sacrifices, beating of drums,

¹⁰⁴ There is an exception; the serial articles 'the Status of Women in Korea' in *the Korean Review* (December 1901 to April 1902).

ringing of bells and other ceremonials too numerous to mention.¹⁰⁵

She points out the problem of how superstitious actions of “evil religions” could redeem the people through the healing of illness and freedom from extreme poverty. Several records of missionaries present how Confucianism limited women’s rights socially. Particularly in the process of ancient worship, such as Buddhism and Shamanism, women’s ‘irrational actions’ are portrayed as the reason for religious belief in the first place, and an inevitable consequence of idol worship in the eye of the missionaries. This means that some first generation missionaries despised Korean religions as evil Korean culture and custom: they had little respect for non-Christians.

How did the religions affect the women’s situation spiritually and socially? The Korean religions, particularly Confucianism, understand human beings as beings enlivened from heaven. Accordingly, there are some established relations ranging from the divine to the secular world: heaven and world, men and women, husband and wife, parents and children, the ruler and ruled.¹⁰⁶ Korean women’s ideology respected all human beings and nature, believing in the spiritual existence of a creator God and perceiving the necessity of relating the divine sphere to the practical arena.¹⁰⁷ Considering the sociological view, Korean Shamanism was not a harmful religion for Korean women regarding the rituals. According to a shaman specialist, Ch’oe Hyōng-yun, attending some rituals of the late *Chosōn* period was a very important breakthrough for Korean women who usually lived at home. One shamanistic ritual, *Ch’ōnsinKut* (the ritual for heavenly God) allowed women to feel free from the sphere of housekeeping and amuse themselves with songs, dance, food

¹⁰⁵ L. H. Underwood, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁶ Han Kuk-yōm, ‘the Confucian ritual culture and Christianity of Korea view of a female scholar’, *Hanguk Yōsōng shinhak* (Korean Feminist Theology) No. 28, winter, (Seoul, The committee of Korean Feminist theologian, 1996), pp. 59-62.

¹⁰⁷ During the early mission, this traditional view of God was the greatest element of propagating Christianity to make Korean people understand about Christian God’s image in the doctrine.

and ritual chatting. That is to say, the ritual could be a kind of women's entertainment and self-support party.¹⁰⁸ Joan Halifax describes shamans thus:

They are in communication with the world of gods and spirits. Their bodies can be left behind while they fly to unearthly realms. They are poets and singers. They dance and create works of art. They are not only spiritual leaders but also judges and politicians, the repositories of the knowledge of the culture's history, both sacred and secular. They are familiar with cosmic as well as physical geography; the ways of plants, animals and the elements are known to them. They are psychologists, entertainers, and foot finders. Above all, however, shamans are technicians of the sacred and masters of ecstasy.¹⁰⁹

They are artists, psychologists, spiritual priests, and even politicians.

Nevertheless, they faced conflict with Confucianism in the *Chosŏn* period and Christianity from the end of the *Chosŏn* period up until early Protestant Mission and indeed to the present. During difficult times, they could survive owing to their own abilities, although sometimes relying on support from other people, particularly women. Korean Shamanism was accepted as the most powerful religious force among Koreans. We can observe that new religions, whether imported or generated from within Korea itself, have historically failed to survive among the Koreans unless shamanistic traits were incorporated into them on a large scale.¹¹⁰ Therefore, we should accept that female shamans were powerful beings of the *Chosŏn* period of early Korean mission. And there is some possibility that the image of female shamans had an impact on the leadership of *chŏndo puin*.

¹⁰⁸ Ch'oe Hyŏng-yun, *Shamanism in Korea*, (Seoul, Seoul National University, 2002), pp. 16-17

¹⁰⁹ Joan Halifax, *Shamanic Voice; the Shaman as seer, poet and healer*, (Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1979), p.4.

¹¹⁰ Spencer J. Palmer, *Korean and Christianity: the Problem of Identification with Tradition*, (Seoul, Hollym Corp., 1967), pp. 5-7.

5.2 Great inter-religious agents, Korean women in Korean religious context

Based on the above contents, we can recognise the role of Korean women in traditional religion of Korea. In the situation of many religions, how did Korean women react, and perform in their own context? If Korean society had oppressed them systematically, how did they find their own freedom and utilise their power from marginalized situations? In terms of female leadership among Korean women, the best example of female shaman, the *mudang*, will be shown.

5.2.1 Korean women and Shamanism

As a ritual leader of the *Kut* ceremony, female shamans played charismatic roles in the rituals. The *Kut* is very important in explaining female shamans' leadership roles, because they perform their religious role by leading the ritual repetition. A large *Kut* would entail the following¹¹¹.

Report of the name and rank of the suppliant

Narration of the materials and spiritual devotion of the suppliant to the performance of the rituals

Narration of the process in which the offerings were made and prayer for the god's acceptance of the feast

Narration of prayer blessing and elimination of all misfortunes in the forthcoming year.

Narration of the mythology of the god being invoked.

Narration via *t'aryŏng* (a ballad), dance, juggling, and talent show designed to please the invoked god.

Narration of jubilation for having achieved aspirations by the grace of the invoked god.

Narration of offering food for the assorted demons, accompanied by the following in some regions.

¹¹¹ Yim Sŏk-chae, 'Han'guk musok yŏngu sŏsŏl' (Introduction to Korean Shamanism), in *Aseu Yŏsŏng Yŏngu* (Women's Research in Asia), Vol. X (1971), n. p.

Opening song for a lesser *Kut*.
 Concluding song for a lesser *Kut*.
 Words of the invoked god to human beings.
 Narration of the god's will by divination.
 Narration of 'sending back' the invoked god.

In this *Kut*¹¹² process, the assistant shamans, *gidae*, who are mostly male, beat the double drums, play accompanying music and sing in alternation with the shaman. Female shamans thus lead the ritual supported by male assistants, which is also the case with the shaman's major role of leading. The ritual for recovering from illness, *Kupyongje*, is a typical ritual exemplifying their role in healing physically ill patients. During the ritual, the shaman sacrifices a chicken on behalf of the patient, hitting ghosts who cause illnesses. Through this process, the origin of the illness affected by ghosts can be cleansed.¹¹³ In addition to physical healing, shamans functioned as psychological and behavioural therapists. For example, they believe that spirits in search of human beings gravitate toward those individuals whose soul has already made vulnerable to attacks and as a result, people experience psychological distresses. Through *Jinhyonje* (鎮魂祭, a ritual for the repose of the deceased [departed soul] similar to a requiem) or *Jaeaeckje* (際厄祭, a ritual for eliminating misfortune or damage), shamans touched Korean women's *Han* (恨 an almost indefinable sense of yearning or nostalgic sadness)¹¹⁴ caused by family violence,

¹¹² *Kupyungje* (救病祭, a ritual for recovering illness), *Jinhyonje* (鎮魂祭, a ritual for the repose of the deceased [departed soul] similar to a requiem), *Jaeaeckje* (際厄祭, a ritual for eliminating misfortune or damage), *Chobokje* (招福祭, a ritual for calling blessing), *Doaeckje* (度厄祭, a ritual for eliminating annual damage and blessing annual fortune), *Songjukut* (성주굿, a ritual for the god which protect people's homes), *Sonangkut* (서낭굿, a ritual for the god which protect people's towns), *Sanje* (山祭, a ritual for the god of mountain in towns), *Byolshin* (別神, rituals for different gods depending on regions), and *Ch'ünsinkut* (천신굿, a ritual for heavenly god).

¹¹³ Lim Dong-kwon, p.155.

¹¹⁴ It is often explained as "to sigh with heartache". The terms *Han* is a very difficult concept to define because in a way it epitomizes the history of Korean people... *Han* has been seen as a cipher for the very existence of the Korean people. Historically speaking, *Han* stories of women date back to the Lee dynasty (14th Century CE). In its highly hierarchical and male-dominated society, a woman's identity and virtue were shaped by a Confucianism which sustained male privilege and domination.

difficult relations between family members like mother-in-law or sister-in-law, and severe conditions of living. Accordingly, female shamans had effective influence over both physical and psychological disease.

Another important role of female shamans was as a trouble-solving broker for the *Chosŏn* dynasty. The general belief is that the Confucian government of the *Chosŏn* dynasty persecuted Shamanism and devalued shamanistic rituals and customs. But is it really true even though they strongly followed Confucianism as a representative idea of establishing a dynasty?

According to the contents of *Chosŏn musŏkku* (朝鮮巫俗考, the story of Korean shamanistic folk), there are some interesting facts which refute the general idea. First of all, the dynasty called upon spiritually great shamans during serious droughts. From 1413 to 1753, the dynasty employed highly respected shamans and positively trusted in their ritual abilities, valuing female shamans' ability higher than male. According to public records, in 1544 (the 39th year of King Jungchŏng's reign) the King awarded a female shaman a prize after her prayers had brought 3 days of continuous rain.¹¹⁵ The writer of the report evaluated the King's action as wrong. Nevertheless, we can see through this historical record that even a Confucian King accepted the power of a female shaman as a spiritual priest of the god of heaven.

Accordingly, Shamanism's influence was very firm in the *Chosŏn* Confucian period. As far as influence on the ordinary lives of Korean people is concerned, Korean women as shamans were the key, even if they are now publicly rather

Hwain Chang Lee, *Confucius, Christ and Co-partnership: Competing Liturgies for the Soul of Korean American Women*, (Lanham MD, University Press of America, 1994), pp. 17-19.

¹¹⁵ Yi Nŭng-hwa, *Chosŏn Musŏkku* (the Story of Korean Shamanistic Folks), (Seoul, DongmunSun, 2002), p. 56. The book was written in Japanese because the writer could speak and write English, Chinese, French and Japanese as well as his mother tongue Korea. The material I used was translated into Korean.

marginalized, and they had important connections with the other religions.

In order to see another case in which Korean women had little conflict and were not oppressed, but rather played a great role in a marginal religion, we will look at how Korean women contributed to another oppressed religion, Buddhism.

5.2.2 Korean Buddhism and women¹¹⁶

Buddhism during *Chosŏn* was very different from Buddhism in *Koryŏ*. During *Koryŏ*, Buddhism had been the ideological base for the ruling class, replaced by Confucianism during *Chosŏn*. Buddhism's survival despite state opposition had a good deal to do with women's commitment, as well as involving women through indigenous-folk religion.

Apart from a brief revival of Buddhism under the dowager Queen Munjŏng¹¹⁷, there were no more revivals of Buddhism during the *Chosŏn* Period. Among ordinary people, Buddhism survived in a different form. To be precise, the religion was absorbed into Korean folk Shamanism through the religious lives of Korean women. According to several Buddhist monk narratives in the period, Buddhist rituals or faith practices related to ordinary people's normal needs such as wishing for success, keeping in good health, having sons for a Confucian family, and so on. Usually,

¹¹⁶ I just treated Buddhism and Korean women in the period of *Chosŏn* and the beginning of Japanese occupation. If the recent studies of the relation between Buddhism and women is presented, see 'Jamin Sŭnim: Prison Work for a Korean Nun, Myohi Sŭnim: A Korean Nun Teacher of Elderly Women, and Pomyong Sŭnim: Flower Arranging for the Korean Lay' written by Martine Batchelor and 'Sickness and Health: Becoming a Korean Buddhist Shaman' written by Pak Hi-ah, Ellisor, Bank Findly, *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women*, (Boston, Wisdom Publications, 2000).

¹¹⁷ Yi Yŏng -ja, *Pulkyo wa yŏsŏng* (Female Buddhism), (Seoul, Minsoksa, 2002), pp. 173-174. And if you know the story more in detail, see *Dasi ilknŭn yŏin yŏljŏn, Jŏng Chŏng-nan*, (Reading the enthusiastic contribution of Korean history again, Nan Jung Chung), <http://atoz.netian.com/rx25.htm> and *The Buddhist Review*, <http://www.budreview.com/html/3/3-special-minsunghyo-5.htm>

Buddhist monks were described in two ways: as immoral or superstitious. For example, the monk took the form of tiger and then flirted with the women. Or, some monks would prophesy that a barren woman would have a baby and helped. There is a very interesting legend about a pond, *Achimmok* in Yupo-ri of Kangwon province, which describes well the connection between male monks and Korean women. The story which Pyön Mu-yöng investigated in 1992 is as follows.

A rich man, Pak asked his daughter-in-law to give a basket of dung to a male monk who was in front of his house asking for some donation such as rice or money. But, she did not do this and instead gave him rice, which was more expensive. After this, the monk said to Pak “if you want to have treasures, just take your spoon and dig under your mulberry tree in your house” and then to her “Run to the temple of *Taepyöng* without looking back.” In the night, Pak started to dig under the tree with a spoon, but his daughter-in-law ignored the monk’s orders and went to the tree to see treasures. Suddenly, water came up from underneath the tree, and finally there was a small pond.¹¹⁸

Through this story, we can see two things. Firstly, monks were described as living very mysterious lives and represented superstitious beliefs. Secondly, with his spiritual powers, he saved a woman who had a very generous mind and suffered under a violent father-in-law as escaping from his curse. Such folk Buddhism suggested that: 1) Korean women, having several problems due to a gender discriminating culture of Confucianism, could freely communicate with men by having contact with male monks, and 2) Even though it was scandalous, women sometimes had illegal sexual relationships with monks for various reasons, such as fathering a baby if their husband was infertile, or overcoming a widow’s traditional barriers.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, we can note in a part of the story that the monk was helped by the woman’s kindness and religious respect.

¹¹⁸ Pyön Mu-yöng, *Han’guk pulkyo minsoknön* (Korean folk Buddhism), (Seoul, Minsokwon, 1998), pp. 193-194.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

Also, during Japanese occupation, there emerged a revolutionary Buddhism, Won Buddhism¹²⁰ in 1916 by *Sot'aesan* (少太山) Jung Bin Park in Chöllanamdo province. According to the thesis of Hanh Myōng-hee, *The Role of Women in Korean Indigenous Religion and Buddhism*, Buddhism provided the freedom and rights to Korean women less readily available in the Confucian culture of late *Chosŏn* society. Her conclusions are that women have equality with men through the creator of the moment, *Sot'aesan* (少太山) Pak Jung-pin's philosophy. Comparing with the condition of Korean women in the *Chosŏn* Confucianism, she strongly claims that the Buddhism deeply considered the women and practically fulfilled the rights of women.¹²¹

Let us gather up the strands of this discussion on women in the various Korean religions.

5.3 The relations of Korean women to the various religions

Some historians evaluated the seemingly obvious and came to the conclusion that *Chosŏn* women had been oppressed by a male dominated system and that consequently, they were not able to play a leadership role in their society. Mun Il-pyōng was the first one of those who identified the social discrimination and religious limits of Korean women. He identified two periods of actually liberating

¹²⁰ This religion can be categorized in Korean Buddhism or Korean national religion like *Tonghak*. In fact, the main theories rely on Buddhism, but the origin and development have been based completely on the complex background of Korean religions. But I introduced the religion in the category of Korean Buddhism because I want to show how the Buddhism in Korea had been changed and developed by Koreans themselves, particularly women.

¹²¹ Hanh Myōng-hee (Anna), *The Role of Women in Korean Indigenous Religion and Buddhism*, Ph. D dissertation, the Faculty of the California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, June, 1994, pp. 203-208.

activity of Korean women, before and after *Koryŏ* (918-1392).¹²² The social position of women in the *Samguk* period (three kingdoms 37BC to 676AD) was, he says, remarkably high compared to their low status before the *Koryŏ* period. Mun Il-pyŏng suggests that Korean women had what he called comparative freedom because women in the period were able to display their own abilities, both inside and outside their homes. Mun even came to the conclusion that women then had much more freedom than their perceived suppressors, men. This tendency, he says, was also visible in the period of *Koryŏ*, a time when the country's culture was Buddhist centred and based on Korean shamanistic traditions. After the inflow of Confucianism (性理學, a form of Chinese Confucianism developed in the *Ming* (明) Dynasty in China), however, women's status became dominated by the major teaching: 'a woman of virtue marries but once.'¹²³ Accordingly, Mun describes the historical background in which Korean women lived, suggesting the influence of this teaching still affects Korean society, limiting or even eliminating the power of women.

However, I pose the questions of these historical evaluations. Even though the official activities of women under the unequal context were not obvious, how could religious activities, survival, and growth of Korea be achieved without any Korean women in competent roles? How, too, could they suddenly have taken on major responsibility in the new religion, Christianity? In order to answer this, I will look at an opinion different from Mun's historical evaluation of Korean women by a foreign scholar, Laurel Kendall, researching Korean Shamanism. Her anthropological research in Korea regards the Korean historical background and the social

¹²² *Koryŏ* was the united country born after the reunification of 3 states in the end of Tongil Shilla (also called the United Shilla, 918~1392).

¹²³ Mun Il-pyŏng, *Honamsa nonsŏn* (the Discourse of Honamsun), (Seoul, Tamgoodang, 1978), pp. 130-131.

phenomena of recent social change and the resulting social situations as such. “Even though in *Koryŏ* a woman’s social position was gradually being limited by the power of the new religions, Confucianism and Buddhism, women would not surrender their powerful influence they held due to Korea’s indigenous religious context.

Consequently, they may have hoped to be able to find a way out of the difficulty by tightening their grip on areas of Korean religion existing before Buddhism and Confucianism: Shamanism.”¹²⁴

This quote by Kendall indicates that in future the religions would possess two faces for Korean women. This means that religions controlled them and singled them out as a social lower class in comparison to men. Yet Confucianism did not exist uninfluenced by other religions. In the introduction of a book, *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, the author writes:

By the late *Chosŏn* period, diminished and consigned to ‘invisible’ spaces in their spheres of activity, neither Buddhism nor popular religions were perceived as threatening the existing socio-religious order, and the state felt no need to persecute them. Both religions, however, even in reduced form, continued to play an important part in the popular imagination. Confucian hegemony reigned large and was supported by a state based squarely on the premise that the political and social order had to be sustained by the moral and ritual concepts of Ch’eng-Chu philosophy.¹²⁵

In fact, who occupied the ‘invisible space’ of religions other than Confucianism? Korean women were in the space playing very important functions for the connection of each religion in every context of Korea. Even though Confucianism attempted to dominate the whole Korean society, the Confucianism allowed some space invisibly to the other religions. Actually, there were many religions of Korea influencing

¹²⁴ Laurel Kendall, *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits: Women in Korean Ritual Life*, (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. x.

¹²⁵ Ja Hyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler ed., *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1999), p.7.

people and each other. This is very important to make Confucianism exist in Korea, eliminating some negative elements of the Korean powerless under control of Confucianism. Korean religions including the dominating Confucianism, were able to exist in Korean society. To give religious room to them invisibly makes it possible to expect more growth of the religion by the support and obedience of the powerless. In addition, they are able to reconcile powerful and powerless religions in a society at the same time because they are always situated in obedience to authority's control for their survival and their own freedom to solve the oppression through the rituals and religious lives of unauthorised religions.

In this respect, without any help from Korean women who were situated in that space, Korean Confucianism may have disappeared in Korean society owing to its negative characteristic of religious assimilation where Confucianism prohibits Korean people from receiving Buddhism, Shamanism and even Christianity as their main ideology and faith. In this anti-religious trait, therefore, Korean women would be one significant element of religious harmony in Korea by the example of their role in Korean Confucianism.

6. Conclusion

Korean women played a vital role in each religion of Korea as inter-religious agents. For instance, in connecting the existing religions, female shamans performed great roles in society as healer, counsellor and trouble solver and Buddhist women sustained the trace of the collapsing Buddhism in the *Chosŏn* period. In addition, this historical tradition linked to independent activities of *Tonghak* women in the similar period of Protestant mission.

However, some missionaries in the early Protestant mission of Korea had demonised Korean traditional religions such as Confucianism, Shamanism, Buddhism and *Tonghak*. In addition, they described women as stupid devil worshipers, imprisoned in their *anpang*, oppressed by the male-dominated Confucian society of the *Chosŏn* dynasty and nameless women as worthless beings. Without the help of *chŏndo puin*, the missionaries would not have been able to witness the remarkable fruits of mission enhanced by enthusiastic and devoted works of *chŏndo puin*. Under the western self-criticism of the missionaries to Korean religions, *chŏndo puin* must possess their own religious interpretation about Christianity and participate in the evangelistic, medical, and educational works of the Korean mission. The main reason is that Korean women historically used to have religious lives with their shamanistic interpretations. They had their own perspective and application in situations of Confucianism, Buddhism, and even other new religions in the period. Consequently, we cannot say simply that the Korean religions damaged the spiritual and social life of Korean women notwithstanding to agreeing with the view of Christian faithful idea.

Through the evidence that missionaries misinterpreted to Korean women and traditional religions, we are also able to raise a question; “Rather than the aim of Christian propagation in mission, is there another aim of mission to missionaries, particularly female missionaries?” For this, we will turn the ‘civilising’ mission work of American missionary women in Korean mission field relating with Korean women.

Chapter Three

Equality and Enlightenment; American Missionary Women's 'Women's Work for Women' in the Early Protestant Mission of Korea, 1886-1910

1. Introduction

This chapter will explore the foundation of *chōndo puin*'s work, critically assessing the contribution of American missionary women to the issue of equality and enlightenment, implying the questions of the existing historians' evaluations.

Dana Lee Robert argues that only the Christian gospel gave indigenous women freedom.¹²⁶ She says, they seemed subordinate, was not submissive, and introduced equality and freedom to indigenous women. As I have argued earlier, however, Korean women had various other sources of both power and change quite apart from Christianity. On the other hand, a Korean feminist Yi U-jōng insists that American missionary women accomplished little emancipation for indigenous women because they could not overcome the straitjacket of western male-dominated Christianity of the period.¹²⁷ These claims show the different perceptions in missiology of the work of American missionary women.

Some scholars say that Christianity has always achieved equality and has become a crucial foundation in the making of modernity.¹²⁸ Yet what do equality and modernity mean? Linda Mercadante says that traditionalists have supported the

¹²⁶ Dana Lee Robert, *Gospel Bearers Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 11-13.

¹²⁷ Yi U-jōng, *Han'guk kidokkyo yōsōng paeknyōn ūi paljagu*, (100 Years in the Footsteps of Korean Christian Women), (Seoul, Minjungsa, 1985), pp. 31-33.

¹²⁸ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, Mass; London, Harvard University Press, 2000), p. viii.

hierarchy against those who advocate 'equality', and insist that 1 Cor. 11:2-16 presents a hierarchy of male and female. She points out that, as a logical consequence, such arguments have ignored gender equality.¹²⁹ In practice, Christianity has not accepted equality between men and women. American women were not especially emancipated even if they thought they were. This carried over into American missionaries' activities in 'mission by civilization' which aimed to enlighten the non-western world and sometimes to modernise the indigenous people of foreign countries. Leading on from this is another question of central interest. In his book *Korea and Christianity*, Spencer J. Palmer argues that 'the success of Christian mission in Asia primarily depends on the forging of links between native culture and Christian ideology.'¹³⁰ That is to say, without considering both indigenous and western cultures, the contribution of mission to Christianity in Korea cannot be evaluated accurately. It is fundamental to this thesis: the indigenous response like *chōndo puin*'s reactions to female missionaries is an integral part of church history. We therefore need to understand the mission from the incomers' view as well as the recipients.

The reasons for choosing American missionary women as the object of this study are numerous. According to the statistics of the book, *Naehan sōnkyosa chōllam* (A Material of Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1984), the percentage of American missionary women from 1884 to 1945 is over eighty percent of missionaries in the Korean mission; 825 people. This number also included missionaries' wives. Considering the numbers in the next table, we need an idea of American women's

¹²⁹ Linda A. Mercadante, *From Hierarchy to Equality: A Comparison of Past and Present Interpretations of 1 Cor 11: 2-16 in Relation to the Changing Status of Women in Society*, (Vancouver, G-M-H Books, 1978), pp. 32-33.

¹³⁰ Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition*, (Seoul, Hollym, 1967), p. viii.

activities in mission. This table shows the number of Protestant missionaries who came to Korea before 1945.

<Table 1> Table showing Nationality and Number of Missionaries ¹³¹

	Nationality	Number of missionaries	Percent
1	America	1,059	69.8%
2	Britain	199	13.0%
3	Canada	98	6.4%
4	Australia	88	5.6%
	Others	85	5.2%
	Total	1,529	100.0%

In light of this historical statistic, we can ask some specific questions about the contribution of the work of American missionary women and its relationship with Korean women in the early mission of Korea.

What was American missionary women's particular mission focus in Korea? How did they deal with the issue of equality for women in the Christian community and Korean society, given their own socialisation? If American missionary women, as Yi U-jōng says, were in practice limited in their work for the emancipation of Korean women based on equality and enlightenment, were they able to achieve anything at all in the Korean context?

Based on these questions, I will research the issue 'equality and enlightenment' with the works of American missionary women in the period examined, beginning with 1886, the year modern education for Korean women was introduced with the establishment of Ehwa Girls' School by Mary F. Scranton, a female missionary. The research period ends in 1910, when Korea was annexed and occupied by Japan, and missionaries were forced to change their strategies in light of the changed relationship with a new government. I shall be particularly interested to see the way

¹³¹ Kim Sūng-tae and Pak Hye-jin, *Naehan sōnkyosa chōllam* (A Material of Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1984), (Seoul, The Institute for Korean Church History, 1994), p. 4.

and the extent that American women actually encouraged and equipped *puin kwonsŏ* for their work and the way *chŏndo puin*, “took off” from the missionary base to extend their work. Emancipation, I suspect, affected all involved in different and often indirect ways. Let us first look at the American missionary side.

2. American missionary women and Korean Protestant mission

There were dramatic changes in women’s ‘visibility’ in nineteenth-century American life— politics, society and religion —accompanied by important shifts in their perceptions of their own potential. According to the historian Sara M. Evans, American women of the period challenged and redefined the boundaries of public and private life and, in addition, demanded public attention and action on issues that arose first in the domestic arena —issues such as health, education and poverty.¹³² That is to say, the early American women’s movement aimed at securing a better position for women in their society. Yet it did not influence society as a whole, and did not always sit easily with traditional religion. It is therefore important to assess the relation between women and Christianity in America.

2.1 Women and Christianity in America

2.1.1 The Second Great Awakening and domestic ideology

The great awakening was the second revival which swept the United States during the early decades of the nineteenth century. It emphasised that conversion had

¹³² Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*, (New York, Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), pp. 4-5.

to result in good works and, after 1800, this meant participation in the work of many voluntary groups, which were to spring up. Clergy and laymen alike joined to channel the religious enthusiasm of the revivals into associations designed to create a Christian America.¹³³

The crucial 'awakening' of American women, among several such movements, was the Second Great Awakening (1800-1830) epitomized by Charles G. Finney and his emphasis on self-love. Self-love is not selfishness, neither is it, as the hyper-Calvinists said, 'self-denial' or 'willingness to be damned for the glory of God'.¹³⁴ This concept immediately connected with the lived experience of Christian women who, according to the book *Your Daughters Shall Prophecy*, tended to base their lives on the religious characteristics of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Nancy A. Hardesty explains that Finney's new measures encouraged women's participation in revival meetings, and evangelical women began to assert themselves as leaders of various benevolent and social-reform movements. Some correlates of Finneyite revivalism seem to have been conducive to widening women's spheres of activity, factors from which some women derived inspiration in their quest for expanded roles and equal rights.¹³⁵

Yet at the same time, domestic ideology restricted the freedom of women to domestic boundaries, claiming true womanhood was based on the perception and practice of self-sacrifice and benevolence. Through the influence of the Second Great Awakening, human equality between men and women was accepted, but the roles

¹³³ Barbara J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*, (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1986), pp. 96-97.

¹³⁴ William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: an Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*, (Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 118-119.

¹³⁵ Nancy A. Hardesty, *Your Daughters Shall Prophecy: Revivalism and Feminism in the Age of Finney*, (New York, Carlson, 1991), pp. 4-7.

were still perceived as having to be distinct. For instance, a woman did not make her husband abdicate his role of *paterfamilias* although she was responsible for the general and religious socialization of their children. She accepted not only that men were stronger and better able to cope with the rough-and-tumble of the world, but also that a woman was incapable of coping with the world outside home and church. In the end, faithful women who could afford to take the abandonment of equality as a matter of course, becoming “goddesses of heart and home,”¹³⁶ with only husbands being fully involved in the outside world.

In women’s participation in the evangelistic revival, what happened to the progressive areas of women’s movement in American Protestant Christianity of the period?

2.1.2 The early feminist movement

American women perceived patriarchal influences in Christianity and engaged in various concrete actions against it, as illustrated by the work of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She published *The Woman’s Bible* in 1895 and 1898, in defiance of strong negative public opinion, because she was convinced that a more basic issue than women’s suffrage was at stake. She wanted to rectify the incorrect and almost inherent negative image of women and to change people’s way of thinking. She said the following in her introduction:

The Bible teaches that woman brought sin and death into the world, that she precipitated the fall of the race, that she was arraigned before the judgment seat of Heaven, tried, condemned and sentenced. Marriage for her was to be a condition of bondage, maternity a period of suffering and anguish, and in silence

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 120-122.

and subjection, she was to play the role of a dependent on man's bounty for all her material wants, and for all the information she might desire on the vital questions of the hour, she was commanded to ask her husband at home. Here is the Bible position of women briefly summed up.¹³⁷

She was convinced that women's inferior position in society was due in part to verses of women's stories in the Bible being misinterpreted and to the terminology used for women in the Bible being sex-discriminatory and superficial. Awareness arose among American women of the negative aspects of Christianity.

Let us therefore investigate the concrete organisation of the Christian women relating to the Protestant mission.

2.1.3 The active involvement of American women in mission activities

In the beginning, American women's mission societies were characterised by the relief of the poor and needy in the slums of America. For instance, the Female Domestic Missionary Society for the Poor of the City of New York prompted Sabbath schools, distributed bibles, and aided churches in poor sections of the city. Sometimes their efforts went toward helping young men get through seminary or toward paying for the ministry to sailors.¹³⁸

As time passed, the mission societies grew up independently. They not only supported male seminary students and missionaries but also trained professional female American missionaries. A number of professional training schools were established in the late nineteenth century. For example, Lucy Rider Meyer in 1885

¹³⁷ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *The Woman's Bible: The Original Feminist Attack of the Bible*, (New York, Polygon Book, 1898), p. 7.

¹³⁸ Randall Balmer, 'American Fundamentalism: The Ideal of Femininity', John Stratton Hawley ed., *Fundamentalism and Gender*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 52.

opened the Chicago Training School for City, Home and Foreign Missions, and the Methodist Woman's Foreign Missionary Society took a special interest in the Folts Mission Institute established at Herkimer, New York, in 1893.¹³⁹

A high percentage of the female missionaries recruited during the formative years of the woman's mission movement had personal ties to the mission field. Women in missionary auxiliaries displayed their power through financial support and by participating in missionary administration. There were several positive outcomes of this process. One of these was modern mission, particularly educational missions. Some scholars suggest that American women played a crucial role in the cultural transformation that accompanied modernisation in the non-western world, in changing the status of women in foreign countries. In their suggestions, a few points arise: 1) the newly held position of women in American Christian community, 2) the more agreeable status of American women in mission fields compared to in America itself, and 3) the real status of indigenous women working with American women missionaries.

The historian Machaffie says this about the three points:

Women contributed great sums of money and countless hours to the religious and social welfare of many citizens. Their services in bettering the living conditions of people in urban areas met a need that neither government nor business was prepared to consider. In addition, the female associations encouraged and deepened loyalty to and knowledge of the domestic process of government. The voluntary societies, however, were also channels through which women themselves made some gains, the societies provided women with approved ways of participation in church and society as well as opportunities for self-development and companionship which broke through the isolating barriers of

¹³⁹ Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household: the American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920*, (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1985), pp. 126-127.

the domestic sphere.¹⁴⁰

Through the women's societies, American women were able to participate in official evangelical work of church and society. The mission society was a crucial for establishing their own position in Christian communities. When we look at the reality of American women's lives in the nineteenth century, it was the time when noble female leaders began to appear. The period shows that Protestantism's rise gave impetus to a number of female evangelists and preachers, such as Phoebe Palmer, a revivalist of the Methodist Episcopal Church who presented an ardent defence of woman's right to preach. From 1853 to 1909, there was Antoinette Brown who the first ordained woman in a recognized American denomination, Bridwell White, the first female bishop of a Christian Church in the United States, Catherine Mumford Booth in the Salvation Army; Olympia Brown, the first ordained in the Universalist Church; Margaret Van Cott, the first ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church; Celia C. Burleigh, the first ordained in the Unitarian Church; Anna Shaw, the first ordained in the Methodist Protestant Church; and Aimee Semple McPherson, founded the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel.¹⁴¹ Yet public figures though they were, American churchwomen were also subject to male control in their church institutions. We might expect, therefore, a certain ambivalence when moving beyond America taking what emancipation they could while being in a power position vis-à-vis Korean womanhood, about which they knew so little. So much for the American background to the missionising of Korea, what of Korean developments was in the late nineteenth century?

The following section will explore it and how Korean people were concerned

¹⁴⁰ Barbara J. Machaffie, p. 99.

¹⁴¹ Wyatt M. Rogers, JR, *Christianity and Womanhood; Evolving Roles and Responsibilities*, (London, Praeger, 2002), p. 58.

about equality and enlightenment in that period and at the same time how they related to the work of American missionaries.

2.2 Korean interest in the equality and enlightenment of Korean women

2.2.1 Queen Myung-sung and the Kae Hwa P'a (Reformed party)

From 1800 Korean society was in chaos. From 1800 to 1860 the reputation of the *Chosŏn* dynasty had been damaged because of misrule. Afterwards Hŭng-sŭn Taewongun (大院君), King Koh's father, attempted to recover it through exercising strong sovereignty, opening up equal opportunities for the talented, adopting isolationism and reconstructing the court of the *Chosŏn* Dynasty. However, he did not gain the approval of the Yangban (the upper class).

Queen Myung-sung recognised the mistake of her father-in-law, Hŭng-sŭn Taewongun. She struggled against him and then won the power game of Korean government. In 1873, she accepted the proposal of an open policy, which was intended to reform Korean society along Western lines. She readily admitted western culture to develop Korean society, and especially to improve women's capacities. For instance, she was willing to name mission schools set up for Korean girls and hospitals for Korean women, sometimes supporting them financially. She also actively participated in Korean politics and established her own power base.¹⁴²

In this progressive open door policy, there were two political lines: the Su Gu P'a (Conservative Party) and the Kae Hwa P'a (Reformed Party). Clearly, there was conflict between the Conservative Party and Reformed Party. The Kae Hwa P'a

¹⁴² Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng (ed.), *Han'guk yŏsŏngsa* (The History of Korean Women), Serial Volume 3, (Seoul, The Committee for Editing Korean Women's History, 1972), pp. 14-15.

based on the ideology of *Sirhak* (Korean realism), which presented human equality and freedom through a civil rights movement, linking up with early Christian group in Korea against conservative Confucianism.¹⁴³ Korean expectations of Christianity based on these *Sirhak* studies were not as a religion but a style of philosophical studies based upon western cultural knowledge. For example, Pak Yŏng-hyo, a member of the Kae Hwa P'a, told W. B. Scranton in Japan that missionaries could do so much for Korea: The Korean people, he explained, really needed 'education' and 'medicine', and missionaries and mission schools would obviously improve the Korean people's situation.¹⁴⁴ The Kae Hwa P'a took a positive attitude to western-style reform. They insisted that social reform must start on the basis of human equality, men and women had to enjoy human rights, and the old practices should be broken down.¹⁴⁵

When Yu Gil-jun travelled in America, he interpreted American society from Korean (but not Christianity) perspectives. As a result, he wrote *Sŏ yu kyŏn mun* (The Record of Observing Western Culture), in 1885. In this book, he referred to the importance of the enlightenment and education of Korean women, and called for the abolition of Nae Woe Pŏp (the rule between husband and wife) and the concubinage system:

Women are the significant factors in bringing up their children and housekeeping independently. Thus, there would be a deficient result in children's education and housework if women possessed incapable learning due to Nae Woe Pŏp. Therefore, we must permit women to be educated equally and then we can establish a rich and powerful country through childcare and the management of

¹⁴³ Korean Institute of Philosophical History, *Han'guk chŏlhak sasangsa* (The History of Korean Philosophical Thought), (Seoul, Hanul Academy, 1997), pp. 345-361.

¹⁴⁴ Chang Byŏng-uk, *Kamnikyo haesa 1885-1945* (The History of Methodist Women in Korea 1885-1945), (Seoul, Sung Kwang, 1979), pp. 119-120.

¹⁴⁵ Jŏng Chŏng-rang, 'Kae hwa gi Han'guk yŏsŏng ūi gūndae ūisik ūi hyŏngsŏng (The Formation of Modern Consciousness of Korean Women in the Period of Enlightenment)', Vol. 28 *Nun Chung*, (Seoul, The Research Institute of Korean Culture in Ehwa University, 1976), pp. 332-333.

housework.¹⁴⁶

He asserted that the liberation of Korean women was an important element of Korean enlightenment. In his political practice, he emphasised female education and the abolition of gender discrimination in Korean society.¹⁴⁷

The Kae Hwa P'a played a great role in the beginning of Korean mission. They insisted on receiving Christianity in order to apply Western studies to Korean society. In this situation, the Methodist missionary MacRae, who worked in Japan, through the support of Kae Hwa P'a, persuaded King Kojŏng to accept the western system of education, medicine and technology for developing Korea in 1884, brought by western missionaries, working not as evangelists but rather as modernisation agents.

¹⁴⁸ This shows that those Korean leaders who accepted egalitarianism and education accepted Christian missions with their own agenda, at a time when Korean traditional religions were slowly enabling Korean women to contribute more to national development.

In this situation, and as modernisers, American missionaries came to Korea in 1885. Before they arrived, the Scottish missionaries, John Ross and R. J. Thomas, had attempted to come to Korea from Manchuria. Although they failed, their work on the Korean bible translated in *Ŏnmun* (hitherto a despised script for women) influenced the Korean mission. Women missionaries came too, and started to plan for Korean women in the early Korean mission of Protestant churches.

¹⁴⁶ Yu Gil-jun, *Sŏ yu kyŏn mun* (The Record of Observing Western Culture), (Seoul, Kyung In Munhwasa, 1969), p. 407.

¹⁴⁷ Korean Institute of Philosophical History, p. 350.

¹⁴⁸ Kim Kwang-su, *Han'guk minjok kidokkyo paengnyŏnsa* (The History of the Korean National Church for Hundreds), (Seoul, The Institute for Korean Church History, 1978), p. 37.

3. The work of American missionary women for Korean women

Some historians suggest that the Korean mission was totally responsible for the freedom of Korean women through the devotion of western female missionaries.¹⁴⁹ Yet what evidence is there for such an assertion? And how did American missionary women relate to Korean women? We will analyse the work of American missionary women in Korea with regards to 1) the background of mission society and 2) three mission enterprises of education, medicine and evangelism.

3.1 The background of the Korean mission

The 1885 Korean mission involved two American churches, the American Methodist Church South and the American Southern Presbyterian Church.¹⁵⁰ Their initial work was not easy owing to several difficulties. Firstly, they lacked finances and human resources and did not receive full cultural training about Korea. Secondly, they had difficulties in theology and mission because in Korea they worked together with other missionaries who came from various denominations of Canada, Australia and other countries.

Thirdly, they did not work as missionaries until W. L. Swallond was able to receive an entry permit as a missionary on 10th June 1898. This means that for the first thirteen years they worked carefully, hiding the aim of evangelism to satisfy the Korean agenda. An article in the Korean Repository in the same year (1898), shows

¹⁴⁹ Rhie says that the Christianity gave women of the early Korean church having baptismal names, acting wider arena, and receiving education. Rhie Deok-joo, 'An Understanding of Early Korean Christian Women's History', Yi Kyōng-suk, *Ehwa Journal of Feminist Theology*, Vol. 2, (Seoul, Ehwa Institute for Women's Theological Studies, 1997), pp. 11-50.

¹⁵⁰ William Newton Blair, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings which Followed*, (Edinburgh, Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), pp. 32-33.

that missionaries were involved in the industrialisation of Korea: “The concession allows the contractors for a space of seventy-five years to “work all mines, gold, silver, copper, coal and all other minerals or precious metals.” ... Twenty-five percent of the net profits are to be paid the Korean Government.”¹⁵¹

Fourthly, they did not have wide experience in mission.¹⁵² The average age of arriving missionaries was under thirty. For example, in 1885 William Benton Scranton was 29 years old, Henry Gerhart Appenzeller and Horace N. Allen were 27, and Horace Grant Underwood was 26. It seems that the average age of their wives was similar, as was that of female missionaries: Mrs. George Heber Jones and Rosetta S. Hall were 25 years old in 1890, and L. E. Frey was 25 in 1893.

Given these problems, American missionaries in Korea needed a guiding principle for mission. At that time, Rev. John Nevius in Chifoo, China, set out a policy which called for an independent, self-reliant, and aggressive native church in his book, *The Planning and Development of Missionary Church*. He outlined for nine independent provisions. He emphasised strong self-reliance, a wider mission tour, and stress on the Bible. That is to say, he suggested that indigenous believers take upon themselves the establishment of indigenous churches of the mission field. According to his theory, this policy would result in building a completely indigenous Christianity.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ ‘An English Concession’, *The Korean Repository* (After KRP), Vol. 5, December 1898. p. 479.

¹⁵² L. H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1918), pp. 90-99.

¹⁵³ C. A. Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1930), pp. 17-19.

3.1.1 The starting point of American missionary women's work

Based on the above mission situation of the period, American missionary women showed the following attitude on the mission for Korean women in the early mission, at a time when they had no clear overall plans for women's mission work.

One of these was a young woman for whom we had hoped much. She was unfortunately yoked to a worthless husband, and the father-in-law and the mother-in-law were not much better. The support of all depended almost entirely upon the young wife. She was obliged not only to work hard, but had also to endure beatings and abuse of various kinds from her drunken husband. She came to see me and begged to be permitted to leave him. I counselled (probably unwisely), more patience and longer endurance... She was, however, soon forbidden to come to us and compelled to take up work in a temple, prepare offerings for sacrifice, and do other work which she felt to be a sin.¹⁵⁴

Mrs. M. F. Scranton felt through this Korean woman's suffering and sacrifice, her spirituality and belief would become deeper. Despite the violence in the family Mrs. Scranton did not give her any help. We can interpret this from two aspects. Firstly, American missionary women's domestic ideology for Korean women in need fitted smoothly with the concept of 'true womanhood' in American Christianity. They viewed women as morally superior to men but also as spiritually superior, because they had more compassion, love, benevolence and sacrifice than men. To have offered other advice would have gone against their understanding from "home".¹⁵⁵ Secondly, even if Mrs. Scranton had wanted to overcome the rulers of Korean Confucianism in practice and protected her from the violence, she would herself have been attacked by Korean society. In other words, thinking of the long-term evangelistic enterprise, and without a complete understanding of Korean women in the situation of Korean society, Mrs. Scranton assumed the attitude of an onlooker,

¹⁵⁴ M. F. Scranton, 'Missionary Work among Women', *KRP*, Vol. 5, September 1898, p. 314.

¹⁵⁵ MacHaffie, pp. 94-98.

hardly the stuff of empowering support. (Actually the similar violence was not infrequent in 19th century and 20th century American life and she may well have seen it as rather normal.)

3.2 Education and gender equality

Many female missionaries were engaged in education. What did they expect to accomplish through the educational enterprise of mission: evangelisation, the liberation of women, or the development of society? In an article in the *Korean Mission Field*, American missionary women said:

We have asked several of the lady missionaries, who are devoting their lives to the elevation of Korea's women, both spiritually and intellectually, to give us concise statements of what in their judgement is the greatest present need of Korea's women... Miss L. E. Frey, Seoul: Her supreme need, aside from knowledge of Christ, is education. That the men, who are largely responsible for her present ignorance, are awakening to this fact is a hopeful sign.¹⁵⁶

According to Miss Frey, education is necessary for Korean women, firstly because education is an efficient means for making Korean women convert from their traditional religion to Christianity. This can be the primary reason for why female missionaries participated in education. Further, missionary women expressed the second aim of education for Korean women:

I would say that the greatest need of Korea's women is Christian education of mind and heart. Ignorant and superstitious mothers will continue to bear and rear ignorant and superstitious sons, and the history of every people where women are undervalued and their education neglected goes to prove the maxim that no fountain can rise higher than its source.¹⁵⁷

We can see that the expected effect of female education was positive because it

¹⁵⁶ 'A Symposium: The Greatest Need of Korea's Women', *KMF*, Vol. 12, December 1907, p. 177.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

could greatly influence the children of Korean women and bring about a reassessment of their values. Also it shows that American missionary women recognised the marginalisation of women. They thought that education was the most important means to regain the rights and freedom of women. Therefore, let us look at how American missionaries assessed the traditional education of Korean women and what their precise activities were.

3.2.1 The education of Korean women during the *Chosŏn* dynasty

The issue of the relation between traditional and modern education takes the form of several questions. How did female missionaries understand the existing education of Korean women? And how did they introduce the new western-style education for women? Were there any links between Korean tradition and western studies for women?

Traditional education had several problems for Korean women. Firstly, the traditional books, for instance *Kyo Jŏng Yu Ram* (the Education of Women's Rooms) and *Nae Hun*, for Korean female education commonly held that women must be submissive to men and quiet assistants to them. Secondly, these books were for the women of the upper class. Furthermore, there were no educational institutions for women until the end of the *Chosŏn* dynasty, for although the Korean government established *Yung Yŏng Kong Won* in 1886, where Korean men studied Western culture and technology,¹⁵⁸ Korean women had very little chance to attain such literacy and knowledge officially.

¹⁵⁸ Son In-su, *Han'guk ka hwa kyoyuk yŏngu* (The Research of Enlightening Education of Korea), (Seoul, Iljisa, 1980), pp. 40-42.

This official inferior treatment of Korean women was observed by American missionaries. G. H. Jones came to Korea in 1887 and wrote a long thesis beginning in 1896 about Korean women. He explored thoroughly the traditional education of Korean women in an article entitled “The Status of Woman in Korea” (1902). He explained Korean ethical traditions for women: Sam Gang Haeng Shil (the three principles of conduct) and O Ryön Haeng Shil (the five rules of conduct).¹⁵⁹ He evaluated female education in Korea this way:

Now an important difference between the education of men and that of women in Korea is that while a man’s education is almost entirely from books the woman studies and learns many other things... We can not forbear to say that it is the experience of many foreigners who have had to do with Korean girls that these long centuries of narrow training have not impaired their intellectual capacity. It has simply lain dormant, and whenever given an opportunity it has shown itself to be easily equivalent to that of the men.¹⁶⁰

This statement shows the possibility of educating Korean women as a ‘mission project’. Jones delineated the problems in the education of those days in the Korean situation and claimed that women possessed the same intelligence as men. In addition, they had more potential than most missionaries thought. Therefore, Korean women would be able to develop their intelligence and competence in new education by missionaries if they had the opportunity to study in conditions equal to those of men.

In this respect, female missionaries acknowledged that Korean women desired to be educated. They attempted to fill the gap between the education of women and that of men in Korea. Consequently, female education became one main area of mission, strongly supported in word and deed by American missionary women.

¹⁵⁹ G. H. Jones, ‘The Status of Woman in Korea’, third paper, *KRP*, Vol. 2. February 1902, pp. 56-59.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58-59.

3.2.2 The aim of girls' schools

The purpose of female education in mission was different from that of male education: in the course of study, for instance, girls had to learn domestic skills, whereas boys generally learned politics or social studies. The concern for girls' schools was strong from the beginning of the Korean mission, but exactly what did female missionaries intended to establish by devoting themselves to the education of Korean women?

The first school for women was Ehwa Hakdang (Ehwa School), founded in 1886, by Mrs. Mary F. Scranton, who had come to Korea in June 1885. She started with educating only one girl student. Although the school was free for female students, most Korean parents were not willing to enrol their daughters in the school, for two reasons: the Confucian tradition which devalued women, and the antagonism toward Western people in the situation of imperial colonisation.¹⁶¹ In this difficult situation, Queen Myung-sung gave Mrs. Scranton the name for the school, Ehwa Hakdang, in 1887 and sent a framed picture by Kim Yun-shik in order to encourage her to educate seven Korean girls well. After this, the school soon developed: in 1888, the number of students was 18 and by 1893, it had increased to 30. There were changes, as girls of the upper class gradually entered, and in 1897, when the western buildings, (instead of a Korean style) were enlarged and included a lecture hall, a residence hall, classrooms, offices, kitchens, etc.

Based on this enthusiastic development, this school opened the possibility of female education, but to what purpose?

¹⁶¹ "One day, her mother thought she would endure her poverty rather than give her daughter to foreigners. The reason is that her neighbours criticised her as a very bad mother. To that extent, they said the old lady (M. F. Scranton) now treated her daughter well, but she must bring her to other countries and then the daughter would fail her life in foreign countries." *Ehwa paengnyŏn sa* (One Hundred Years of the History of Ehwa), (Seoul, Ehwa Woman's University Press, 1987), p. 42.

But what especially do we want to train them (Korean girls or women) for? We answer: To help them in building up and maintaining true homes, to be teachers in day schools, assistants in our boarding schools, to be nurses or assistants in medical work, in a word to prepare them to help their sisters in Korea.¹⁶²

Here we can discern two aims: American missionary women expected Korean women to become good wives in Korean Christian homes, and to assist each other in the social spheres of education and medicine, aims belonging to domestic ideology.

¹⁶³ They were concerned that Korean women had not received education in Korean society equivalent to that of men, and so they needed education to attain equal abilities with men. And they believed that through formal female education, there would be closer links between mothers and daughters at home and between older and younger females in society for the betterment of it. Certainly, they recognised the problem of patriarchal education in Korea, but they themselves did not possess a strong consciousness of equality as self-realisation in the establishment of girls' schools. The first president of Ehwa Hakdang, Mrs. Scranton, described the aim of Ehwa as bringing up the competent women for the development of Korean society.¹⁶⁴ In the writing of two presidents in Ehwa Girls' School, there is no expression about the marginalisation of female education or the challenge of the existing education, for the focus seems more to evangelise and to enlighten the Korean people for

¹⁶² Ibid., pp. 45-58.

¹⁶³ "But what especially do we want to fit them (Korean girls or women) for? We answer: To be helpmeets in building up and maintaining *true homes*, to be teachers of day schools, assistants in our boarding schools, to be nurses or assistants in medical work, in a word to fit them to help their sisters in Korea.", L. C. Rothweiler, 'What shall we teach in our girls' schools?', *KRP*, Vol. I, March 1892, p. 89.

¹⁶⁴ "We do not have any intentions that we will make Korean women westernised by our lifestyle and clothes custom. Sometimes, those who lived in the U.S. and Korea thought the lives of our students are changed. This is definitely misunderstanding. We love Korean people to become better Koreans. We want them to be proud of themselves as Koreans and we wish that Korean peoples would be wonderful by Christ and His words." Paik, *Han'guk kaeshinkyo sa* (The History of Protestant Mission in Korea), p. 135.

evangelism.

As far as the ratio of girls' schools to boys' schools in the period concerned, surprisingly 38 percent (fifteen schools out of a total of thirty-nine) were girls' schools. American missionary women offered wide educational opportunities for Korean women and had close relationships with many Korean women who desired to be educated. In the process, some *chōndo puin* were educated in the schools, of forming a new gender network of Korean society, an unexpected result of the missionary women's evangelistic purposes. Therefore, in the next part, we will discuss further the extent to which American missionary women educated Korean women in Korean mission out of principles of emancipating women.

3.2.3 The achievements of female education

Female missionaries intended to enlighten indigenous women in Korea, but was their aim for teaching the Bible the emancipation of women or merely spreading their own power? Did American missionary women consider the feminist issue of 'equality' as less important than evangelism and how did they recognise and then challenge the problem of patriarchy in Korean education?

The first contribution of American missionary women in education is that their female education stimulated evangelistic work dynamically and efficiently. They educated female indigenous workers, and then female students, who spoke Korean and English fluently and at the same time had enthusiastic faith. The students were talented evangelists in Korean Christianity. Most Bible women came from girls' schools, and having had close relationships with female missionaries in schools and

churches, they propagated Christianity in their society.¹⁶⁵ It is undoubtedly true that the educational enterprise was a crucial part of mission for successful evangelism in all aspects.

Secondly, their work influenced Korean education itself. According to a record of missionaries, they were proud of challenging Korean education and said about the enthusiasm for the education of Korean women:

Truly the new Korea is making rapid advances and the demand for the education of women is growing with the rest of her onward strides. Where only a few years ago we had to almost beg and bribe the parents to send their children to school, the begging has changed to the other side and we are overwhelmed with requests for teachers for the girls' schools.¹⁶⁶

Finally the Korean people changed their attitude towards education by the steadfast endeavours of American missionary women. One of the main effects of mission schools was to introduce the concept of 'equality of educational opportunity' to the existing Korean education. In Korean society, where only a few of the male upper class were able to be educated, missionaries concentrated especially on educated women and the disabled. Through this, they brought the need for education without regard to class or sex to Korean people's attention.¹⁶⁷ Yet such ideas were not new: *Tonghak*, idea of 'equality of educational opportunity' was already crucial in the early feminist movement in Korea, implying that women could acquire knowledge and gain information on the same footing with men. However, American missionary women formalised women's contribution, enabling Korean women gradually to increase their capacities in society, which can be seen as the beginning

¹⁶⁵ See Rhie Deok-joo, *Han'guk ūi chogi yōsōngdŭl* (Early Christian Women in Korea: Life Stories of 28 Women Who Loved Christ and Their Nation), (Seoul, Christian Literature Press, 1990).

¹⁶⁶ Henrietta P. Robbins, "School and Evangelistic Work, Pyeng Yang", *The 19th ARKWC* (ME. C), Seoul, Methodist Publishing House, 1907, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶⁷ Kim Min-yōng, *Han'guk chodae kyohoe sa* (The Early History of the Korean Church), (Seoul, Kumran, 1998), pp. 111-112.

of the Korean movement for women's emancipation.

Thirdly, American missionary women formed female elite groups based on Christianity, or at least modern education. Though there are merits and demerits in social elitism, the existence of a new highly educated group in modern Korea should be seen as positive.

Overall, they energetically prompted the establishment of higher education for women. Records from the 16th to 20th Korean Woman's Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church show the rapid progress of higher education for women and also the success of high school and college education:

The course of study is again to undergo revision this summer. We expect to do away with primary department as our day schools can do that part of the work and put in its place three years of Kodong work. Above that are four years of Jungdong and four years of dae hakkyo. These might be called Grammar, High school and College work of the courses of study admitted of compassion. The first classes will naturally fall short of this but we feel that each year brings us nearer our ideal.¹⁶⁸

They expected good results from higher education for Korean women. Most Korean women who graduated from higher educational courses were employed in schools and hospitals as teachers, nurses or doctors.¹⁶⁹ In Korean society of the period, the medical and educational professions enabled social success for those involved, many women attaining high positions in comparison to the former situation of Korean women.

Finally, female education initiated the emergence of a western-oriented female leadership in modern Korean society. As the first step, American missionary women

¹⁶⁸ Lulu E. Frey and Jessie B. Marker, 'Ehwa Hakdang', *The 20th ARKWC* (ME. C), 1910, p.12.

¹⁶⁹ "Emma makes the fourth Ehwa girl who is at present employed by the society as a day school teacher." Josephine O. Paine, 'Ewa Hakdang-Seoul', *The 16th ARKWC* (ME.C), 1904, p. 6.

became leaders of Korean Christian women in schools, serving role models for Korean women. This influence appeared often in education.

For 500 years, Korean women were isolated from not only education but also all aspects of social life. From this, female students who graduated with faith and scholarship will become female leaders. In addition, they will make uneducated Korean women open their eyes and bring them up as leaders for working in churches and schools...¹⁷⁰

This statement was made by Mrs. J. P. Campbell, who established Bae Hwa girls' school in 1898. She did not ignore the importance of female leadership, because women knew the difficulties and sorrows of women who were not educated. However, we have to see the problem from the statement. What did she mean by 'leadership'? If we consider the fact that the Korean mission society was male-centred, she would mean leadership of Korean women amongst Korean women, not of the Korean people in general, including Korean men.

Through these contributions of female missionaries, Korean women themselves started to struggle for the modernisation movement. Yet, the attitude of American missionary women was ambiguous. The aims of their educational activities varied. Some would work in educational institutes in Korea to extend their own professional competence and status. Others participated in the area of education in order to display their leadership, impossible for Korean women, whom they regarded as lower than Korean men. The American women's educational achievements have to be evaluated in light of this implicit power tension.

Next we will look more deeply at the tension between education and gender equality concerning the response of Korean women to education.

¹⁷⁰ Chang Byōng-uk, p.213.

3.2.4 The relationship with Korean women

In the early period of American missionary women, Korean women showed their concern and fervour for education. There are two questions regarding this phenomenon: What did Korean women expect from the education offered by American missionary women? And were their expectations different from those of the female missionaries?

American missionary women referred to the enthusiasm of Korean women for education in all records and writings.

An old Ehwa student said to me only a few days ago ‘When I was in school we did not realize as the girls do now what a privilege it is to be able to study.’¹⁷¹

Female missionaries were surprised at the efforts of Korean women. Korean women enjoyed the freedom of education in the limited space of girls’ schools. Why did they concern themselves to such an extent with western education? Their initial aim may have been to improve their social status. According to several records, Korean women began to meet female missionaries in order to learn English in hope of gaining a position at Court as an interpreter for the royal family: ‘When we opened the school, we had only one student. She was a mistress of a government officer. Her husband wanted her to be a queen’s interpreter after learning English. She stayed with us for three months.’¹⁷²

This attitude tended to be similar to that of men. In 1885, Henry Gerhart Appenzeller established Bae Jae Hakdang and managed the School of English. At that time, a number of Korean men enrolled in the school. Their sole aim was to obtain a government position, getting good jobs after graduation in the high ranks at

¹⁷¹ J. O. Paine, ‘Back at Ehwa Hakdang’, *KMF*, Vol. 2 No. 10, August 1906, pp. 179-180.

¹⁷² *Ehwa paek nyŏn sa* (One Hundred Years of the History of Ehwa), p. 40.

the *Chosŏn* Court.¹⁷³ In this circumstance, Korean people gradually came to realise the opportunity for 'equality' taught in theoretic Western philosophy. This realisation can be found in the leading article of the independence newspaper (*Dong Nip Shin Mun*).

The life of women is not worth less than that of men. However, the reason why men devalued women is that men were aware of women's real power and women were uncivilized. Moreover, it is unfair that women's remarriage was regarded as being vulgar although men were permitted several wives. If Korean women study hard and extend their knowledge, they will be aware of the fact that women's rights are equal to those of men.¹⁷⁴

This was published in 1896 and was the first article ever to be written by a Korean dealing with Korean women's issues. The *Dong Nip Shin Mun* shows the expectation that an effect of education would be complete human equality. At the same time, they had changed from the traditional ideals to a new perception. Through this, we can see that Koreans, including Korean women, did not distinguish between the differences of the social concept of equality and the religious notion of equality in Western Christianity. In short, the educational activities of American missionary women during the social enlightenment of Korea were regarded by Koreans as a social movement, rather than religious propagation.

On the other hand, the aim of the American missionary women was education as a method of evangelism. The illiteracy of Korean women was a great barrier to female evangelism. The utmost goal of female education was to facilitate reading the Bible. In 1897, C. C. Vinton and Alexander Kenmure insisted on the importance of Korean Christian literature.¹⁷⁵ Through this, Korean women had the opportunity to

¹⁷³ Paik, *Han'guk kaeshinkyosa* (The History of Protestant Mission in Korea), pp. 135-136.

¹⁷⁴ *Dong Nip Shin Mun* (The Independence Newspaper), 21 April 1896.

¹⁷⁵ It must be held to include all writings that make for the propagation of that wider Christianity by when the world designates the condition of a people measurably freed from superstitions and setting its face steadily toward a full Knowledge and exercise of the best power God has conferred upon it... 1.

achieve literacy. In the relationship with Koreans, missionaries could match their aim of literacy for Christian propagation well with the need for Korean literacy. However, they did not always harmonise with each other.

Although American women asserted human equality, benevolence and sacrifice, there was ambivalence in their attitude. Gradually, conflicts arose between Korean women and female missionaries. First of all, female Korean students and teachers thought that the dual attitude of American missionary women working in mission schools was strange.

According to Hwang Gi-dong's witness, she did not venture outside this girls' school for ten years. One day, a male student moved from a room outside the school to inside the school. There was a well in front of his room. At the time, a female student, Whang Nu-ra, went there to clean her clothes. A few days later, Mrs. Campbell found out about this and whipped the girl's calves, fulminating at her demanding an explanation for why she had gone near the boy's room.¹⁷⁶

American missionary women strictly controlled the relations between men and women in mission schools. This behaviour was no different from that prescribed by Korean Confucianism, which strongly tabooed relations between boys and girls. This attitude can be interpreted in two ways: 1) American missionary women were always concerned about the Korean traditional customs because they did not want to conflict with the existing conservative Korean groups; or 2) they were following their traditional American role-female roles. They were thus confused between their understanding of Korean women's suffering under Korean Confucian tradition and the need for Korean women's emancipation, in the name of the 'Enlightenment Movement'.

A small tract in the form of an allegory intended to find ready readers among women and girls...4. A Translation of Foster's "Story of the Bible" Alexander Kenmure and C.C. Vinton, "The Literary Need of Korea", *KRP*, Vol. 4, February 1897, pp. 60-63.

¹⁷⁶ Chang Chung-rang, p. 217.

To summarize, one can say that American missionary women played a role in the education of Korean women in early Korean mission. Although they opened up opportunities for education to Korean women and then achieved remarkable results, opening up higher education and indeed the professions to women in Korean society, American missionary women, in practice did not properly understand the state of Korean women in the Korean traditions and social situations of the period. Consequently, there were several conflicts with Korean women in terms of women's emancipation and national enlightenment. This shows their lack of cultural and social comprehension of Korea and perhaps practical difficulties in executing the mission enterprise of female education. Accordingly, we can see in detail how this ambivalence in American missionary women appeared in the work of evangelism and as a result, how the relationship between female missionaries and Korean women influenced the leadership of Korean women in churches which assumed clear traits of Confucian patriarchy.

3.3 Medical Mission and Women's Status

How did the medical mission of American women relate to women's status?

In America, H. B. Montgomery, in her 1910 book on the United Study of Foreign Missions, systematically linked the work of the female missionary to social change in the mission station and in the medical mission. She said medical mission eliminated 'the old superstitious division between the spiritual and the secular'¹⁷⁷. Medical mission combined the activities in the religious and earthly spheres, which had been distinct for Americans before. This enabled female doctors and nurses to participate

¹⁷⁷ H. B. Montgomery, *Western Women In Eastern Lands*, (New York, Macmillan, 1910), p. 126.

in the religious enterprise of mission, which ordinary people, including women, could not have done before. That is to say, medical mission provided women with an opportunity to follow a profession and made them confident in their society. At the same time, society also accepted the capacity of professional women, changing people's attitudes towards women's professions in a male-dominated society. In view of this paradigm shift, Montgomery believed that through medical mission, the position of women in America was evolving toward the desired state of equality.¹⁷⁸

However, we should approach her claim with suspicion. Were American missionary women really concerned with the establishment of equality between men and women? The recruitment, payment, and treatment of female missionaries was very different from those of male missionaries. For instance, missionary wives normally worked without payment with the double burden of housekeeping and mission work, even though they had professional ability, and women missionaries were rarely able to work in mission in their own right after marriage.¹⁷⁹ We cannot ignore the fact that women have still not yet attained equal rights in the all areas of society. It may therefore be useful to assess the influence of medical mission on women's status in the relationship between American missionary women and Korean women.

3.3.1 The purpose of medical mission

Medical mission played two roles within mission work. Firstly it enabled easy access to indigenous people, and secondly it led to the spreading of the gospel to

¹⁷⁸ Hill, pp.135-137.

¹⁷⁹ See D. Kirkwood and F. Bowie, *Women and Missions: Past and Present, Anthropological and Historical Perceptions*, (Oxford, Berg, 1993).

patients and their families. American missionary women were especially concerned for Korean women who suffered from illness in Korean Confucian society.

Before American missionary women participated in medical mission, it was almost impossible for Korean women to receive modern medical examinations or special care, being treated by male Korean doctors in accordance to Korean Confucian tradition which strongly upheld sex-discrimination. Thus there were many cases of inadequate or even dangerous medical treatments. For example, when male doctors examined female patients, they did not touch them directly, but they used a line connected to them as they lay on a bed in a different room.¹⁸⁰ Korean women of the lower class had to depend on folk remedies or spiritual healing through Shamanism. For instance, they used *doenjang* (Korean soybean paste) on wounds, because it has a disinfectant function, or they went to a female shaman in their town and participated in her exorcism to heal illnesses. Consequently, a large number of Korean women died from illness in these situations.

The advent of female medical missionaries encouraged Korean women to ask for medical help. American missionary women had easy access to them only through medical mission. Korean women were able to get to know the world outside their isolated houses when going out for medical treatment, and female missionaries in medicine naturally had several opportunities to send the gospel to those who were otherwise difficult to meet if they stayed in their houses, following the Korean tradition.

¹⁸⁰ Chang Byōng-uk, pp. 150-151.

3.3.2 Training Korean women in medicine

Why did American missionary women train Korean women? American missionary women urgently needed to create a supply of people who had medical and linguistic competence. In medical treatment, the language problem was significant. In one record of medical mission, the problem is noted: ‘Necessarily much of my own time during all the year has been taken up with building: Miss Hallman’s forenoons were reserved for her language study.’¹⁸¹ The Nevius mission Policy¹⁸², welcomed by both missionaries and Korean people, underlined this need, and that of the education of Korean women.¹⁸³ The demands of a Confucian-dominated Korean culture also necessitated the employment of Korean women to help American male doctors.

It is difficult to say that American missionary women educated Korean women as medical students in order to develop the status of Korean women by class. In the *KMF* journal from 1905 to 1910, there are few references concerning women’s equality. Nevertheless, Rosetta Sherwood Hall managed the course of medicine for women, *Yōja ũi hak pan*, and the Nurse School from 1890. In the process, she trained the first Korean female doctor, Esther Park¹⁸⁴. This meant that women began to have a part in the medical profession, which Korean society had not permitted women to have before. As a result, we cannot deny that the contribution of American missionary women in mission played a role in developing the status of Korean

¹⁸¹ Mrs. R. S. Hall and Mrs. Esther Park, ‘Woman’s Medical Work, Pyōngyang’, *KMF*, Vol. V. No. 7, 1909, p. 109.

¹⁸² Min Kyōng-bae, *Han’guk kidokkyo haesa* (The History of the Korean Church), (Seoul, Korean Christianity Press, 1991), pp. 191-195.

¹⁸³ “We have to endeavour to evangelise Korean ladies and educate Christian girls, because Korean women, as housekeepers should have impact on the education of the next generation.” *Ibid.*, p.194.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Copy of the Sketch of Woman’s Medical Missionary Work Placed in the Corner Stone of the New Hospital, Pyōngyang, May 20, 1908’, *KMF*, No. 7, 1908, pp. 109-110, and Montgomery, pp. 120-121.

women.

Direct evidence of American women's interest in Korean women's emancipation is less vital than the evidence of action as illustrated by the work of R. S. Hall, who was interested in and worked for Korean women in medical mission. She was a missionary to the New York slums and started her work in Korea as a single missionary woman. After her marriage to William J. Hall, she established the first hospital with her husband in Pyöngyang. Her activity was remarkable in medical mission. She started a Blind Children's School and was eager to manage *Pyöngyang puin pyöngwon* (the Women's Dispensary of Extended Grace in Pyöngyang) on 15th May 1894¹⁸⁵. In addition, though she lost her husband through illness during the war between China and Japan, she ceaselessly managed hospitals and educated Korean women in medicine. Her son Sherwood Hall also worked in the medical mission of Korea under her firm influence. The Hall family was dedicated to medical mission in Korea.¹⁸⁶ First as a single missionary woman and then a missionary wife, Rosetta Hall was respected as a vital part of medical mission.

Esther Park, who was directly influenced by Hall, was a *chöndo puin*. She was an assistant who studied medicine in Ehwa Girls' School, and worked in *Po Gu Yö Kwan* (the hospital for Korean women) and *Key Hole* Hospital from 1890 to 1894. While she helped Hall, she was eager to study medicine for the sake of poor Korean women. She was encouraged by Dr. Hall to become a female doctor, and in order to study medicine in America, she went to New York with her husband, Park Yu-san,

¹⁸⁵ 'Pyöngyang e innün Pyöngwon (the hospital in Pyöngyang)', *Dae han krisdo haebu* (the Journal of Korean Christians) Vol. 2 No. 32, 11th August 1899.

¹⁸⁶ See *The Life of Rev. William J. Hall, M.D.: Medical Missionary to the Slums of New York, Pioneer Missionary to Pyöngyang, Korea*, by Rosetta S. Hall, (Seoul, The Research Institute of Korean Christian History, 1984), and Sherwood Hall, *With Stethoscope in Asia: Korea*, (Virginia, MCL Associates, 1984).

following the Hall family in December 1894. She graduated from the Woman's Medical College of Baltimore in 1900 with the strong support of her husband.¹⁸⁷

Hall's son, Sherwood Hall, described the relationship between his mother and Park and explained why she educated her:

Esther Park, who had been her faithful Korean assistant in hospital and Bible work, begged Mrs. Hall to take her along too. Mrs. Hall agreed that perhaps the time had come for the long-cherished idea of studying medicine in America.¹⁸⁸

The following suggests that American missionary women aimed more to evangelise Korean women through medical mission than to professionalise them, though that they worked in a medical capacity was definitely part of the missionary witness;

One of these, Martha, had come to the hospital some years before minus the finger and thumb of her right hand and a portion of her nose, the work of a jealous husband, who had secretly carried off her two dear children, whom she has tearfully sought in vain. She was a hard faced, ignorant, and bitter woman when she first came to us, but the sweetening influence of the Gospel of Christ did its work and thus began a life that speaks for Him in this dark land. Another is Grace, who also made her acquaintance with the hospital as a patient. She was a deformed helpless cripple, saved from a life of slavery and cured of her many infirmities.¹⁸⁹

This seems little different from the aim of male missionaries who recognised the oppression of Korean women: 'For until Christianity came, womanhood was debarred from that real work in the community for which she is undeniably constituted.'¹⁹⁰ This suggests that the perception of Korean women's oppression held by American women originated not from incipient feminism but rather from the

¹⁸⁷ Her husband, Park Yu-san died from the white plague in 1900 because he did heavy labour in farmlands to support of her studies. Rhie Deok-joo, *Han'guk ūi chogi yōsōngdŭl* (Early Christian Women in Korea, 1990), pp. 74-75.

¹⁸⁸ Sherwood Hall, p. 159

¹⁸⁹ Miss M. J. Edmunds, 'Training Native Nurses' *KMF*, Vol. II. No. 8, 1906, p. 154.

¹⁹⁰ Rev. G. H. Johns, 'The Capping the Nurses', *KMF*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1907, p.49.

ethnocentrism and religious position of the missionary: the pain of Korean women came from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism, which were inferior to Christianity.

Were female medical missionaries expected to work for Korean women alone, rather than for all Koreans? Ruth Compton Brouwer's research on Canadian missionary women in Korea suggests this is not the case, even if a typical missiological view of 'Women's Work for Women' suggest otherwise. She gives the historical evidence of Dr. Florence Murray,¹⁹¹ working in the Korean mission.

Indeed, she (Murray) obviously believed that, irrespective of their sex, the poor should have access to affordable Western medical care. Thus in 1925, when Dr. Hall of East Gate Hospital joined the McCully sisters, two elderly Canadian evangelistic missionaries in urging Murray to restrict her practice to "women's work for women," she dismissed their suggestion in a joking fashion....But Murray and her male colleagues treated patients of both sexes. And, significantly, they shared in teaching nursing students after the Hamhung hospital school of nursing was established in 1928.¹⁹²

Brouwer's historical description in 'The Triumph of "Standards" over "Sisterhood": Florence Murray's Approach to the Practice and Teaching of Western Medicine in Korea 1921-69,' gives a clear indication of missionary women's idea about medical mission. There may, it is true, have been different mission strategies between Americans and Canadians in different periods between 1910s and 1920s. Yet there was cooperation between Americans and Canadians cooperation in the medical-educational mission in the early Korean mission, and this may well have been more pronounced among women. They worked for all, being mission providers for mission receivers. What exactly was the process of the female medical mission in Korea?

¹⁹¹ She is a Canadian medical missionary in the United Church of Canada.

¹⁹² Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women, Modernizing men; The Changing Mission of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-69*, (Toronto, UBC Press, 2002), p. 74

3.3.3 The enterprise of American missionary women in medicine

There were two denominations that positively participated in the medical mission of Korea where female missionaries were active.

The Presbyterian medical mission did medical work for higher-class people at Court. On the other hand, the object of the Methodist Episcopal Church in medical mission was the poor class, including women and children in the lower class, *Minjung*.

The former mission played a role in shifting the image of Christianity and western people in the *Chosŏn* monarchy. A Presbyterian missionary, Dr. Horace N. Allen, established the Kwang Hae Won hospital and encouraged female missionaries to work as doctors for the queen and female nobles.¹⁹³ The latter mission was organised by Mrs. M. F. Scranton with her son, W. B. Scranton. She required her mission society to send female doctors and nurses for Korean female patients who found it difficult to receive treatment because of *Nae Woe Pŏp*, the law restricting contact between men and women.¹⁹⁴ Dr. Meta Howard was sent by the Women's Mission Society in 1887¹⁹⁵ and the hospital for Korean women only, *Po gu Nyŏ Kwan* (Salvation for All Women Institution), was constructed. It was named by Queen Myung-sung and as the name implies, it played a vital role in treating and protecting Korean women from various diseases, and it belonged to women.¹⁹⁶ The beginning of medical mission was clearly good for Korean women.

In 1892 the *Po Ku Nyŏ Koan* established a branch hospital, Baldwin Dispensary,

¹⁹³ F. H. Halington, *The Relationship between America and Korea*, (Seoul, Ilzokak, 1982).

¹⁹⁴ *The 17th ARWFMS (ME. C)*, 1886, pp. 46-48.

¹⁹⁵ Sherwood Hall, p. 238.

¹⁹⁶ F. E. C. Williams, *The Korea Mission Year Book*, (Seoul, The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1928), p. 222.

and in 1899 the hospital moved from Chung Dong to Dongdae Mun, amalgamating two hospitals. In 1909 construction started on the greatest hospital for women in Korea, which was completed in 1912. It was called the Lillian Harris Memorial Hospital to commemorate the death of the female doctor Lillian Harris, who had worked in medical mission from 1897 to 1902.¹⁹⁷ In Pyöngyang, Kwang Hae Yö Won (Woman's Hospital of Extended Grace) was established. Mrs. R. S. Hall with Esther Park treated 4, 260 patients in fifteen months, according to the record of the Korean Woman's Conference (1906).¹⁹⁸

American missionary women did achieve a degree of equality for Korean women, but rather more as an indirect result of their work than a clear emancipating strategy. The restrictive custom of Nae Woe Pöp was weakened through the Korean women coming to the hospitals which American missionary women managed.¹⁹⁹ They had had difficulties in coming and going out of their own houses, but in the process of receiving treatment, they met other people in the hospitals. Korean women, especially the elite, who had been kept indoors, experienced the outside, and through the American missionary women, some became willing to participate in education for a female profession.

The Korean (women) nurses especially deserve praise for their unflagging energy and capacity, when one considers the ordinary shrinking and reticence of Korean women with regard to the opposite sex, one can see how great was the influence of careful training, which enabled them to perform so well duties which would task to the utmost Western capacities.²⁰⁰

In that Korean women could gain social competence and self-confidence vis-à-vis Korean men through their medical activity, the contribution of American

¹⁹⁷ 'Po Ku Nyö Koan', *The 18th ARKWC (ME.C)*, Seoul, 8 to 14 June 1906, pp. 9-14.

¹⁹⁸ 'Medical-Evangelistic Work for Women and Children, Pyöng Yang', *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁹⁹ Chang Byöng-uk, pp. 157-158.

²⁰⁰ Mrs. J. W. Hodge, 'A Glimpse of the Wounded in the Severance Hospital', *KMF*, Vol. III, No. 8, 1907, p. 123.

missionary women was noteworthy. Moreover, they indirectly offered Korean Bible women the opportunity to enlarge their arena through this mission. There were *chōndo puin* in every hospital. Their role was to spread the gospel to patients and after leaving hospitals to help them to continue their Christian lives with strong faith.²⁰¹

Bible woman Mrs. Eunice Whoong has done another large year's work – she reports over 300 visitors who have accompanied the patients to the dispensary. Mrs. Whoong has met and taught all in the waiting room, has visited 4250 in their homes, 400 of our heathen patients have attended the church services, 32 have given their names in as seekers and from those reported formerly, 23 have become probationers, 29 baptised and 15 full church members. Mrs. Whoong has sold 643 books. Our evangelistic work needs two Bible-women to properly look after it, unless some of the women of our mission could follow it up more as they do in China.²⁰²

The Bible women, *chōndo puin* looked after proselytes to Christianity after leaving hospital and played a connecting role between churches and hospitals. They were thus crucial agents who linked the medical and evangelistic works.

Clearly, the contribution of American missionary women to Korean mission was immense. Nevertheless, we can still ask whether American missionary women considered women's liberation for equality in medical treatment and education. One is faced with a negative conclusion based on the mission strategy, 'Women's Work for Women'. Of course, this was an effective start for eliminating cultural difficulties, yet at the same time it represents another example of sex-discrimination in Christianity with its distinction of job and mission between men and women.

²⁰¹ For example, R. S. Hall stated the evangelistic achievement of Korean Bible women in the document, "Medical-Evangelistic Work for Women and Children", Pyōngyang, 1906, Korean Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

²⁰² Mrs. R. S. Hall and Mrs. Esther Park, 'Woman's Medical Work, Pyōngyang', *KMF*, p. 111.

3.3.4 The response of Korean women to medical mission

Did the medical work of American missionary women affect all Korean women as much by their perception of health and medicine as by any actual work they did?

Traditionally, there was a group of female medical people during the *Chosŏn* Dynasty, called *Wee Yŏ* (female medical agents of the Korean Court) which had been at Court since 1406. The practice of having female medical agents comes from the tradition of Korean Confucianism. Women believed that they would be dishonoured by contact with men, including male doctors, on the basis of Confucian rules such as *Nae Woe Pŏp*. Many Korean women would rather die without medical treatment than feel shame. However, the women of the lower class, for instance governmental prostitutes or female servants, did not keep distance from men because they were of humble birth. Finally in the reign of King Tae (1367-1422), young government prostitutes, drawn from the lowest class, were trained to become *Wee Yŏ*, in order to assist Korean women of high birth. By the *Chosŏn* Dynasty, therefore, the perception of female health workers, or *Wee Yŏ*, had for centuries been negative to Korean people.²⁰³

At the beginning of medical education, American missionaries wanted to recruit more Korean women for medical work. Inevitably, some Korean women responded to them, although it was very difficult to find sufficient workers, owing to the negative understanding of female health workers in the Korean tradition.²⁰⁴ Over time, an increasing number of Korean women studied medicine and worked in the

²⁰³ Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng and Ha Hyŏng-kang (ed.), *Han'guk Yŏsŏngsa* (The History of Korean Women: From the ancient period to Chosŏn dynasty) Serial Volume 1, (Seoul, University Press of Ehwa, 2001), pp. 533-540.

²⁰⁴ Kim Du-jŏng, 'Kun sae chosŏn ūi weeyŏ jaedoe kwanhan yŏngu (The research of female nurses in Chosun)', *Asia YoeSung Yoengoo* (Research on Asian women), Vol.1, (Seoul, Research institute of Sook Myung Women's University, 1962), pp. 14-15.

medical area. Usually they worked as assistants and received a salary. Miss Ernsberger in the Baldwin dispensary report said, "With an average yearly allowance of *yen* 885.00 for assistants, this work has been prosecuted and accounts today for at least five helpers."²⁰⁵ This was attractive to Korean people who hoped to be capable of joining Korean society.

Acceptable though female medical missionaries may have been to upper class women, there was conflict with another category of Korean female medical workers, Korean female shamans, *Munyŏ* (or *Mudang*).²⁰⁶ The group of *Munyŏ* played an honoured role in serving the health needs of lower class people. Korean female shamans were themselves from the lowest class, *Chŏnmin*, but were powerful female leaders for *Minjung* spiritually and sometimes practically. With the advent of western medicine, their power weakened, and American missionary women criticised their treatments as mere superstitious nonsense.²⁰⁷ American missionary women came mostly from conservative Protestant denominations, and they tended to reject other religions than Christianity. Korean women accepted the outsiders' evaluation that the activity of Korean female shamans was unscientific and superstitious. One result of mission medicine was the partial elimination of female grass-roots health leadership in Korea. Korean women were divided by the religious and cultural conflict between the Christian mission of American women and the Korean religious tradition of Korean women. This was the negative result of the medical mission, echoing the imperialism of the evangelising mission. Equality could not be achieved.

Therefore, the medical work of American missionary women had advantages and

²⁰⁵ Miss Ernsberger, 'Baldwin Dispensary Report, 1909', *KMF*, p. 112

²⁰⁶ The role of female shamans was various. Especially, they cured *Han* (the mental and emotional pain of Korean women) with healing exorcism. Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng (ed.), pp. 549-568.

²⁰⁷ Yi U-jŏng, pp. 48-49.

disadvantages for women's equality. First of all, we can acknowledge the fact that American missionary women changed the image of traditional female nurses, *Wee Yō*, and provided a new profession for Korean women. Also we cannot ignore the fact that they formed female elite groups. The traditional female leadership, which I have argued throughout, did exist within all Korean religions, and the new female leadership were divided by the work of American missionary women. Furthermore, they confronted traditional female groups, female shamans, and persecuted them as savages in the name of religion. Also, while American missionary women talked much about equality, this was not concrete: with a few exceptions, Korean women in the medical field were assistants.

3.4 Evangelism and female leadership

Historically, female leadership has existed in all areas, although its recognition has been marginalized in church and society. Arguably at least now, as there is no area within evangelism, as there was with Korean Shamanism, medicine, or indeed the *anpang*, where women are indisputably in charge. American missionary women, working under men, served as the role model of leadership in the Korean mission and transferred this to Korean women, working under American women. However, there were various obstacles to active independent Korean women leadership. Young Lee Hertig explores this in the situation of the Korean church as follows,

Projecting the crucified Christ on the one hand, and Confucian patriarchalism ideas on the other, women's leadership qualities in the church are defined by sacrifice, dedication, and obedience. Due to the lack of any other image of women's leadership contemporary female church leaders, whether ordained or unordained, are confined by the frozen image of the nineteenth-century Bible

woman.²⁰⁸

Indeed argued in Chapter One that Hertig's understanding of leadership, based on Yinist feminism, is not especially helpful here, being both vague and impractical. In the next section, we will discuss the virtue of female leadership, firstly, with regard to the equality of feminist ideology, and secondly with regard to the relationship between missionary women and *chōndo puin* in the evangelistic mission of Korea.

3.4.1 Christian social movement and the Great Awakening in Korea

From the 1880s, the work of female missionaries concentrated on the social enlightenment of Korea. They extended their arena to direct evangelism from medical and educational work only after proscriptions had been lifted in 1898. A good example was Bo Ho Yō Hae (the group for women's protection) in 1900, which was first led by Miss L. F. Frey. The main activities were the aid of the poor at Christmas, training to assist flood victims and patients, and visitation for evangelism.²⁰⁹ Afterwards Korean women broadened the group's activity in churches. They gained experience in social relationships outside of their family through managing the female evangelistic society.

The spiritual revivals in Korea from 1903 to 1907²¹⁰ changed the pattern from collective social reform to the religious fervour of individual salvation. The trend

²⁰⁸ Young Lee Hertig, 'Without a Face: the Nineteenth-Century Bible Woman and Twentieth-Century Female Jōndosa', Robert (ed.), *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, p. 187.

²⁰⁹ *Kidokkyo kamnihoe yōsōng kyohoe 60nyōnsa* (60 Years of the history of the Korean Methodist Mission Society of Women), (Seoul, the Women's Mission Society of the United Korean Methodist Church, 1966), pp. 41-42.

²¹⁰ In the prayer meetings of Wonsan from 1903, there were a number of female missionaries. For instance, Annie Hinds, Arrena Carole, Mary Knowles, Josephine Hounshell, and L. H. McCully experienced the beginning of the Korean great awakening. J. L. Gerdine, 'More Pioneers of Korea', Charles A. Sauer (ed.), *Within the Gate*, (Seoul, YMCA Press, 1934), pp. 48-49.

rapidly impacted on Korean women. In the awakening, American missionary women were surprised by the religious eagerness of Korean women, seeing Korean women as inferior to Korean men in terms of intelligence, but superior to men in respect of deep faith, religious experience, and spirituality.²¹¹ In the period of the Korean Great Awakening, American missionary women acted with religious enthusiasm and thought this approach the right way for forming Christian homes in Korea.²¹² This is how one single female missionary expressed the Korean spiritual awakening and the response of Korean women:

We had gone with the Bible woman into the home several weeks previous to his (Dr. Hardie) coming, telling the women of the proposed services and urging them to so arrange their work as to make church going the business for a week. What a wonderful week that was! Though having attended many blessed revival services at home, we had never before seen such intense conviction of sin, such marked manifestation of the Spirit's presence and power...During the service she (a Korean Bible woman) arose and made what must have been for her a most humiliating confession and since that time her development into a most aggressive Christian worker has been truly marvelous.²¹³

The stress on individual salvation made not only female missionaries but also Korean women focus on evangelistic work and the growth of churches. Naturally, American missionary women led Korean women to participate in the church-centred events, for example, Bible classes, gospel travel and Sunday schools. As a result, Korean Christian women, named New Women, progressively participated in the evangelistic work of churches. Beyond the initial female schools, how did American missionary women work for evangelism and how did they establish their leadership?

²¹¹ Kim Ūn-jōng, *Han'guk kyohoe esō natanan yōsōng jidoryōk koch'al* (The Examination of Female Leadership in Korean Church History), Th. M., Historical theology, Korean Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2000, pp. 33-34.

²¹² "...We see not a few native Christian homes where Korean mothers are teaching their little ones to pray of their song 'Jesus Loves Me'." L. H. Underwood, 'Woman's Work in Korea', *KRP*, Vol. 3., February 1896, p. 62.

²¹³ Miss M.R. Hillman, 'A Wonderful Week', *KMF*, Vol. II No. 10, August 1906, p. 183.

This will be discussed in the next part.

3.4.2 Bible classes and Sunday schools

Female missionaries endeavoured to train Korean women who would be able to exercise leadership in the Korean church. Mission societies and Korean churches were in dire need of female workers due to the rapidly increasing number of female laywomen and their children after the awakening. Missionary wives did participate in the work, though they were burdened with housekeeping, helping with their husband's work, counselling Korean women, and other activities. Given the small number of foreigners, Koreans had to be trained for female evangelistic work and leadership in the Korean churches. Thus, the actual situation and the evangelistic fever of American missionary women accelerated the formation of female leadership in the Korean church.

According to some records, the eagerness of American missionary women toward evangelism was much greater than toward medicine and education. For instance, M. F. Scranton reported on the seriousness of evangelism and training Bible women: Kyung Keui Do needs at least two additional foreign workers and a Day school and a Bible woman in every town and village where their group of Christians was. The imperative need of a Bible Woman's Training School cannot be overstated. I think everyone will acknowledge that the force of native workers should be increased without delay; but before we send them out to teach, they must themselves be well instructed.²¹⁴

American missionary women managed prayer meetings, female Bible classes, Sunday schools, and Bible women's training schools. These were the explicit training

²¹⁴ M. F. Scranton, 'Mead Memorial Church and Kyung Keui Do', *The 18th ARKWC (ME. C)*, June 1906, p. 27.

grounds for Korean female leadership.

Firstly, the Bible classes trained Korean women to be female Christian leaders in the Korean church, under mission guidance as *puin kwonsŏ*. In 1888, female Bible classes were started and American missionary women taught the Bible to Korean women at a variety of venues and times. Mrs. Gilford and the other missionary wives led classes in their homes. Mrs. Underwood taught the Bible to women and girls in *Mohwa kwan* (Korean women's club), E. Strong took over the duties of Bible teaching from her predecessor, Mrs. Wells. After 1893, an emphasis on Bible study was included in the Korean mission strategy.²¹⁵ From this start, the number of Korean women training *puin kwonsŏ* as Bible Women was increasing, the number doubling from 1904 to 1905. When we consider that 114 of 237 Korean church workers in Seoul were women in 1899,²¹⁶ this shows how important the evangelistic work of American missionary women had been in the Korean mission, and how much influence they had in increasing the representation of Korean women in church organisation.

The pattern of Bible study was to pray and to memorise basic information from the Bible: names of the 12 apostles and of the 12 tribes of Israel, verses of scripture, books of the New Testament, etc.²¹⁷ Some Bible classes were developed as Bible Institute seminaries in churches. According to the reports of the Korean Women's Conference of the Methodist Church in 1906, the Bible classes were opened everyday at various times. The Institution in Pyŏngyang was composed of the

²¹⁵ Joo Sun-ae, *Jangnokyo yŏsŏng sa* (The History of Women of the Presbyterian Church), (Seoul, National United Mission Society of Women of Korean Jesus Presbyterian Church, 1979), p. 63.

²¹⁶ Yi U-jŏng, *Han'guk kidokkyo jangnohoe yŏshindohoe 60nyŏn sa* (The History of Laywomen's Group of the Korean Presbyterian Church), (Seoul, United Laywomen's Group of the Korean Presbyterian Church, 1989), p. 57.

²¹⁷ Mr. Clark, 'Women's Work', *KMF*, Vol. VI No. 9, 1910, pp. 230-231.

following.

Bible Institution

The Fall Bible Institution was held from November 14th to November 25th. There were one hundred eight women and girls in attendance.

The teaching force and subjects taught were as follows:-

Dr. E. K. Park	Luke's Gospel and Hygiene
Miss H. Robbins	James
Mrs. E. D. Follwell	Bible History
Mrs. J. Z. Moore (Susan interpreting)	Life of Christ
Mrs. Sadie Kim	Methodist Catechism
Mrs. W. A. Noble	Church History and Studies in the Old Testament ²¹⁸

The teachers consisted of female missionaries and two Korean women, a *chōndo puin* (Mrs. Sadie Kim²¹⁹) and a female doctor, Dr. E. K. Park, also trained as a *chōndo puin*. The curriculum was much more progressive than that of previous Bible classes in churches. The contribution of Park and Kim was vital to the success of the Institute.

In such institutions, women missionaries picked out a leadership core of Korean women and taught them basic evangelistic work. The practical training was the itinerancy of spreading the gospels. Such itinerancy was adventurous and challenging to both American missionary women and Korean women. It followed a modified Nevius policy and a number of male missionaries tended to participate. The female missionaries were happy to gather the fruits along with their students although they felt the difficulties of language, culture, and climate.²²⁰ Miss M. L. Guthapfel gave

²¹⁸ Mattie Wilcox Noble "Report of Evangelistic Work, Bible Institutes, and Three Day Schools, Pyeng Yang", *The 18th ARKWC (ME. C)*, 1906, p. 61.

²¹⁹ Mrs. W. A. Noble described her as the greatest helper and Bible woman in her article "Bible Woman Sadie Kim", *KMF*, Vol. III No. 6, June 1907, p. 88.

²²⁰ Problems for missionaries may be exemplified by the following: "I really believe we lower ourselves in the eyes of the Koreans and the cause for which we came is not aided but rather evangelistic work may be hindered if we accept as a matter of course rude sightseeing and idle curiosity." 'Foreign Woman's Evangelistic Work in City and Country', *KMF*, Vol. VI No. 10, October 1910, p. 260.

the following impression of itinerancy:

The result of the trip in numbers as follows: 91 meetings, 20 of them song services and 71 study or prayer meetings, besides a great number of personal talks with special people. Mrs. Scranton had charge of all the study, the writer visited the homes and looked after the singing. We traveled in all about 143 English miles, visited 16 villages, held a two weeks' class at one of the large centers. Since our return, we have been able to secure three of Seoul's Christian women, who are now traveling over the district we visited...So we call on you to rejoice with us that the work is going on.²²¹

This activity achieved two results: 1) efficiency in evangelistic work to female unbelievers of the Korean Confucian tradition; and 2) forcing the mission society to accept the importance of women's work and the position of American missionary women.

The external evangelistic work gradually influenced the internal work like Sunday schools. Missionary wives or female single missionaries in Sunday schools saw an increase in Korean laypeople and the rapid increase of their leadership in churches. Usually female missionaries managed the Sunday schools along with their Bible Class students or Bible women from Bible Woman's Training Institutes. They led Korean Christian women in evangelism and at the same time brought them up as female leaders in the Korean churches by means of counselling and training.²²²

However, American missionary women were limited by the ideology of the existing Christianity. They spoke of enlightenment and the Christian home of Korean women but did not cross the bounds of the male-centred church tradition: in relation to Korean women, they themselves functioned almost in a male role.

Tell how useless it has proven to talk to the women (a Korean wife), and that the

²²¹ M. L. Guthapfel, 'Bearing Fruit in Old Age', *KMF*, Vol. II No. 3, January 1906, p. 43.

²²² "We have had to combine the weekly prayer meeting for the women and the Sunday School Teacher's Class, but we hope through the summer vacation to be able to give more time to this work." L. F. Frey, 'Evangelistic Work in Chong Dong Church', *The 20th ARKWC (ME. C)*, 1910, p. 15.

only way to bring them to a realization of the importance of this teaching is for their *husbands* to insist on their taking better care of themselves when the need arises. The *moksas* (male pastors) must help us in this and teach the men to care for their wives.²²³

The female writer, Mrs. A. M. Sharrocks, seemed to assume that Korean women could not change by themselves but only be changed by men like their husbands or male pastors. This shows the hierarchy of churches: women → men → pastors. This replicated the hierarchy of the Korean mission: Korean women → Korean men → American female missionaries → American male missionaries. Female missionaries seemed to have been passing on ethnocentrism in their evangelistic work following the existing tradition that applied to the situation of Korean women.

3.4.3 The reflection of female leadership in Korean women

Among Korean women, female leadership developed in the process of evangelistic work. Apart from leadership capacity derived for Korean religion and said life in the pre-Christian era, American missionary women did educate them directly for leadership.

The Five Bible women are growing old in service but are nonetheless faithful. The weekly report cards show they have daily visited in the home of both church members and unbelievers, and personally led 396 to Christ. 80 probationers in two classes have been examined for baptism. The enrolment of the 579 probationers is largely due to the labors of the Bible women.²²⁴

The evangelistic achievement of Bible women naturally extended to female believers' groups and female leadership in churches. Missionaries still had difficulties in communication in Korean and it was difficult for male pastors to

²²³ Mrs. A. M. Sharrocks, 'Work Among Korean Women', *KMF*, Vol. II No. 2, December 1905, p. 34.

²²⁴ L. F. Frey, 'Evangelistic Work in Chong Dong Church', p. 15.

overcome the barriers of Korean customs. Therefore, the activities of Bible women led to the development of Korean churches and the successful mission enterprise of mission societies.

The supervision of Bible women belonged to female missionaries or missionary wives in all churches. Through classes, institutes, and counselling, they guided the evangelistic work of Bible women and simultaneously received help with their language problems from Bible women. This interrelationship enabled the growth of female leadership and the numerical growth of the Korean church, because they looked after new female believers, taught children in Sunday schools, and educated women for baptism.

However, we cannot ignore two negative aspects of the leadership training of American missionary women and Bible women, *puin kwonŏ*, and *chŏndo puin*, in churches. Firstly, American missionary women were not free from ethnocentrism in the nineteenth-century mission. In Korean churches, any female leadership there was for Korean women or children only, not Korean men and American missionaries. There was often considerable tension between missionaries and indigenous people, and a definite power imbalance. Accordingly, it was difficult to show equality where female leadership was in the hands of female missionaries. As Yi U-jŏng points out, we can also conclude that female leadership was hindered because American missionary women in conservative denominations emphasised more fundamentalist approaches to Christianity, accepting the status of women and lacking humility toward other cultures.²²⁵ In practice, there were cultural and situational dilemmas in actualising the equality for women's emancipation, through evangelistic work and leadership formation.

²²⁵ Yi U-jŏng, pp. 24-25.

Secondly, female missionaries and Korean women did not overcome the male-dominated situation of Korean churches. As some Korean feminists have said, female missionaries worked with zeal, but did not analyse the mission field. For female missionaries, the criteria of freedom for Korean women from what they saw as their traditional position included a high value on Christian marriage, home management with western sanitation, and being earnest believers who might even suffer and be expected to endure the abuse of their husbands and families.²²⁶ The underdevelopment of female leadership in the Korean churches and of real independence for Bible Women was caused more by the ignorance of American missionary women and Korean Christian women about women's equality than by external hindrances.

This section has shown how female missionaries built up female leadership in the Korean churches, but restricted them from extending the leadership to their structural systems and the wider environment. Thus they missed the chance to establish resolute leadership in the Korean church and inadvertently contributed to the smooth setting aside of the role of *chōndo puin* in Korean church history by the current gatekeepers.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show historical processes of women's blood-and-tears endeavour toward equality through the enlightenment of mission work. There were remarkable outcomes: higher education, female professional jobs and

²²⁶ Kim Hyōn-hi, *Han'guk kaehwagi kidokkyo yōsōng undong ūi kwanhan yōngu* (The Research of the Feminist Movement of the Early Korean Christianity), Th. M., Church History, University of Hanshin, 1986, p. 62.

some female leadership in society and church. Nevertheless, both Korean women and American missionary women were limited by their restricted ideals and the existing systems. The aim and achievement of mission from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century was not for equality between men and women but for evangelism. In that evangelism, the concept of egalitarianism was defined as an abstract human equality before god, but it did not extend to gender equality with regard to roles and social opportunities.

Socially, Korean women were undergoing the transition from feudalism to modernism. Politically, they were readily involved in the independence movement of the early twentieth century. They were attracted to American missionary women, impressed by their work with indigenous women based on the human equality espoused by Christianity. The enthusiastic response of Korean women to egalitarianism ensured the enlargement of the female missionary arena in the Korean mission. The interrelationship between American missionary women and Korean women brought about social changes to modern society and Christian settlement in Korea.

Underpinning their activities, and, I argue, dependent on them however, were crucial Korean indigenous endeavours toward egalitarianism and Korean women's emancipation. Queen Myung-sung and the Kae Hwa P'a (Reformed party) had stressed the importance of Korean women's enlightenment *before* the American mission arrived. Also, such ideology was shown in the *Tonghak* movement. These linked up the work of American missionary women but were not started by them. Accordingly, we cannot think of the contribution of American missionary women in the Korean mission without also considering the indigenous influence of Queen

Myung-sung through the Kae Hwa P'a and (as discussed in chapter two) the place of women in *Tonghak*, Buddhism and Shamanism, a place which, certainly in the case of Shamanism, was severely damaged by the mission attitude.

Prospects for emancipation were good, but practice was less clear. In the emerging women's movement, American missionary women appeared to be limited by their own domestic ideology. The concept of 'true womanhood' hindered the development of women in Korean society because the role of women was defined as mothers and wives at home even though not all American missionary women were wives. Thus, the hopes of Korean women in society were restricted by American ideals of their place an ideal which took little account of the actual situation for these women in America who did not follow the somewhat middle class 'mother by the hearth' image. The new female leadership of Korean women appeared under the name of 'New Women' through the work of mission, for instance, in education, medicine and evangelism, eliminating Korean roots. Consequently, any contribution of Korean women to modern society and Korean churches as fully Korean was within strict parameters.

Throughout this research, the early mission of American missionary women has been evaluated with regard to their contribution to Korean women's equality. They were not enthusiastic supporters of women's emancipation in the sense of independence from male authority. Korean women, too, did not fully understand the ideal of 'equality' in Christianity as experienced through missionaries. The understanding and aims of the American missionary women differed from those of Korean women, particularly from the middle of the early Korean mission (1910-1945). There was real tension between the recipients, Korean women, and the

providers, American missionary women, and while it was predictable, it did have a definite effect on the process of mission. Korean Christian women were on the bottom rung of the hierarchy of the Korean church, American male missionaries at the top. It can be explained by the ethnic and gender problems. American missionary women seem to have been able just to accept this hierarchy within the context of mission, but it has left a legacy with which Korean women are still struggling. Perhaps the inner working of equity and equality within American structures was not transparent: the outward show was.

In mission studies, we cannot neglect this interrelationship between missionaries and indigenous people in the power structure of mission. The degree of attention to this interrelationship will cause the evaluation of female activities in mission to vary. With respect to these problems, I propose to develop my research into the history of *chōndo puin* in the second part of this dissertation in a manner that both reflects the assessment of American missionary women reviewed in this thesis, and redresses the weakness of male scholars and western female scholars.

Conclusion of part one

The purpose of part one has been to assess the social condition of Korean women in traditional Korean society, as influenced by the indigenous religions of Korea – *mudang*-Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and *Tonghak* based on critical ideas in the existing historical writings. The aim is to evaluate the degree to which Korean women were able to exercise leadership roles in traditional Korean society, reflected by a view of Korean grassroots' women. This entailed critical assessment of the

dominant lines of historical interpretation of the condition of women in nineteenth century Korean society; that of western missionaries who portrayed Korean women as the submissive victims of traditional religions, and that of contemporary male Korean historians who, often with uncritical acceptance of missionary sources, portray Korean women as oppressed by *Han*. Christianity, by contrast, is portrayed as the liberation that empowered Korean women in leadership roles that had previously been denied them. By critically assessing the missionary views against a review of the condition of women in traditional Korean society, it was argued that the traditional leadership styles of Korean women enabled them to play constructive roles, admittedly from a marginalised position, during a period of rapid transformation of Korean society from 1864 to 1938.

The second and third chapters were presented with two distinct focal points; Korean women's position was viewed in awareness of firstly Korean traditional religions and then western Christianity. In Chapter Two, we can find several points of evidence. Firstly, Korean women's religious role in Shamanism was a very independent one. Their religious behaviour, centring mainly on female *mudang*, interpreted their practical religious ideology applying to their lives. This religious activity clearly alleviated the majority of the Korean people, middle-lower status men and women from mental oppression and physical health problems. Women were totally in charge of the planning for and performance of the *Kut* and thus were leaders in the community as a whole, not just for women. This can be seen as linking to the women's leadership, secondly, in the survival of Buddhism which had been the most powerful religion in *Koryŏ* (this is the name of the Korean territory from 918 to 1392) but was in danger of being eliminated by Confucian *Chosŏn*. Through women's help, Buddhism was able to maintain its religious hold in Korea albeit as a

fusion with Shamanism, which the women reproduced religiously.

In short, traditional religions of Korea were entirely supported by female leadership, which consisted of the *anpang* network, practical activities and spiritual power. Newer Korean-based religions such as the *Tonghak* movement that had risen in the crisis of late *Chosŏn* positively accepted their religious leadership and developed their powerful roles. Therefore, it was argued that the mission portrayals of Korean women were based on distorted understandings of Korean religious and cultural traditions, and that Korean women were in fact able to exercise leadership roles within each of the indigenous religious cultures that have shaped Korean history.

In Chapter Three, we saw that American missionary women assessed Korean women according to western domestic ideology: the Christian home. According to this idea, Korean women had suffered under male-centred Confucianism and had been “uncivilised” by inferior religions, Buddhism and Shamanism. Consequently, they concluded that Korean women had been in the dark, lacking any religious civilisation. In light of their assessment, they firmly claimed that only Christianity was able to give the poor women peace and happiness because only Christianity possessed equality and enlightenment in the world for women. In that respect, the missionary women worked for educational enterprises focusing on Korean women. Through their educational and medical mission activities, they presented with pride the growth of proper Korean Christian homes, the result of their educational activities. However, the researcher pointed out their misunderstanding and the irony of this domestic ideology. The ‘Christian home’ was also produced out of western ideas on patriarchy within Christianity in order for women to survive the practical

demands of the lives of western churches. Accordingly, their Christian pride in the issue of women was problematic. To show the error in the mission attitude, I demonstrated that the missionary concern with these goals complemented and at times quashed indigenous initiatives that can be identified with Queen Myung-sung and the Kae Hwa P'a (Reformed Party), and that the missionary women's understanding of equality and enlightenment was circumscribed by American cultural ideals of "true womanhood" and commitment to evangelism that affirmed human, but not gender equality, arising from the incomprehension and social superior attitude of the missionaries, which categorised a descending hierarchy, 'male missionary-female missionary-male Korean-female Korean'.

Chōndo puin's practical leadership derived from traditional religions, not just western educated leadership as taught by missionary women. This point is crucial to *chōndo puin's* background, and is the base line from which to access the activities of *chōndo puin* analysed in the second part.

Part Two

The History of *Chōndo Puin* in Korea, 1895-1945

Introduction

There are a multitude of different accounts and stories about the *chōndo puin*, which seem to have attracted little concern in mission studies and even less in Korean church history. In the beginning most of them were mere mission aides, for which I use the term *puin kwonsō*, but soon, many of them became church leaders and social reformers. This group of remarkable women, the so-called ‘Bible Women’, the *chōndo puin*, eventually appeared in roles of considerable power, beyond the confines of the *anpang*, a precedent for women in the strongly Confucian society of the time. Arguably, however, they were still less powerful than in Shamanism.

Differing from the Catholic missions, the Protestant missions seriously considered the importance of bible texts in the period, believing it impossible to expect conviction and belief of new native Christians without their knowledge the Lord’s Words. In this situation, both vernacular works and colportage were essential methods of the mission. In the process of Bible-selling by Bible societies and mission societies, it was vital to have native Bible Women who were able to sell bibles, teach native scripts and Christian doctrine, evangelise native non-Christians in every mission fields. The Korean Protestant mission was not exceptional in this case.

Part Two of this dissertation considers the *chōndo puin*’s stories firstly from the perspective of Korean Christians, particularly that of women in the history of Korean churches, and secondly the overall Korean context of religious culture. Why this

must be regarded with such urgency is that while few writers saw the importance of *chōndo puin* earlier, it is still possible to access the history through oral means. This vital group was marginalized for a long time in the history of Korean Christianity and indeed, in mission studies of world Christianity elsewhere. For these reasons, it is time to open up the treasure trove of stories dating back to the beginning of Protestant mission in Korea. This fourth chapter, building on the earlier arguments of the stronger than assumed position of women in three earlier Korean religions, Shamanism, Buddhism, and *Tonghak*, presents detailed data from archival, literary and oral sources on the *chōndo puin*, both the earlier *puin kwonsō* and the later fully-fledged *chōndo puin*.

Chapter Four

Subordinate Mission Assistants Or Active Early Evangelists? The Activities of the *Chōndo puin* as *Puin kwonsō*, 1897-1920

1. Introduction

In early Protestant mission in Korea, vernacular works of the Bible and the role of colportage were important. Native colporteurs are called *maesōin* or *kwonsō* (bookseller) colporteurs for men, *puin* (Mrs.) being added for women.²²⁷ The duties of *puin kwonsō* and *kwonsō* were selling enormous numbers of Korean or Chinese Bibles, propagating the gospel and teaching Christian doctrine.

Eventually female booksellers became generally known as *chōndo puin*, their later work involving rather more independent faith teaching of new converts. They struggled to propagate Christianity under the difficult circumstances and fluctuating socio-cultural structures found within the Protestant Christian community. This was the foundation time of Korean Protestant churches.

The Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society (the BFBS) cite the number of *puin kwonsō* in Korean mission from 1892 onwards. However, their number suddenly declines from 1920 onwards. A Korean historian, Yi Man-yōl,

²²⁷ According to *Daehan Kidokkyohaesoehae Haeknusa* (the Hundred Years History of Korea Christian Publication), the Korean Bible society (called by *Daehan Sōnkyo Sehoe* in Korean) employed *Maeseoin* (賣書) or *Kwonsō*(權書) with the aim to sell bibles in 1915. Particularly, *kwonsō* in 1925 came from that the group of Korean colporteurs. They called themselves *kwonsō* as meaning a person who reads the bible to people or persuades others to buy them. Lee Jang-sik, *Daehan kidokkyohoesoehae haeknyōnsa* (the Hundred Years History of Korea Christian Publication), (Seoul, The Korean Christian Publication, 1984), pp. 178-188. This about *kwonsō* also appears in the document of 'A History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1912-1923', particularly, page 385 and line 17. The History Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, *A History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1912-1923*, (Seoul, The Church Historical Society of Korea, 1968). In this circumstance, the bible women written by the documents of mission society like the BFBS or magazine like the Korean Mission Field were called sometimes by *puin* (Mrs.) *kwonsō*.

came to the conclusion that the reason for this decline was a rapid increase in formally-structured and male-dominated church development after 1920.²²⁸ Women had served their purpose. Therefore, I am limiting this chapter's scope to the 1892 – 1920 period.

My research questions in this chapter are the following; what exactly was the role of Bible Women in the Asia mission between the middle of nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century? What was the relationship between the vernacular Bible and *puin kwonsŏ* in the mission work of Rev. John Ross in Manchuria? How important was the link between the *puin kwonsŏ* and Korean *Ŏnmun* orthography, historically used by women? What role did the *puin kwonsŏ* play in the early beginnings of Korean mission in relation to male and female missionaries? And what were the evangelistic impacts of *puin kwonsŏ* on the establishment of Korean churches within the difficult context of social antagonism towards Protestant Christianity?

Based on these questions, I suggest that *puin kwonsŏ* in the early mission period were not subordinate and submissive to missionaries in the practical arena. This will be shown by following mainly the hitherto neglected story of *puin kwonsŏ*.

My main sources are the Annual Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1884-1930) (the BFBS AR) and the societies' various publications on Bible Women.²²⁹ I will present the contents of this chapter firstly, by introducing the

²²⁸ Yi Man-yŏl, *Han'guk kidokkyo wa minsokweesik* (The Korean Christianity and Nationalism), (Seoul, Jisiksanubsa, 2000), pp. 356-374. He analysed the reason 1) the commission sellers, 2) the settling development of Korean church, 3) the vigorous activities of *chŏndo puin* and so forth.

²²⁹ In addition, I will use other primary sources in Korean and English; The Korean Mission Field, The Korean Review, The Korean Repository, Annual Reports of the Annual Meeting of Korean Mission in the Methodist Episcopal Church (1898-1913), Korean Christian Magazine Korean Methodist Magazine and Victorious Lives of Early Christian in Korea. (There is some direct storytelling of early *chŏndo puin*.)

situation of the Bible Women in East Asian mission with the BFBS & American Methodists such as ‘Women’s Work for Women’. These papers give us an insight into the origins and significance of *chōndo puin* in the early Korean Protestant mission through this research of *puin kwonsō*. Particular attention will be paid to the opportunity of leadership afforded *puin kwonsō* through their work, the overall picture being elaborated by the story of Tabitha Won for the middle period.

Secondly, the beginning of their work will be illustrated by the *Ōnmun*, letters written by Korean women (in Korean) and the vernacular Bible translated by John Ross widely used in Manchuria. John Ross was a Scottish missionary from the Church of Scotland, who worked for Korean refugees in Manchuria and was very interested in the Korean people who he met in the ‘Corean Gate’²³⁰ on the border between Korea and China. In assessing his Korean vernacular version of the Bible, we need to understand the historical and cultural situation of the Korean orthography at that time, *Ōnmun*. Before the *Ōnmun* script was created, Korean people used Korean in speaking but Chinese characters for writing particularly in the *Yangban* class (the high class of Korea). This orthography’s public name is *Hunminjungŭm* (訓民正音) a “right letter of teaching people”, invented around 1443. Initially an elite script, its use quickly descended the social scale, leading to its description as ‘the indecent letter which was a tool of writing spicy talks or stories’. In *Chosŏn* society from 1446 to 1910, Korean men almost exclusively used Chinese Characters to write and read, *Ōnmun* being used by those high-class women who were educated. Given that John Ross used *Ōnmun* script for his vernacular enterprise of the

²³⁰ The ‘Corean Gate’ was the customs house in Manchuria, a route between Korea and China. For missionaries working in China, it is a very important place to meet Koreans without any religious intervention. Min Young-jin, ‘Ross yuk lukabokŭmse ūi sōjisahang kwa pōnyōk ūi sōngkyōk (A Bibliography and List of Traits of Translation of the Luke, Ross Version Gospel)’, *Sōngkyung Wonmun Yōngu* (The Research of Original Text of Bible), Vol. 2, February, 1998, p. 135.

Protestant mission, we need to see how this relates to gender and proselytisation in Korea.²³¹

Through the above process, not only bible selling but also incipient evangelisation could be seen as the initial work of *chōndo puin*. This was also the case for the *chōndo puin*, but they later expanded their witness into other areas of mission.

2. Bible Women; New Frontier of Mission Agents in East Asia

In the mid-nineteenth century, western missionaries, particularly English speaking mission agents, started to utilise new native agents in their mission field, whom they used to convert and train male natives as Christian evangelists. Such patterns have been used in the history of inter-cultural mission, but records of the process in the early centuries of Christian expansion are less detailed, or absent. However, the BFBS documents from 1860, there had been a lot of reports describing their Bible Woman's activities.

What happened in the East Asian mission field in the period? What was the beginning of the Bible Woman in the East Asia? In those situations, what did missionaries think of the activities of the Bible Woman? And finally how did the trend extend to the Korean mission situation? To answer these questions, we should start by looking at European Bible Woman who lived and worked in Europe.

²³¹ Yi Hyōn-hi, a 1980s historian described Korean women and *Ōnmun* this way; "In the male dominated situation of *Chosōn*, the women were not able to be educated equally to men. On the other hand, they not only learned but also contributed to preserve Korean script, *Ōnmun* which was treated contemptuously (although some scholars by the special order of the king Sejong firstly created it in order to possess the national language for the Korean people). In addition, there were prominent *Ōnmun* literatures of some female authors." *Han'guk kūndae yōsōng kaehwasa* (The History of Women Enlightenment in the Modern Period of Korea), (Seoul, Ewoo Monhwasa, 1982), p. 12.

2.1 Bible Mission-women, new evangelists in the western world.

The document, 'A few words to Bible Mission-Women' in 1861 describes the British situation in the period when Christian women worked in mission a lot ; "... "Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord" is one description of Bible Mission-women. "In patience possess ye your souls" is another, because the most fervent, zealous person must prepare herself to meet with disappointment and failure..."²³² This is a document which shows the role and importance of Bible Woman in the British mission well. They had three clear roles; 1) to introduce and make women and children read the Bible²³³, 2) to help and educate the poor²³⁴ and 3) to be charged with ministry as evangelists²³⁵. Clearly Bible Women's importance in the middle of the nineteenth century was being taken seriously in the mission situation of the western world. In addition, it seems that female roles in Christian mission were noticeable and important, rather than subordinate. This trend was raising the status of women in the mission. A good example is presented in the document, 'Bible women and nurses' in 1889.

The Work of the Bible Women is so quiet and unobtrusive that years must often elapse ere the results of the patient sowing and watering become visible. This is especially the case in foreign countries; and, therefore, our friends must not be

²³² *A few words to Bible Mission-Women*, (London; Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt, 1861), p. 8.

²³³ "We must always endeavour to connect the reading of the Bible in some clear and obvious way with our daily life, and in many cases it is more easy to do this in reading it to the poor than to any other class; they are less occupied with variety of thoughts and books. ...let the little children be noticed by the Bible-woman, that they may learn to welcome her as a friend of the family. Indeed this is one way in which she could become a very valuable Mission-woman to the poor." Ibid., pp. 6-7.

²³⁴ "It is intended that all the Mission-women shall be selected from that class which known poverty in some way. Each woman ought to have "worked for her living," as we say, and felt something of the privations in order that they may be able to sympathize fully with the troubles and poverty of those they visit; and moreover, that they may by experience be able to advise in some points of economy and management better than lady visitors have hitherto been likely to do. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that this, like all other efforts of the kind, is for the gradual improvement and raising of the poor. We desire to lift them out of the state of degradation and misery into which from ignorance, poverty, helplessness and want of friends, they may have sunk." Ibid., p. 9.

²³⁵ "Strength was granted, and the good son was enabled, as a faithful minister, to speak words of consolation to a congregation in the house of God, though in his own house he had just offered the last prayer for a beloved father. Let us look at Him who has promised never to forsake them who trust in Him. Our work is declared plainly in the Book of truth; it is no new duty." Ibid., p. 16.

surprised that as year by year December comes round we have but little to say of actual visible progress; we must be content to be the “patient husbandman” willing to labour for a future which, perhaps, we may not be allowed to see, but which will assuredly come in God’s good time.²³⁶

As self-denying but active agents, the women had impressed people, Christians and non-Christians alike, not only in Britain but also in Berlin, Lisbon, Rome, and Milan. In Lorient, Brittany, both men and women joined Bible classes to do this work, expanding their arena to the demanding context of Algiers and Tangiers, where they continued to train small groups of native women who were believers. It said also that a remarkable result in Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa, came about through their work. Moreover, the BFBS educated sixteen or seventeen native agents in early India.²³⁷ Similarly to the work of Bible Women in Europe, female missionaries trained native agents in mission fields located in foreign countries.

2.2 Bible readers, yet more than just readers, in American’s Asian missions

Women’s position in home and foreign mission in America was also growing in this period. Dana Lee Robert writes that Methodist women in New York City on the American Methodists mission board, founded in 1819, had supported single women such as Anne Wilkins, a pioneer missionary in Liberia, in foreign mission fields through their auxiliary. The Ladies’ China Missionary Society, founded in 1848 by Methodist women in Baltimore, Maryland, sent three single women sent to Foochow, China as teachers. Congregationalist American Board was officially opened to women in 1868 and they organized a Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of New

²³⁶ *Bible women and nurses; A Record of the Work of the London Bible and Domestic Female mission*, Dec. 1889, (London, British and Foreign Bible Society), p. 1.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

England.²³⁸ The work of western missionary women emerged from these situations in which western Christian women possessed independent organizations. They were active and systematic and gave more chances to native women to participate in mission through activities organised by female mission workers.

This reflection of mission strategy was shown also in the Asian mission of American Presbyterian missionaries, which seemed to have been influenced by the Methodist mission 'Woman's Work for Woman'. According to the report of 'The Woman's Presbyterian Board of Mission (W. P. B. M.)' in 1875, they sensed the importance of female missionaries work and the significance of native women agents as Bible readers.

...The work among the women is quite as encouraging as any we have, and as to visible result, we have had as much to encourage us here as in Ningpo, the only field with which I am as well acquainted as with our own. What I do is done almost entirely through my Bible reader. She visits daily from house to house when the weather will permit, and is well received. She has on her list ten women who are anxious to hear, and whom she visits regularly ... Mrs. Seng was baptized at our last communion. The latter is upwards of sixty years old, and first heard of the true God from our Bible reader six years ago.²³⁹

This report of a missionary wife represented the work of female missionaries to native women as Bible reader. Firstly, women approached educated women and taught them to be Bible readers. In the next phase, they trained Bible readers who did not have any barriers of their own language or cultural adjustment problems in the field, in order to send them to women's groups and native people in the role of Bible reader. Mrs. Dodd in this point very precisely described such achievements when she describes the baptism of an elderly woman, Mrs. Seung, Mrs. Dodd's Bible reader

²³⁸ Dana Lee Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, (Macon, Ga., Mercer University Press, 1996), pp. 127-129.

²³⁹ Mrs. Samuel Dodd, 'China-Hangchow', *Woman's Work for Woman of the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Mission* (Woman's Work) 1875, Vol.V. No. 6, pp. 298-299.

was trained by her and later visited many Chinese homes to propagate Christianity. This can also be seen in other materials about Japanese mission.

We are supporting Bible-readers of whom we never hear. This is from one of the auxiliaries. It depends very much upon the missionary who has charge of the work whether you hear from these women or not...Pray that the missionary may be guided, and that strength of purpose, energy of will, power of endurance and perseverance to the end may be given to the Bible-women.²⁴⁰

As the reporter, Mrs. Carrothers said, Bible readers in Japan were already very important agents whom missionaries realized they should support, as they were a crucial to the various mission plans in Japan. Because of Japan's cultural history it was a hard place for missionaries to work in. What happened to the British and Foreign Bible Society's mission Bible Women in East Asia?

2.3 The rising importance of East Asian Bible Women in the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1884-1899

The British and Foreign Bible Society, acting on the 1890 reports of Bible women from the East Asian mission fields, in 1894 offered grants to other societies for the training of native women. Between 1888 and 1889, there was a steep rise in the number of Bible women. For instance, the 1889 number of Bible Women is given as 314 in the eastern part of the world; 209 in India, 57 in Ceylon, 9 in Syria and Palestine, 13 in Egypt, 7 in China, and 5 in Mauritius & Seychelles. In the years 1887 to 1888, they sold 7,070 copies of the Bible, and in 1888-89 10,6015 copies. Such sterling work enabled the society to secure a more widespread diffusion of the

²⁴⁰ Mrs.J. D. Carrothers, 'Japan', *Woman's Work*, No. 4. Vol.VII. 1877, p. 208.

scripture among Asian women.²⁴¹

This report additionally presents the results of mission work relating to Bible Women in the mission stations. It describes many Bible Women's achievements in the Church Mission Society of Hong Kong, the Zenana mission of India and so forth. Commonly, the missionaries working with the women concluded that Bible Women played a great role in evangelising those hitherto untouched by Christianity. Moreover, the 1890 report, in a section on 'the Satisfactory Character and influence of the Bible Women', cites much successful work of Bible Women and explained the processes of the Bible Women's mission. The section 'Encouraging result' and 'Grateful expressions of missionaries and societies', sets out the activities of Bible Women under a deteriorating situation, together with the mission societies' hopes for the future.²⁴²

The next report, in 1895, makes the Bible women's success even clearer, showing the ongoing process of supporting Bible Women in the mission societies of many East Asian countries.

The number of Biblewomen has again risen. Returns have been received for 27 more than in 1892-3. The number of native women to whom, on an average the Scriptures were read by them has grown to 4, 546 a week more than before, and stands now at 26, 560. Out of those are being taught by the Biblewomen to read, no less than 1, 549 native women have attained, within the year, the power of being able to read the Scriptures for themselves. The whole circulation for the year comes to 15, 263 Bibles, Testaments or detached books of Scripture...The 429 Biblewomen were geographically distributed thus- India 310, Ceylon 76, Syria and Palestine 14, Egypt 18, China 5, Straits 2, Mauritius and the Seychelles 4. The 310 in India were apportioned thus- in Bengal, Behar, Chota, Nagpur, Orissa and Assam, 120; in the Madras Presidency, with Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore, 89; in the Bombay Presidency, with Sindh, 42; in the North-West

²⁴¹ Bible Women in the East, *the Eighty-Sixth Report of British and Foreign Bible Society* (after The BFBS AR), (London, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1890), pp. 196-198.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 202-209.

Provinces, 25; in the Panjab 23; in Central India 8; and in Burma, 3.²⁴³

One can see that there were missionaries in many mission fields of East Asia, organising Bible Women's role and activities, who achieved many conversions already, based on good starts from a few countries like India, China, and some countries.

Particularly India was continuously reported as a good mission field where Bible Women in the Zenana mission actively worked for evangelism using the Bible. Comparing the number of India in 1895, there is a noticeably different number of Bible Women from that in other countries, resulting from the mission societies' support. According to 'Bible Women in the East' in *The Ninety-Third BFBS AR*, the Zenana Bible mission, among 32 missions, shows the highest number of women per week to whom they read the Bible, 2,128 by twenty one Bible Women. This means the society's aid had been positive and the work of Bible Women obtained great results.²⁴⁴ Based on this result, the society planned to extend this system by which Bible Women were utilised in mission fields as vital and effective agents in China, Korea, and Japan until September 30, 1900.²⁴⁵

Their efforts to apply the Bible Women system in China were very well documented in the statistics in 1899²⁴⁶. The report says; "Their work is also growing

²⁴³ Bible Women in the East, *The Ninety-First BFBS AR*, pp. 232.

²⁴⁴ 'Biblewomen's Reports, October, 1895-September, 1896', Bible Women in the East, *The Ninety-Third BFBS AR*, pp. 202-203.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

²⁴⁶ Bible Women in the East, *the Ninety-Fifth BFBS AR*, pp. 211-212.

<Table 2> Summarized Table of Work in all the Fields, and of the Grants made,

Country	Number of Bible women	Average No. of women per week to whom they read the Bible	Women who became able to read during 1897-1898	Scripture		Total	Arrear and advance Grant, made in 1898-9
				Sold	Given		
i. India, &c.	509	30,474	1,617	13,682	4,768	18,450	£ 3,210 17 9
ii. China, &c.	43	1,155	313*	2,305	28	2,333	189 13 5
Total	552	31,629	1,930	15,987	4,796	20,783	3,400 11 2

in China and Japan. More than 31,600 women were read to in an average each week and nearly 2,000 copies of Holy Scripture were circulated by this Agency.”²⁴⁷ The Society energetically expanded the system of Bible Women to China, Korea and Japan, their Korean project being especially successful.

<Table 3> Summary of Bible Women’s Reports For Year Ending September 30th, 1898²⁴⁸

Country	Number of Biblewomen employed	Average number of women read to per week	Copies given			Copies sold			Total circulation	Receipts by sales	Paid in advances on a/e	Supplemental Grants	Total Grants	
			Tests.	Portions	Total	Bible	Tests.	Portions						Total
China	28	974	8	20	28	3	87	1,747	1837	1865	£ S. d. 4 6 2	£ S. d. 90 12 2	£ S. d. 27 9 8	£ S. d. 118 11 0
Korea	10	104						390		390	137	32 12 7	12 4 0	44 16 7
Japan	5	77				8	28	14		50		17 0 0	9 15 0	26 15 0
Total	43	1155	8	20	28	11	115	2,151	2277	2305	419 9	140 4 9	49 8 8	189 13 5

The report presents the rapid development of work in these three countries as opening a new chapter in the history of the Bible Society’s foreign labours. In fact, Korea and Japan were untrodden by Biblewomen, although China was supported by twelve Biblewomen of the BFBS. The society’s effort resulted in an increase in number of Bible Women from twelve to forty three turning the charge of whom issues testimony to 5 in Japan, 28 in China (12 were in Manchuria, 4 in Hongkong, 1 in Formosa, and 11 in China Proper) and the 10 in Korea (6 are stationed in and 4 around Seoul).²⁴⁹ Thus, the reporter wrote; “Reports from the East are unanimous in testifying to the earnest self-denying work which these Bible women are doing: they embrace all the opportunities of life in their master’s service. On board Chinese junks during a temporary stay in port, in homes, at classes, in hospitals and dispensaries

*Inclusive of some who are as yet only learners
²⁴⁷ Ibid.
²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.216. The Society’s Agents: in China, Rev. G. H. Bonfield; In Korea Mr. Kenmure; in Japan, Mr. Geo. Bratithwaite.
²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 216-217.

and prisons, in cities and villages, they endeavour to scatter the World of God. Pioneering, prospecting, winning their way and gaining access to hearts by living the Gospel as well as proclaiming it, suffering yet never murmuring, full of self-denial, they are doing Christ's true work."²⁵⁰

Puin kwonsŏ in the Korean mission field in 1890s were gradually recognized as vital mission agents, similar to those in India, China and other mission fields. Let us now address the relation between 'vernacular works and colportage' and '*puin kwonsŏ* as female book-sellers for the Korean mission'.

3. Missing links; the connection between John Ross and the *puin kwonsŏ* in the work of the Korean vernacular Bible

The Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland, 1860-1867 shows Korea as a province of China. A document within the Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland, 1865²⁵¹ mentions that while Korea was an infertile land for Protestant mission, China had great promise, according to John Williamson's description of the situation of Korean Christian mission and the current state of belief there.²⁵² Based on former Catholic mission and other mission societies, which were similarly starting missions to Koreans, most Koreans knew of Christianity and some had already converted of their own volition. Missionaries would need a more systematic and concrete strategy of mission such as a vernacular Bible and support of

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 217.

²⁵¹ "Foreign Operation-China", *Annual Report of National Bible Society of Scotland* (after N.B.S.S. AR), (Edinburgh, National Bible Society of Scotland, 1865), pp. 35-37.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 36. "In conversation they expressed their trust in the atonement of the saviour, and said that they worshipped God daily, and tried to lead good lives. When a blessing was asked before tea, one of them immediately offered prayer in Corean. They appeared to be ignorant of any distinction between Protestantism and Romanism; when Mr. Williamson spoke to them of Jesus, they are at once saluted home as of the same faith, and in conversation always called him "Holy Father". From their statements, and further inquiries made, it would appear that there are in Corea about 50,000 of the same faith."

Korean Christians.

John Ross, a Scottish missionary in Manchuria, close to the border of North Korea, began to work with Korean refugees in Manchuria and then with people in the then geographical state of Korea. He translated the Bible from English to Korean, using *Ŏnmun* script. In addition, he eagerly focused on evangelism with colporteurs. Ross' Bible was more powerful than the Chinese Bible version translated by a Korean intellectual, Yi Su-jöng in that period.

His Bible version was especially meaningful for Korean women who used *Ŏnmun* orthography in the 'inner room'; some said it was the letters of the 'inner-room'. The Ross version *Ŏnmun* Bible, (it was the New Testament)²⁵³ brought Christianity directly into the locked 'inner room' of Korean women and their network. We need to examine the link to the Ross' translation and his *kwonsö* (colporteur)'; and the *puin kwonsö* who were independent of his enterprise.

3.1 The John Ross version Bible to Korea

The Ross version Bible came into Korea via three routes, from Japan, Manchuria and Inner Manchuria. The Bible was the first translation of the Gospel of Luke and John in Korean, published in 1882. Ross wrote a letter to Arthington on 24th March 1882,

I should much like if you could send on £50 to cover the cost of John's Gospel. If you so desire it, £10 or £12 more might be sent to engage a member as colporteur and within the year 6,000 copies of the gospel would be circulating and preaching in as many centres throughout the length of the land from our

²⁵³ See as the article of Young-Jin Min, 'Ross yuk lukabokümse üi söjisahang kwa pönyök üi söngkyök (A Bibliography and List of Traits of Translation of the Luke, Ross Version Gospel)'.

shores to those of Japan. From what the Koreans tell me, I believe that though having to distribute in secret, the sales would cover travelling expenses.²⁵⁴

The Ross version Bible gained a route into Korea from Japan and an influx of bible selling began in Korea. According to a record in 1882, Ross sent 1000 copies of Luke and John to J. A. Thomas from Manchuria, the NBSS of agent and missionary of the United Presbyterian Church in Japan with a view to introducing them into Korea.²⁵⁵ Rev. Thomas, and his wife Mrs. Thomas who became the first white woman to enter Korea when they visited in 1884,²⁵⁶ distributed Ross' text; 1,155 copies of the gospels Luke and John in 1885 and 1,250 in 1886. Judging from the fact that there were no more reports on scripture circulation until 1895, Ross' version seems not to have been available.²⁵⁷ After failing to send his version by Japanese routes, another Korean version of the four Gospels and Acts, was translated in Japan by Soo Jung Yi, and published by the BFBS in 1884.

There was another route of the Ross version Bible to Korea, via Manchuria. Kim Chung-song's case is typical. He worked as a compositor in mission from spring 1882, bringing Bibles with him on visits home.²⁵⁸ Or, some people worked using official connections, such as acquaintances visiting Manchuria; "A translator in Moukden had 200 left to give to the Korean Embassy which passes through Moukden from Peking in a few days".²⁵⁹

The third route from Manchuria was also complicated. According to a document of the BFBS in 6th October 1882, the first colporteurs are Yi Eung-chan who was 'long

²⁵⁴ *Editorial Correspondence of the British Foreign Bible Society- Inward*, Vol. 17, P. 76f.

²⁵⁵ *ECI-BFBS*, Vol. 17, p. 177. and *The BFBS AR* in 1888, p.287. the first Korean Bible, 'Jesu Söngkyo Lukabokum Jyönsö (예수성교누가복음전서, The Book of Luke of Jesus Christ' was published in March 1882. After 1883, the BFBS supported to publish Ross version Bible.

²⁵⁶ *Quarterly Record of the National Bible Society of Scotland*, Oct. 1884, 'A visit to Corea'.

²⁵⁷ *The BFBS AR*, for 1885 p. 42, & for 1886, p. 46.

²⁵⁸ *The Christian Dawn in Korea*, p. 243f.

²⁵⁹ *ECI- BFBS*, Vol. 17, P. 338

re-established in good conduct and the evangelist in Paek Wee-joo must be Hong Chun who was employed by McIntyre.²⁶⁰ Both men had worked for Ross as teachers, translators, or compositors. Now they were working as colporteurs. They went back to Korea with Ross version bibles and short collections. Working with Ross translating Bibles and teaching Koreans, they learnt Ross' Christian ideas and then already interpreted Christianity themselves on the basis of their own cultural-religious background. Those who possessed this indigenous Christian ideology were powerful messengers for mission work.

According to the magazine, 'Bible Society Monthly Reporter' in July 1884, the state of affairs in that period was noted as follows;

The Rev. John Ross writes from Moukden, on the border of China and Corea, under date March 20, as follows:- "Your colporteur Li (a Corean)²⁶¹, while acting as compositor, returned two years ago to his native land, taking with him several copies of Luke and John, then newly printed. A copy of each he gave to a friend, Jang, who had never been an idolater, but had always believed in the Supreme Being. During those two years he studied the Gospels attentively, as, having given up business, he had abundant leisure. Several months ago he came here with the colporteur, taking with him a younger brother. He was intimately acquainted with the Scriptures he had read, his errand here being to solve some difficulties and especially to be baptized. Both he and his younger brother were baptized, and I persuaded him to remain with me for a few months, as the literary man whom I had hoped for had not come to my assistance. He is doing good work, being an excellent Chinese scholar, as well as knowing accurately his own language. He is the first fruit of your new version. Of very many who speak highly of the doctrines revealed to time through it I cannot speak particularly time will manifest them...A younger man, formerly a compositor, who came back a few days ago from a visit to his mother, who was seriously unwell, has just gone to Corea at his own special request, to sell two boxes of our Gospels. He knows nothing of danger, though, of course, his sales are transacted in

²⁶⁰ *ECI- BFBS*, Vol. 17, pp. 177ff.

²⁶¹ The man who had his surname, Li can be deduced Yi Eung-chan in the period of this report and the outlook of this report written by Rev. John Ross.

dwelling-houses and inns, not in the public street.²⁶²

This is a good record showing how Korean mission agents like colporteurs were devoted to bible selling and mission, having understood Christianity from translating the Bible with Ross at a time when Korea was rejecting antagonistic Christianity as a corrupting religion from the 'western' world. This third route was the most effective way of bible influx to Korea. To see how people of the period evaluated the Ross version Bible, we need to know what Ross' criticism of the Chinese Bible for Korean people was and how he emphasised the superiority of his Korean version.

I have read a great deal of a translation being made in Japan²⁶³. Specimens have been sent me of the Gospels and Acts. It is not a translation, but the Chinese literary version given with diacritical marks though these marks are not always correctly used, I do not see that they can do much harm as they are placed beside the text. At the same time this "version" leaves matters exactly where they were. To a good Chinese scholar they are of little or no value, as he could make them for himself, while to a poor scholar, or to the ninetenths of the population who know not Chinese, nothing can be of any service which is not written in their own language.²⁶⁴

He pointed out the problems of the Chinese version Bible in comparison to his Korean version Bible. Firstly, the Chinese version Bible for Koreans did not make the exact meaning of the Bible understood to Korean people who were only able to speak Korean. At that time, most books had been written in Chinese letters in Korea even though Korean script, the *Ŏnmun*, had been created in the fifteenth century of the early *Chosŏn* dynasty. This script was then mainly used among women and not men. This shows the literacy problem is to be considered in Korean society, since Korean men of the upper class continued to use the prestigious Chinese script but most Korean women other than some high-class women were not supposed to.

²⁶² 'An Open Door in Corea', *Bible Society Monthly Reporter*, July 1884, (London, the British and Foreign Bible Society), pp. 127-128.

²⁶³ This bible would be translated by Yi Su-jŏng.

²⁶⁴ *ECI-BFBS*, Vol. 20, p. 144f (8th March 1885).

Nevertheless, among Koreans including women, most middle class people had used the *Önmun* in the period. Ross recognised this problem and the need for the *Önmun* in the Korean mission.

My interest in the people deepened with the progress of the year and as, after many amusing and futile attempts, I was able to find a clue to their language, I resolved to have the Scriptures in part or wholly translated into that language. This resolution was all the more decisive on discovering that everybody in Corea knew their beautifully simple phonetic alphabet, that “even all the women and children could read it.”²⁶⁵

With regards to the paucity of Korean literate in Chinese literacy, the Chinese version was not a good tool for evangelising Korea beyond the upper class. To make Christianity popular amongst Koreans, the Ross *Önmun* version Bible was accepted as the most appropriate for the Korean readers who were interested in Christianity or already Christians.

However, some missionaries rejected the Ross version Bible the grounds of its North Korea dialect. In 1887²⁶⁶ the “Permanent Executive Bible Committee” decided to revise Ross’ text, for second readers²⁶⁷, but by 1893, the revision had become a new translation, published in 1900, the Old Testament being completed by 1911, the whole being called the Authorised Korean Version.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Rev. J. Ross, ‘Corean New Testament’, *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Vol. XIV, Shanghai, November-December, 1883, p. 491.

²⁶⁶ By this time, there were only two missionary societies established at the end of 1884, American Presbyterian Mission (North), and American Methodist Episcopal Church (Northern Methodist) in 1889, the Australian Presbyterian Mission and the Anglican Mission (S.P.G.) p. 156 Choi Sung-il, *John Ross (1842-1915) and the Korean Protestant Church: the first Korean bible and its relation to the Protestant origins in Korea*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992.

²⁶⁷ Rev. Reynolds, ‘Bible Translation in Korea’, *The Missionary*, October 1898, pp. 499-500. “Under the present constitution, the “Permanent Executive Bible Committee”, consisting of two members from each Protestant Evangelical Mission, has full and permanent control of the whole work of Bible translation. The actual work of translating however, is done by a “board of five official translators,” selected by this permanent committee. Salaries of native assistants cost of publication, etc., are defrayed by the permanent committee with funds contributed by the three Bible societies-the American, the British and Foreign and the National Bible Society of Scotland- in the proportion two-fifths, two-fifth and one fifth, respectively.”

²⁶⁸ About the concrete process of Korean version Bible, See ‘fifty years of Bible Translation and Revision’, *KMF*, 1935, pp. 116-118. There was presented about how the Ross version had negotiated

3.2 Women's marks; John Ross and Miss Davison in terms of colportage and Bible Women

This long discussion on the creation of the *Ŏnmun* text gives the background for the work of the *puin kwonsŏ*, supported by the BFBS and the American mission. This section will discuss whether there was any work with native women or female missionaries, used Ross' works, for reading on Bible selling. According to 'The Women's Missionary magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland', in the Moukden area in the early 1900s, a female missionary offered native women mission training. The female missionary was Miss Davison. Since 1900, her reports regularly appeared in the magazine. The Moukden area was Ross' mission arena: he moved several times from this to the Korean borders. In addition, when he had considered Korean vernacular work with Korean men and then travelled to the Korean borders for evangelisation, he needed someone able to work with women because his wife had died. Why we need to point out the conjecture from his stories is the link between Ross and women in the mission. Following the mission trend which most missionaries' wives mainly managed the mission for native women, Ross would not be able to work with native women, particularly Korean women. Here we could have some questions; was Ross eager for Bible Women to be involved in Korean colportage? If so did, Miss Davison and him work together to this end?

Miss Mary S. Davison was working for a hospital and particularly in the training of Bible Women in Moudken. She arrived in China on 23rd September 1901 with Dr. Mary C. Horner.²⁶⁹ Her work was mainly educating Chinese girls and ladies.²⁷⁰ It

with modified version or the other version in the situation of Korea. To sum up, Rev. E. Brayent, agent of the BFBS in Tientsin, finally persuaded American missionaries working in Korea and suggested importance of vernacular work.

²⁶⁹ *The Women's Missionary magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland* (After WMM), Vol. 1

was developing quickly and obtained many fruits like establishing a girls' school and training school of Bible Women.²⁷¹ Through her work and her Bible Women activities,²⁷² she was able to prepare ten women to be baptised within three years.²⁷³

She expressed her wonderful impression of her works in the following;

With some of these women, we made the experiment of sending them out as bible-women, and from the first the plan has worked well and their ministrations have proved very fruitful. This is not to be wondered at. These women, belonging as they do to the people themselves, know how to find access to the home of the women. They know the common speech of the people, and what is of even more importance, they know the involved etiquette of Chinese life and intercourse. They come and go in the streets and among the villages without attracting any stir. So far our choice of agents has been restricted to middle aged women, especially widows.²⁷⁴

Her major task was to educate and discipline Bible Women. According to records until 1913, she successfully trained Chinese Bible Women as colporteurs. One document in 1910²⁷⁵ shows that Ross had known Davison, having spent Christmas with the same mission society in Manchuria. Was Ross involved with the *puin kwonsŏ* over his *Ŏnmun* Bible?

3.3 Ross, *puin kwonsŏ* and the mission result

When he considered Korean evangelisation, Ross only thought of Korean

No.10 October 1901., p. 242. And No.60 December 1905 p.279.

²⁷⁰ *WMM*, Vol. 2. No. 15. March 1902., p. 51. "We are going quietly about our work; it is the day of small things compared with the great work that was being carried on before I am going, whenever I can to hire a room and open a girl school."

²⁷¹ *WMM*, Vol. 2. No. 17 May 1902, pp. 109-110.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 108. "In the immediate future, it will be impossible foreign women to take up their former method of work of itinerating in the towns and villages, and more dependence than ever will be placed in the bible-women. More and more of our time and strength will thus be devoted to the work of fitting them for this important work"

²⁷³ *WMM*, Vol. 3. No. 35 November 1903, p. 254.

²⁷⁴ *WMM*, Vol. 1. No. 5 1901 p.106.

²⁷⁵ John Ross, 'Christmas at Moukden', *WMM*, Vol. 10 no, 110 February 1910, p. 36.

merchants who utilised the *Ŏnmun*, with same use of Chinese Characters. It is, therefore, very difficult to see the direct connection between Ross and Korean women in the utilisation and selling of the Korean version Bible. His contribution was often seen negatively, in references to his mistranslations, inappropriate colportage and the isolation of Bible women training. Faced with the competition in the Korean mission fields from American mission societies that consisted of Methodist and Presbyterian denominations, he had to concede, failing to gain a leading role in Korean mission. Despite Miss Davison's work in Chinese Bible Women's training, Rev. Ross did not use Bible Women in Korea, although he was enthusiastically strove for vernacular works and cooperated with male Korean colporteurs coming from North Korea.

Nevertheless, we must notice the several positive outcomes of his work; firstly *Ŏnmun* was recognised as the most effective tool of Korean mission. It took a western male missionary to consider a script that Korean people generally thought of as a humble orthography belonging mainly to women. Historical evaluations should be focus on this fact of Ross' contribution to Korean mission from the gender perspective. Secondly, through the *Ŏnmun* Bible, many Korean women had a chance to study Korean letters with the help of *puin kwonsŏ*, the illiteracy of Korean women was being addressed through religious propagation before the Authorised New Testament in 1900 was published by the 'Permanent Executive Bible Committee'²⁷⁶. Thirdly, in order to spread the *Ŏnmun* Bible, training courses or schools for *puin kwonsŏ* were gradually established. In these points, the Ross version Bible

²⁷⁶ This point is very important that before 1900, many *puin kwonsŏ* had been worked with the great achievements of the early Korean mission shown by a lot of mission records in the Scripture circulations. In the period, for a large number of Korean women who were illiterate and some Korean women who had known the *Ŏnmun*, *puin Kwonsŏ* needed the Ross version bible in order to enable the illiterate women to read bibles through *Ŏnmun* script.

contributed to the mission of *puin kwonsŏ*.

4. Hidden Relation; the *Ŏnmun* vernacular Bible and *puin kwonsŏ*

Bible reading was the key point of the process of Protestant missions, and consequently the *Ŏnmun* learning was the best way of propagation given the illiteracy of Korean women and relative ease of teaching and *Ŏnmun* to *puin kwonsŏ* in order to read bibles. Given this background, there are clear links between the vital elements of *Ŏnmun* Bibles, which were written in the language of Korean women mainly and the active works of *puin kwonsŏ*. In the respect, we will see how *puin kwonsŏ* had contributed to colportage with the *Ŏnmun*.

4.1 The first work of *puin kwonsŏ*: to make illiterate women learn the *Ŏnmun*

According to Mr. Hugh Miller's report of 1911, he described great expectations and the wonderful achievements by *puin kwonsŏ* distributing scriptures.

Firstly, female missionaries usually employed *puin kwonsŏ*. With their training and support, *puin kwonsŏ* visited local women in "the seclusion of their homes which even in this day of reform few of the high class women leave".²⁷⁷ This was a major achievement for mission in Korea, for even female missionaries were not able to enter the *anpang*, due to much cultural and religious antagonism.²⁷⁸ *Puin kwonsŏs*

²⁷⁷ Mr. Hugh Miller, 'Scripture Distribution', *KMF*, 1911. Vol. VII. October. NO. 10., p. 281.

²⁷⁸ "Christian missions were at first unsuccessful in Phyon-yang (Pyeng Yang). It was a very rich and very immoral city. More than once, it turned out some of the missionaries and rejected Christianity with much hostility. Strong antagonism prevailed; the city was thronged with gesaeng, courtesans and sorcerers, and was notorious for its wealth and infamy. Methodist Mission was broken up for a time and in six years the Presbyterian only numbered twenty-nine converts." *The Church at Home and Abroad*, August 1898, pp. 116-117.

were able to enter this almost inaccessible sphere and introduce and propagate Christianity in ‘the seclusion of Korean women’s homes’, as viewed by western missionaries. This means they overcame one major barrier, which was impeding evangelisation. Nevertheless, we should realize that Korean women networks had existed throughout Korean history. That is to say, Korean women’s society was in fact not closed or made totally controlled by the male dominated society of Korea. To Korean men and westerners, it might look reclusive, but to ‘inner’ Korean women, it was always open and allowed for the circulation of information. Therefore, we can deduce that *puin kwonsŏ*’s evangelisation was even more effective, reaching quickly beyond each single *anpang* to the local network of *anpang*.

Then, what was their exact work to women in the inner room, given the mission expectation of the western missionaries?

Her work is to read the Scriptures to the women, to urge them to secure copies and read them for themselves and where a woman cannot read, as is often the case, she gladly teaches them, either alone or in a class formed of the women of the village.²⁷⁹

According to this report, the main activity is ‘reading the Scriptures to non-Christian women’. The initial influx of Christianity to Korea was called ‘western teachings’ by academics: the focus was on the sacred text, as with Confucianism and Buddhism, and was one of the reasons for the prominence of the Bible. Secondly, the *puin kwonsŏ* were reading a collection of extracts, texts and the Bible to illiterate women.²⁸⁰ Some statistics suggest portions of each gospel were sold along with whole bibles, portions that ably described Jesus’ life and contributions very well through parables, miracles and women’s concerns. Such an approach would be very

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 282.

²⁸⁰ “Besides hearing the Gospel story told at the services, they are being taught En-mun (i.e., Korean script, *Ŏnmun*), that they may be able eventually to read the Gospel for themselves.” ‘Biblewomen at Fusan’, *The 94th the BFBS AR*, 1898, p. 270.

interesting to Korean women who were accustomed to Korean Shamanism and Buddhist folk tales. This is an important point and helps to identify the early activity of *chōndo puin*. This will be looked at in detail in the later section. Thirdly, the oral tradition of Korean women was mentioned.²⁸¹ Traditionally, mothers or elderly women tell many stories to girls and young ladies in *anpangs* (inner rooms). The *puin kwonsō* followed this tradition, seeing it as a good method of mission. This style was also very effective in teaching Korean women who did not know Korean or even Chinese orthography.

What was the work of *puin kwonsō* for the literacy of Korean women?

Miss Moore (in the Australian Presbyterian Mission) describes one of her Biblewomen teaching her pupils to read: ‘Yusil would patiently correct over and over again the same mistake, while the pupil’s face would be bathed in perspiration, and the veins standing out on her forehead with the strain of bending over the paper on which the characters were written. Then she lifted her long body and said: “Oh, the day of my death I shall not be able to learn.” “Oh, year, you will,” Yusil replied. “Try again. Why, if So-and-so can learn, and she is so old, of course you can.” In one house where we were visiting, a poor woman who was sitting listening to Yusil said at last, “Yes, but you have a light in your face that none of us have,” and her eyes wandered round the crowd of dusky faces. “Yusil replied:” I am a Jesus-believing person; of course my face is different. The Holy Spirit dwells in me and so my face is light.” With a sigh the poor woman said, “I would like to learn.”’²⁸²

This shows why *puin kwonsō* educated Korean women in Korean letters. The aim was simply to enable illiterate women to read the Bible and then evangelise them.

According to the report in 1910, the BFBS in 1909 employed “an average of nineteen

²⁸¹ “The Bible woman, always an elderly lady is highly respected and looked up to as a teacher. She is called into settle difficulties over children and daughters-in-law; she is asked to pray with the sick and bereaved, and to plead with the wayward and frequently is called upon to exorcise some spirit which has possession of the house or one of its inmates. Or she may be asked to take the initiative in burning the household gods or fetishes when the family have decided to become Christians. And some of the Bible women read to the sick in the dispensaries and the hospitals”, *The Church at Home and Abroad*, August 1898, p. 283.

²⁸² ‘Korea’, *The 101st BFBS AR*, 1905, p. 356.

Korean Biblewomen at work who have read to over 5,900 women and have taught 127 to read for themselves, besides selling 4, 280 copies of Scriptures.”²⁸³ Without reading Scriptures, missionaries and *puin kwonsŏ* thought, Korean women would not be able to reach a deeper Christianity and additionally, the Bible was the crucial canon of Christianity. In the respect, through the course of training *puin kwonsŏ*,²⁸⁴ *Ŏnmun* was vital to *puin kwonsŏs*, who had to be literate in order to read bible and teach Korean letters. In the respect, we can know that Bible women definitely contributed to the literacy of Korean women in the late *Chosŏn* and Japanese occupation.

In support of this view is a description of an anonymous *puin kwonsŏ*.

Kim Puin²⁸⁵ first came to our notice during a special evangelistic meeting in early fall. A woman of some sixty-five years of age, erect and unusually large of frame for a Korean woman the tan of her skin heightened by the bright yellow of the *sangan* bound about her head, she gave an effect far from gentle and feminine, but her eyes were sparkling with earnestness. She said, “I am the only one from a church who could come and then beside. I am the only one in our village who believes the Jesus doctrine, so I want to tell them all the new things I learn. I am not yet baptized and I must learn.” The next time we saw Kim Puin was some weeks later in her own church: she had bought a Bible and a new hymn book for a daughter-in-law, and was simply compelling her to learn to read. This was a place where previous experience had not led us to expect mother-in-law authority to be exerted.²⁸⁶

Mrs. Kim was a typical case of *puin kwonsŏ*. She had been a normal Korean elderly

²⁸³ ‘Korea-Biblewomen’, *The 106th BFBS AR*, 1910, p. 353. In the same page, there is a Miss Robb’s evaluation about this work of *puin kwonsŏ*, “I wish I could write as interestingly about the work of my Bible-women as they deserve. During the past year the opportunity for preaching and teaching has been very great, for people have listened better than ever before. In many places there are now groups of believers where a year ago there were no Christian at all.”

²⁸⁴ ‘Bible Training School Course of Study’, *Annual Report of the Korean Woman’s Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1911. Through this report, the terms were consisted of three and in the autumn and winter term of first year, *Ŏnmun* was the vital course.

²⁸⁵ ‘Puin’ was Mrs.

²⁸⁶ ‘Some Shunammities in Korea’, *Women’s Work for Women*, Vol. XXVII, February 1912, p. 39.

woman who was socially passive but enthusiastically religious. After encountering Christianity, she began to read the Bible from which she received the new doctrine and learning that she passed to family and neighbours: “I am the only one in our village who believes the Jesus doctrine, so I want to tell them all the new things I learn. I am not yet baptized and I must learn”. Finally, she helped to establish her own church and then kept on being active in evangelistic activities. A typical *puin kwonsŏ*, she touched the important area but difficult area of access, the women’s spaces in the mission through locally existing Korean cultural structures.

4.2 Heroines of vernacular Bible circulation: the achievements of *puin kwonsŏ* reported in the Korea mission of the BFBS (1892-1926)

‘What would we do without these women?’ is the way several correspondents express their appreciation of the Biblewomen in Korea. During last year we supported an average number of 33 women, who sold 8,884 volumes.²⁸⁷

This is written as the first sentence of the report on the work of *puin kwonsŏ*. To the BFBS, *puin kwonsŏ*’s contributions to spreading Bibles were indispensable, as was that of Biblewomen in other mission fields such as India, Japan and so forth. Nevertheless, the BFBS was surprised by the remarkable achievements of *puin kwonsŏ* in relatively short periods. In this respect, the relation between the BFBS and *puin kwonsŏ* was very noticeable in the mission process and results.

The main mission societies of the Scripture circulation were American and Canadian in the state of the period of Korea. The figure counted the Bible was the Chinese version; 320 copies of the New Testament and 3, 560 copies of the Portions.²⁸⁸ However, there had a problem concerning Korean translation because

²⁸⁷ ‘Korea-Biblewomen’, *The BFBS AR*, 1913, pp. 361-362.

²⁸⁸ ‘Korea’, *The 88th BFBS AR*, 1892, p. 249.

women and people of the lower classes were not able to read Chinese. The reporter comments on this problem by drawing attention to vernacular Korean script, "I am told by the missionaries resident in Korea that nearly all the women in that country can read the vernacular; and that mothers teach their children the same patriotic accomplishment."²⁸⁹

The BFBS that seriously considered native women's role in mission enterprises, began to employ *puin kwonsŏ* through mission societies, which belonged to the denominations from western countries such as the Victoria Presbyterian mission society in the southern area of Korea. In the ninety-second report in 1896, the first description of *puin kwonsŏ* is recorded. The first *puin kwonsŏ* of the BFBS was a Korean woman who faithfully worked in Pusan²⁹⁰, the biggest harbour of southern Korea.

The Biblewoman has occasionally travelled considerable distances inland, although for the most part her efforts have been confined to Fusan²⁹¹ and the immediate vicinity. She appears to be greatly in earnest, and though at times subjected to a good deal of abuse, is, I understand, undaunted thereby. Not only does she sell the books, but she tells the story of the Gospel to her sex wherever she goes and reads it in the homes when opportunity is given. Her sales to December 31st amount to sixty-seven Portions in all... They²⁹² find it easier to sell books in the Korean language than to sell those written in Chinese characters. The total sales to December 31st were 300 portions. Of these 100 were Chinese Scriptures, the rest being Korean Scriptures supplied by the mission. I hope as they become accustomed to the work they will be able to effect larger sales.²⁹³

This anonymous *puin kwonsŏs'* enterprise area was very wide. She had to travel not only within close proximity to her where she lived, but also far away to cover her

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 250.

²⁹⁰ As it is spelt today; in the passage, it was written Fusan

²⁹¹ It is second largest city of South Korea in the present. In the period, the city was also major region of Korea. This area was evangelised by the Australian missionaries.

²⁹² The reporter also described a Korean colporteur after the Biblewoman's work.

²⁹³ 'Korea-with the colporteurs', *The 92nd BFBS AR*, 1896, p. 244.

mission territory. If she met someone who was illiterate, she explained Christianity through telling Bible stories or directly read chapters of the book aloud. This sober strategy of *puin kwonsŏ* impressed missionaries working with the BFBS. According to this statement, we can notice another point, that *puin kwonsŏs* were active from the beginning using the Korean vernacular Bible. Which Bible did the *puin kwonsŏ* in Pusan use? In 1895, the Executive Committee circulated 1,500 specimen copies of the new version of the Gospels and Acts in Korea, according to the Annual ninety-second report of the BFBS.

Through looking at the many cases where a Korean version Bible was needed, the Board of Translators of the BFBS finally solved the circulation problem in 1898. They worked separately instead of working together on the final revision of the Gospels and Acts. And then the department of printing began to print nearly the whole New Testament.²⁹⁴ At that time, the books of Galatians, James, and Peter were translated into Korean *Ŏnmun* script and 6,800 copies being made of each.

Bringing these copies, *puin kwonsŏ* spread out into all areas of Korea. Based on the reports from 1896 to 1926, the number of scriptures sold by *puin kwonsŏ*.

<Table 4> the Scripture circulation of the BFBS by *puin kwonsŏ*²⁹⁵

Year	Bibles	Testaments	Portions	Totals
1896	-	-	-	-
1897	-	-	258	258
1898	-	-	512	512
1899	-	-	509	509
1900	-	-	918	918
1902	-	-	1,933	1,933
1903	-	-	3,998	3,998
1904	-	-	5,253	5,253
1905	6	1	5,246	5,426
1909	-	619	3,661	4,280
1913	237	591	8,056	8,884
1925	9	105	16,308	16,422

²⁹⁴ Consider the former section 3 about the Ross version Bible. The revised version of the BFBS was completed by that only two-fifths of these editions belonged to the BFBS, the other three-fifths being the property of American Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland. 'Korea-Translation and Printing', *The 94th BFBS AR, 1898*, p. 265.

²⁹⁵ This statistic was arranged by the investigation of the BFBS AR from 1896 to 1926.

This table clearly shows the impact of *puin kwonsǒ* on the circulation of the BFBS in several ways. The Ross version Bible was used for the work of *puin kwonsǒ* before 1897 and even after had begun the ‘authorized’ translation, copies of Ross’s work still circulated. The main reason was possibly more effective circulation, shown by the rapidly increasing number of bible selling by *puin kwonsǒ*. The number of portions sold by *puin kwonsǒ* from 1897 to 1904 doubled at least every year other than 1899; 258→512→918→1,933→3,998→5,253. This rapid increase was very impressive to missionaries and even Korean Christians. Based upon *puin kwonsǒ*’ earnest work, the New Testament and other books were gradually sold to women and people of lower classes. There was a decline declared for 1909, perhaps due to political instability and fighting. By 1913, the numbers had increased dramatically to a total of 8,884, double the 1909 figure, due to the devotion of *puin kwonsǒ*.

The reason is that *puin kwonsǒ*’ roles were gradually extended to not only selling bibles, but also to evangelising in Korea. This appears to have developed in this way because *chǒndo puin* were more involved in the Korean churches and schools; and hospitals and *puin kwonsǒ* had to take on evangelisation in the field. This process will be presented in the following section. In addition, we could think the appearance of ‘commission-based sales’ mainly by male colporteurs who managed bible selling such as all bookstores in town.²⁹⁶

5 Unique agents of mission; the pattern and work of *puin kwonsǒ*

Female missionaries had many practical problems in the direct evangelisation of

²⁹⁶ Yi Man-yǒl ‘Kwonsǒ edaehan Yǒngu (Research on Colporteurs)’, *Han’guk kidokkyo wa minsokweesik* (The Korean Christianity and Nationalism), p. 118.

Korean women. There were not only language difficulties but also cultural understanding troubles. In the situation, they needed the support of native mission agents. Nevertheless, the criteria for becoming *puin kwonsŏ* were demanding.

5.1 *Puin kwonsŏ*, the evitable needs of Korean mission field

From 1890s to 1938, there were very many *puin kwonsŏ*s whose names were listed by some missionary documents or reports. They were commonly employed by western mission societies of Korean mission. This is an example of a list shown as a table in the next page.

These thirty-seven *puin kwonsŏ* were only examples among many *puin kwonsŏ* in the effective mission of Korea; many more are unknown. What did these women do in the mission enterprise?

<Table 5> The list of *puin kwonsŏ* in the Korean Protestant Mission, 1914-1938²⁹⁷

Name (Surname, first name)	Active beginning or period	Denomination	Contents	Post activity
Ko, Su won	1917-1938	Presbyterian	Northern Presbyterian Bible Women (BW)	
Kwon, Duk Eun	1914	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Kim, Rode	1917	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Kim, Lydia		Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Kim, Maria	1917-1938	Presbyterian		1938, to become <i>chŏndo puin</i> in The Church of Namwon in Junbook province (located in South Korea)
Kim, Miriam		Presbyterian		
Kim, Seo Sun	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Kim Shin Kyung	1922	Presbyterian		1923 Woman evangelist in the Kosan Yi Church in Chejoo Island (located in South Korea)
Kim, Anna	1917-1938	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Kim, Ae Sun	1917-1938	Presbyterian	Victoria Presbyterian BW	

²⁹⁷ This statistic was investigated by the *BFBS of Korean Mission 1914-1938, Han'guk kyohoe chondo puin jaryojip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), *Kidokshinbo* (The Christian Messenger) and the others.

			(Australia)	
Kim, Hannah	1917-1938	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Kim, Hae Ran	1917-1938	Methodist	Methodist Episcopal Church BW	
Park, Kwang Joo	1917-1938	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Park, Tule	1917-1918	Methodist	Methodist Episcopal Church BW	
Park, Chung Shin	1917-1918	Presbyterian		
Shin, Maria	1917-1938	Presbyterian		1923 She served in the isolated border region between China and Korea as <i>Chondo puin</i>
Shin, Uliah	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Son, Kyung Shin	1917-1918	Presbyterian		
Ahn, Hulda	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Oh, Kyung Shin	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Oh, Silvia	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Won, Tabitha	1916-1918	Presbyterian		1916 a 63 years old, she walked 267 miles and sold 40 gospels, 5 New testaments, 1 Old testament, 1918 preached in front of 3,000 people. Sold 1,750 books.
Yon, Martha	1917	Presbyterian		
Yo, Pooka	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Yi, Nok wom		Presbyterian		
Yi, Delilah	1917-1921	Presbyterian		
Yi, Miriam	1918	Presbyterian		13 th June 1930, she was sent as a woman evangelist by Hambok presbytery (located in North Korea)
Yi, Susannah	1921-1927	Methodist		
Yi, Chun Shim	1917	Presbyterian	Southern Presbyterian BW	19 th to 20 th March 1930, she led the Bible Class of Byung Young Church in Junnam province (located in South Korea)
Yi, Hee Jung	1917-1918	Presbyterian	Northern Presbyterian BW	
Yim, Maria	1917-1918	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Chung, Kee Ban	1915-1935	Presbyterian		
Chung Hyuk Shin	1918	Presbyterian		
Choi, Eva	1917-1938	Presbyterian		
Han, Miriam	1917-1938	Presbyterian	Canadian Presbyterian BW	
Han, Sun Kyung	1926	Presbyterian		
Hu, Hoi	1917-1931	Presbyterian		

*BW-Bible Women

Puin kwonsŏ had been overwhelmed by a new religion, Christianity in the period. This was different but attractive to them. They listened to the wonderful stories of the Bible, which were written in Korean, the *Ŏnmun*. They were amazing stories to them from a weird and exciting world. Also, through its religion, westerners gave them some novel things, which they brought.²⁹⁸ They slipped into the religion little by little. In this respect, so many kinds of Korean women went into the adventurous area bravely, risking religious persecution to follow the new doctrine they may not have fully understood. They chose to be *puin kwonsŏ* with remarkable courage. What were their motives? What was the status of *puin kwonsŏ*? Why did they want to change? How did they work? When they worked, what was their purpose of colportage, these women using the *Ŏnmun*? Was there any evangelistic enthusiasm for *puin kwonsŏ*s to use their Korean own religious perspective and initiative in real mission situations?

Through these lists of *puin kwonsŏ* and unknown names of some mission documents, we will give them voices again in history through researching their lives and activities.

5.1.1 New Choice; their motivation to become *puin kwonsŏ*

Most *puin kwonsŏ* were married and raised children, serving parents-in-law and supporting their husbands. Amid these common points, there were many distinguishing levels of their lives; for example class, economic situation, family

²⁹⁸ For instance, some missionaries sometimes met the curiosity of westerners and western culture through mission activities. "The last evening we were there an old woman came in the talk with Miss Best. She continued asking questions- as the women had been doing all the afternoon-about America and the distance we had come; and after looking at all our clothes, books, ect a glimmer of realization seemed to pass over her face, and laying her hand on Miss Best's shoulder she said, "Where is there such a grateful work as to leave home and come to people like us? Before this only boys were taught to read, now we are learning!" Eliza M. Nowell, *WWFW*, Vol. 16, 1901, p. 303.

history and so forth. These were also a vital element of the motivations. If I categorize the motives, the following reasons appear; personal, marital and affined problem like husbands' concubinage and the torture and pain caused by parents-in-law in families, economic reasons, poverty, and the encouragement of friends, neighbours and families.

Let us start with personal faith and witness.

Shin Pan Suk, born again through the grace of God and Jesus, desires to present this to the American pastor...since I was twelve years old I have acted as a sorceress; and I not only worshiped devils myself but I deceived many people and taught them to worship spirits. Further, as a sorceress I threw away my body, and adultery, covertousness and all kinds of evil things I practiced until I was fifty two years of age... Knowing that I had received salvation, I longed fervently for the salvation of others. Looking around, I sighed and was sad that they were deaf and in darkness and I said: "Don't worry because life is so short, but worry about your punishment for your sins against God. Hurry awake and repent."²⁹⁹

This was written in 1897 by Mrs. Shin, and translated by an anonymous missionary whom we might assume is a woman. Mrs. Shin has a clear concept of Christian salvation, in her chosen new religion. Moreover, she moved smoothly from salvation, to save her fellow Koreans from death. Such conversions, coming from her own person, not clergy or missionary, evoked suspicion at times that the convert worked from a secular frame.

Family problems seem to have been a secondary motive.

One of these was a young woman for whom we had hoped much. She was unfortunately yoked to a worthless husband, and the father-in-law and the mother-in-law were not much better. The support of all depended almost entirely upon the young wife. She was obliged not only to work hard, but had also to endure beatings and abuse of various kinds from her drunken husband...Death

²⁹⁹ 'Experience of a Korean sorceress told by herself', *WWFW*, Vol. XVII, November 1902, p. 316.

has also claimed two of our faithful ones. When dear old Nancy Kim died, we called it great loss. It seemed very hard to think we should no more see her happy shining face with us...she was the only one of her family who had any interest in religion, but with her latest breath she besought her son, as she had many times before, to become a Christian.³⁰⁰

Secondly, the hard lives of married Korean women led some to try new religious belief to overcome their problems, having already tried Buddhism and Shamanism. Amid the plethora of new religions, Christianity could easily attract some with *Ŏnmun* literacy, where it stressed the equality of men and women, and the way towards modern culture. Their situation was far from easy. Nancy Kim, who pushed her son to convert to Christianity, had been tortured by her family for a long time though maintained her faith.

Thirdly, some women converted to Christianity through one of their family members or relatives. The case of Sadie Kim is typical:

About the same time, a cousin of my husband, Mr. Suk Kyeng Oh came and pleaded with my husband to become a Christian...Then Mr. Oh came to plead with me. I asked him what advantages would be derived from becoming a Christian. He answered that homes became peaceful; men gave up their profligate ways, and worked for better home. I had been having anxious times over my husband's conduct and felt that if believing in Jesus could straighten out some problems concerning him that we surely should believe.³⁰¹

Some women were persuaded to choose Christianity by close people such as family, friends, and neighbours to ensure a peaceful home. Compared with Confucianism and Buddhism, Christianity offered a new method for solving many family problems such as a husband's harsh behaviour, children's health, or a good relationship with their parents-in-law. Through the conversion of one Christian

³⁰⁰ Mrs. Scranton, 'Missionary Work Among Women', *KRP*, Vol. 5. September 1898, p. 314.

³⁰¹ Mrs. W. A. Noble, 'Sadie Kim; one of the finest Bible Women in Korea', *Victorious Lives of Early Christians in Korea*, (Seoul, The Christian Literature Society, 1927), pp. 130-131

member of their family, others might see a faint hope.

Looking at the memoirs of *chōndo puins* including *puin kwonsō* in the book of *Victorious Lives of Early Christians in Korea*, five of nine Bible Women³⁰² were widows: six were poor. Some mission societies such as the Women's Foreign Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the BFBS offered salaries to Bible Women.

For six months and a half of the past year our native woman, Hannah, worked under my direction as a Bible woman of the Bible Society. For four months one yen a month of her salary was paid by the women of our Wonsan church. Then they wished to send out one entirely themselves and by their contributions we were able to keep one of their number, Lydia, in the field for three months and a half. Their Contribution since January has amounted to 196 yang (about \$30). As their monthly offerings are not yet sufficient to support a woman entirely, we have decided to accept her partial support from the Bible Society until we can have a larger contribution from our women.³⁰³

This report in 1902 shows the financial state of Bible women in the mission. Kindly, the reporter pointed out the insufficient payment to Bible Women. Nevertheless, even a little money was a great help to most poor Bible Women. In the period, poor widows had to struggle seriously to stay alive and take care of their children. Usually, they did needle work, worked in the household of rich people, and so forth. This means they could hardly make a living. In the respect, this Bible-selling and mission activity would be a better and more stable job for them. To sum up, in looking for the motivation of *puin kwonsō* we have found various reasons and backgrounds, yet all wanted to change their lives and work in their own way to establish Christianity in Korea. Next, we will set out the working patterns of *puin*

³⁰² Mrs. Drusilla Yi, Mrs. Samtok Chun, Mrs. Lulu Chu Kim, Mrs. Dorcas Kang, Mrs. Sadie Kim, Mrs. Tuksun Kim, Myungsa, Song, Shalom Noh, and Kyu Goo Shin.

³⁰³ 'Bible Women', *The Annual Report of the Foreign Mission Committee* (later ARFC), 1902, p. 143

kwonsŏ, including training and self-concept, unique propagation and so on.

5.2 How brave! : Catechumen, baptized woman, and *puin kwonsŏ*

While the Biblewomen may do some of the work of the deaconess, of the sisterhood, of the Evangelist, their prime object is to circulate the Scripture and to spread the knowledge of them.³⁰⁴

This passage for the Korea section of the Annual Report of British and Foreign Bible Society expresses the missionaries' expectation and native Christians' central demands very well. Both groups saw the language problem and the difficulty of religious understanding as profound issues in the Korean mission field. In order that the *puin kwonsŏ* could sell bibles and teach Christian doctrine, they needed to learn new information and knowledge of Christianity. How was this done?

5.2.1 The training of *puin kwonsŏ*

When did the training of *puin kwonsŏ* begin? Some scholars who researched Korean women in Christianity claim that the necessity for *puin kwonsŏ* was stated by Mrs. Scranton who started the 'Women's Work for Women' movement in 1885.

According to archives for 1883 and in 1888, on a Bible class for women.

We are just now starting some work for women. We have felt the need of some sort of an evangelistic centre for women, where they can meet for worship, where Bibles, etc., can be distributed, and where a few women can be kept so as to be trained for Bible work.³⁰⁵

Based on this initial training by female missionaries, Mrs. Heron started the evangelistic work in 1889; "This week I shall start out a Bible-woman, to sell and

³⁰⁴ *The 109th BFBS AR*, 1913, p. 199

³⁰⁵ 'Work For Women', *The Church at Home and Abroad*, Vol. 3, Jan-June, 1888, p.196.

give away books, and to teach the Bible where she can find any one to listen to her.”³⁰⁶ A document by Mrs. Heron about training *puin kwonsŏ* appeared in 1891. The training meeting run by female missionaries was every Sunday evening. Here, Mrs. Heron taught the Christian Gospel, Bible stories, and catechism to Korean Christian women.³⁰⁷ This personal training produced great evangelistic results in the immediate future, detailed in the reports from 1892 to 1895. Harriot G. Gale wrote a mission report in 1892 with the title, ‘The Women who labor with me in the Gospel.’ In this report, she introduced the Christian lives of five women, Mrs. Pack, Mrs. Chang, Mrs. Yi, Mrs. Chun, and Unlge-nie.³⁰⁸ They had many different stories but, she said, their faith was very enthusiastic and they would be great evangelists; “She has learned and in her own earnest, clear way is teaching all her friends, helping me to conduct-meetings and spending every spare moment in Bible study.”³⁰⁹

5.2.2 Bible Class; *Puin kwonsŏ*’s initial learning

Puin kwonsŏ’s classes taught in the catechumen classes before baptism. Each missionaries’ Bible class, *Sakyŏnghoe* (사경회), interested Christian and non-Christian Koreans, attracted for prayer and Bible study before they became catechumens. They were held by missionaries or native Christian leaders, outside worship services. They were a great impact on the number of Korean Christians and devotees. Mrs. Scranton and Mrs. Heron held the first women’s class in 1898 in Seoul. Every station in Korea had to prepare Bible study classes.³¹⁰ After 2 years,

³⁰⁶ ‘Korea’, *Women’s Work for Women and Our Mission Field*, Vol. IV, April 1889, (New York, Woman’s Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church), p. 101.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, September, p. 28.

³⁰⁸ ‘The Women who Labor with me in the Gospel’, *WWFW*, Vol. VII, pp. 215-216.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³¹⁰ Yu Sŏn-yae, *Jangnyokyo Yŏsŏngsa* (The History of Presbyterian Women), (Seoul, Haesun Moonwasa, 1979), pp. 62-65. The concrete contents of Bible class were mainly Bible stories like the Jesus life story in the Four Gospels, Paul’s epistles, Lord’s prayers, Catechism, and Apostles’ Creed.

there were fifty classes.³¹¹

The importance of the Bible class in the period is shown by the fact that for enthusiastic Christian women, there were a number of small or large Bible classes only for women. These classes were sometimes led by female missionaries or *puin kwonsō* (or *chōndo puin*). For proving this, there were two stories in the report 1910, 1) Mrs. Kim; "...Her sales of Scriptures have been remarkable. She has been the means of the leading at least forty new women to regular attendance at the Sunday services, and has taught many of these to read. During the last two months she has been instrumental in gathering together two week day classes of new believers, numbering in all about thirty."³¹² 2) "'Subscribing for a Biblewoman'; '...I had been holding a Bible-class for several days in a village where there is no Biblewoman. The people have often spoken among themselves of the advantage there would be in having one live among them, but no provision had been made for such a worker."³¹³

Many Korean Christian women were taught Christianity in the Bible classes by missionaries or *puin kwonsōs*. Then, among them, there were some faithful women who wanted to be baptized. If they chose this, it meant that they had passed the first step. Let us see the next step of training for *puin kwonsō*.

5.2.3 Catechumen class; the second step towards becoming *puin kwonsō*

Some Bible study women confessed their Christian belief, and joined to catechumen class, organised by missionaries and local churches which taught Christian doctrine, Bible knowledge, Christology, the Trinity and so forth for baptism.

³¹¹ *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church*, U.S. A, p. 159.

³¹² 'Korea-Foreign Transactions', *The 106th BFBS AR*, 1910, p. 354.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

For instance, the women's class at Chunju organised the session for ten days. There were 221 women attendants, nearly 80% from the country and the others city women. Among them were 52 catechumens. The studies were Bible catechism, Genesis, Life of Christ, Gospel of John, Exodus, Acts, Old Testament, parables and miracles, music, elements of physiology and hygiene, (the last fitting the missionary effort to modernise the Koreans).³¹⁴ Through these studies, female catechumens were ready to be baptised and be accustomed to live as Christian devotees.

During their period, some female catechumens were unfortunately persecuted by their families and society.

A still more touching account of faithfulness comes from an experience of Christian Sabbath-keeping, told me by Mrs. Moffett about a young woman in her catechumen class. Yang-si has been a disciple for more than a year. Her husband and mother-in-law were exceedingly bitter against Christianity and tried in every way to make it hard for her to attend the services. When the dear girl tried to keep the Sabbath at home, her mother-in-law said if she did not sew and wash on the Sabbath, and work as other people did, she should have nothing to eat in the house. Yang-si said she would not eat on the Sabbath, and for four months kept the Lord's Day in that way, sometimes fasting entirely, sometimes going home with some of the church women to eat but attending the services whether she had food or not.³¹⁵

In Korean society and homes, it was very hard for women to maintain the doctrine and Christian life style taught in the catechumen class. The Sabbath-keeping was almost impossible for the married women such as Yang-si who supported a non-Christian family. Some failed but the others succeed. All *puin kwonsŏ* passed this difficult stage, applying Christian lifestyle to their own circumstances. Overall, these catechumen classes gradually increased throughout Korea, especially in the

³¹⁴ Mrs. Mattie Ingold Tate, 'The Women's Class at Chunju, Korea', *The Missionary*, June, 1911, p.299.

³¹⁵ 'Faithful Korean Women', *WWFW*, Vol. XVI, No. 11, 1901, pp. 299-300.

Pyongyang area. According to the report of Mrs. Moffett in *Women's Work For Women* 1901, ninety-one male and female catechumens received baptism on 21 April. One example is provided by Mr. Bernheisel, He visited five groups, baptised 10 people and received 15 catechumens.³¹⁶ In his report of 1901, we assume that the noticeable number of women Christians was increasing regularly as was their enthusiasm to know much more Christian knowledge for deeper faith. To missionaries, this phenomenon was the greatest hope of evangelisation in Korea. Because of the positive influence of these classes, many female devotees appeared, among whom were *puin kwonsŏ*.

5.2.4 Bible Institute; the profession of *puin kwonsŏ*

Some missionaries, who thought the needs of *puin kwonsŏ* were crucial, organised training courses for training professionals, sometimes with the Bible Institute.

Through Chautauqua training classes, mission stations maintained combining provided education in language and leadership, spiritual knowledge, church polity and self-government.

In 1900, the first school for *puin kwonsŏ* were started by the Methodist Episcopal Mission (North). Rev. W. B. Scranton told Mr. A. Kenmure in the magazine, 'the Bible Society Reporter': "We have found that our Biblewomen, though, according to their present ability, doing good service, yet fall short of what we desire for them, We have therefore begun in a modest way a Biblewoman's School...At present we have an average attendance of ten or twelve and the interest in deeper study and

³¹⁶ 'Korea', *WWFW*, Vol. XVI, September 1901, pp. 259-260. The numbers were made by men and women together.

instruction is good.”³¹⁷ Methodist missionaries thus affirmed the diligent and faithful activities of *puin kwonsŏ* who played a support role in their mission arena, whose desire for more professional training could be satisfied. For instance, before 1898 Methodists and Presbyterians had tried to open schools for women as a form of bible study.³¹⁸ Although only ten or twelve *puin kwonsŏs* studied in the school, their passion gave hope for the future, especially given their work with women and children whom male colporteurs or male pastors could not easily access.³¹⁹

Furthermore, in 1901, Rev. C. E. Kearns reported in the Korean Mission Field about a class for women in Syen Chyun.

Like those for men, most of the women’s classes are now too large to be handled by one person. Miss Chase and Miss Samuels have been together in six of the sixteen country classes. The largest of these enrolled 237. The Syen Chyun class was divided, the class for local women numbering 214 and that for country women 341. Altogether, a total of 2,602 women have been under foreign instruction this year. A gradual improvement may be seen in the condition of women. They are eager for training and develop readily.³²⁰

Similar classes opened in many places, necessitating more trained *puin kwonsŏ*. In response to this, a women’s Bible institute was opened in Pyŏngyang in 1905 as ‘The Pyeng(sic) Yang Woman’s Bible Institute’.³²¹ The classes in the institute were sometimes called Women’s Bible Training Classes. A document dated 1908³²² gives some details about classes, teachers, students, course, and so forth. Eighty-nine

³¹⁷ ‘Our Biblewomen in Korea-Mr. A. Kenmure’s Report for 1900’, *The Bible Society Reporter*, April 1901, p. 88.

³¹⁸ “As yet, only a small degree of success has attended the efforts of Methodist and Presbyterian women to open day-schools for girls in Seoul.” *WWW*, Vol. XIII, September 1898, p. 242.

³¹⁹ “Women and Children are being influenced for good in the home, and so, through the efforts of our native sister, a point in Korean life largely inaccessible to any other class of worker is being touched and brought under the power of the Gospel. Lately we had the privilege of seeing four women admitted to church membership by baptism, and to the labours of the Biblewomen is due in no small measure the bringing in of these women.” *Ibid*, pp. 88-89.

³²⁰ Rev. C. E. Kearns, ‘More and Yet More’, *KMF*, Vol. II, No. 9, July 1906, p.172.

³²¹ ‘The Pyŏngyang Woman’s Bible Institute’, *KMF*, 1905.

³²² ‘Women’s Bible Training Classes’, *KMF*, Vol. IV, No. 10, October 1908, p. 148.

classes had been held in 1908, four in Pyöngyang. These classes consisted of very large numbers of students, more than a couple of hundred. The schedule and practical talks³²³ given in Bible classes included topics ranging from hygiene to Sabbath observance and regular Bible study. The classes were divided into two kinds;

Firstly two general classes, one continuing for a week, open to all the women of the city churches and one, for 12 days, open to all the women of the country churches. Secondly, two special ones for Bible women and others selected by the missionaries, and who was instructed in the schedule of studies taught by them in the country classes during the year. One other special class, was open only to women especially invited by missionaries and their helpers, and by the Korean pastors, with a view to their better instruction and training to act as Bible women, pastor's assistants, and Sabbath School teachers."³²⁴

It seems clear that the institute encouraged *puin kwonsö* to improve their general knowledge, leadership, and evangelistic skills.³²⁵ The reports by the Woman's Foreign Society from 1905 to 1907 represent the phenomena.

<Table 6> Bible Women's Education (Woman's Foreign Mission Society)³²⁶

Year	Bible Woman's Training School	Pupil	Bible Institute	Number of Women Taught	Number of Bible classes (3-7 days)	Attendance	Number of Bible Women and Day School Teacher
1904-1905	1	9	4	348	26	550	26(63)
1905-1906			2	348	26	906	33

Despite the declining number of Bible institutes, more learners and more Bible women participated in classes. In 1907, a 'Bible Women's Training Class' was

³²³ These 'practical talks' were Sabbath observance, Conduct in Church, Control and Care of the Family, and Health and Hygiene.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Rhie Deok-Joo, *Kamnikyö yösöngkyohoe 60 nyönsa* (The History of Methodist Women's Society for 60 years), (Seoul, The Women's Society of Korean Methodist Church, 1991), p. 89.

³²⁶ This statistic was made by the resources of *Annual Reports of the Korean Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1905 to 1907*.

opened for two weeks in May in Sungjin province.³²⁷ In the next year, there were two classes for the general public and evangelistic leaders in the Bible Training School.³²⁸ In 1910, there were women-only Bible classes in several centres; the participants numbered 500 in Taegu, 150 in Kimhae & Pusan, 300 in Seoul, 500 in Jaeryŏng, 600 in Pyŏngyang, 650 in Sunchŏn.³²⁹ In addition, in 1911, a united Women's Bible Institute supervised by the Canadian Presbyterian Mission was opened with many women studying for three months.³³⁰

This institute's importance and training courses grew in the Korean mission. The report on the Korean Mission Field in 1910³³¹ shows the significance of training *puin kwonsŏ* well. It attains the status of leadership the mission field and Korean churches.

The question of "Bible Institutes," and Bible women is a very imminent and pressing one just now, in most of our stations, the demand being far greater than the supply, and rapidly growing. Many women are coming into the church in the relation of adherents or catechumens or even full members, who have never been taught anything but the merest rudiments of Christian doctrine, not to mention anything about the proper care of their own homes and children.³³²

To sum up, the urgent demand of *puin kwonsŏ* in every mission station and every evangelistic area of church produced more training courses and institutes. From small Bible study meetings to Bible Institutes, they were disciplined systematically as mission agents. Now let us turn to look at their activities in detail.

³²⁷ *The Annual Report of the Foreign Mission Committee* (after ARFMC), 1907, p. 119.

³²⁸ *ARFMC*, 1908, p. 129.

³²⁹ *The Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (after PCUSA AR), 1910.

³³⁰ *ARFMC*, 1912, p. 93.

³³¹ 'Native bible woman', *KMF*, May 1910, pp. 119-121.

³³² *Ibid.*

5.3 More than a mere supporter; the activities of *puin kwonsŏ*

The following section will discuss whether *puin kwonsŏ*s were missionary helpers or mere booksellers. Many mission records introduced them as effective assistants or mission supporters and then explained their importance for missionaries' evangelistic works. In the above sections, we recognized that missionaries valued the *puin kwonsŏ*s' work and prepared several kinds of training courses. Behind the records' descriptions, we are able to see the reality of *puin kwonsŏ* in the Korean mission.

Firstly, proof of their independent work can be found in the issue of salary. Mrs. Swallen recorded this about the issue of *puin kwonsŏ*.

We have four Bible women paid with foreign money. One who receives one half of her salary from foreign funds, and one half from the British and Foreign Bible Society, who supply this on condition of the recipient spending a corresponding share of her time in selling Bibles and portions of Scripture. We have two paid entirely by the British and Foreign Bible Society, as Scripture colporteurs. Four paid entirely by the native churches, two paid one fourth by the B. and F. B. S. and the remainder by the churches. The average salary of these women is about 7 yen (\$3.50 gold) a month. There is in addition *a large number of women who work without receiving any salary*. These are given their board while teaching a class or doing evangelistic work for a church, and any expense they may be at, is paid by the church which receives the help.³³³

The salary was an average seven Japanese Yen: a lot of *puin kwonsŏ* worked for nothing, distributing Bibles under hard conditions and religious persecution for family and society. According to Yi Man-yŏl's research³³⁴ on colportage, most *puin kwonsŏ* sold Bibles without receiving a salary from suppliers like mission societies. Usually they sold Bibles or portions in exchange for wares such as rice. Even when a *puin kwonsŏ* did receive a salary from the BFBS and local churches, it was less than

³³³ Ibid., p. 119.

³³⁴ Yi Man-yŏl: 'Kwonsŏ edaehan Yŏnku (Research on Colporteurs)', Han'guk kidokkyo wa minsokweesik (The Korean Christianity and Nationalism), pp. 116-119.

that of a colporteur. In 1899, the salary of *kwonsö* (colporteur) and *puin kwonsö* (Bible Women) was around sixteen shilling, but, after 1900, this declined to 12.6 shilling; or 10 shilling for *puin kwonsö*, according to a letter of Mr. A. Kenmure on 28th April 1900 and Mr. H. O. T Burkewall on 9th November 1901.³³⁵ This shows both the beginning of discrimination between *Kwonsö* and commission sellers and the increase in *puin kwonsö* in the same period. *Puin kwonsö* worked independently and achieved great evangelistic fruits which a lot of mission reports recorded. How did they manage their difficult situation?

A women's missionary magazine carried a report by an American missionary woman, E. M. Estey³³⁶ in 1912, on the hard work of *puin kwonsös*.

Kilsi, a woman who gives two-thirds of her time to the Lord, has travelled several thousand *li* this past year and there is no group, and hardly any little, lonely, out-of-the-way place where believers dwell, but has seen her happy face and heard her earnest exhortations once or several times during the year. "When I think of God's grace to me I cannot rest but I feel I must go and make it known to others," has been her answer as, again and again, after long trips in the mountains, she has returned for fresh travelling orders. She and another woman have just returned from an eight hundred *li* trip, and tell a thrilling tale of meeting insurgents in dangerous mountain passes, of lost roads found again through prayer, of persecutions and many other difficulties, but all overcome through God's grace.³³⁷

This *puin kwonsö*'s work surpassed all imagination. She travelled in the isolated

³³⁵ Ibid., pp. 118-119. I also referred the table 3 of his research.

<Table 7> The salary of Bible Women, 1899-1902

Year	The number of Bible women	Salary per a person (shilling) Monthly	Material
1899	15	16	Kenmure's letter on 26th April 1899
1900	30	12.6	Kenmure's letter on 29th April 1900
1901	15	10	Burkwell's letter on 9th November 1901
1902	19	8	Burkwell's letter on 12th December 1902

³³⁶ She was working in Youngbyun and Pyöngyang area between 1900 and 1923 as a Methodist missionary of America. Kim Sung-tae and Pak Hye-jin, *Naehan sonkyosa chollam* (A Material of Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1984), (Seoul, The Institution of Korean Christian History, 1994), p. 246.

³³⁷ E. M. Estey, 'Korean Biblewomen', *WMM*, Vol. XII, No. 134, February 1902, p. 66.

regions of all Korea, alone or with her colleague. As other *puin kwonsŏ*, she travelled hundreds and even thousand of miles (*lis*: around six hundred meter) with the Scriptures and sometimes doctrine books or hymns.

Another *puin kwonsŏ*, Kwan Teuk-eun, risked her life in colportage, accessing the two countries of China and Korea in the border region. Kwan attended a Bible Institute for three months in 1912, after which she travelled for Bible sales and evangelism, crossing the border into West Manchuria. The reporter, a missionary, wrote, “she is my best bookseller, and has carried the Word this past year even into some of the dark corners of China where some of her fellow-countrywomen have gone. Her work has been out among the mountains where travel is most difficult and where few women can stand the hardship.”³³⁸

Other reports repeatedly said *puin kwonsŏs* were very earnest and showed great self-discipline. Thanks to their enthusiasm, they were sending Bibles and introducing Christianity into the secluded mountain regions and even islands. In the process of selling bibles, *puin kwonsŏ* also accomplished Christian interpretation and religious activities.

In all the work attempted or accomplished during the year I have been greatly assisted by my Bible women. They have always been ready to follow out my plans and directions as far as they were able....Mrs. Drusila Ni has continued her work as before, namely; has taught in the compound such as come to us. ***Mrs. Sarah Kim and Mrs. Hannah Chung have been from house to house teaching the catechism and giving such other instruction as has second(sic) necessary. Sarah is in great demand for the visitation of the sick. She goes about the work firmly believing that the “prayer of faith will save the sick” and cast out the devils.*** There is not a tune she can sing correctly, but this makes no difference to her, and apparently none to her hearers. She exercises all the gift she has in this particular with great enthusiasm and delight.”³³⁹ (italics added)

³³⁸ ‘Biblewomen’, *The BFBS AR*, 1914, p. 336.

³³⁹ Mrs. Scranton, ‘Missionary Work Among Women’, *KRP*, Vol. 5. September 1898, p. 316.

During their evangelistic journey with Bibles, Christian teaching and healing had a physically affirmative effect shown religious power to non-Christians in the multi-religious situation of Korea in order to evangelise. The care over teaching was very usual for *puin kwonsŏ* because Christianity was unique, yet intellectually or culturally antagonistic to ordinary Christians. The concept of monotheism, the miracle of Jesus Christ as a messiah, the apostles' letters and so forth were very unfamiliar to Korean listeners. To achieve positive feelings towards Christianity or to convert believers, *puin kwonsŏ*' roles were vital in the Korean mission. In terms of religious role, they were very distinct from the role of female missionaries or male Korean Christian workers. The work of female missionaries supported that of male missionaries yet was set over native Christians. Male Christian workers had a particular role in the evangelistic process, not relating to children and lower class women (of course, there were some barriers of Korean Confucian circumstances). The basic work of *puin kwonsŏ* for evangelism is thus of particular interest.

In addition, *puin kwonsŏs* conducted health activities in the process of colportage. This is one of the evangelistic activities showing the strong Christian faith of Korean Christian women. The health work of the *puin kwonsŏ*, Sarah, was described in the above passage, 'she goes about the work firmly believing that the "prayer of faith will save the sick" and cast out the devils.' This spiritual healing contrasted that of missionaries, particularly in the Methodist Episcopal Church, who focused on women's hygiene work or hospital for women as evangelistic methods. How can we understand Sarah's spiritual healing? It came from traditional religious contexts, giving a good example of the syncretism between traditional religions and Christianity.

These activities establish the leadership of *puin kwonsōs* in the mission field. This leadership from below not only contributed to mission works in Korea but enabled the successful growth of Korean Churches. To analyse this revival, I will discuss the example of a *puin kwonsōs*' life and contribution.

5.4 A *puin kwonsō*, Tabitha Won; a mission legend and the mother of Peace

...For the development Won Tabitha deserves a full share of credit. She says that her one desire is thus to travel and carry the Word to the lost until the day of her death. God bless the Bible Society, and all such "Mothers" as this one, who is known everywhere as the *Pyung An* Mother (the mother of Peace)!³⁴⁰

The *puin kwonsō* whom Mrs. L. L. Young in the Canadian Presbyterian Mission called the mother of peace was Tabitha Won. She was born around 1850. She was married but could not have children. In Confucian society, sterile women, or those believed to be sterile, were emotionally and physically maltreated by their parents-in-law and family. Without any children, married women did not play any role in the family. To make things worse, Tabitha Won lost her husband at a young age.³⁴¹ This meant that she would have been unable to gain the title of mother in this world, as widows were not permitted to remarry. The young widow with no children neither a husband must have felt intense loneliness. Isolated and shunned by society, she was poor because no family claimed her and cared for her. Childless widows were treated with contempt and often left to fend for themselves.

The year she turned sixty-years old, 1910, she entered a new life as a Christian.³⁴² Hitherto hopeless, the Lord now became her comfort. Everyone who lived in Korea

³⁴⁰ 'Biblewomen', *the BFBS AR*, 1916, p. 297.

³⁴¹ Kim Sung-tae and Pak Hye-jin, *Naehan sonkyosa chollam* (A Material of Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1984), p. 255.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

without knowledge of Christianity was a potential target and gave meaning to her life for evangelism. At a time when her body became weaker and weaker, and older and older, she began to learn Korean *Ŏnmun* script to read the Bible and send messages to non-believers.

In 1912, this sixty-three year old lady became a *puin kwonsŏ* who was supported by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Fortunately, she was able to draw salary regularly (albeit a very small one), unlike other unpaid *puin kwonsŏs*, though money was irrelevant to her passion for mission. She did not hesitate to work anywhere, even in mountains and hidden villages. She worked very hard for the first month, travelling two hundred sixty seven miles, all on foot, over hard mountainous roads in cold autumn winds, selling 40 Gospels, five New Testaments, one Old Testament, and sundry Portions of the Bible, and preaching to seventy-nine people.³⁴³ This is an extraordinary feat; one can hardly believe a woman of sixty-three years did all this in one month. Most missionaries and native pastors praised her great achievements and contribution to Bible circulation and evangelisation; as a native pastor said, “She never shuts her lips.”³⁴⁴ In addition, he explained how she reported month by month that large numbers of Koreans who did not believe in the Lord Jesus Christ had read and heard the Word.

Her mission areas were mainly in northern Korea, composed of many precipitous hills and steep mountains. They posed serious dangers such as bandits or conflicts with followers of traditional religions, the Shamans’ *Kuts* or Buddhists’ worship in the temples located deep in the mountains. Nevertheless, the dangers did not hinder her goal to deliver gospels to Koreans who did not know Christianity. In the fourth

³⁴³ ‘Biblewomen’, *the BFBS AR, 1913*, p. 362.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

year of her colportage, when she was sixty-five in 1915, she used the occasion of her birthday to celebrate her work. Over three thousand people listened to her reading about Jesus from gospels, selling 1,750 Bibles and portions of Scripture.³⁴⁵ During her work, her sacrifice, warm heart, spiritual enthusiasm, diligence, and devotion impressed many people. Everybody, including missionaries, male pastors, women, children and others, called her 'the mother of peace', referring to her worthy contributions. Overall, her dreams came true. She did not have any children from her body. But many people became her spiritual children in the name of peace. Furthermore, she was a symbol of female leadership for mission societies and early Korean churches. True to her hope, she propagated Christianity until the moment she died, in June 1925.³⁴⁶

Her life covered all that was typical for a *puin kwonsö*; long arduous trips to sell Bibles, reading and teaching, counselling listeners, cultural conflicts due to her female and widow status, isolation, interpreting Christianity in preaching, and leadership. There was a large number of *puin kwonsö* who, just like Tabitha Won, have been hidden in Korean Mission history for a long time. However, their existence and groundbreaking services to the Korean Church were not buried forever.

6. Conclusion: founding the basis; the evangelism of the Korean country side

From the middle of the 1800s, Bible Women had proved their importance in world mission. In the western world, Bible mission-women were called new evangelists. In the American mission to Asia, missionaries sometimes called them native female

³⁴⁵ 'Biblewomen', *the BFBS AR, 1916*, p. 296.

³⁴⁶ Kim Seung-tae, *Han'guk kyohoe chöndo puin jaryojip* (The Materials of *Chöndo puin* of Korean churches), p. 255.

agents and Bible readers. Importantly, the British and Foreign Bible Society employed Bible Women in Asian missions in India, the Middle East, and East Asia. The society remarked on the great mission achievements of the Zenana mission of India in the 1800s and then tried to support the work of Bible Women in most mission fields.

The Korean mission was fortunate to have the vernacular Bible translated using Korean orthography. Rev. John Ross accomplished the first steps working in Manchuria, China as a Scottish missionary. After visiting the 'Corean Gate', he recognized the need for Korean mission. His mission philosophy reflects just how vital a contribution the Bible translation was. He insisted on native people being involved in mission work in their own country. In order to achieve this they needed to be able to listen to readings from the Bible in their own language and later read the Bible by themselves. To this end, he employed Korean scholars and middle class men. Although he had not planned any women's participation in his work, such as Bible Women's activities, he nevertheless triggered a very important development in the Korean missionary effort. Before the authorized Bible version of the 'Permanent Executive Bible Committee' in 1900, the Ross version, written in Korean which follows the *Ŏnmun* orthography, had already spread to Korean women readers. This Bible had proven crucial for Korean Bible Women's enthusiastic activities that had already started in the 1890s.

The Ross Bible, translated into the 'everyday Korean' of the vast majority of the Korean population, led directly to the creation of a mission agent, the *puin kwonsŏ*, who would be responsible for its successful circulation. In mission reports and magazines, *puin kwonsŏ* was translated as Bible Woman. Most *puin kwonsŏ* came

from poor or lower class backgrounds. They were also mostly widows who sometimes had lost both their children and husband. Notwithstanding the hardship, they worked bravely and remarkably well in the face of social prejudice and other barriers such as religious conflict, physical difficulties, sexual discrimination and economic problems.

In the Korean mission, there were two kinds of Bible Women; *puin kwonsŏ* and *chŏndo puin*. While different to an extent in intent, they are often difficult to differentiate in practice. *Puin kwonsŏ* concentrated much more on selling Bibles, portions, Testaments and copies of doctrine. They were also more involved in teaching Korean orthography, reading scripture to illiterate folk and initiating Bible circulation, than were *chŏndo puin*. Basically, *chŏndo puin* were doing the same kind of work in the early years of the mission. They, however, paid more attention to other areas of mission work discussed in the following two chapters, doing evangelism through other less direct news. It is necessary to identify the main contributions of *puin kwonsŏ*. Simply put, they achieved 'something out of nothing'. Most illiterate women in Korea were taught the *Ŏnmun* and educated in Christian views and doctrine interpreted against the traditional Korean cultural background, in order to establish Korean Protestant churches. In the process, they were also dedicated to indigenous Christianity in Korea, rather than that imported by the missionaries.

Thanks to the crucial roles of *puin kwonsŏ*, many mission societies in Korea that hired *puin kwonsŏ* celebrated remarkable achievements. Particularly, the British and Foreign Bible Society evaluated their work positively and employed more and more, cooperating with American and Canadian mission societies in Korea. This became obvious above when looking at the many statistics available from reports of the

BFBS and other missionaries involved in the Korean mission.

The existence and activities of *puin kwonsŏ* were vital to the Korean mission, quantifiably and qualitatively. While initially perhaps more passive helpers for missionaries or male native pastors, they quickly became practically self-organizing, independent, religiously interpretative and creative mission agents who were vital requisites for the Korean mission. Finally, we can say through their evangelistic journeys undertaken for scripture circulation that their work founded the basis of Protestant churches in Korea. The Great Awakening basing Christianity solidly in Korean culture, enabled *puin kwonsŏ* to work intently within churches to ease for the great number of converts. *Chŏndo puin* on the other hand, were inspired by the Great Awakening to play an ever more powerful and independent role in other church-based insititutions. For this reason, the work of *chŏndo puin* in the Korean churches will need to be the focus in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Church Supporters Or Church Leaders?

The Role of *Chōndo puin* in the Indigenous Development of Korean Protestant Churches, 1907-1945

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify and discuss the independent leadership roles of *chōndo puin* in the period of Protestant Christianity's most rapid growth in Korea from 1907 to 1945, nearly four decades during which Korea was occupied and politically annexed by Japan.

The period began with the Spiritual Renewal Movement of 1907, referred to as the Korean Awakening or Revival, which marked a major step toward the indigenisation of Korean Protestantism. The chapter examines the roles that Korean women played in the Awakening. It will be demonstrated that the *chōndo puin* emerged as evangelists with a wider range of activities in the church context than their *puin kwonsō* predecessors had been permitted to play while the missionaries exercised a controlling power over the nascent Korean Protestant churches. It will be argued that the roles that *chōndo puin* played during the Awakening were not themselves new, but reflect traditions of women's activity that already existed in Korean traditional culture as mediated through Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism. However, if the Awakening did not initiate women's activities in these spheres, it certainly increased the freedom with which the *chōndo puin* were able to exercise their roles.

The 1907 Awakening marked the beginning of an accelerated period of church

growth that continued under the Japanese military occupation from 1910, the year of in which the Korean Church launched the ‘One Million Souls Movement’ aimed at national evangelism. On the argument that the Awakening contributed to the indigenisation of Korean Protestantism, this chapter will examine church growth from the indigenous perspective, rather than from that of the missionaries. There was significant tension between the Korean Christians and the missionaries because of their respective stances toward the Japanese colonial authorities. Whereas the missionaries adopted a policy of political neutrality that they justified in terms of the separation of religion and politics, the Korean Christians increasingly saw Christianity in their own perspective as an indigenising movement, bound up with their self-identity as Koreans, and a focus therefore of their resistance of Japanese colonialism.

The chapter will examine the roles that the *chōndo puin* significantly played in contributing to the growth of Protestant churches through prayer meetings, the self-management of church life, Sunday school development, and women’s societies, and primary evangelistic outreach. While the evidence will show that the *chōndo puin* contributed significantly to the growth of the church in this period, it will also reveal that they were, as women, given only limited recognition by the missionary societies and the churches. Although the *chōndo puin* were well trained and capable, they were not allowed to rise to higher levels of institutional leadership. It will be argued that this was due to both indigenous and missionary factors, and resulted in the *chōndo puin* operating under a glass ceiling. Their achievements and the barriers that they faced are evident in the life of Sadie Kim, one of the leading *chōndo puin*, whose ministry will be reviewed in detail.

The Japanese colonial policy of suppression of Korean national identity progressively increased the official restriction of all Korean religions, especially Christianity. This came to a climax in the years between 1937 and 1945 when the Japanese insisted that all Koreans should observe Shinto practices, including the veneration of the Japanese Emperor. This presented a crisis for Korean Protestant Christianity, and resulted in the expulsion of all foreign missionaries. During this protracted crisis, the *chōndo puin* played a crucial role in helping the churches to survive, but were themselves divided into two groups: those that chose a strategy of negotiation, and those who resisted on grounds of both faith and justice.

2. Indigenisation: the impact of the Korean Awakening on the indigenisation of Korean Christianity, 1903 to 1910

The early decades of the 20th century were a period of the most rapid church growth of Protestant Christianity in Korea. This met with the enthusiastic acclaim of the missionaries who reported the statistics of growing congregations, and generally assumed much of the credit. The report of the year 1910 to the British Foreign Bible Society can be taken as typical:

To those who watch the progress of Christianity in Korea there is much encouragement. It is the strongest force at work for the regeneration of the people. The highest officials in the Government acknowledge the beneficial effects of Christianity on the Koreans. There has been a steady growth in the churches during the year, and statistics to hand show that over 10, 000 have been added to the full membership. ...The missionaries went back to their work with an increased passion for souls, and with the definite object of enlisting the Korean Christians in an effort to win at least one million souls before the next conference.³⁴⁷

The reference to “one million souls” refers to the evangelistic movement that was

³⁴⁷ ‘The Growth of the Korean Church’, *The One Hundred-Sixth BFBS AR*, 1910, p. 347.

launched in 1910 by the General Council of Evangelical Missions under the motto “A Million Souls for Christ”. While it was initiated by a council of six missionary societies,³⁴⁸ and was modelled on the a similar endeavour that had been conducted ten years earlier by the American Methodist, many Korean churches joined the movement, with the aim of increasing the numbers of Korean Protestants from an estimated ten thousand to a million. This evangelistic campaign was the culmination of the Awakening movement that began among Korean Protestants in 1903, and reached its climax in Pyōngyang in 1907. Unlike revivals in North America and Europe that had traditionally concentrated on renewing the faith of already baptised Christians, the movement in Korea took the more explicit direction of seeking to evangelise non-Christians as well as deepening the faith of the first generation of Korea Protestants. For this reason it is more appropriate to refer to the movement at the “Awakening” of the Korean Protestant Church than “revival” in the traditional sense.

The character and effects of the Awakening have been the subject of extensive Korean Christian scholarship. Lak-Geon George Paik, the pioneer of Korean Christian historiography, examined the Revival in his *History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, focussing on its importance from the perspective of mission. Min Kyōng-bae’s *History of Korean Christian Church* considered it rather as a central factor in the growth of the Korean churches’ national identity. Rhie Deok-joo’s *Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907* interprets the Awakening as marking the transformation of Protestantism in Korea from being missionary-dominated to becoming a more deeply indigenised faith.

³⁴⁸ American Presbyterian Mission (North and South), Methodist Episcopal mission (Americans and Canadians), Methodist Episcopal church (south), Canadian Presbyterian mission, Australian Presbyterian Mission.

According to his argument, the Awakening gave Korean Christians their first experiential consciousness of belonging to a faith tradition that was distinct from both Korean traditional religions and western missionary teaching. It had its own indigenous Korean interpretation of the gospel and was increasingly able and confident at asserting its independence from foreign missionary control; and to engage in political-social action in the wider realm of Korean society.³⁴⁹

The present writer accepts these views of the Awakening as complementary interpretations that focus on inter-related aspects of an event that marked the beginning of Korean Protestantism's "spiritual birth"³⁵⁰ as a Korean movement, responsive to Korean needs, and led by Korean people. While it can be misleading to overstate the degree in which the Awakening, as an indigenising movement, created tension between the missionaries and indigenous elements; it was important in empowering Koreans to express themselves in their own ways, according to their own cultural values, with an enthusiasm to which many non-Christian Koreans responded. They perceived a connection between the liberating power of the Holy Spirit and their yearning for freedom from the yoke of Japanese occupation. The study of the Awakening in this chapter seeks to augment conventional scholarly interpretation by examining its impact on Korean women, an aspect that has generally been ignored by male historians. By giving attention to the reports of women's missionary societies, it will be shown that the Awakening laid the foundations of indigenous Korean evangelism, and enabled the *chōndo puin* to begin to exercise leadership roles that had previously been denied them.

³⁴⁹ Rhie Deok-joo, *Han 'guk tochakkyohae hyungsung sa yōngu, 1903-1907*, (A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea), (Seoul, The Research Institute of Korean Christianity, 2000), pp. 91-92.

³⁵⁰ J. Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in Eastern Asia*, (Bethany Fellowship, Minneapolis, 1975), p.33

2.1. Reborn Christians; the evangelistic explosion of indigenous Korean churches

The Awakening actually owed its genesis to a group of missionary women in Wonsan, near Pyōngyang in Northern Korea, in 1903.³⁵¹ Disappointed by the lack of success of their evangelistic efforts over the previous five years, they invited Dr. Hardie, a Canadian medical missionary, to lead them in a special time of Bible study and prayer. The occasion ignited a spiritual renewal among the missionary women, and other missionaries quickly adopted the same strategy of seeking spiritual renewal in order to revive their energy for evangelism. This was in the nature of a traditional revival since it was largely confined to the western missionaries who sought to renew their faith in the hope of being more successful in their evangelism. In this early stage, the Revival had little impact on Koreans themselves, and Lak-Geon George Paik is correct in interpreting it as a missionary movement. By 1906, however, Korean Christians were beginning to be inspired by the spirit of the Revival. This first became evident in the Jangdaehyun Church in Pyōngyang. The minister of this church was Dr H. A. Johnston who preached a Wesleyan-type revival, emphasising the need for the inner conversion of the heart of the believer, to increase “the life of God in the souls of men”, while at the same time emphasising obligation of the believer to put the newly regenerate faith into daily practice in a Christian life committed to evangelism. Through this message, Dr Johnston encouraged Korean believers who already participated in the life of the church to experience the Gospel anew in their hearts, and to commit themselves to more enthusiastic outreach to Korean society.³⁵² This bore early fruit in the decision of the Jangdaehyung church

³⁵¹ The meeting mainly consisted of Mary C. Whitem A, Carroll, M. Knowles, J. Hounshell of Methodist Episcopal Church, South and L. H. McCully of Canadian Presbyterian Church. The meeting period was from 24th to 30th August 1903. William Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 1975, p. 55.

³⁵² ‘The Holy Spirit in Korea’, *KMF*, Vol. III No. 2, February 1907, p. 25. And Rev. J. R. Moores, ‘A Great Awakening’, *KMF*, Vol. II No. 3, January 1906, p. 51.

to send out its own Korean missionaries, a prime example being Yi Ki-pung who went as an evangelist to the island of Cheju off the south coast of Korea, where he gained many new converts.³⁵³ By 1907 four more churches in Pyöngyang became identified with the Revival, and the movement spontaneously spread to Seoul and then all other parts of Korea, and extended among Koreans living in Manchuria.³⁵⁴

It was as a result of these developments, culminating in the “Million Souls for Christ” campaign of 1910, that Korean Christians began to emerge as pastors of the Korean churches, with the result that the latter became less dependent on the missionaries and missionary societies. This aspect reflects in the views of Min Kyöng-bae and Rhie Deok-joo who interpret the Awakening in terms of the emerging national identity and indigenisation of the Korean churches. As a good example, early Korean leadership can be found in Keel Sun-ju (1869-1935) who became an active leader of the Awakening in Pyöngyang, and devoted himself to the quantitative and spiritual growth of Korean churches in ways that nurtured their indigenous character. At the age of twenty-one, Keel experienced a Pauline conversion from Taoism under the influence of the famous American missionary, Samuel Moffett (1864-1939). After a period of spiritual confusion, he began to articulate the faith that he derived from the missionaries in ways that reflected his own spiritual background. This is evident in his theological writings. For example, in his book entitled *Malsehak* (末世學, the Teaching of the End Times),³⁵⁵ he re-interpreted the biblical concept of the “New Heaven” in terms of the Shamanistic

³⁵³ Lak-Geon George Paik, *Han 'guk kaeshinkyo sa 1832-1910* (The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910), pp. 383-402. Min Kyöng-bae, *Han 'guk kidokkyo kyohoe sa* (The History of Korean Christian Church), pp. 249-262. Rhie Deok-joo, *Han 'guk tochakkyohae hyungsung sa yöngu 1903-1907* (A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907), pp. 91-168.

³⁵⁴ Chöon Taik-poo, *Han 'guk kyohae baljön sa* (The History of Church Development in Korea), (Seoul, The Christian Literature Society, 1987), p. 159.

³⁵⁵ Keel Sun-ju, 'Malsehak', *Yöngkae keel sun-ju moksa yugojunjip* (The Memorial Collection of Rev. Keel Sun-ju), Vol. I. (Seoul, The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1968), pp. 29-137.

Taoist understanding of the transformation of the natural world, in contrast to the traditional missionary theology that emphasised the millennial passing of the present world in Judgment and its replacement by a new order of creation. “The elements of the natural world” he wrote, “are changed by internal transformation. Accordingly, all that God creates, however small, is never destroyed, but changes its form.”³⁵⁶ In comparable fashion, his understanding of other Christian beliefs were deeply contextualized in traditional Korean cultural concepts, and differed greatly from those of the missionaries. Yet it was this understanding of Christian beliefs that Keel successfully preached during the Korean Awakening, and it had a vital impact on ordinary Korean Christians from 1920s to 1930s, resulting in a indigenising trend that is sometimes referred to as “*Chosŏn* Theology” and embraced by as many as seventy thousand adherents. It would be hazardous to generalize from this one example, significant as it is, an indigenising character of the preaching of a leading revivalist. It is evidence, however, that while the missionaries took the lead in the early development of the revival, the Awakening spread in directions that they had not anticipated, and was capable of producing theologies that they found difficult to own.³⁵⁷

Like Wesley, Keel emphasised that true evangelical faith needs be expressed in practical Christian living, and in evangelical outreach to the rest of society, not simply in terms of personal piety. As he succeeded in making the connection between Christianity and Korean culture, he was able to present Korean Christianity as a counterpoint to the political and cultural ideology that the Japanese were seeking to impose on Korea. Keel thus emerged as one of the leading Korean nationalists in the

³⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 135-137.

³⁵⁷ Kim Lin-sŏ, *Han'guk sŏnkyosa wa geu sŏlkyojip* (The Martyrs and Their Sermon of Korean Church), (Pusan, Sinyangsaenghalsa, 1962), pp. 74-75.

struggle against Japanese colonialism. He was one of the Christian signatories of the 1st March 1919 Declaration of Independence, and died a martyr in the struggle against Japanese Shintoism in November 1935.³⁵⁸

While the evidence of indigenous leadership in the later development of the Awakening offsets the assumption that it was entirely the work of the missionaries, it is important to note that there were missionaries at the time who recognised, with approval, the effect the Awakening was having on Korean Christians. The report on the situation in Pyöngyang by the missionary pastor, Rev. J. Z. Moore, in 1906 is revealing in this regard:

The greatest gain of the year in Pyöngyang District has been in self-support. When one thinks of their lack of riches, together with the fact of a hard year and their lack of training in Christian giving, it is really wonderful the way the Christians give for the support of their church... Compared with the amount given last year, yen 803, I find that, while the membership has increased 100%, the giving for self-support has increased 400%. They are eight paid helpers on the work. Three and one half are paid by the Missionary Society, and four and one half by the native church.³⁵⁹

From this report, we can see how the churches in Pyöngyang were already moving in the direction of indigenous responsibility, with a decreasing dependence on the missionaries. Under the hard circumstances of the relative poverty of Pyöngyang, Korean Christians endeavoured to establish their own churches by their own abilities. This was the soil in which the spirit of revivalism, in the primary sense of the term, was able to take root: the “reviving” of those who are already Christians, inspiring them to a new level of commitment. The Rev. Moore’s report shows how Christians of Pyöngyang were inspired to implement the principle of “self-support”

³⁵⁸ See the book, *Yöngkae Keel Sun-ju moksa yugojunjip* (The Memorial Collection of Rev. Sun-ju Keel), (Seoul, The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1968).

³⁵⁹ Rev. J. Z. Moore, ‘A Record of Self-Support’, *KMF*, Vol. II NO. 10, August 1906, p. 195.

that John Nevius (1829-1893) had introduced to Korea in 1890. With the other principles that churches should be self-governing and self-propagating, the Awakening impelled Korean Christians to take responsibility for their own churches rather than depending on western missionaries.

2.2. Spiritual renewal; the religious passion of Korean Christian women

Reporting on the Awakening in the village of Kimwha, a Korean observer wrote: After repenting her jealousy and misunderstanding at her home, in the evening service, she enthusiastically addressed “taking off her sins by” throwing off the overcoat she was wearing. Through her conduct other brothers and sisters were impressed and confessed their sins with sad wailing.³⁶⁰

This report refers to a Korean woman, Be-Shi Shin, who displayed the enthusiasm that characterises the spirit of revivalism in Korea as in other parts of the world. It is typical of many similar stories of the spontaneous actions of Korean women who felt themselves being caught up in the power of the Holy Spirit, not as passive observers but as active agents of spiritual renewal, expressing the very nature of the spiritual regeneration that typified the Awakening as a whole. In another report, the woman missionary S. F. Moore, the wife of Rev J. Z. Moore whom we have already mentioned, described the action of a woman who was moved to stand up as the sermon was being preached in an evening service to confess her sin.³⁶¹

Public confession of sin and the public act of repentance within the collective setting of a worshipping group are among the classic marks of revivalism,

³⁶⁰ Rhie Won-wha, ‘Kimwha Dikyungteo Sönwhanse Buheunghwe (The Revival in Kimwha)’, *Krisdōshinmun* (The Christian Newspaper), 15th March 1906, p. 260.

³⁶¹ S. F. Moore, ‘The Revival in Seoul’, *KMF*, Vol. II, No. 5, April 1906, p. 116. “It ought to make us ashamed to think that we have never before tried to have union evangelistic services, and the result though small as compared with Pyeng Yang.”, p. 115.

distinguishing it from other forms of Evangelical Christianity. Korean women are often cited in missionary reports of these incidents, showing that it was women, as much as men, who were prominent in this distinctive aspect of the movement, giving honest and open expression to their personal spiritual experiences. As in examples of revivalism in other cultural contexts, this often drew upon revivalists the scorn of other Christians who considered their behaviour unseemly. If one considers the cultural situation of Korean women at a time when the ancient Confucian traditions of *Chosŏn* still had much influence, and women were not expected to express themselves freely in public spaces that were dominated by men and the class structure of Korean society, it is easy to imagine the shock that the reports of such public displays of enthusiasm by women, would have caused. What the missionaries welcomed as signs of vital Christian faith that presaged well for the growth of the churches, Korean men or members of the *Yangban* class would have regarded as threatening to the established order of society.

This may explain the development of gender-differentiated meetings for Bible study and prayer during the Awakening. These were approved in a report by a Korean male in the employ of a missionary society, Mr G. Lee, who commented that male groups produced remarkable results in the Pyŏngyang revivals, while women's groups were much smaller. One senses a measure of relief in his comment, since the thought of married women being overcome by the Holy Spirit, convulsing in agony and losing their senses, seems to have caused him discomfort.³⁶²

A result of women gathering on their own for revivalist meetings was the gradual development of networks of female revivalists, and these networks became channels through which female leadership was exercised as Korean Christians took greater

³⁶² G. Lee, 'How the Spirit came to Pyeng Yang', *KMF*, Vol. III. No 3, March 1907, pp. 33-37.

responsibility for running their churches. A women missionary, Miss Katherine Wambold, reported on the growth of these women's meetings in 1908:

The Church was crowded with women every evening. After a song service, with reading of Scripture and prayer, and a telling of the Gospel story, the meetings resolved themselves into personal talks, as Korean women understand better in that way. Many decided to believe, and gave their names to the helpers on Sunday after morning service.³⁶³

Many similar reports of frequent services, morning prayers and evening Bible study meetings point to the radically socialising impact that the Awakening had on Korean Christian women. They gathered together, listened to Gospel stories, talked to each other, and prayed. In this manner they began to grow in confidence of their own spiritual power, and began to exert an influence in the church as a whole.

It is important to note that this was not an entirely new experience for Korean women. In traditional Shamanistic and Buddhist culture women were the source of domestic spirituality, within the confines of the home and other limited spheres of female activity. For the most part this was hidden from the public sphere of society. With the Awakening Korean Protestant women continued to exercise their spiritual enthusiasm, but were no longer restricted to the domestic sphere. By gathering together for collective sharing of confession, repentance and new life, they gained a new sense of identity in their Christian faith, and began to express this in collective ways that permeated into the wider life of the churches. This is evident in the developing role of the *chōndo puin* that we shall examine in the next section.

³⁶³ Katherine Wambold, 'Thirty-Three Days of Country Classes', *KMF*, Vol. IV, No. 12, December 1908, p. 179.

2.3. From *puin kwonsŏ* to *chŏndo puin*

Chapter four examined the activities of *puin kwonsŏ* in the early period of Korean Protestant history, where it was shown that their main work was the distribution of Scripture portions and other Christian literature written in the *Ŏnmun* script, and teaching basic literacy so that the Scriptures could be read. Note that the reports of the day and the writing of later historians generally failed to distinguish between the roles of the *puin kwonsŏ* and *chŏndo puin*,³⁶⁴ and the English term “Bible Women” was applied to both. There was, in fact, a significant overlap between the two in the early period of the Korean mission, and it was not until the Awakening, as will be shown in this section, that the distinctive character of *chŏndo puin* began to emerge. That is to say, *chŏndo puin* were able to develop particular facets of evangelism during the Awakening, as the result of which they came to be recognised as exercising particular roles of Christian leadership in the Korean churches. This marks the evolution of *puin kwonsŏ* from being the native assistants of foreign women missionaries to becoming indigenous female evangelists in their own right as *chŏndo puin*.

An example of such transition is furnished in a missionary report of the Korean woman named Hannah (her baptismal name), whom the missionary described simply as a “Biblewoman”:

It is a great pleasure to present the report of my Biblewoman Hannah, for this past year. My story will differ in many ways from that of former days and I trust may be of greater interest...During the first week in January she attended revival services in Ham Heung and there for the first time intelligently claimed the baptism of the Holy Spirit for service. At later services these experiences became

³⁶⁴ In the case of Yi Man-yŏl, he said in the research of *Puin Kwonsŏ*, “the terminology of ‘biblewomen’ used to be called as *puin kwonsŏ* and female evangelists (*chŏndo puin*). Because of one English and two Korean terminologies, we are very confused to interpret the terminology in our research.” Yi Man-yŏl, p. 132.

deeper and she learned as never before wherein the true secret of power lies and made a very full surrender of herself to God. In the spring, as she accompanied me on itinerating trips to various of our stations, it was easy to see the great change that had come over her and the earnest spirit with which she entered into her work was most inspiring. As she herself spoke of what she had experienced she said, "I used to do my work according to the flesh, but now I see how little that accomplishes and that I must always have the power of the Holy Spirit."...In the general meetings her devout prayers and bright testimonies were a great help and even the Korean men showed respect for her. In one place she was asked by them to lead a prayer meeting in one of the homes where both men and women were gathered...Hannah sold 426 Gospels and preached to over 3000 women during the past year and has also taught a class of children in the Sunday school when in the city. I would ask your prayers for her that she continue to "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."³⁶⁵

This story belongs to the early period of the Awakening in Northern Korea in 1906. Hannah – whose Korean name was not given – had evidently been the assistant of the female missionary, Miss McCully, who wrote the report. Hannah's functions in this capacity were not described, but we may assume they were those of a *puin kwonsõ*. As a result of attending revivalist gatherings, she clearly underwent a spiritual transformation that deepened her self-surrender to God. In language that is typical of revivalist sentiment, she expressed this in terms of transition from life in the "flesh" to life in "the Spirit". A new person emerged, and – in relation to our specific concern – she felt that she had graduated from one level of service to another. Empowered by the Holy Spirit, she now had the confidence to strike out on her own, as an evangelist in her own right, leading prayer meetings, selling Gospel portions, preaching to large numbers of women, and teaching children. In these tasks she no longer needed to work under the instruction, or to the command of a missionary, but became an evangelist in her own right. She went on to achieve considerable success in evangelising near Ham Heung, a town of northern Korea.

³⁶⁵ Miss L.H. McCully, 'Fruit of the Revival', *KMF*, Vol. III, No. 6, June 1907, pp. 83-87.

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³⁶⁵ Miss L.H. McCully, 'Fruit of the Revival', *KMF*, Vol. III, No. 6, June 1907, pp. 83-87.

Analysing her story, we can gain insight into the role of the *chōndo puin* in the Awakening. First and foremost they were evangelists who, as indigenous people, were able to open up new areas of evangelism that foreign missionaries were unable to engage directly. These were the small revivalist meetings that emphasised prayer and testimony. Missionary records include many references to *chōndo puin* acting in this capacity. Other examples include Mardrine who was active in Pyōngyang in 1903,³⁶⁶ Pak Sul-hwa who did evangelistic work in the Jushanlee church from April 1908 to July 1910,³⁶⁷ and Salome who organised regular meetings for evangelism in a small town near Pyōngyang where she is credited with winning between six and ten new believers per month in 1907.³⁶⁸ It is clear that these other *chōndo puin*, like Hannah, worked mainly among other women and children, but Hannah's story is particularly interesting in that it shows that her role was not confined to small meetings, but included "general meetings" at which men and women were present, where she apparently earned the respect of the men as well as the women. This might seem to contradict the point made earlier that public displays of spiritual enthusiasm by women revivalists were disliked by Korean men, and ran counter to conventional standards of social behaviour. This problem is resolved, however, if we take the reference to "general meetings" as evidence of larger public meetings that would have been more carefully planned and prepared for the purpose of revival than small, local gatherings where worshippers were more spontaneous. There is evidence of both kinds of event in Korean Revival, pointing to the convergence of two streams of revivalist experience. One that emphasised the spontaneous nature of the experience that came "as the rain" solely at the prompting of the Holy Spirit; and the other that

³⁶⁶ Kim Sūng-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han 'guk kyohoe chōndo puin jaryōjip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), p.201.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 225

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

expressed the conviction that revival could be planned, people prepared, occasions announced in advance, and revival organised to a predetermined order. A missionary report of a revival in a small town in 1906 gives evidence of both kinds of event:

We had gone with the Bible woman into the homes several weeks previous to his (i.e. a revivalist preacher) coming, telling the women of the proposed services and urging them to so arrange their work as to make church going the business for a week...Our faithful Bible woman convulsed with emotion, sobbed out her confession of jealousy and lack of love. Her anguish of conviction was soon transformed into the peace which passeth understanding, and her life has born the fruits of the Spirit since that time.³⁶⁹

This clearly suggests that the women in the village where a revival meeting was being planned, and at which an especially invited revivalist preacher would officiate, were in the habit of gathering for emotionally-charged, enthusiastic meetings among themselves, but were prepared for the larger meeting by a *chōndo puin* for “several weeks” before the event itself. Such preparation would have included Bible reading and instruction, and orderly prayer, as well as practical arrangements. As Miss McCully’s report of the *chōndo puin* Hannah indicated, she played a role in these larger meetings, attended by both men and women, and gained the respect of both. The same may have been the case with the other *chōndo puin* referred to above.

As well as readying the community for the arrival of the evangelist, the tasks undertaken by the *chōndo puin* can be seen as having a longer-term effect in laying foundations for a local church that would continue the spirit of the Awakening through an organised ecclesial community. This was, after all, the purpose of the Awakening: to renew the Church both by reviving the spirit of churches that already existed, and by creating new Christian communities where there had been no previous evangelism.

³⁶⁹ Miss. M. R. Hillman, ‘A Wonderful Week’, *KMF*, Vol. II No. 10 August 1906, p. 183.

3.1 The foundation of Korean churches

An interesting example of the role of *chōndo puin* in founding new churches can be found in the report by Miss Pierpont of a “ladies church” that was created in the village of Pang Kol in the An Dong district of Kyungbook Province of Northern Korea, an area of historic importance for Confucianism in Korea.³⁷⁰ The report is given by a missionary wife, Mrs. A.G. Sadie Welbon, in 1906:

At Pang Kol we saw a new church which Mr. Welbon (an American missionary³⁷¹) has not yet visited. There were six Christian women here and their joy in seeing us was touching...Paramie is known as the “ladies church.” A daughter of Mrs. Yun’s (sic), in the church near An Dong, married and moved up here four years ago, bringing with her the Gospel. There are now fifteen Christian women, but not a man believing yet, in the group. A few days before they had completed the buying of a house for a church and we held the first service in it that night...The ladies felt dreadful about the old gentleman’s speech and said repeatedly that if I did not return soon for another visit they would feel sure that I had taken it to heart and had not a very (sic) comfortable night. After returning from the service, which did not close until eleven o’clock, the women all came in and asked to see the children sleeping. One after another they took a little lantern and went around the cots... We visited twelve churches and met personally 393 Christian women. Only four of the churches had ever been visited before by a foreign woman.³⁷²

As this report makes clear, the church in Pang Kol was created through the initiative of a young Korean woman, the daughter of Mrs Yun, who had moved into the village on her marriage. “Bringing with her the Gospel,” she spent four years evangelising the local women, and by the time of Miss Piermont’s visit in 1906 had gathered twelve of them into a nascent church. It is reasonable to speculate that the

³⁷⁰ See the book, *An Dong yōksa moonhwa kibaeng* (The itineration of History and Culture of An Dong), (Seoul, Pureunyoeksa, 2002) edited by The Research Institute of An Don Culture in the An Dong National University.

³⁷¹ Arthur G. Welbon was an American Presbyterian missionary who served at An Dong in Kyungbook Province from 1900. He moved to Pyōngyang 1917. See Kim Sūng-tae and Pak Hye-jin, *Naehan sōnkyosa chōllam* (A Material of Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1984), p. 519.

³⁷² Mrs. A.G. Sadie Welbon, ‘Two Weeks on the Road’, *Woman’s Work*, Vol. XXX February 1915, pp.28-30.

four years of evangelism among the village women would have been conducted privately in their homes, in those inner rooms (*anpang*) in a traditional Korean house of this period that were reserved for women. By the time of Miss Piermont's visit, however, the women were in the process of establishing themselves as a church, for which they had bought their own house.

The report refers to two specific characteristics of this church. Firstly, it comprised only women, there being "not a man believing yet." Secondly, no missionary had had any part in its creation, and before Miss Piermont, it had never been visited by a missionary. The reference in the report to "the old gentleman's speech" that so upset the Christian women refer to a male Korean who accompanied Miss Piermont. He disapproved of the creation of a church made up only of women who, in his view, lacked the authority to undertake this venture in the Korean Confucian traditions. It appears that the women appealed to Miss Piermont, pressing her to forget the incident and to visit them again in the future. This implies that the village women felt justified in acting independently of both Korean men and western missionaries, but were willing strategically to appeal to the female missionary for support against male interference. In the event, the opening service went ahead, with the Korean pastor present. This suggests that he eventually tolerated the development of a "ladies church" without approving it.

The end of the report indicates that the church in Pang Kol was one of twelve churches in the An Dong district that may have come into existence under similar circumstances, and included as many as 393 Korean women. This suggests that "Paramie" was not unique, but was probably part of a loose network of revival churches that were organised entirely by and for Korean women. This was the arena

in which the *chōndo puin* came into their own as evangelists, Bible teachers, founders of churches, leaders of prayer and other elements of worship. The remarkable background to the Pang Kol story is that it took place in a strongly Confucian district, whose patriarchal culture would have been hostile to the public role of women that the report evidences. This was a probable element in the anger of “old gentleman”, showing that Confucian gender discrimination continued in the early development of Korean Protestant Christianity. Against this background, the evangelising activities of the *chōndo puin* can be seen as vectors of social and cultural change.

3.1.1 Small groups for churches

One may ask where the basic arena of *chōndo puin*'s work for women inside churches was. The answer proposed here is that their work concentrated on prayer meetings and bible study groups, these sometimes being one and the same. These small devotional groups were important to churches just as cells are to a body. Based on these groups, the churches were able to create systematic organisations and manage the administrations of ministry. In these small groups members were closely connected with each other, and the intensity of their fellowship attracted others to join them, and thus contributed to the numerical growth of the churches.

This section will explore the importance of *chōndo puin* in these group meetings, by examining the Annual Reports of Board of Missions of Methodist Episcopal Church, South between the years 1911 and 1919. This Mission Board is selected because it operated in the middle part of Korea around Seoul, whereas most of the missionary reports we have cited so far concerned Northern Korea, and the

Methodist Board paid special attention to ‘Woman’s Work’ for evangelism.

While the ‘Women’s Work’ reports are directly relevant to our subject, they also exhibit the problematic with which this thesis is wrestling: the reports usually record the activities of the (in this case) American missionaries, and the contribution of the Korean women is either ignored altogether, or relegated to the background. Consider, for example, the following three reports, taken from the annual reports of 1915 and 1916:

(i) The work among the women of the district was looked after by Miss Noyes and Miss Tucker. No pains have been spared in the work for women. Practically, all the Churches of the district have been visited, and many Bible study classes have been held, while hundreds of women have been visited in their homes. Miss Noyes reports that two hundred women in the country Churches are taking the prescribed course for home study, many being enthusiastic students of the Word.³⁷³

(ii) Miss Noyes has had charge of woman’s work in the district. She has travelled extensively and has held many classes for women. She and the Bible women who assist her have done very valuable work.³⁷⁴

(iii) Independent of these circuit classes, the five Bible women, with their bedding on their backs, have walked through all sorts of weather, from village to village, holding meetings with the Church members during the day and with unbelievers at night, giving five and six days to each meeting. Their record is: villages visited, 387; unbelievers preached to, 3,182; Christians visited, 4,872; prayer services led, 211; Bible classes, 5; attendance on classes, 50.³⁷⁵

The first two reports refer to the work of two American missionaries, Miss Noyes and Miss Tucker, though it is Miss Tucker who features more prominently. Alice Dean Noyes was a Methodist Episcopal Church, South, missionary who came to Korea in September 1910, and worked among Korean women in the Chunchŏn area

³⁷³ ‘Evangelistic’, *The 69th ARMEC, South*, May 11-14 1915, (Nashville, Tenn, Publishing House of the M.E.Church, South,), p.171.

³⁷⁴ ‘Wonsan West District-Rev. C. T. Collyer, Superintendent’, *The 70th ARMEC, South*, May 2-5 1916, p. 148.

³⁷⁵ Mrs. J. P. Campbell, ‘Evangelistic Work, Seoul District’, *The 70th ARMEC, South*, p. 156.

of Kangwondo province for eight years until she returned to the United States in 1918.³⁷⁶

The first report typically refers only to the work of Miss Noyes who spared “no pains...in the work for women,” visiting all the churches in the Chunchŏn area, holding Bible studies, and meeting women in their homes. It sounds plausible from a North American perspective, exactly what a mission board would expect of any of its missionaries in the field. Noticeably absent, however, is any reference to the supporting role of *chŏndo puin*, without whom it is improbable that Miss Noyes could have been as effective in Bible studies and visiting women in their homes because of her relative inability to communicate. The telling element of the report lies in its last sentence: “two hundred women in the country Churches are taking the prescribed course for home study, many being enthusiastic students of the Word.” Here is indirect evidence of the fact that Miss Noyes must have had significant local help if as many as two hundred Korean women were undergoing instruction in the basic elements of Christian faith and living.

To interrogate the report in this way is not intended to discredit the work that Miss Noyes was doing, but to draw attention to the supportive role of local Korean women evangelists, *chŏndo puin*, whose contribution would have been essential for the missionary’s achievement. Should this conclusion seem to be based on surmise, the evidence of the second report supports this argument. Again it deals with the work of Miss Noyes by way of an annual report to the Methodist board, but now more accurately acknowledges that Miss Noyes had “the Bible women who assist her...(in the) very valuable work” that she was doing. Unfortunately, there is no

³⁷⁶ Kim Sŭng-tae and Pak Hye-jin, *Naehan sŏnkyosa chŏllam* (A Material of Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1984), p. 401.

detailed information given about the nature of the work undertaken by the Korean women, but their contribution is at least acknowledged in general terms.

A more detailed description is, however, the third report that merits being quoted again:

Independent of these circuit classes, the five Bible women, with their bedding on their backs, have walked through all sorts of weather, from village to village, holding meetings with the Church members during the day and with unbelievers at night, giving five and six days to each meeting. Their record is: villages visited, 387; unbelievers preached to, 3,182; Christians visited, 4,872; prayer services led, 211; Bible classes, 5; attendance on classes, 50.³⁷⁷

Here there is specific reference to the work of “the five Bible women”. The use of the definite article in this context indicates that this is a report about the work of five particular *chōndo puin*, as distinct from *chōndo puin* in general, and it may be assumed that these were five women that worked with Miss Noyes. The statistical guide to their activities indicates that they were able to extend the range of evangelism far beyond what any single missionary women could have accomplished, visiting 387 villages, nearly five thousand Christian women, and more than three thousand non-Christians. But the significant statistical evidence in support of the argument of this section is that the five *chōndo puin* organised two hundred and eleven prayer services and five Bible classes – i.e. the small devotional groups with which this section is concerned. This broadly correlates with the first report that “two hundred women in the country Churches are taking the prescribed course for home study, many being enthusiastic students of the Word.” Admittedly one report refers to prayer services and Bible classes, while the other notes the number of Korean women attending them. It may be a coincidence that in both cases the figure of

³⁷⁷ Mrs. J. P. Campbell, ‘Evangelistic Work, Seoul District’, *The 70th ARMEC, South*, p. 156.

around two hundred is recorded, or it may suggest a confusion of events and participants. In either case, it indicates the five *chōndo puin* played a critical role in this dimension of the evangelistic work, and that it was conducted “independent(ly) of these circuit classes” – i.e. the classes that Miss Noyes would have been responsible for herself.

In addition to the extent of the work of the *chōndo puin* among the small devotional groups in the country villages of Chunchōn, the reports of “Women’s Work” infer the kind of relationship that existed between the women missionaries and the *chōndo puin*. At one level, which would have been a preliminary stage, Miss Noyes seems to have been very much in control in those churches that represented the core of her evangelistic circuit. An important part of her work would have been to train some of the local Korean women to help her. If this provided a focus of her work in 1915, by the following year we find that five of these women, now recognised in their own right as “Bible women”, or *chōndo puin*, were credited with helping her. Specifically they extended the evangelistic work “independent of the circuit classes” into the villages that could only be reached by long days of walking, whatever the weather, and where the *chōndo puin* spent several days in each village, providing primary evangelism to the village women, Christians and non-Christians alike. It is unimaginable that Miss Noyes would not have described the challenges of such journeys had she actually taken part in them. The relative lack of detail in the reports suggests that the missionary authors had only second-hand information about all that was involved. It was these journeys, however, that represented the second stage of evangelism, and it was in this stage that the *chōndo puin* came into their own as indigenous communicators of the faith.

From this analysis we can conclude that, in the second and more extended stage of evangelism, it was the *chōndo puin* who played the leading role, organising prayer meetings and bible studies for the new Christian groups that came into existence in the villages. Female missionaries played a supporting role in the work, their most important contribution being in the preliminary stage of training selected Korean women to undertake the tasks of evangelism. The evidence of “Women’s Work” in central Korea supports that which we earlier examined in the northern provinces, especially the case of An Dong where the churches were organised by *chōndo puin* with only occasional visits from missionaries.

3.1.2 The contribution of the *chōndo puin* to the self-support of the Korean churches

Historians of the Korean Awakening concur that its effects are to be seen not only in the numerical growth of the Korean churches, but also in the ability of the new churches to take responsibility for their own existence as self-funded entities. This relates to the principles of church management set out in the context of East Asia by the American missionary, John Nevius (1829-1893). The giving of material wealth to the church, especially in the form of financial support, became a mark of Korean church growth from the Awakening onwards. Today, when South Korea is one of the wealthiest nations in Asia, this does not seem exceptional. The situation was, however, quite different in the early decades of the 20th century when Korea was stricken by a poverty that was intense in the rural areas that comprised the majority of the country. In such circumstances, giving entailed personal sacrifice, and for this reason was esteemed as an outward sign of the inner integrity of a person’s faith.

Korean women played their part in this tradition of sacrificial giving. A moving

example is recorded in the annual report of Rev. George S. McCune who was an educational missionary of Northern Presbyterian Church of America in Pyŏngyang region of central Korea:

It was during this offering that old Mrs. Lew, the founder of the church (A Christian meeting in Chulsan Country), gave her offering. She had decided the night before what she was going to give. Being a very poor woman she could give nothing but some thread that she had made, which she had expected to sell. I suppose this, sold, would not amount to more than eighteen cents. As she sat there with her beautiful hatchet-head on her breast, the ornament so much beloved and which she always wore on Sundays and on special occasions now that she was a Christian, it seemed to burn into her breast. I watched her as she stood up, unpinned the silver ornament from her waist and put it into the collection plate.³⁷⁸

The woman in question, Mrs Lew, is not identified as a *chŏndo puin*, but by the criteria that have been identified in previous sections of this chapter, we may confidently assume that she was one of the *chŏndo puin* because it is mentioned that she was “the founder of the church” of which, now in her senior years, she was a member. Despite the role she had played in earlier years as a *chŏndo puin*, she is described as “a very poor woman.” This was by not in the least exceptional, for the same could be said of most Koreans at this time. It indicates, however, that the *chŏndo puin* did not seek to exploit their relationship with the missionaries to their economic advantage. They continued to identify themselves with the local people, in their poverty as in other things. It was in such poverty that Mrs Lew gave her most treasured possession, probably a simple piece of embroidery, which could be sold as her contribution to church funds. The missionary was very impressed with her earnest attitude and faith.

This story of Mrs. Lew points to another characteristic of the *chŏndo puin*. As has

³⁷⁸ Rev. Dr. Geo. S. McCune, “Three Countries Set on Fire by a Widow”, *Woman's Work*, Vol. XXX March 1915, p. 64.

already been mentioned, although the *chōndo puin* had a close working relationship with the missionaries, they did not rely on the missionaries for financial support. Sometimes mission societies gave them money to carry out their work, but it was generally for particular tasks or events, and not for general living, as we have already seen in some of the missionary reports discussed. The *chōndo puin* conducted themselves as evangelists by accepting to live at the same level of the people among whom they were working. In this respect there was no difference between the evangelist and the evangelised. This is further evidence of the quality of the *chōndo puin*'s contribution to church growth, and to the goal of self-support that the churches adopted as part of the spirit of the Awakening.

3.2 The role of the Sunday school in church development

The Sunday school was a key element in the history of church development in Korea. The first Sunday school opened in 1903, in Pyōngyang, under the leadership of Mrs Mattie Wilcox Noble, a wife of W. M. Noble. From the outset, this was planned as a means of church growth; beginning with the promising number of 175 pupils, Mrs Noble confidently predicted an increase to one thousand.³⁷⁹ In the event, her pioneering work laid the foundations for a major growth in Christian missionary education in Korea, most of which was undertaken by women, and by 1913

“Women’s Work” reported no fewer than ninety thousand Sunday school pupils:

³⁷⁹ “July 26. Sunday morning at 8 o’clock I taught about 200 little children. I had previously had it given out in Church & invited each member to bring at least 5 little ones between the ages of 4 & 16. It was a rainy morning but nearly 200 came-175-many had never been to the Church before. We have great hopes of good resulting from this school, and I mean to place some of my efforts that I had previously placed in other work in this school. I have always wanted to start this work, but never had the strength to add this to my other responsibilities... I want it to grow to 1000 little ones before our furlough.” Mattie Willcox Noble, ‘Children’s Sunday School-1903’, *The Journals of Mattie Wilcox Noble 1892-1934*, (Seoul, The Institute for Korean Church History, 1993), p. 111. And ‘Chōson Juilhakkyo Samshipalnun (The Sunday School of Chōson for Thirty Eight Years)’, *Kidokshinbo* (The Christian Messenger), 9th June 1931, p. 9

Twenty-eight years ago there was not a single believer in Korea. Now our own church has, in round numbers, thirty-six thousand communicants and ninety thousand Sunday-school pupils, while the missionaries estimate the constituency of all the Christian churches at three hundred thousand.³⁸⁰

The missionaries understandably took pride in this achievement, seeing it as the most effective way both of building up the Christian community and of reaching out to non-Christians. While the Sunday schools were firmly grounded in communicating the knowledge of Christianity, their appeal also lay in their offering basic literacy and access to western learning. At this point in Korean history, they were unrivalled in both respects, and therefore had an open field that they could exploit to their advantage.

The following report on the Sunday schools in the Wonsan area of Northern Korea is interesting for its objectivity, acknowledging weaknesses as well as the strengths in the local system:

Sunday Schools sustain a vigorous existence in every church as the entire membership attend and, amid conditions far from ideal, with unskilled teachers and poor organization, still succeed in grounding the people in a knowledge of the Word. These sessions usually precede the preaching service on Sunday morning while an afternoon school is held in many churches for non-Christian children who are sought out and brought in by the children believers.³⁸¹

This report gives us a clear picture of the status of education within the discipline of church membership: by 1918 every church in the Wonsan district had its own Sunday school, and every member was involved in the Sunday morning classes that preceded the worship service. This was the occasion for grounding church members in the basic tenets of Christian faith, especially through Bible study. Sunday

³⁸⁰ 'Korean General Assembly', *Woman's Work*, Vol. XXVIII February 1913, p. 34. This figure included the Sunday school attendance records of the Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church South and the Canadian and Australian Presbyterian Churches.

³⁸¹ 'North Korea-Wonsan, Evangelistic', ARFMC, 1918, p. 115.

afternoon classes, on the other hand, were designed for children, those of Christian parents and non-Christians, the former bringing along their non-Christian friends. In these classes provided a more basic education in literacy and Bible learning.

The report frankly acknowledged, however, that “conditions (were) far from ideal, with unskilled teachers and poor organization.” The unskilled teachers are not identified, but should be understood as Korean women who would themselves have had little or no formal education, other than what the Sunday schools themselves provided. Once again, we take this as an anonymous reference to the Bible women. The least skilled of these were the *puin kwonsō*, who served, as we have seen, as helpers of the missionaries. It was among these women, however, that the missionaries found their most able students, many of whom were trained both in general learning and in Bible knowledge to become *chōndo puin*. It was the latter who were able to extend the range of missionary activity among the rural villages. As the report claims, “Sunday Schools sustain a vigorous existence in every church.” It would not have been possible for the missionaries to sustain this range of Sunday school education unaided. As we have seen with the other dimensions of evangelism discussed in previous sections, it was the *chōndo puin* who assumed responsibility for Sunday school education in the more remote districts. Many *chōndo puin* organised Sunday schools by themselves were female missionaries were not available.

The report acknowledges that, taken as a whole, the Sunday schools suffered “poor organisation”. It is fair to infer that this is less a criticism of the women missionaries and the *chōndo puin* themselves, than a frank recognition of the difficulty of coordinating the work among the churches and Sunday schools. The northern parts of

Korea are mountainous, making travel and communication between villages very difficult. We know, for example, that only the most rudimentary system of Sunday school committees was in place in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. And yet, as the report continues, the Sunday schools “succeed in grounding the people in a knowledge of the Word.”

This is a testimony to the work of the *chōndo puin*, like Marie and Sadie Kim who were trained by the missionary, C.D.Morris, in laying the foundations of Christian education among the churches of Korea, contributing to the dissemination of primary Christian knowledge, as well as to the numerical growth of the churches.³⁸²

3.3 Women’s group for the basic power of churches, 1910-1938

This section will be looking at the organised women’s groups of Korean churches upon the *chōndo puin*’s work in the cell organisations of the churches. The following are the main concerns; 1) How did the women’s societies of Korean churches emerge? 2) What kinds of function did women’s society have in order to contribute to Korean churches’ growth? 3) What kinds of relationship did *chōndo puin* have with the women’s societies? And 4) How effective a role did the societies play for *chōndo puin*’s arena of Korean evangelism?

In the following section, these research questions will be illustrated through more accurate and concrete stories about *chōndo puin*. Just as *chōndo puin* translates to ‘*chōndo*’ evangelistic and ‘*puin*’ married women, so do their life experiences offer us

³⁸² See *The Records of the Australian Presbyterian Mission in Korea 1918* (pp.24-26), *Minute of the Annual Meeting of Korea Mission in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1912* (pp.50-51) and *The Annual Report of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1912, 1918 and 1919*.

the best representations of young Christianity in Korea.

3.3.1 Women's society of churches for Christian propagation

Then, what happened to Korean churches through? Women's activities? This story describes their lives in the churches well.

It means much for the new homes that are just starting. Every woman had her hymn-book and Bible and as she entered she bent her head to the floor in prayer-often with her baby on her back. "Madam President" was a little Korean grandmother, seventy years old. She was just a little higher than the pulpit but her dignity made up for any lack in stature. There she stood, her thin face lighted with a holy intelligence, calm, self-poised, capable- a leader in the King's service-and she had lived to be fifty years old before she had ever heard of the King! Her voice without seeming effort reached to the farthest corner above the voice of weeping and protest of many a small son....With her wand of office she (Madam president) called down every woman who talked over her time, You couldn't have done it better yourself, oh, president, whoever you are! There was a business-like report from the treasurer and well-prepared minutes by the secretary. Then came the reports and the talks. Over forty new believers were reported from one church. Another told of her work far out in the country where there wasn't one Christian woman, how the work was started and how the new believers had followed her far on her way from one village to another. There was a discussion on a familiar subject. "How to awaken a greater interest." It is quite the custom for Korean sisters to jump up and go to the assistance of one in difficulty.³⁸³

This is the life of a female president of a women's group in a church seen by Mrs. S. D. Belle S. Lockett. Seeing how she mentions the president, one realizes what a change Christian woman experienced in churches. Korean Christian women had women's groups or societies as a larger unit in the churches. Usually, elderly women became the presidents of such societies. For example 'Madam President' in this passage. The president's role covered a variety of duties. Firstly, she would take

³⁸³ Mrs. S. D. Belle S. Lockett, 'With the Missionaries' Children', *Woman's Work*, Vol. Vol. XXXIII February 1916, pp. 29-30.

charge of church meetings for women or prayer services. Imagine the situation where a group of women are bent over with their babies on their backs, with Bibles and hymnbooks led by Madam President in the chapel of the church. There were some areas, which native pastors and missionaries neglected - but which were very important as possible building blocks in the foundation of churches. The president of women's groups was able to care for one such area concerning women. Secondly, she was able to spread Christianity to non-Christians very well. Such as the passage shows for her case, most presidents of the societies were quite respected by people living in their towns, cities and provinces. On the grounds of their reputation, they could easily lead and introduce non-Christians to churches, educate new believers, and make the believers settle down in the new religious home, churches. This means that they were not only spiritual leaders who interpreted Christianity to pass on to Korean women and men aware of Korean traditional points of view, but also social leaders who even non-Korean Christians were willing to follow. Therefore, the importance of women's groups and societies and also their presidents' role was high in Korean church history. Thus, the next section will look at the history of women's church societies by analysing the history of Presbyterian women in the period.

From 1898, there were small women's societies in Korean churches; the women's society of Nuldarikul (1898), Changyŏn (1899), Kangkae (1904), Jŏngju (1910), and Ŭiju (1910).³⁸⁴ Particularly, the practical leaders of Kangkae women's society were six *chŏndo puin* led by a head leader, a *chŏndo puin* Lew Ik-do. These kinds of church society were growing fast. In 1908, there was a 'Pyŏngyang Jibang Yŏnhaphoe', United Committee of Pyŏngyang. Since its foundation, the Union of Women's Societies attracted many churches after 1910. One famous example was the

³⁸⁴ Joo Sun-ae, pp. 82-91.

Pyŏngbuk YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe (the United Committee of Women's Society of Pyŏngbuk) in 1915. This committee possessed fifty-five branches, four hundred members and seven hundred American dollars for finance.³⁸⁵ These united societies were very systematic as far as influencing local churches and denominations is concerned. Ju Sun-ae, a female Presbyterian historian collected the following data on the societies.

<Table 7> A list of Women's Societies in Korea, 1908-1928³⁸⁶

Year	Local Women's Society	The Branch of Women's Society	United Women's Society
1908	Pyŏngyang Puin Jŏndohoe		
1909	Sunchŏn Puin Jŏndohoe		
1910	Ŭiju Puin Jŏndohoe		
1911	Wonsan Puin Jŏndohoe		
1912	Kangkae Puin Jŏndohoe		
1913			
1914	Chilsan Puin Jŏndohoe		
1915			Pyŏngbuk YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1916		Yongkang Dukdong church Puin Jŏndohoe	
1917		Pakwonlee Church Puin Jŏndohoe in Ukchŏn of Kyŏnggi Province	Pyŏngsŏ YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1918		Pyŏngyang Yŏnhwadong Church Puin Jŏndohoe	Pusan YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1919	Taegu Puin Jŏndohoe		
1921			Hwangnam YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1922			Hwanghae YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1925		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Songmoon Church Puin Jŏndohoe in Kwangju City of Junnam Province ● Changjoowoop Church Puin Jŏndohoe ● Kaerul Church Puin Jŏndohoe in Yongyang area. ● Naju Church Puin Jŏndohoe 	Kyŏnggi YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1926			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Wonsan YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe ● Kyŏngbuk YŏJŏndohoe Yŏnhaphoe
1927		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Namwonwoop Church Puin Jŏndohoe ● Bukjŏndong Church Puin Jŏndohoe in Kimchŏn 	
1928			Chŏnju Puin Jorukhoe Chunghoe (The Assistant Assembly of Chŏnju Ladies)

³⁸⁵ Harry A. Rhode, A. M. D.D. (ed), *History of the Korean Mission Presbyterian Church, U.S.A 1884-1934*, (Seoul, Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church, 1940), p. 210.

³⁸⁶ Joo Sun-ae, pp. 135-136.

This table shows how meticulous the societies were managed by Korean Christian women over a period of 20 years. The data allows us an insight into the traditional network of Korean women. Both in religious terms and socially, women's activities became an important connection in the Christian community. This link had a significant impact on the growth of Korean churches. Accordingly, the *chōndo puin* were closely related to the societies and these must have been a great foundation for *chōndo puin* work. If so, what did *chōndo puin* work to achieve in these well-organised women's societies?

3.3.2 Expository evangelism of *chōndo puin*; Organisational support from Women's societies

Every church had women's evangelistic groups led by *chōndo puin* and the groups were supported by the committees or unions. One example was the Saemoonan Presbyterian Church³⁸⁷, which was established by H.G. Underwood in 1887.

In the 1910s, the Saemoonan *chōndo puin* groups consisted of a deaconess, female founders, and *puin kwonsō* went near Seoul making a pair on every Sunday. They sent non-believers the Christian message to persuade them to convert. If there was someone determined to convert to Christianity, they taught him or her basic Christian doctrine. In addition, they helped the new believers in church every Sunday. They introduced the new believers and gave them the opportunity to meet western missionaries. The evangelistic area of the *chōndo puin* group was the Country of

³⁸⁷ This church was very important in the Korean history. H.G. Underwood (1887) and S.A. Moffet (1891) who were famous missionaries in the Korean Protestant Mission were the representative reverends of the church. There were a lot of well-known Korean people like Chang-Ho An, Kyoo-Sik Kim and so forth. Until now the church was located in the centre of Seoul. The homepage is <http://www.saemoonan.org/>

Seeheung and Koyang. The group systematically established places where twenty to forty people were able to get together and work towards the conversion of non-Christians and education of new believers. At the time, Kim Jin-ae, Yi U-yŏng, Kim Jun-shin, and Shim Chang-dŏk were very active *chŏndo puin*.³⁸⁸ Here is another record by a missionary working in Chŏnju city located in the southern part of Korea.

In connection with our evangelistic campaign in July 1910, band of women workers were organised and did both faithful and successful work. This Kodak pictures was taken at the side of the church just as we started to our work...others made self-denials that they might obtain money for the same purpose. These gospels were given to anyone who seemed interested in the story of the Saviour...The old lady standing on Mrs. Clark's left hand worshipped Buddha for nearly seventy years. She did many things and made many sacrifices to obtain merit, and they heard that "There was life for a look at the crucified One." She is very happy and very eager to tell others of her Saviour, despite the fact that her heathen son-in-law, with whom she lives, is very unkind to her because of her new faith.³⁸⁹

This report also contained a picture taken in front of a church in Chŏnju. There were around forty Korean women and four female missionaries (this picture's condition was too bad to scan). Despite the bad condition, one could recognize their serious and devoted expressions. The group was designed for evangelism and the women were called *chŏndo puin*, meaning women who spread the gospel to non-believers. Also, the women's achievements were very helpful to the growth of churches. So the churches deeply trusted in their work. This was shown in a missionary report by the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Bible women have visited 1,527 homes of believers and 1,733 homes of nonbelievers during ten months. Number persuaded to believe, 73; meetings held,

³⁸⁸ Yun Kyŏng-no, *Saemunan kyohae paeknyŏnsa* (The History of Samunsa Church for a Hundred Years), (Seoul, the Samoonan Church, 1995), pp. 140-142.

³⁸⁹ Mrs. Anabel Major Nisbet, 'Women Workers, Chunju, Korea', *The Missionary*, April 1911, pp. 183-184.

1,236;city districts and country villages visited, 218;willing listeners, 3,311.³⁹⁰

This is a report of the Methodist Episcopal Church South from 1915 about the achievement of *chōndo puin*. Through this short report, we can see that the *chōndo puin* were located at the front of evangelism. They visited many homes and persuaded citizens to participate in church services or become members of churches as Christians. Accordingly, the growth of local churches significantly relied on the evangelistic work of *chōndo puin*. According to the list of *chōndo puin*, there were many women in local evangelism, for example Pak Kwan-sun who organized and led a successful evangelistic group.

Furthermore, *chōndo puin* stretched their evangelistic work to other countries outside Korea. In 1908, the Women's Society of Pyōngyang sent Yi Sun-kwang to Cheju Island (at that time, Cheju was thought of as another area, different from mainland Korea) and supported her until 1914. There were so many *chōndo puin* sent to other countries; Dora Moon (Methodist, Hawaii in the United States for Korean people, 1903), Park Kūn-lyo (Japan in 1928), Park Nae-on (Methodist, Siberia in 1925), Oh In-Kwon (Pyongseo puinjōndohoe sent to China in 1924),³⁹¹ Ch'oe Naomi (Methodist, Siberia, July 1922 to May 1926) and so forth. They were usually from Women's Bible Institutes in locals such as Pyōngyang Woman's Bible Institute (Presbyterian) and Hyōp Sōng Woman's Bible Institute (Methodist). Therefore, the mission work of the women's societies contributed to be supported by the denominations. The best example is Kim Sun-ho.

This meeting (the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea), held in September, was of very special interest because of the appointment of the first single woman missionary to be sent to Shantung Province, China, to help in the work already being carried on there by Korean missionaries under the direction

³⁹⁰ 'Woman's Work', *The 69th ARMEC, south*, May 11-14 1915, p.174.

³⁹¹ Joo Sun-ae, pp. 138-139.

of the Korean General Assembly. Kim Soon Ho was the women's appointee. She is thirty years old and unmarried which is rather unusual according to Korean custom. She is an earnest Bible student, a woman of prayer and deeply spiritual...In October, Kim Soon Ho, together with the doctor's wife and the latter's Children and one of the Korean pastors, left for Shantung. A group of Korean Christians and missionary friends gathered at the railroad station in Pyengyang to say goodbye. The evening before, a group of the Pyengyang Presbyterian women had met at one of the missionary homes for a farewell dinner for Kim Soon Ho...As the guests were departing and the salutations of "may you remain in peace" and "May you go in peace", were given, Kim Soon Ho turned to her hostess and said, "I hope I shall be able to stay in China until I have been there long enough to have white hair like yours!".³⁹²

Kim Sun-ho was born in 15th May 1902. After attending the 'Pyong Yang Women's Bible Institute' in the early 1920s, she worked as a *chōndo puin* or a woman evangelist in the Dongboo Church of Jaeryong in Hwanghae Province of northern Korea. In 1931, she was dispatched by the annual meeting of the Pyōng Yang Women's Society in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea to Shantung, China. This report describes the moment when she was sent to China on 11th September 1931. She was clearly sent with the blessing of Korean Christian women in the society. Her passion for mission was firmly grounded in the faith. This shows that the women's societies were very powerful, being able to support a single missionary *chōndo puin* in another country both financially and administratively. *Chōndo puin* had been very active and vital in Korean churches in the period as quality trainees working in a number of areas, and the support from women's and denominational mission societies was a clear recognition of their contributions.

Chōndo puin worked to shape evangelisation within and outside Korea as great propagators of Christianity. They held significant leadership roles in the growth of Korean churches. In response to their work, many churches demanded more and

³⁹² Helen K. Bernheisel, 'Their First Missionary', *Women and Missionaries*, Vol. 8, 1932, p. 429.

more skilled *chōndo puin* to run small training courses as well as serve in the large Women's Bible Institute.

4. More leadership, more barriers; the training and employment of *chōndo puins* in the male-centred Korean churches, 1905-1935

One question will be addressed significantly in this section concerning the expectations and limitations of *chōndo puin* in two contrasting situations. One was Christians' demands for more skilled *chōndo puin*, the other, the question of institutional control and *chōndo puin*'s leadership status.

In the above two sections, we have seen the remarkably independent activities of *chōndo puin*, which even influenced those mixed-gender churches which had a Korean women's network. More training and educational courses, institutions and more leadership status in the Korean churches: this is a very obvious phenomenon in every Christian society. In which arenas did churches provide official church leadership positions for *chōndo puin*? Were there any restrictions on their activities?

For this research question, the research period will be from 1905, in the midst of spiritual revival movements in Korean churches, until 1935 when Korean churches enjoyed a period of relative calm, before serious religious persecution set in under Japanese occupation. This limited period is meaningful to *chōndo puin* leadership, which had expanded enormously from the beginning almost to the middle of the growth period of Korean churches around 1920s. It then declined, *chōndo puin* changing into fully fledged and highly educated *male* pastors or elders. In order to discuss the issues of leadership roles and scope, let us first look at the training system preparing *chōndo puin* between 1905 and 1923 in detail.

4.1 Systemic leader discipline; training courses and Bible institutes for *chōndo puin*, 1905 to 1923.

The historian Rhode describes the phenomenon of *chōndo puin* education in simple terms.

Mrs. Kang, a widow, is spoken of as a very good Bible Woman. The third annual women's Bible class in Milyang at the end of 1904 had an attendance of one hundred and twenty five. A training class for women workers was held in April, 1912 with an attendance of twenty-four.³⁹³

'Bible training class (*Sakyunghwae*)': such methods were very typical in *chōndo puin* selection and leader education.³⁹⁴ At the zenith of the awakening movement in Korea, particularly northern Korea, a number of local Bible schools had been opened in order to obtain more skilled women evangelist leaders, *chōndo puin*. The local schools trained the women in various part-time courses, conveniently held for six months a year over a period of two years, or for two months per year over three or five years. According to the report of Mrs. Cha working in the Woman's Bible School in Seoul, the school was divided into two courses, a preparatory course and a regular course. The preparatory course was for young women who had no education, making them stronger in their faith before studying the Bible. The regular course covered all the books of the Bible, church history, ethics, music, gymnastics, and home economics during the three years.³⁹⁵ Furthermore, courses managed by other missionary societies were very well established in 1910.

³⁹³ Harry A. Rhode, A. M. D.D. (ed), p. 132.

³⁹⁴ See the good example of 'The Suikol Bible Class', *Woman's Work*, Vol. XXXII, February 1917, p. 127 And 'Bible Women Training Course', *Woman's Work*, Vol. XXVIII May 1913, p. 109.

³⁹⁵ Mrs. Cha, 'Puin Sungsehakwon Naeyong (The Story of Woman's Bible School)', *Shinhaksekyae* (The Theological World), Vol. 3, No. 4, 1918, p. 145.

WOMAN'S BIBLE SCHOOLS

Whereas we realize the present urgent need of evangelistic work being done as never before in city and country by both the lady workers and the Bible women, be it resolved, that the Woman's Bible Schools in Wonsan and Songdo be conducted this year for three months only.

The course of study for Woman's Bible Schools shall be as follows;

Preparatory Course-*조학언문*; *장자르인론*; *어린아히문답*;³⁹⁶ Lessons from Mark's Gospel; *장원량우상론*³⁹⁷.

First year-*마태복음*; *감리회소년문답*; *창세기*; *위성*; *야고보편지*; *선증비류요지*; *신구경요지문답*³⁹⁸ (first half); *구세론*³⁹⁹.

Second Year-*누가복음*; *요한복음*; Arithmetic; Geography; *신구경요지문답* (last half); *즐애급기*; studies on the Books of the Bible; Philippians.

Third year-*사도행전*⁴⁰⁰; General Rules of the Discipline; *감리회문답*⁴⁰¹; Samuel and Kings; Romans; Epistles of John; Gale's Church History

(Signed) MARY K. KOSS,
ARRENA CARROLL,
KATE COOPER.
A.W.WASSON,
REUBILE LILLY HITCH,
R.A. HARDIE."⁴⁰²

Missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church South led this school. The three-year course was very practical in that one could learn the Korean writing system (*Ŏnmun*), eastern philosophy and basic Christian knowledge. In the first year, the course consisted of basic education such as reading, logical thought from eastern knowledge (this was to be used in discussions in the practical field of evangelisation), and elementary bible study: the book of Mark. From the second year on, theological

³⁹⁶ Learning *Ŏnmun*; Humanistic theory of Confucian scholar, Jangja ; Children Catechism

³⁹⁷ Ideology of Chang Won-ryang

³⁹⁸ Matthew; Methodist catechism for young people; Genesis; hygiene; the letter of James; the latter two was for a kind of catechism for adults.

³⁹⁹ The theory of 'Jesus save people'. I think the textbook would be the Christian doctrine book, 'Discourse on Salvation or the Law and the Gospel' written by S.A. Moffett and published by The Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1908.

⁴⁰⁰ The book of Acts.

⁴⁰¹ The Catechism of Methodist Denomination

⁴⁰² 'Woman's Bible Schools', *The 64th ARMEC*, 1910, p. 50.

training and much more bible knowledge was started. This means that the *chōndo puin* education curriculum was very well organized and considered their field responsibilities, enabling them to become women leaders. To explain the real situation of the educational system in more detail, I quote the record of an Australian missionary N.R. Scholes in 1917.

The highest branch of our class work is that of the Bible Institute where approved women can take a special course of study and training. May I tell of our Bible Institute in Fusanchin, for it is the only one of which I have any definite knowledge? The full course takes five years embracing two months of every year. The syllabus includes certain books of the Old Testament, the Gospels, and some of the Epistles. Here, too, a certain amount of time is given every week to pedagogy and as many women as possible take their turn at giving a lesson in front of their fellow students. This more difficult than teaching an ordinary class, but it helps to give to some more self-confidence and it also gives one the opportunity of showing to the over-self-confident student some of her mistakes. It makes them think deeply when preparing a lesson.⁴⁰³

The course contents were very useful to *chōndo puin*. Similar training schools and institutes were at almost every mission station, according to several denominational mission reports. Methodist Episcopal Mission established not only the Alice Cobb Woman's Bible School in Wonsan (1906) but also Bible Schools for women in Kaesōng (1909), Pyōngyang (1915), Chunchōn (1918), and even Manchuria (1937).⁴⁰⁴ Although many schools were developing, Korean churches demanded more and more highly educated *chōndo puin*. From 1920s to 1930s, many more Bible institutes were established, which educated women to higher standards.

Firstly, The Martha Wilson Memorial Bible Institution in Wonsan was established in 1915. This institution was opened by Rev. MacRae in the Canadian Presbyterian

⁴⁰³ N.R. Scholes, 'Developing Women Leaders', KMF, July 1916, pp. 187-188.

⁴⁰⁴ Lee Sung-sam, *Kamnikyo wa shinhakdaehaksa* (The History of Methodist Church and Theological College), (Seoul, Korean Education Publisher, 1977), pp. 135-136.

mission. The training course was five years and there were three terms per a year. By 1930, the number of graduates had reached 210. In September 1931 this institution was turned into a college, which received new students with a high school education.⁴⁰⁵

Secondly, the Hyöpsöng Woman's Bible Institution was established in 1905 in Seoul by the Methodist Episcopal Church. This ambitiously built a dormitory for women in Sedamoon, Seoul, in 1917. This higher education was supporting more stable for women leaders. In 1921 this institution was supported by both the Methodist Women's Society and Korean Methodist denomination. Both the positive support and the union of Northern and Southern Methodists in 1930, made this institution the Methodist Theological Seminary. Male and female students could study together in 1931, the aim being to concentrate on highly educating faithful students and make them the church leaders of the Korean denominations as pastors or evangelists.⁴⁰⁶

These typical educational institutes for *chöndo puin* show very well the development from Bible institution to theological seminary. Also, it seems to us that women leaders in church evangelisation were prominent in the practical church areas after the training period. The *chöndo puin's* actual field of work after training in Korean churches is the subject in the next section.

⁴⁰⁵ 'The Martha Wilson Memorial Bible Institution', *ARFMC*, 1915, p. 115. And Joo Sun-ae, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁰⁶ Chang Byöng-uk, *Han'guk kamnikyo yösungsa* (The History of Korean Methodist Women), (Seoul, Sung Kwang Publisher, 1979), pp. 200-201.

4.2 Practical roles for church growth; the positive employment of *chōndo puin* by Korean churches, 1907-1919

A lot of institutional education was obviously linked to the demands on and opportunities for *chōndo puin*. In this respect, we can ask several questions about their duties after graduation. How were they employed and which areas of the church were they in charge of? Or what did Korean churches which employed them require specially in their evangelistic programs? If there were some differences between the churches' requirements and *chōndo puin*'s expectations of evangelistic work and church roles, how did *chōndo puin* resolve them in local churches and field evangelisation?

This relation between *chōndo puin* training and church works is presented in these two tables.

<Table 8> The Number of *chōndo puin* in the Presbyterian Committee of Korea⁴⁰⁷

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
<i>Chōndopu in</i>	39	48	50	44	71	70	70	163	73	92	128	113	114

<Table 9 > Woman's Work in 1910⁴⁰⁸

	Seoul	Wonsan	Songdo	Choon Chun				Total	Last Year	Increase			
Bible Women in Training	16	15	8	2				41	27	14			
Country Churches and Villages visited by Bible Women	50	47	111					208	0	208			
Bible Women in Service	Seoul					Songdo				Wonsan		Choonchun	Total
	Chong kyo Church	Cha Kol Church	Water Gate Church	Water Mark Bridge Church	Chil Kyung The Circuit	North circuit	South circuit	East circuit	E. Chun circuit	Wonsan Circuit	Choong Ni Circuit		
	8	2	7	2	3	7	4	2	2	3	2		

⁴⁰⁷ Yang Mi-kang, p. 104.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Statistic of Woman's Work', *The 64th ARMEC, South*, 1910, p. 57.

Both tables present just the number of *chōndo puin* in local educational schools rather than in the denominational institutions: all were salaried. It shows how effective *chōndo puin* training was, reflected in the increasing number of educated *chōndo puin*. Furthermore, they were able to work in local churches as soon as they finished the courses. The second table shows the successful result of *chōndo puin* in church work in 1910. Forty-one *chōndo puin* visited 208 churches and villages and led believers and non-believers in Christian worship and study and to deeper Christian lives for one year. The local churches regularly employed numbers of *chōndo puin* in each area of work. They were evangelistic workers building foundations out of nothing or trainers for laypeople, to bring up them strong leaders in the churches. It becomes clear through looking into these efforts, that the relation between churches and *chōndo puin* was inevitably close in issues concerning evangelism. Presbyterian churches consistently hired *chōndo puin*, shown in table 8. From 1914 on the number of *chōndo puin* was declining. However the numbers levelled off and stabilized at an average around 100. If one compares the two years, 1907 and 1914 in table 9, the increase is staggering. It seems to me that the reason for this was the influence of the awakening movement and the growth of Bible classes or schools for women since 1898. Through the two tables is clear the employment of *chōndo puin* in churches suited their training and their aims.

Then, how was their practical work in the field? The answer was found in the records of a Canadian mission in 1918 working in the central parts of Korea; Wonsan, Songdo, and Seoul.

Two Bible women have been obliged to give up work, leaving only four in this large field. These are doing valuable work in teaching, but others are needed and as soon as they can be secured will be sent to Wonsan for training...Bible Women. Six Bible women, three paid by the native church and three from home

funds, have spent their entire energies in efforts to encourage Christian believers and to win believers from among the heathen. Going on foot, each about 700 miles, in spite of bad weather and savage dogs they have ministered much to the churches and gathered many women to study at Bible classes. Most of the groups have had a visit from them at least twice during the year. One who was trained in the province of Hwang Hai is being supported by eight native churches.⁴⁰⁹

This quote shows the circumstances *chōndo puin* worked in towards the end of the 1910s. Their economic livelihood was mainly secured by laypeople and local churches. Their work was mainly pastoral involving taking care of believers' lives and educating more Christians in Bible classes. Compared to the duties of male pastors in the churches of the same period, there were no differences. If so, let us compare the Korean native activists, *chōndo puin* and male pastors in terms of their treatment by the churches.

4.3 By reason of being female; the glass ceiling of *chōndo puin* in Korean churches, 1920-1935

The issue of sex-discrimination reflected in salary payments had been posed by *puin kwonsō* whom mission societies employed in the late 1890s. In 1910, the salary for *puin kwonsō* was an average 7 won. In 1929, it was 5-10 won. In 1935, the situation was better at about 150 won (around \$5 in 1935)⁴¹⁰. Their pay was less than that of *chōndo puin* at the same period, yet even that was meagre. Even after graduating from Bible institutes or schools higher than local bible classes, *chōndo puin*, sometimes called in by women evangelists received an average 20 won. How can this little money be compared with the salary of male pastors in the same period?

Male pastors' monthly salary was from seventy or eighty won to one hundred

⁴⁰⁹ 'Evangelistic', *ARFMC*, 1918, pp. 121-124.

⁴¹⁰ Louise B. Hayes, 'The Korean Bible Woman and her work', *KMF*, July 1935, p. 151.

won. In the case of women evangelists, their highest salary was twenty won in the period when people claim the equality of men and women. This issue is not recent. Several years ago, we had complained that the salary was very deficient.⁴¹¹

This article was written in 1922. Fully trained *chōndo puin* received a salary higher than basic *chōndo puin* in the 1920s. Yet the difference in church salary between male pastors and the trained *chōndo puin* was incredibly large considering that the two had studied the same courses and sometimes in the same Bible institutes in for example Pyōngyang. This discouraging treatment in the church field led *chōndo puin* to continuously argue the issue with local churches or denominations in the early 1930s. One good example was some *chōndo puin*'s protests voiced in the *Kidokshinbo* (The Christian Newspaper) during January 1930.

From my childhood on, I kept my Christian belief till becoming *Yōjundoin* (*chōndo puin* or women evangelist) for twenty years. The nickname of *Yōjundoin* is [dust cloth]...I go to some homes for prayer, work as a mortician at the funerals, help as a midwife so my women gave easy birth to babies, teach home training, educate children, bibles, and Korean orthography in the country churches isolated thirty or forty *lis* apart from cities. Furthermore, I visit wedding ceremonies, funerals and very depressed families. My work of various visitations seems like a dust cloth. However I must tell you that there wouldn't have been any clean houses without a dust cloth.⁴¹²

In her book 'The *chōndo puin*', Chung Mariah presents the duties, work and difficulties of *chōndo puin* over the previous twenty years. In the humble perception of ordinary people, they had worked diligently, their hearers enthusiastic for evangelism. Even though they were called dust cloth, meaning worthless, they found their own identity and strongly claimed their priceless existence in the

⁴¹¹ *Maeilshinbo* (The Daily Newspaper), 17th September 1922, p. 17.

⁴¹² Chōng Mariah in Kyongsōng (another old name of Seoul), Yōjōndoin ūi Sūngriggaji (Toward the last victory) in the article of 'Yōjundohoe bulpyongkwa Heemang (The Complaint and Hope of *chōndo puin*)', *Kidokshinbo* (Christian Newspaper), 1st January 1930.

churches. Notwithstanding their invaluable work and reasonable assertions, their lives and the treatment they suffered from churches was seriously awful.

There was no discrimination when working for a church. Nevertheless, churches provided only male evangelists residences, not female evangelists. So, please do not make *chōndo puin* always have to find their own accommodation.⁴¹³

The description of Choi Kyong-ja's own *chōndo puin* life accurately shows the situation of sex-discrimination in churches' administration. Low salary and no housing: that was their situation working in the male centred churches. In this situation, the churches hoped to teach them to claim true Christian womanhood.

Only a person who gives up superiority and arrogance is able to do true service with a humble and tender mind. In this respect, women rather than men would possess the nature loving to serve for people... Accordingly, women who possess maternal love are able to save poor people and work Christian aids. By this, our churches will be fast extended and developed.⁴¹⁴

This may be very generous and logical to us in terms of conservative Christian womanhood, and employing more women on the cheap. However, such assertions did not support the rights and value of *chōndo puin* when we consider their work in the evangelistic fields not only to women but also men, children, and elderly people. For male Christians, Christian womanhood exemplified in a self-denying attitudes was the only useful definition of them, despite the fact that they worked equally with or in more difficult areas than men. These discussions and struggles continued during the 1930s. This was presented in the address of a Methodist Moderator in 1934.

7. About *chōndo puin*

(*chōndo puin* system) was established as the result of male-female cooperation in

⁴¹³ Ch'oe Kyōng-ja in Choon Chun, 'Naegaji Chabyōl (The four discriminations)', *Kidokshinbo* (Christian Newspaper), 1st January 1930.

⁴¹⁴ Mun Sun-ho, 'Yōjōndosaryon (The Theory of Women Evangelist)', *Shinhaksekae* (The Theological World), Vol. 23 No. 2, May 1938, pp. 38-39.

the early mission of Korean Churches. Specially, [*chōndo puin*]'s role must be important because Korean traditions had significantly enforced male-female differences. Although tradition is much changed at the present, women are much better at evangelising non-Christian women than men... *chōndo puin* who were educated recently were no different from men who were educated in the present...Accordingly in the general assembly of this year, I hope to enact legislation for *chōndo puin* and not to make trouble in the process of evangelistic works.⁴¹⁵

He pointed out the character of *chōndo puin* and special role compared with other evangelists in the situation of Korean churches for around forty years. At the same time, he asked Christians and churches to change their attitude and ideas towards *chōndo puin*. To the end, he decided to make a church rule for them. The Moderator finally followed the women's claim in the address but the circumstance of Korean churches was not easily changed for a while.

In this struggle, *chōndo puin* kept diligently at their evangelistic work in churches without any depression and with more sincere faith. More hardship headed their way in the 1930s. To *chōndo puin*, their struggle for reasonable church status and treatment would be easy compared with the ensuing religious hardship of Shintoism due to the political aims of the Japanese government in the colonial period of Korea.

5. Fearless warriors and masterly negotiators: *chōndo puin* during the religious persecution of the Japanese Shintoism, 1937-1945

In the 1930s, Korean Christianity suffered hardship from the Japanese government, which used Shintoism as a political power. How did the persecution affect the lives of *chōndo puin* when “martyrs” and “apostates” appeared in Korean churches with their monotheistic perspective on faith.

⁴¹⁵ ‘Chonglisawee Yōnsul (The Address of Moderator)’, *Kamlihaebo* (The Bulletin of Methodist Association), October 1934, pp. 15-16.

Until now, this issue of Shinto practice in that period had been much discussed in Korean churches: were Shinto followers in the churches worshipping as Christians imposters or not. Ch'oe Min-ji sees the issue from the conservative perspective of Korean Christianity which preserves Christian faith intact alongside Shintoism.⁴¹⁶ Accordingly, she criticized the female Christian Shinto practiceers of the period. Some historians on the other hand defend the female Christians who practised Shintoism at the same time. Jung Suk-ki estimates that the apostates were just cooperating under the threat of force from the Japanese government and that they prepared new areas of Korean churches for Korean women, overcoming the religious crisis wisely⁴¹⁷.

Approaching the issue very realistically, one may come to accept two kinds of *chōndo puin*: exclusive, liable to be killed, and inclusive, surviving yet tarnished. Yet both contributed to the development of Korean Christianity. From this base, let us address the religious chaos and sufferings of the period. In 1937, when the Shinto practice began to assert itself in Christianity to 1945 when Japan lost the War and persecution ended.

5.1 The religious persecution of Shintoism; the policy of Japanese government to Korean Christianity

5.1.1 Political control over Christianity; Shintoism in Korea

To win the wars, Japan endeavoured to unite their people and the colonies' peoples using religion as the medium. To achieve this, the Japanese government had

⁴¹⁶ Ch'oe Min-ji, 'Minjok ūi Konankwa Kidokkyo yōsōng Undong (Korean Suffering and Christian Women's Movement)', *Yōsung! Kaeljioda! Ilenaljieda! Noraehaljieda!* (Women! Awake! Stand up! Sing!), (Seoul, The Korean Christianity Publisher, 1985).

⁴¹⁷ Jung Suk-ki, *Han'guk kidokkyo inmul sa* (The History of Korean Christians), (Seoul, Kumlan Publisher, 1995), pp. 145-159. and pp. 265-282.

systematically asserted their dominance in Korea. From the mid 1930s, it treated Christianity harshly: it had been protected to some degree by Foreign Mission Societies. Underlying conflicts hidden for around thirty years were finally revealed.

In 1937 the Japanese Viceroy Minami Jiro⁴¹⁸ announced the Chosŏn Tongchi Oh dae Jungkang (The Five Platforms of Korean Ruling). The edicts were entitled: Gukchemyŏngjing (國體明徵; To make the country one), Sŏnmanilyeo(鮮滿一如: To unite *Chŏson* and Manchuria), Kyohakjinhak (教學振作: To improve teaching and learning), Nongkongbyŏngjin (農工竝進: To advance agriculture and industry), Sŏjŏngswaeshin (西征刷新: To dominate and reform westerners). These policies at first seem reasonable and if applied appear to promise improvement to Korean society. But the Japanese hid their true intent to use the Korean people and the county's resources as a colony.

Firstly, Sŏnmanilyeo (鮮滿一如: To unite *Chosŏn* and Manchuria) shows Japan's dominance of Manchuria in order to extend its colonial territory. Secondly, Gukchaemyŏngjing (國體明徵; To make the country the one) and Kyohakjinhak (教學振作: To improve teaching and learning) intended to transform the Korean people completely into Japanese. Particularly, the latter point meant to change the educational system of Korea to that one established in Japan. Thirdly, Nongkongbyŏngjin (農工竝進: To advance agriculture and industry) and Sŏjŏngswaeshin (西征刷新: To dominate and reform westerners) clearly presents Japanese government's exploitative intentions, hindering the westerner investment and managing Korean agricultural and industrial resources.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Appointed in 1936.

⁴¹⁹ Choi Won-kyu, *Iljaemalgi fascismkwa han'guk sahwe* (The Fascism and Korean Society in the End of Japanese Occupation), (Seoul, Chong-A, 1990), pp. 250-252.

In the process, the Japanese government forced the Korean people to worship Shinto gods by singing ‘The poem of divine people of Shinto (皇國臣民 誓詞)’ in union since 1937. In 1938, they started to control the Korean educational institutions including mission schools and colleges. This is described in *Chosŏn Chongdokbu Sijŏng Samshipnyŏn* (the Thirty Years Civic History of Viceroy in *Chosŏn*).

Ninety million compatriots must be one and achieve the meaning of Shinto ideology with the one heart from highest to lowest and the one people from many countries. For this, the most urgent is to make the country one... To embody it, we must hurry to realize Shinto practice, bowing to the Japanese emperor, urging the learning of the national language (Japanese), and hoisting the national flag (Japanese flag). If there are hindering elements, we must exterminate them completely in all cases.⁴²⁰

This shows that Shinto practice was an essential tool to dominate Korea as an exploitable colony of Japan. Through the worship, the Japanese government of Korea systematically destroyed Korean culture and religion and infused Japanese religious culture into Korean people and society. This change allowed them to easily control Korean society and they benefited from many resources. With such policies being implemented, Korean churches were being encroached upon and were eventually forced to make a religious choice.

5.1.2 The struggles and survival of Korean churches under the Japanese Shintoism

Korean churches revolted strongly against the Japanese authority, which forced them to worship Shinto. How strong the political violence was can be shown by a story of Minami Jiro. When he reported his work in Korea to members of the Japanese parliament, one MP asked him, ‘Are there any problems with the rule of

⁴²⁰ *Chosŏn chongdokbu sijŏng samshipnyŏn sa* (the Thirty Years Civic History of Viceroy in *Chosŏn*), (Tokyo, Ubanghyuphae, 1959), p. 160.

Chosŏn?' and he answered 'There is an army of 40 million who do not possess any sense of fear of death in *Chosŏn*. They are people who believe in Jesus Christ (Christians)'. It definitely shows his view of Korean churches and motive for church persecution.⁴²¹

However, Korean Christianity finally surrendered to Japanese rule in 1938 after shrewdly dodging laws and a stubborn attitude. In the case of Presbyterian churches, 200 churches were closed, 2000 people imprisoned and 500 died in prison.⁴²² Presbyterian and Methodist churches decided to approve of and positively participate in Shinto practice. This was mainly due to a group of pro-Japanese pastors working from inside the Korean churches, and to the political coercion.⁴²³ The Presbyterian Church of Korea agreed to worship Shinto in a General Assembly held in Pyŏngyang Semoonbak Church on 9th September 1938. This was unavoidable considering the terrible events leading up to the decision. When the Pyŏngbuk Presbytery first decided to approve Shinto practice in 9th February 1938, professors and students of the Pyŏngyang theological seminary strongly opposed the decision and then held demonstrations in their churches. This was the first group action of Christians against Shintoism. Finally, the seminary was closed by the Japanese police on 20th September. Also, the Korean Methodist church moderator Yang Ju-sam already issued a statement adhering to Japanese demands for Shinto practice on 3rd September 1938.

Under such circumstances of religious horror, some Christians started to demonstrate in underground churches or individually. This movement began in the

⁴²¹ Park Yŏng-chang, *Jŏngŭika urirŭl burŭlldae* (When the Justice call us) (Seoul, Dooranno, 1998), pp. 307-308.

⁴²² Kim Yang-sun, *Han'guk kidokkyo haebang 10mun sa* (The Ten Years History of the Liberation of Korean Christianity, (Seoul, Kidokkyomoonsa, 1971), p. 43.

⁴²³ Jun Taek-boo, pp. 252-253.

beginning of 1939 when Rev. Ju Ki-chul enthusiastically proclaimed his opposition to Shinto practice in the Pyöngyang Sanjunghyön Church.⁴²⁴ The movement was called as ‘Kyohoe jaekön undong (the Movement of Church Reconstruction)’ and consisted of Christians who were against Shinto practice. This movement made the Japanese government nervous. Consequently, the government imprisoned them beginning with the capture of Rev. Joo in July 1940. This resulted in a number of deaths and on the other hand, people who agreed to compromise.

During these difficult times for Korean churches, were the *chöndo puin* doing anything against or for Shinto practice? I am sure that they must have come to personal decisions in some way to respond to it because they were leaders in their churches, and particularly had many faithful women who followed them. It is thus very important to look at their style of church leadership in the difficult situation where their denominations had already surrendered to the government’s policy. Some Christian groups fought seriously against Shinto practice, at the risk of their life in order to protect the truly Korean Christian faith. What were their decision-making processes and solutions?

5.2 Both faithful *chöndo puin*; Their contrasting choices for their churches

5.2.1 Masterly negotiators to protect churches for the future

After the major institutions of the Presbyterian and Methodist Church gave into Shinto practice, local churches and small groups were also giving in to the force of Japanese government. On 25th April 1938, female Christian leaders such as Kang Ju-

⁴²⁴ Kim Yang-sun, *Shinsachambaewa bakhae* (The Force of Shinto Worship and Persecution), *Han’guk kidokkyo wa shinsachambaemunje* (The Issue of Shinto Worship and Korean Christianity), (Seoul, The Institute of Korean Christian History, 1992), p. 37.

hee, Kim Myōng-hyōn, Chang Jōng-shim got together in the Sōdaemun Police Office and issued a statement promising to worship Shinto, support the Japanese army and so forth. There were several events in the period. Local churches started to give their church offering to the Japanese army; Suwōn Churches (15 won 14 jun), and Pyōngyang churches (836 won 56jun).⁴²⁵

In this process, Women's Societies in churches were deeply involved in supporting Japanese government policy. The Methodist Women's Society changed its name from Yōsōngkyohoe to Puinhoe. This change is very meaningful. 'Yōsōngkyohoe' means a group where women get together and work for Christian mission. On the other hand, 'Puinhoe' just means that married women got together socially or with other aims. That is to say, the change implies that Korean Christian women's groups were no longer Christian clubs, but rather tools to enforce Japanese national rulings. This phenomenon was shown particularly in Methodist women. In 1941, the Methodist Puinhwoe embarked on the enterprise of sending comfort bags and teaching Japanese to housewives; "According to a *chōndo puin* Yi Beth, the Manchuria Chosōn Christian Women's Evangelist Group passed the rules (to support Shintoism) at the organizational foundation. And they started to offer an evening class of Japanese for married women."⁴²⁶

Presbyterian women were no exception. The Presbyterian Yōjōndohoe (Women's Society for Evangelism) agreed to give fifty won for the Japanese army in the tenth Annual meeting in 1938. In the next meeting of 1939, the society sent much more money to the Japanese army for comforts. In 1941, the society made the women join the 'Gukmin Chongryuk Kangnohoe unmaeng (The Presbytery Union of All People's

⁴²⁵ Yi U-jōng, p. 207.

⁴²⁶ Chang Byōng-uk, *Han'guk kamnikyo yōsōng sa* (The History of Korean Methodist Women), (Seoul, Sungkwangmoonhwas, 1979), p. 496.

Energy)'. This grouping made Christian women pray for Japanese victory in the prayer groups. On the Japanese holiday 'day of the emperor', 29th April of the same year, the members of the society celebrated his birthday. In 1942 when the Japanese seriously extending their military campaign to the world, the society proclaimed a statement for Japanese Victory and offered fifty won for it.⁴²⁷ During the process, there were women leaders, mainly *chōndo puin*, who graduated from Bible Institutes or Mission schools. (This point will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.) For instance, Kim Hwan-ran was a very good example of the early version of *chōndo puin* and later educational leaders. Also, there would be more women involved in the historical events without the list of *chōndo puin* investigated and published in the 1990s.

I cannot cite their witness directly, but the following a women evangelist's recent comment offers us a glimpse of them.

In the 1930s, there were some *chōndo puin* who lead Churchwomen to Shinto practice. I was not involved deeply in this because I was young. Sometimes, they were bowing in front of them. However, it was irresistible because all Koreans did it at that time, well, it was very natural. Still I remember the poem of divine people of Shinto (皇國臣民 誓詞) [she was able to speak Japanese]. If we did not, we were not able to have worship service in churches.⁴²⁸

This shows the seriousness of Korean churches situation. *Chōndo puin* had to acquiesce to follow their denominational activities and churches' rules. Following the church decision, they were unhappily responsible for taking care of weak Christians in their evangelistic field. It seems to me that while their attitudes and activities

⁴²⁷ Yi Hyōn-suk, *Han'guk kidokkyo jangnohoe yōshindohoe 60nyōn sa* (The Sixty Years History of Women's Society of Presbyterian Church of Korea), (Seoul, Han'guk Kidokkyo Jangnohoe Yōshindohoe Jungukyōnhaphoe, 1989), p. 163.

⁴²⁸ The Interview with a women evangelist, Choi Shin-won who was born in 1916, lived in Christian family who her father was a pastor in Pyōngyang and worked in the Young Rak Presbyterian Church for twenty years, on 30th April 2003 in the Sabbatical House for Women Evangelists.

cannot be said to be doctrinally correct, they were pragmatic. Most *chōndo puin* participated in the Shinto practice and army comforts activities. However, some were strongly committed to keeping their own Christian faith to the point of sacrifice. In the next section, I will discuss the brave and passionate *chōndo puin* working, for political reasons between the Koreans and Japanese.

5.2.2 Fearless warriors to keep faith in the One, God

From the middle of the 1930s, foreign missionaries were leaving Korea more and more. This was influenced by Japanese political actions, Shinto practice in the Korean churches and several international war fronts attacking western home countries. This evacuation made things worse for Korean Christians living through such religious horrors because they did not have the usual political protection from western missionaries.⁴²⁹

5.2.3 Presbyterian Women's Movement against Shintoism

A *chōndo puin*, Choi Duk-ji, led a movement against Shinto practice. After her graduating from Pyōngyang Women's Bible Institute in 1935, she took care of eighty-three churches in Masan and also educated *chōndo puin* and female Christian leaders in Kyōngnam in the southern area of Korea: Masan, Jinju, and Pusan from 1936. During her work, she was in the vortex for this hardship of Korean churches. She finally decided to keep her faith, stand for the justice of God's will and prepared

⁴²⁹ Yi hyun-sook, *Han'guk kidokkyo jangrohae yōshindoho 60mun sa* (The Sixty Years History of Women's Society of Presbyterian Church of Korea), p. 166; a Australian Presbyterian missionary, F. J. L. Macrae (Maeng Hoe-un)'s family journey was very difficult from Korea to Britain because of wars. The interview with Norman MacRae in the MacRae's house in Edinburgh, on 23rd January 2002. 'The Present Situation (Reports from Twenty Organizations)', *KMF*, 1941. 3; E. A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *The Australian Presbyterian Mission in Korea 1889-1941*, Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1970, pp.135~144; C. A. Sauer, *Methodists in Korea 1930~1960*, CLS, 1973, pp.115~131; Compiled by E. W. Koons, 'Mission Statistics', *KMF*, Jan 1941.

the movement with the Rev. Han Sang-dong in a cluster of churches in Masan.⁴³⁰ In 5th March 1940, she was appointed president of Kyong Nam Puinjöndohoe (The Women's Society of Kyöng Nam) in Hangsö church of Pusan. From that moment on, she persuaded Christian women to turn away from Shinto practice asserting that those who were bowing to Shinto gods, and participating in Shinto activities, were pro-Japanese and anti-Christian. Because of her fearless activities and her wide spread support, she suffered torture and imprisonment by the Japanese police four times.⁴³¹

In Pyöngyang, there were some Presbyterian women against Shinto practice: the Presbyterian Women' Society opened their own meeting in the Pyöngyang Seomunbak Church in 1941 despite the dangers. The Japanese police tried to force them to bow to the Shinto gods before the meeting, but after a hot discussion, the group leaders determined that they would not give in to the police intimidation. Then, the *chöndo puin* vice president, Kim Maria, decided to adjourn the meeting and asked a deaconess, Han Young-Shin, to end this meeting with a prayer, rather than calling on a layperson in this group. She prayed "Dear righteous heavenly Father! Please punish the police who force us to commit and forsake our faith. Then make them repent of their falsehood and sins by themselves."⁴³² Through her faithful prayer, all women in the church began to lament in their frustration. This sudden unexpected reaction by the crowds made the police embarrassed. In the end, the

⁴³⁰ Kim Süng-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han'guk kyohoe chöndo puin jaryöjip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), p. 331. She was born in 25th June 1901 in Kyongnam Province, and graduated in Masan Weeshin Girls' High School in 1919. In the same year, she was deeply involved the Independent Movement for Korea in 'Tong Young Yaekook Puinhae' (Tong Young Patriot Women's Group). In 1925, she established a Christian Nursery for babies and Children in Tong Young area.

⁴³¹ Choi Jong-kyu, *Yihanmuksöm jurulüihe* (The Last Breath for the Lord), (Seoul, Jinseochun, 1981), pp. 75-94.

⁴³² Yang Sung-sam, *Daehanyesukyo jangnyohoe yöjündoheo changrip 40junyöñ kinyömhæbo* (The Memorial Bulletin of Women's Society of Presbyterian Church in Korea for 40 years), p. 40.

police closed the meeting and then tried to capture the vice president, Kim Mariah.⁴³³

5.2.2 Ecumenical Women's Anti-Shinto Movement; The Event of World Women Prayer Meeting in 1941

This kind of rebellious movement among Presbyterian women was not the only one among Korean Christian women. There was a noticeable event, 'Manguk Puin Kidohoe Sakgŏn (萬國婦人祈禱會事件, The Event of World Women Prayer Meeting)' in 1941. This prayer meeting was an ecumenical women's meeting including Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist. The prayer meeting held in 28th February 1941 had been prepared since October 1940, during which period an involved female missionary, Mrs. J.Z. Moore, and Korean Christian women's groups were sent to churches all over Korea. Most missionaries left and only Mrs. Moore was able to help prepare it. Park Hyŏn-suk, president of Pyŏngyang Local Women Department, worked effectively to print the event brochures and send them to churches using Korean women's networks within many Korean churches.⁴³⁴

On 15th February 1941 when the brochures were finished, Mrs. Moore, Park Hyŏn-suk and Yun Suk-hyŏn as Methodist representatives, and Kim Mi-yŏm and Han Sun-ho as Presbyterian representatives got together in the house of Mr. Moore for a preparatory meeting. After the prayer meeting, the Maeilshinbo (The Daily Newspaper) in 26th March reported in the title 'Yŏngmisunkyosa jungshim Banjun

⁴³³ Yi Hyŏn-suk, *Han'guk kidokkyo jangrohae yŏshindohoe 60mun sa* (The Sixty Years History of Women's Society of Presbyterian Church of Korea), p. 166 and Lee Yon-ok, *Daehanyesukyo jangnyohoe yŏjŏndoheo 100nyŏn sa* (Centennial History of the National Organization of the Korean Presbyterian Women), (Seoul, The Editorial Committee of the National Organization of the Korean Presbyterian Women, 1998), p. 97.

⁴³⁴ Yun Jung-ran, *Han'guk kidokkyo yŏsŏngui yŏk sa* (The History of Women Movement of Korean Christianity), (Seoul, KookhakJaryowon, 2003), pp. 210-215.

moraak sakgŏn balkyŏn Kŭmjo Pyŏngyang jungshim Oshipmyŏngŭl Kŭmge (英美宣教師中心 反戰謀略事件發覺, 今朝 平壤中心 十五名 檢舉; English-American missionary: An event revealing the event of anti-War Strategy, This early morning, Fifty people arrested in Pyŏngang)'. The Japanese government published some lists of prayer titles deemed anti-Shintoist and anti-Japanese; 'To confess our guilt which made separation between countries and tease those weak countries with harassed mind for our own interest'.⁴³⁵ Among those arrested 27 organisers were listed, 10 were women; 3 *chŏndo puin*, 4 women leaders in Women's Societies, 1 midwife, and 2 others.

For instance, a *chŏndo puin* of Jaeryong Kosanri Church, Kim Hyŏng-shin (48 years old) was examined by the police because she was one of the event's organisers.

Q: Are you approving of this war?

A: I believe in God because I love peace. At the same time, I follow the policy of my country as a person of this country.

Q: If so, what do you do as believer if you believe in the God of Peace and at the same time you must participate in the war?

A: I will believe in Christianity mentally and follow the national order physically because my body is in this country.

Q: That is difficult?

A: If I can not find the difficulty in practice, I will cease it directly.⁴³⁶

She wisely stepped around the trapping question trying to make her betray the Christian faith. The answer, 'I will believe in Christianity mentally and follow the national order physically because my body is in this country' could be seen as an

⁴³⁵ Cho Sun-hae, 1941nyŏn Manguk Puin Kidohoe Sagun Yŏngu (The Research for the Event of World Women Prayer Meeting), *Han'guk kidokkyowa yŏk sa* (The Korean Christianity and History), No. 5 September 1996, pp. 117-130.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, p. 140. The author mainly used the material, '萬國婦人祈禱會事件資料集 (The Material Book of the Event of World Women Prayer Meeting) which consists of thirty seven volumes and contains the records of examining the arrested in Hambuk, Pyŏngbuk, Pyŏngnam, and Hwanghae provinces.

extension of Jesus' saying 'Give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's' (Matthew 22:21). The contents of the examination seem to show that the *chōndo puin* surrendered to the police' threatening questions. But, we can see her resolve, which maintained her personal faith in Christianity even though Korean churches threw away their pure belief under duress due to the political and physical violence of the Japanese occupation.

To sum up, this section has given us insight into a number of *chōndo puin* involved in pro-Shinto and anti-Shinto events in the period. Despite the contrasting situations and positions, they never forgot their leadership in the churches. That is to say, they went through the hardship and developed Korean churches in every moment and all circumstances. In this respect, I will further present a good example of *chōndo puin* working for evangelism in order to develop Korean churches.

6. God's messenger and female leader, Sadie Kim (金世智, Kim Saeji)

Sadie - filled with the Spirit of God, leading her heathen sisters to Jesus, and teaching the Christian women, has made one thousand four hundred eighty-one visits during the year and sold two hundred thirty-nine books.⁴³⁷

She was born on 17th October 1865 in Pyōngnam province, northern part of Korea. She was married twice; with Mr. Jung at 16 years old and in 1888 with Kim Jung-kyōm who was from the Yang ban class in Pyōngyang. The source of her Christian belief was the second husband's cousin, Oh Suk-hyōng, who had been a serious gambler and then converted to Christianity through a Methodist missionary, W. J. Hall. Oh persuaded her to go to church for her family's sake. And she started to go to church for her family's happiness. However, her husband was not happy about

⁴³⁷ Mrs. W. A. Noble (Mattie W. Noble), 'Bible Woman Sadie Kim', *KMF*, Vol. 3. No.6, June 1906, p. 88.

it and sometimes, reasoned with her not to believe in God.⁴³⁸ Nevertheless, she prayed for his Christian salvation. At last in the autumn 1895, he had a spiritual experience where a child was calling him from inside church, but he could not see any child anywhere. This was the moment when her prayer was answered. Therefore, she and her husband enthusiastically participated in church from 1896 on when Mrs. Noble came to Pyöngyang.⁴³⁹

In order to know more about the Lord's words, Sadie Kim started to learn *Önmun* and study bible stories and Christian doctrines. Her earnest attitude led to her baptism by Rev. W. A. Noble in October 1896 and to professional training as an evangelist, studying in Bible class and school and then graduated in the 'Pyong Yang Bible Institute' in 1908. In 1899, she was officially supported by the Women's Society of Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S as a Bible woman, *chöndo puin*. She usually travelled for evangelistic works with another *chöndo puin* for example Kim Tabetha, and Yi Isabel in an area of nine towns including Pyöngyang. During the evangelistic trip, she dealt with all things; selling bibles and doctrine books, visiting wedding ceremonies, dealing with the dead in funeral homes, and helping with housekeeping in family homes where she was in charge. Furthermore, her main objects of evangelism were the isolated classes of women in Korean society such as widows, *kisaeng* (Dancing women or prostitutes for *Yangban* or middle class men), and *mudang* (female shamans).⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ Mrs. W. A. Noble, 'Mrs. Sadie Kim', *Victorious Lives of Early Christians in Korea*, pp. 128-130.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133-134.

⁴⁴⁰ Mattie W. Noble, 'The Report of Mrs. W. A. Noble', *The 19th ARKWC (ME. C)*, 1907, p. 75.

<Table 10> A *chōndo puin*, Sadie Kim's Contribution in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1903-24⁴⁴¹

	1903	1904	1907	1910	1911	1913	1924
Visiting homes	905		1,481	1,587	2,770	3,057	
Selling Bibles	100	63 (fro 9 month)	239		83		
New believers			31	43			800
Adherents			1,500				
Extra		Reading Bible class		Two apostates were return to Christianity	Sunday meeting for married women in Pyōngyang	Leading 82 prayer meetings	Leading 22 Bible classes. Evangelising a female shaman

According to the M.E.C. Korean mission reports, she visited an average of 1,500 to 3,000 Korean homes and gained thirty new convert per year. In addition, she worked closely with Mrs. Nobel who managed successful Sunday schools in Pyōngyang: she taught the Sunday school of the Namsanhyun Church of Pyōngyang for five years, from 1911 to 1915.⁴⁴²

Moreover, she extended her ability to organize women's group in churches, such as Pyōngyang Bo Ho Yō Hoe (Ladies Aid Society)⁴⁴³ in 1903 in the Namsanjae Church. As the president of the society, she was actively supporting a *chōndo puin* in a small town, Sisanli in 1911, and sending a missionary to Manchuria in 1921 financed by the offering of the members. In addition, she organised 'Kwabuhwoe (Widows Relief Association)' in order to assist widows' within money and other support in 1916.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ ARMEC, 1903, 1904, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, and 1914.

⁴⁴² Kim Sūng-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han'guk kyohoe chōndo puin jaryōjip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), p. 166.

⁴⁴³ The name is the same as the Yoe Mae-rae's 'Bo Ho Yō Hoe' in the Jungdong Church of Seoul in 1901.

⁴⁴⁴ Rhie Deok-joo, Pyung Min Jeondoin Kim Saeji (a ordinary *chōndo puin* Sadie Kim), *Early Christian Women in Korea; Life Stories of 28 Women who loved Christ and her Nation*, pp. 40-41.

As a women leader, she was a leading member of the ecumenical women's society of Methodist and Presbyterian women, Daehan Yaeguk Puinhoe (the Korea Patriot Ladies Association) in June 1919. The Association aimed to oppose Japanese power and obtain the Korean Independence. Consequently, she was tortured by the Japanese police for around two years.⁴⁴⁵ After being released from the jail, she never stopped her major work for evangelism. Her mother church, the Namsanhyun Church celebrated her twenty-five years evangelistic work as a *chōndo puin* in 15th May 1922. From 1923 to 1925 when she retired aged sixty years, she established churches, led Bible class and prayer services, and evangelised approximately eight hundred people.⁴⁴⁶

Sadie Kim was an ordinary and respected *chōndo puin* who played an important leadership role in Korean churches. She was an evangelist, women leader and even a nationalist in Korean Christianity. Her leadership roles contributed to the remarkable development of Korean churches. Without *chōndo puin* such as Sadie Kim, laypeople including women in particular, would not have been able to gain the Christian faith. Like her, many *chōndo puin* contributed to the establishment and growth of Korean churches: like her, few are honoured.

7. Conclusion; essential leaders, *chōndo puin* in the indigenous evangelism of Korean church growth

Chōndo puin were church leaders who contributed to the development of Korean Protestant churches in the period when Korean churches interpreted Christianity in accordance with their own ways through awakening movements from 1903 to 1910.

⁴⁴⁵ *Kidokshinbo* (The Christian Messenger), 30th October 1919.

⁴⁴⁶ Kim Sūng-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han'guk kyohoe chōndo puin jaryōjip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), pp. 165-166.

Their contribution was based upon female leadership drawing on traditional networks of Korean women in the Korean society.

Through spiritual events, they realized other vital roles in the growth of Korean churches. Bible women, not merely *puin kwonsŏ* (female book-sellers) but also *chŏndo puin* (women evangelists), were redefined in this important period. They were playing vital roles enabling quality church growth and also extending their arena in various evangelistic activities as independent and creative leaders differing from the initial leadership of *puin kwonsŏ* relying on and subordinate to mission societies. In fact they worked for the growth of Korean churches, including mission for women, relying on their own capacities rooted in Korean traditions. To establish churches, lead prayer meetings, teach Bible classes, care for believers or new comers, and manage Sunday school: that was the basis of their work. *Chŏndo puin* were deeply involving in this work and achieved great results. Furthermore, they organised women's meetings and societies that assisted the administration, finance, and worship.

Societies of Christian women, also played a great role in supporting *chŏndo puin*'s evangelistic works, even sending them to other countries as missionaries. The societies were getting more organised and powerful, and *chŏndo puin* were gaining more official status and regular support. It led them to possess official leadership in churches and expand their arena from Korea to other countries.

In the process, some training schools and Bible Institutes supported their work as a professional career. Educational certificates enabled them to preach to and teach not only women but also men and children. Their education and skills were very respected by Christians, missionaries and male pastors. That is to say, they were

admitted and accepted as professional leaders in the evangelistic part of churches. However, sex-discrimination did still exist. Male-centred churches had glass ceilings blocking women in the Korean institutional hierarchy. They delegated an essential but hard part of church evangelism to *chōndo puin*. Despite their low salary and poor working conditions compared with male leaders in churches, they stuck to their job and contributed to develop churches and overcome the crisis of Korean churches.

In the colonial period of religious persecution and Shinto practice insisted upon by the Japanese government in the 1930s, there were two kinds of *chōndo puin*: for and against the worship. While Korean churches surrendered to the strong religious persecution of the government in 1938, each *chōndo puin* had to decide how they were going to act in churches as leaders: some followed the churches' orders forced by the government: some fearlessly revolted against the worship. There have been many historical evaluations. Yet it seems to me that, whatever they followed, they all did the best in their context as leaders who had to decide their way to lead Christians in churches.

To sum up, *chōndo puin* played a leadership role both in the growth phase and during the crisis of Korean churches. Their contributions had been hidden in churches and Korean church history. Nevertheless, their real stories fill several gaps in existing history, which some scholars still try to ignore. In this chapter, we were able to see that in every important event of Korean church history, *chōndo puin* were there in the centre. In the next chapter we will see another aspect of *chōndo puin* in Korean social history, namely that of the educational and medical professional, and in addition, national activist.

Chapter Six

New Elites Or Social Pioneers?

The Social Role of *Chōndo puin* in Korean Society, 1886-1945

1. Introduction

Some *chōndo puin* worked in mission schools, hospitals, and girl's colleges as teachers, counsellors, nurses or doctors, providing a good chance for women to enhance their social position and formulating relational networks influenced by the helpful work of western missionaries. It has been argued that the Christian Protestant mission had a positive social impact on Korean society, especially for women.

However, it also led to the replication of feudal classes within the *chōndo puin*, Korean women being separated by education and employment stereotypes similar to those found in the traditional *Chosŏn* class system. Furthermore, there was some relation between *chōndo puin* and Shin Yōsung (New Women) called 'modern women'. Some New Women were not Christians. Being educated in the public school system, some New Women were socialist or communist, a position they took against the occupation forces. That was their way of managing. Whether we look at surviving Occupation, or working for church institutions, *chōndo puin* as social leaders had an important impact on Korean society based upon their Christian background with both positive and negative results for Korean women.

Accordingly, I will study the social activities of *chōndo puin* in five sections. The first one is about their work in women's modern education. Here, I will argue that the Christian educational institutions for women and girls enabled *chōndo puin* to play a social leadership role in Korean society, at times contrasting with missionaries'

religious aims and the Korean government's political needs. I shall consider what the main expectations of modern *chōndo puin* education were, from the point of view of girl's mission school students then also from that of Korean society and the missionaries. The second section will present about the employment and social activities of *chōndo puin* after graduation. As professionals, when they worked in schools, colleges and hospitals, it will be argued that they were distinguished from ordinary people. In this situation, we will see their relationship with missionaries, Korean Christians and Korean people. In addition, the stories of two *chōndo puin* in education and medicine will help our comprehension of this section.

Taking the nationalistic perspective of Korean history, I will debate how the *chōndo puin* acted in the Korean independence movements or war issues as social leaders belonging to Christianity, setting out the hidden stories of *chōndo puin* who faced great hardship. In the fourth section, through a pro-Japanese *chōndo puin*'s story, we can see the detailed historical situation of the period. Finally, I will present the example of the Ehwa Hakdang managed by the Women's Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1886 to 1945 which educated and employed *chōndo puin* in education and medicine. Through this institutional focus, we can see the social roles of *chōndo puin* with regards to the relationship with mission societies and prejudice and expectation of Korean society in terms of class.

Regarding to research interest, let us first deal with the social foundation of the *chōndo puin* by western mission aiming at education.

2. Christendom and power in Korea; The different expectations of social education of the *chōndo puin*, 1886-1910

A historian, Pak Yong-uk evaluated the historical situation of Korean women's status at the end of *Chosŏn* describing the first mission school for Korean women, Ehwa Hakdang:

The opening of the school was greatly supported by King and Queen. Nevertheless, the establishment of the school aimed to help the Christian mission. Accordingly the purpose of education was to educate most exemplary housewives in the lifestyle of Korean tradition and to train the Christian evangelists to send their gospels to neighbours and relatives... Thus, Korean people did not expect the pioneered responsibility or the modern leadership from women who were studying in the school.⁴⁴⁷

This evaluation possesses several meanings. Firstly, he shows in the first sentence the positive contribution of Korean government to women's education, Korean people's expectation about modernisation through the school differed from the religious aim of the mission society. Secondly, however, the third sentence shows Korean people's limited expectations. They were anticipating modern educated Christian women's role not to be religious evangelists of mission societies but rather traditional supporting females under the system of male-centred supervision, not with their own highly professional leadership roles. The historian Pak, revealed the neglect of both mission societies and the Korean government about the restriction of Korean female education in the beginning of Korean modern education. I shall present historical evidence in examining the preparatory social role of *chōndo puin* in the location of educational institutions such as mission schools and modern western style schools.

⁴⁴⁷ Pak Yong-uk, *Han'guk kŭndae yŏsŏng sa* (The History of Korean Modern Women), p. 52.

2.1 To achieve the Lord's World; the institutions of Mission society for education and medicine

According to the report of 'The Gospel in All Lands' in 1887. Rev. Edward A. Lawrence presented the interesting mission situation of Methodist and Presbyterian early work in Korea.

...These have been designated by the United States Government at the request of Korea, to take charge of a government school now opening, where they will instruct thirty Koreans appointed to attend. The government hospital is under charge of Drs. Allen and Heron, where they are also training a class of natives as physicians. Dr. Scranton maintains a private hospital and dispensary, while Mrs. Scranton has made a good beginning with a school for girls, and Mr. Appenzeller with one for boys. The Presbyterian Orphanage, under charge of Rev. Mr. Underwood, was highly commended by the king at the very start. A royal school of interpreters is in charge of Mr. Halifax, an Englishman, while, as has been said the new government school is under the sole care of three Americans, all Christians, two of them at least ordained clergymen...⁴⁴⁸

This passage proves that missionary works such as education and medicine in Korea was closely related to the political aims of Korean government. In addition, their first step of mission in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church was institutional work requested by two countries, Korea and the United States. In this respect, missionaries had to balance their hopes for the evangelising of the Korean people, with becoming in political work as a sort of "voluntary representative" of their country.

In these mission circumstances, Christian educational and medical training for women in private or public schools that were managed by missionaries, were carefully negotiated with the nationalistic needs of Korean government. However, in

⁴⁴⁸ Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, 'Missions in Korea', *The Gospel in All Lands*, Vol. XII No. 6, June 1887, p. 273

many reports of the Korean mission to home and mission societies, missionaries revealed their true mind. The following one from 1886 is a very typical report for their society in the homeland.

The women of Korea can be reached. This is no longer an experiment, but a fact. The strong walls of isolation have been sapped, and while there are still very many and serious difficulties in our way, God has vouchsafed his blessing unto us, and permits us to report that Mrs. Scranton had for several months under her instructions a married woman of high rank. This lady left, finally when compelled to do so by sickness, three little girls are now taught in this home, and others are coming soon.⁴⁴⁹

This report claims that Mrs. Scranton's work is supported with \$ 3,000 from Mrs. Blackstone and \$700 from New York. The offering was used for Korean women in the "dark" land. They were isolated and so had had no chance to receive literacy or study properly.⁴⁵⁰ In short, the educational work was a very efficient method for Korean evangelisation in God's way. Turning to the light and leading the women to the light were the important steps of Christianising Korea in the work for women.

According to the two reports, we can understand the mission situation particularly about educating women's professions. Christian schools were under the mixed situation of western evangelisation and Korean nationalistic aim. It seems to me that *chōndo puin* trained by these educational institutions, were not expected in Korean society to be merely religious who played an evangelistic role but also nationalist or political activists. Their social roles were definitely complex, even contradictory, but vital to western mission societies and Korean society.

From 1886 to 1908, twenty-five mission schools were established after the Ehwa Hakdang (May 1886). Fourteen schools of them were Christian girls' schools;

⁴⁴⁹ 'W.F.M.S.', *The 68th ARMEC for 1886*, January 1887, 1914, p. 268.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

Jungshin Yŏ Hakdang (The girls' school of Jungshin) (1901), Tae Pyŏng Dong Yŏ Hakkyo (The girls' school of Tae Pyong Dong) (1905), Yang Kyu Ŭi Suk (The girls' boarding school of Yang Kyu) (1906), Jin Myŏng Yŏ Hakkyo (1906), Suk Myŏng Yŏ Hakkyo (1906), Myŏng Shin Yŏ Hakkyo (1907), Yang Jŏng Ŭi Suk (1907), Yŏ Ja Bo Hakwon (The girl's institute) (1907), Yang Wŏn Yŏ Hakkyo (1908), Dong Duk Yŏ Ja Ŭi Suk (1908), Bo Myŏng Yŏ Hakkyo (1908), Yong Shin Yŏ Hakkyo (1908), Yang Jŏng Yŏ Hakkyo (1908) and one Pyo Dong Yŏ Hakkyo (1908).⁴⁵¹ The schools were very important, all founded in the period of Korean Reform after 1876. The Reformed movement treated the issue of modernizing Korean women in Christian western education very importantly. The increasing number of school foundations is related to the development of public schools by the Korean government.

2.2 Being powerful; the expectations of Korean society for modern women's education

The Korean government required more efficient modern education from missionaries.

Fourth-School instruction has been established in connection with the hospital. Of this the report speaks as follows; we began to think of ways and means for enlarging the influence and opportunities of the hospital. The way which best recommended itself seemed to be the opening of the school department. The means were asked for from the Government (sic.). His Majesty at once caused orders to be issued for the purchase of a compound of building adjoining the hospital and the fitting up of the same for a school house. The money which we needed for apparatus and supplies was at once granted, together with an appropriation for the purchase of a new and complete outfit of surgical instrument...⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Yi Hyo-jae and Kim Kil-Suk, *Han'guk yŏsŏng ūi Jiwi* (The Status of Korean Women), (Seoul, Ehwa Women's College Published, 1982), pp. 87-88.

⁴⁵² 'Medical Work in Korea', *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol. XLV No. 4, September to October 1886, p. 216

At that time, Korean traditional medicine had been the only medical method available in Korea before western medicine was introduced in the middle of the 1800s by westerners and some Chinese books. Western medicine was very impressive to Korean people, particularly the Korean royal family and court people. For instance, Dr. Allen's institutional medical work was closely related to and supported by the Korean government; "Dr. Allen says: of late I have treated quite a number of ladies of high rank, Queen's maids, etc., at my private office in my house. A hospital for women is a necessity, and will have to be established soon."⁴⁵³ Their experience stimulated them to be taught the western medical studies. As soon as possible, the Korean government paid attention to the new studies from westerners and expected a great number of medical experts who were trained in western skill to come forth.⁴⁵⁴ These endeavours also appeared in the modern education. Some mission schools were transferred from private to public schools managed by the Korean government and some modern style schools were established through Korean effort. The public schools for Korean women included Yang Sŏng Wŏn (The Educational Institute), Yŏja Kyoyukhoe (The Committee of Women Education), Jin Myŏng Puinhoe (The Ladies Group of Jin Myŏng) and so forth.⁴⁵⁵ These schools' aim was to help Korea to transform into a modern powerful country in terms of nationalistic reformation. In the period, Japan, which started modernisation earlier, was successful and China was clearly attempting to accept the westerners' technology. Accordingly, modern education was very urgent to the Korean government, in not only mission schools but also in public schools, which were not deeply involved in religious issues and aims.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.,

⁴⁵⁴ *Daehan Mailshinbo* (The Korea Daily Newspaper), 30th August 1907.

⁴⁵⁵ Pak Yong-uk, *Han'guk kŭndae yŏesŏngsa* (The History of Korean Modern Women), pp. 128-129.

In the Korean tradition, there had been teaching for not only men but also women such as Nae Hun and Kyu Böm (The Confucian rules of teaching women). In addition, there already were many girls' schools in western countries like America. Then, they reach to the reformed country's state at the present. Nevertheless, why do we not have any girls' school yet? Dear Majesty! Please, consider this state with the rehabilitation, independence, and reformation! So, you are establishing public schools for girls. This is our great pleasure, as far as we are dancing. As the ancients say, the talented based on academics and the academics grounded in education... Even women are able to be sincerely patriotic and possess enthusiastically academic spirit. Therefore, we adore restoring Korea with the mind of faithfulness and patriotism. Without any school, we do not have any way to educate smart and intelligent girls. Please, we are begging to you, give us your order for establishing girls' school. This must be a good way Korea to be the modern powerful country in the East and be treated equally with other countries in the near future.⁴⁵⁶

This is an article showing that some women in the Yang Söng Won presented a memorial to the King for establishing girls or women's schools in 11th October 1899. Shown in this passage, women's education was as inevitable an element of empowering a country as evangelising was. The first group of Korean women at Yang Söng Won which possessed a clear aim 'women's education for enlightenment', fulfilled this purpose. In the beginning, there were four hundred members and leaders were all women; president- Mrs. Yangsöngdang Yi, vice president- Mrs. Yanghyöndang Kim, executive- Mrs. Changkildang Yi, Mrs. Yangjindang Tae, officer- Jungkirang Ko.⁴⁵⁷ The group enthusiastically submitted a proposal to the committee of Weejungboo (the Parliament of the *Chöson* dynasty) for providing women's education to Korean women. The proposal was very concrete and anticipated the future importance of educating Korean girls. They even planned to employ eleven foreign women teachers for western studies. This shows their passion

⁴⁵⁶ *Dok Nip Shin Moon* (The Korean Independent Newspaper), 12th to 13th October 1899.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 27th September 1899.

for enlightening women in Korea connecting to the powerful Korea, and the defensive strategies employed by Korea, under attack by western countries, Japan, and China.⁴⁵⁸

Accordingly, most female educational institutions in the period were managed by Korean people's desire to make Korea stronger against western civilised countries: modern women graduated from public schools as well as from mission schools, and played a full social and professional role in Korean society separate from Christian empowerment. *Chōndo puin*'s contribution to social education, and that of the mission was large, but not the only source of foreign learning.

2.3 *Chōndo puin* in the modern education of Korean Reformation

2.3.1 The desire of Korean women to learn western education and medicine for enlightenment

Yet, God has put it into the hearts of *two Korean women* to come and ask the Doctors to teach them English and all they can about medicine. The difficulties in the way they seem ingenious enough to surmount. They proposed wearing men's garments and coming to us at night, in close chairs, to avoid being seen.⁴⁵⁹

This letter was written by Dr. Allen's wife, Fannie M. Allen. She witnessed the for enthusiasm for learning of Korean women who wore male costumes at night in order to go out. Their aim to visit her family was simple: to ask to be taught western skills. Already Korean women knew the fact that the powerful countries near Korea were reformed using western systems. Consequently, they sensed the enlightening airs in the Eastern area. They therefore secretly visited the medical missionary house. This shows how Korean women showed interest in western style and process of gaining

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 26th May 1900.

⁴⁵⁹ Fannie M. Allen, 'An Opportune Surprise (From Letters)', *Women's Work for Women and the Mission Field*, Vol. II, May, 1887, p. 123.

knowledge, even in a strict Confucian society. This phenomenon of Korean women's earnest demands was irresistible to missionaries.

When is some work going to be done here for the women, outside of medical work? Mrs. Heron has been having services for Korean women that have been well attended, but she cannot be there all the time. A lady is wanted, nay, is *needed*, to give her *entire attention* to this line of work, but she must learn the language before she can do anything Women are asking to be taught.⁴⁶⁰

Korean women revealed their interest very strongly, going to female missionaries to work professionally in mission. That was a fact of the period. More women wanted to learn and work in the professions than was accepted in the Korean society they knew. One good example of this was a *chōndo puin*, Hahr Nan-sa as a new woman who was an activist of the Korea Reformation and enlightenment.

2.3.2 Hahr Nan-sa K.; a *Chōndo puin* for Korean Reformed enlightenment

Again granting from a moment that the complaint relative to those two domestic arts is true the writer must realize that even *in America or in Europe a graduate of an ordinary high school is not expected to know cooking and sewing by virtue of their schooling. He must also be aware that the aim and purpose of the instructions given by the aforesaid Institutions are to produce a new type of women who will become wise mothers, dutiful wives and enlightened housekeepers and not cooks, nurses nor seamstresses...* In conclusion I must say that taking all in all, the writers' complaints seem to be wholly absurd and ridiculous, inasmuch as they are contrary to the facts of existing conditions. Furthermore, I think that I, because of the nature and spirit of his "suggestions" am justified in most solemnly censuring him for his harbouring a typical Oriental conception of the women, *in spite of all his previous Western Education and enlightenment.*⁴⁶¹

This writing is a criticism of a famous intellectual leader, Yun Chi-ho's article

⁴⁶⁰ 'Korea-Room for Women to Work', *WWFW*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 293.

⁴⁶¹ Nansa K. Hahr, 'A Protest', *KMF*, Vol. 7 No. 12 December 1911, pp. 352-353.

published in the Korea Mission Field in July 1911; ‘A plea for Industrial Training’. He seriously complained that girls’ school students were not able to cook, sew, clean, wash, and housekeep. Also, he criticised female education and said that they disobeyed their mother-in-law and were lazy. Nan-Sa Hahr pointed out his illogical ideas about girls’ schools and education and criticised his male-dominated attitude about Korean enlightenment, despite the fact that he was an important reformer in the Korean society.

Hahr Nan-sa K. was born into the family Kim of Kimhae (Yangban class family in Korean tradition) in Pyöngyang City in 1875. As a second wife, she got married to Hahr Sang-gi who was a government officer. She entered Ehwa girl’s school in 1896. It is assumed that she became a Christian after the entrance. She was baptized and then was called ‘Nansa’ (란사, 蘭史), it is the transliteration of the English name ‘Nancy’, and she took the surname of her husband. In fact, she was already married when she became a student in the Ehwa. This is an unusual case against the regulation of the school. She had applied twice to the school but was rejected because she was married. Nevertheless, she never gave up her wish to study there. One day, in the dark candlelit evening, she visited L. E. Frey, the president of the school. In front of Mrs. Frey, blew out the light, saying, “please give me the bright light of academia because my state is such as this extinguished light”. Through her enthusiastic persuasion, Mrs. Frey finally permitted her to enter Ehwa⁴⁶².

After graduating from Ehwa in 1900, she went to Japan and pursued her studies, supported by her husband who understood her passion. After coming back to Korea, she prepared to study in America. Finally, she went to America, the first Korean female student to study abroad at her own expense. She was admitted to Wesleyan

⁴⁶² Rhie Deok-joo, *Han’guk kyohoe chöüm yösöngdül* (Early Christian Women in Korea), p. 61.

university (Methodist) in Ohio State in 1902, graduating as B.A., the first Korean woman to do so in America. After coming back to Korea, she was a teacher in the English school of the Sang Dong Church in 1906.⁴⁶³ In 1908, M. M. Albertson came to this school and together they changed the English school into a Bible school for the sake of educating *chōndo puin*; she built up its curriculum in a loaned Korean-style house as a school adjacent to Ehwa girls' school. She was a religious hustler who not only taught students in classrooms, but also propagated Christianity with her students on streets and in the countryside. The college was established near Ehwa girls' school for a higher quality of education. She participated in it as the only Korean professor who taught English and the Bible. In addition, she was a matron of Ehwa dormitory in 1910. With O.M. Tuttle, she was responsible for advising small girl's schools connected to Ehwa girl's school; Sudamon girl's school, Aogoe girl's school, Jungro girl's school, Dongdaemun girl's school, Dongmak girl's school, Sōkang girl's school, Wangshimni girl's school, Yongmuri girl's school, Hankang girl's school, and so on.⁴⁶⁴ She organized the Maternal Association, taught household medicine and the way to rear children, and urged the self-awareness of Korean women through her enlightening lectures in 1911.⁴⁶⁵ In 1916, she participated in the General Assembly of Methodist Church in the U.S.A as the laity representative of the Korean Methodist Church, and of the International Methodist Church with Kim Sŭng-u. Afterwards, going around all parts of America, she addressed Korean people who lived in America. By that time, she had begun to distinguish herself as a lecturer who possessed strong patriotism. She taught and led *Emonhwa*e, a group of students, organized by Yi Sōng-hae of Ehwa girls' school in

⁴⁶³ M. F. Scranton, 'Sang Dong and Southern District', *The 9th ARKWC (ME.C)*, 1907, p.8.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ehwa chilshipnyōnsa* (The Seventy Years History of Ehwa), (Seoul, Ehwa Women's College, 1956), p. 450-460.

⁴⁶⁵ Rhie Deok-joo, *Han'guk kyohoe chōūm yōsōngdŭl* (Early Christian Woomen in Korea), p. 65.

1907, and started to teach national reality and global policy to students. Through her patriotic activities, she met Queen Eom, and carried the secret plan to send King Wochin with King Ko's secret instructions to the Paris Peace Conference in June 1919. However, King Ko suddenly died and her efforts ended in vain. After his death, she went to Beijing, and at a party that was sponsored for her by Korean people in Beijing in 1919, she was poisoned as part of a Japanese conspiracy.⁴⁶⁶

Hahr Nan-sa was a *chōndo puin* and an activist of Korean enlightenment with Christian faith working for Korea. Her social role was memorable to Korean people working during a significant period of Korea's crisis. That is to say, she was truly committed to the demand of Korean society as a modern educated Christian leader, a *chōndo puin* playing social roles from traditional female leaders' links which could be referred back to *Yangban* women's high-class networks or Buddhist/Shamanistic spiritual leadership part in the traditional society of Korea. Even though the context of the period was different, her story would not be much different from traditional female leaders' stories during the *Chosŏn* monarchy period in terms of nationalistic contributions and social commitments.

The activities of *chōndo puin* after the initial enlightenment of Korea continued in a wider arena than the mission schools; in the following section, we will see how they execute a social role in their own profession of Korea as teachers, counsellors, nurses and doctors.

⁴⁶⁶ Ch'oe Ũn-hi, *Chogukül chapgikaji* (Till My Country Comes Back), (Seoul, Tamgoodang, 1973), 138-140.

3. *Chōndo puin*'s role in social areas; the professions of *chōndo puin* in education and medicine, 1908-1930

Just as the case of Nan-Sa Hahr, there were some *chōndo puin* who had remarkable influence on Korean society of the time. In this section, I will argue that *chōndo puin* achieved great social changes in Korean society relating to Christian mission despite the difficulties of sex-discrimination and social prejudice. Let us see their activities in social work for a better Korea using Christian tools, namely western practical mission 'civilisation'.

3.1 *Chōndo puin* in education

3.1.1 To complete two purposes; teaching in educational institutes

After graduating from educational institutions such as higher bible institutes or girls schools, what and where did *chōndo puin* work? This is an important question in this section because it includes several points; firstly, what were the tangible achievements of *chōndo puin* after graduation? Secondly, when they worked, was the arena very stable and accepted by Korean society? Thirdly, to what degree did they achieve their goals in their own areas?

For this, I present materials gathered about *chōndo puin* in education.

According to this table, this is a clear connection between *chōndo puin* studying and getting an educational job. As was the case with Methodist *chōndo puin*, the link between graduation and employment was well organised, such as the Ehwa graduands. Furthermore, Christian mission schools also supported them in their search for an occupation in mission schools,

<Table 11> The list of *chōndo puin* working in educational institutes, 1908-1932⁴⁶⁷

Name	Born	Denomination	Graduation or entrance	Activity
Kim, Kyōng-shin	1900	Presbyterian	Jungshin GS ⁴⁶⁸	The Sōng-Jin Bu Shin School (the supervisor of the dormitory) The Ham Heung Yōng-Saeng GS (Teacher)
Kim, No-deuk				1913 the school which did Milam Kim establish.
Kim, Bo-rin		Methodist	The Ehwa higher school and the Ehwa college	1923-1928 the Ehwa higher school
Kim, Sōng-mu	14 th March 1891		The Sun-Chōn Bo-Sung GS	1911 the Myōng-Shin School 1933 a social activist of YWCA
Kim, Young-ae	1840	Methodist		1903 an establisher of GS in Kang-Hwa area as 64 years old
Min, Won-suk		Methodist		March 1935 The Yang-Jung GS
Park, Ae-sun	23 rd Dec 1896	Presbyterian	1915 The Kwang-Joo Sophia GS & Jungshin GS graduation	1916 the Sophia GS 1924 the Dong-Ah School
Pang, Ae-in	26 th Sep 1909	Methodist	1921 The Soong-Wee GS & 1926 The Hosoodon GS graduation	April 1926 the Chun-Ju Kijun GS
Sun, Mae-rae	19 th Nov 1885	Methodist	The Jin-Myōng GS graduation & 1912 Methodist GS entrance	1915 the Ehwa GS (Bible + Household)
Yi, Bae-se	12 th Aug 1892	Methodist	1916 The Chung-Nam Bae-Yōng GS March 1920 Methodist GS	April 1920 The Kong-Joo Yōng-Myōng School
Yi, Hyo-deok	25 th Jan 1895	Methodist	1908 The Soong-Wee GS	1913-1914 The Sung-Wee GS 1924 a trustee of YWCA & assistant principal of Tae-Hwa Yeojakwan 1927-1929 The Chun-Joo Kijun GS
Chang, Soo-ro	1920	Presbyterian	1919 The Myung-Shin GS	1934 The Pyong-Yang Women's Theological College
Ch'oe, Dōk-ji	25 th June 1901		1919 The Masan Wee-Shin GS	1919-1932 The Jin-Myōng Nurgery
Hahr, Nan-sa	1875	Methodist	1896 The Ehwa Hakdang	1908 The Ehwa GS

⁴⁶⁷ This table was arranged from the materials; *The Christian Bulletin*, *Christian Newspaper*, *The Encyclopaedia of Christianity*, and *The Materials of Cheondopuin in Korean churches* in the period between 1908 to 1935.

⁴⁶⁸ Girls School-GS

as was the case with two *chōndo puin* who went to Chōnju Kijun Girls School after finishing their mission school. Another interesting point is that they used to teach Christian knowledge together with their major - English, mathematics, hygiene, household economics and so forth. In the educational situation, their Christian role working in classes would be very powerful because Korean people had traditionally respected teachers' authority in Korean society. While Korean students needed more western knowledge for improvement of Korean society, their observations on general issues would be accepted by the students and even parents. Based upon this authority, some *chōndo puin* extended their capacities to social work such as the YWCA or the Tae-Hwa Yōjakwan, which helped Korean women to learn social knowledge and welfare. Such teaching was a direct application of their knowledge to those who needed it.

As can be seen in the table, there were almost no problems of employment if *chōndo puin* wanted to work. The main reason for non-employment was that girls got married to a much higher social status partner after graduation. This Reform period was a time of conflict and negotiation between Korean tradition and western educational culture, and women especially surviving between the two poles. At Ehwa, according to some historians' description⁴⁶⁹, missionaries and teachers in the school were always worried their students would not come back to school after returning home for holidays. At this time, girls as young as eight or nine were forced by their family into early marriage, in part as protection during several wars between Japanese-Chinese and westerners at that time. When parents tried to take daughters from the school for a forced marriage, missionaries and teachers hired bodyguards to

⁴⁶⁹ Yi U-jōng, pp. 122-123 & Yi Kyue-tae, *Han'guk inae chogōn* (The Condition of Korean People), (Seoul, Moonwomsa, 1982), pp. 152-153.

protect the girls from their parents' force. In such situations, mission girls' schools then controlled the students' marriage, but only to Christian men, against the wishes of girls' parents. To emphasise the seriousness, the Presbyterian churches of the period made a rule condemning marriage to non-Christians, branding it a sin.⁴⁷⁰ Extraordinary as these events were, the determined activities of *chōndo puin* in education were significant and also remarkable.

Teaching was not the only educational success for *chōndo puin*, they but also constructed Christian educated women's groups such as the King's Daughters' Circle, which existed among Ewha students in December 1911. Furthermore, the group activities importantly connected and Christianised male and female students. According to some mission reports, one for example in Anna Mcqueen's report about the graduates of the Sophia Girls School⁴⁷¹, some graduates contributed to Korean society as teachers and social workers with a "modern" Christian attitude and mind. Sometimes they led passionate prayer meetings and worship services in schools without considering the rules of segregation of boys or girls demanded by Confucianism. In the 1900s, there were united prayer meetings such as in 1906 in mission schools such as the Bae-Hwa (Methodist) and the Jungshin (Presbyterian), with around one hundred participants each. In 1922, boys' schools like Bae-Jae (Methodist) and Kyōng-Shin (Presbyterian) joined in the united prayer meetings.⁴⁷² The evangelistic roles of *chōndo puin* in churches and education were different but their influence could be similar. Using education as a tool, a succession of Korean

⁴⁷⁰ Kwok Ahn-ryōn, *Jangno kyohoesa junjip* (The Materials of the Presbyterian Church), (Seoul, Chosōnyaso kyohoesa, 1918), p. 36.

⁴⁷¹ Anna Mcqueen, Prayer list, *The Annual Meeting of the Open Letters of Southern Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea*, Federal Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea, Kwang-Joo, June, 1922.

⁴⁷² *Ehwa Palshipnyōnsa* (The Eighty Years History of Ehwa), (Seoul, The Ehwa Women's College, 1968), pp. 425-427.

women acted effectively, in evangelism and in western-oriented professions.

Nevertheless, the activities of *chōndo puin* in schools did not appear to expand as might have been expected by the initial success. What is the reason for this? Let us see about the problem in the next section.

3.1.2 Not a suitable working place; the restricted activities in educational situations

What were the practices of *chōndo puin* in education? To answer this, we need the examples of two Methodist mission societies; the Methodist Episcopal Church and Southern Methodist Episcopal Church.

<Table 12> List of Girls' Schools by Methodist Missionaries in Korea⁴⁷³

School	Support	Foundation	Founder/principal
Bae-Hwa Hakdang	The children and old ladies of Carolina, South	2 nd October, 1898 in Seoul The Carolina Hakdang (1898) The Bae-Hwa Girls School (1909)	J. P. Campbell
Lusi Hakdang	The beginning; M.E.C. After 1901, M.E.C. of South. Great support from a president of the Women's Society of North Carolina, Mrs. Lucy Cunningham for the building	1896 in Wonsan 1913 authorised school as the Private Lucy Cunningham Girls School 1923 the revised name, 'The Private Lusi Girls School'	Miss Carol and Miss Noels
Hosudon Hakdang	The Women's Society of Methodist Episcopal Church, South	4 th December 1904 in Kaesung, northern Korea Kaesung Girls School June 1909 supported by Dr. Stanley in memory of his mother in Houston.	Miss Arrena Carroll and Ellasue Wanger
Miriheum Girls School	The Women's Society of Methodist Episcopal Church, South	April 1906 Song-Kae Hakdang or English Hakdang	
Ehwa Hakdang	The Women's Society of Methodist Episcopal Church	1886 in Seoul	Mrs. Mary Fitch Scranton
Yōng-Hwa Hakdang		The first educational institution for women on 30 th April 1892 in Inchun	Mrs. Johnson
Yōng-Hwa School		Autumn 1905 in Nonsan	Rev. Sharp's wife, Mrs. Elisa Sharp
Jung-Wee Girls School	The Women's Society of Methodist Episcopal Church	1894 in Pyōngyang	Mrs. W. A. Noble and Mrs. E.D. Follwell
Jungshin Girls School		1895 in Pyōngyang	Mrs. Baird

⁴⁷³ This table is based upon the contents of *Han'guk Kamnikyohoesa* (The History of Korean Methodist Church) written by The Department of Methodist Education, (Seoul, The Department of Methodist Education, 1975), pp. 96-119.

The Methodist Episcopal Church managed girls' schools such as Ehwa, Bae-Hwa, and Jung-Wee aiming to educate girls as members of elite. The course contained mainly academic subjects such as; Bible studies, Japanese, English, Chinese Script, Geology, History, Mathematics, Korean, Zoology, Botany, Physics, Chemistry, and sewing⁴⁷⁴. These show that the studies were intended for profession education. In fact, the course contents were very similar to that offered at boys' schools.⁴⁷⁵ Nevertheless, there were some serious problems, particularly financial hurdles. The management of girls' schools relied upon the finances of the mission society to cover nearly 100 % of the girls' fees and teachers' wages. In the case of Ehwa, the number of students was 25 to 30 in 1893 and the first graduation was in 1908⁴⁷⁶ although the school was the first girl's school in Korea.

On the other hand, the Women's Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, possessed a different style of girls' education from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Social training or practical courses were the central feature in the Miriheum Girls' School, the Wonsan Lusi High School, and the Hosudon Girls' School. Such courses meant a great need for female teachers, just as for female technical education in the private school policy sector after 1908.⁴⁷⁷ This trend can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, female education in Korean and mission society went little further than practical skills such as housekeeping or language: this differed from male education, which aimed to raise elite groups of leaders. It thus replicated the traditional hierarchy within women, *Yangban* class-lower class, for the elite women went to

⁴⁷⁴ *Ehwa chilshipnyōnsa* (The Seventy Years History of Ehwa), (Seoul, The Ehwa Women's College, 1956), pp. 60-62.

⁴⁷⁵ Yi E-hwa, *Han'guk sa iyagi* (The Story of Korean History), Vol. 19, (Seoul, Hankilsa, 2003), p. 40.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ehwa chilshipnyōnsa* (The Seventy Years History of the Ehwa), p. 59.

⁴⁷⁷ Chang Byōng-uk, *Kamnikyohoesa 1885-1945* (The History of Methodist Women in Korea 1885-1945), (Seoul, Sung Kwang, 1979), p. 247

Ehwa for a full curriculum. The different quality of educations in the various girls' schools in the period decided the female graduates' social status among modern educated women, Shin Yösŏng. Secondly, this shows the limitation of women's education and the restricted area of female teachers. Accordingly, *chŏndo puin* working as teachers were not positively contributing either to the emancipation of women right, often, to their conversion in schools which were essentially "finishing schools".

Furthermore, *chŏndo puin*'s educational work based in mission schools was hindered by the social forces of Japanese domination in the period. Some Presbyterian mission societies experienced difficulties in establishing mission schools under Japanese educational policies, which meant to keep Korean people apart from westerners. In particular, the Japanese government proclaimed an educational policy in 1922 which barred Koreans from higher education, permitting only lower technological training. This was a serious blow to missionaries and Korean nationalists running private schools for Koreans. Except for Yŏnhee, Bosŏng, Sŏngshil in Pyŏngyang and Ehwa College, there was no permission to establish higher educational institutions. One good example for this endeavour was the trial of a Christian nationalistic group, Shinganhwae, after their attempt to establish higher education.⁴⁷⁸ This situation reduced *chŏndo puin*'s work in teaching in higher Christian education.

In the girls' schools, there were hidden tensions between female teachers including *chŏndo puin* and missionaries or male educators in the position of principals. Mostly

⁴⁷⁸ Pak On-ja, Rhee Kwang-ja, and Kang Moon-hee, *Kidokkyo yŏsŏngkyoyuk ae han'guk keundaesa e michin yŏnghyang kwa jŏnmang* (The Modernization of Korea and the Effects and Prospects of Christian Higher Education for Women: In the Case of Seoul Women's University), (Seoul, The Women's Studies Institute of the Seoul Women's University, 1998), pp. 6-7.

in the beginning of schools, the principals were female missionaries or sometimes male missionaries. But then female principals were chosen from among women who had graduated and who had experience in teaching. For instance, the principals of the Sophia Girls School founded by Dr. Eugene Bell in the American Presbyterian Church, South in 1st April 1908 were the following for around forty years; Miss Ella Graham (1908), Miss Margaret Martin (1924), Dr. D. J. Cumming (1925), Miss Florence E. Root (1944).⁴⁷⁹ It took forty years, before finally, in 1945, a Korean female educator, Kim Pil-rea became the 6th principal of the Sophia Girls' School. The phenomenon was not restricted to Presbyterian mission schools but also Methodist ones. In the case of the Ehwa College, Kim Helen Hwal-ran became a principal from 1931 to 1961 after Mrs. M. F. Scranton (1886-1890), R. C. Rosewilder (1890-1892), Josephine O. Paine (1892-1907), R. E. Frey (1907-1921), A. Janet Walter (1921-1922) and A. R. Appenzeller (1922-1939).⁴⁸⁰

What do these facts show us in terms of the *chōndo puin*'s work in education? I would say that *chōndo puin* as female teachers were not able to get involved in the important administration of the schools and were discriminated against, as referred to in Chapter Two: male missionaries versus female missionaries; male Christian/pastors versus female Christians/leaders: American female versus Korean female. There would have been opportunities for *chōndo puin* to take the principal position. Sometimes, very powerful *chōndo puin* such as Cha Mirisa and Yō Mae-rae set up nationalistic girls schools such as Kūn-Hwa Hakwon (1923) and Jin-Myōng Girls School. Nevertheless, such cases of *chōndo puin* in the official leader position within (non-mission) schools were very rare. *Chōndo puin* were mostly located in the

⁴⁷⁹ Kim Yong-sun, *Soophia 90nyōnsa* (The 90 Years History of Sophia), (Kwangjoo, The Soophia Girls School, 2000)

⁴⁸⁰ *Ehwa chilshipnyōnsa* (The Seventy Year History of Ehwa), pp. 10-63.

lower ranks of schooling. That is to say, it was extremely difficult for even capable *chōndo puin* to gain positions as administrative leaders of girls' schools. Faced with this obstacle, they changed their direction from education to social work, because they found no chance within the school system to work for mission and national enlightenment. Let us see who these *chōndo puin* were and what new ways they found to educate people, beyond the reach of the educational institutions.

3.1.3 More than teaching; the connection to social activities

The new direction presented was social work in Christian social institutions related to educational groups. In a sense, the enlightenment issue was importantly linked to social and educational institutions. Using their new-found position fulfilling social needs, *chōndo puin* extended their activities of education to practical areas, such as social institutes.

The most important institute was the YWCA (The Young Women's Christian Association), which consisted of Christian women working for social aspects of Christianity. The association was created in 22nd June 1922. The aims were the improvement of women's social status, cultural activities by women, women-centred Christian religious life, and the issue of women's professional.⁴⁸¹ This background was publicized by one of the three founders, Mrs. Choi Pil-ley. She pointed out the need for social institutes in the period in Korea Mission Field in 1923.⁴⁸² The first one is the increasing number of girls in educational institutions. In 1912 there were 3,886 students in primary schools and 291 students in junior schools; in 1922 there were 42, 816 students in primary schools and 3,284 students in junior schools.

⁴⁸¹ Yi Hyo-jae, *Han'guk YWCA banbaengnyōn* (The 50 History of Korean YWCA), (Seoul, Korean YWCA, 1976), p. 6.

⁴⁸² Mrs. Choi Pil Ley(sic), 'The Development of Korean Women during the Past Ten Years', *KMF*, Vo. XVX, No. 4, pp.222-223.

Secondly, the change of marriage culture in Korean society influenced Korean women's lives. Suddenly, male and female fiancés were able to meet and converse face to face, a revolutionary development considering Korean traditional marriage custom, where bride and groom rarely even got to see their future partner before the wedding. Also, in a rather unusual twist of traditional values, some women came to enjoy and even choose unmarried or single lives. Another break with tradition saw the relationship between mother and daughter-in-law transformed from that of 'dominator and slave' to 'supervisor and new supporter' of their family. Choi Pil-ley described the social situation and the social activities of educated women, such as teachers who worked in various educational institutions from evening classes to junior schools, without any blame or prejudice from Korean social conventions. Therefore, most Korean local or informal education was handled by these female teachers, particularly *chōndo puin* in the 1920s. This was different from the situation in the 1910s where foreign female missionaries had mainly managed education. Finally, women's participation in business was appearing in Korean society, and such people (often taught by *chōndo puin*) were especially able and often willing to support *chōndo puin* activities.

This YWCA was formed as a vital Christian group for Korean society. The founders were Mrs. Choi Pil-ley (Kim Phil-ley⁴⁸³), Mrs. Yi K. (Ryu Kak-kyōng), and Kim Helen (Kim Hwal-ran). These women graduated from mission schools and came from faithful Christian leaders and *chōndo puin* who studied modern education. After organising this association, the members worked and contributed to hidden but crucial areas for development. A good example was their work in rural areas, 'the enterprise of Korean agricultural countryside', agriculture being the main economic

⁴⁸³ Some documents recorded her husband's surname or kept her own family name.

sector of Korea at that time. Since 1928, leaders such as Esther Hwang and Hong Ŭn-Kyōng dedicated themselves to work for women in the agricultural counties to teach modern studies.⁴⁸⁴

Based upon these supporting endeavours, a *chōndo puin*, Ch'oe Yong-Shin was called to help to the people living in agriculture. She was born in 1909 in Wonsan. She graduated in 1928 with top grades from the Nusi Girls School. In 1929 she entered the Hyeup-Sung Women's Theological School managed by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. After leaving school halfway through her course in 1931, she taught 'enlightenment education' or 'western knowledge' (Kyemongkyoyuk, 계몽교육) and farming methods with a fellow *chōndo puin*, Kim No-Dŭk for three months in the Su-ah area of Hwanghae province. After teaching, she concentrated upon the agricultural movement for enlightenment in Soowon of Kyunggi Province supported by Mrs. Sherwood Eddy of the YWCA. She worked on many enterprises such as Children's day schools, evening classes for youths and adults, Bible study groups, Catechism groups, education for new farming methods and women's education for improving family livelihoods. However, her financial problems appeared from 1933. The Japanese government forced the YWCA to reduce her budget and in 1934 to withdraw all financial support from her. She attempted to collect money from many organisations but it was not possible in the political situation. Worn down by overworking stress and the agony of her struggle to continue her work, she developed Tuberculosis and died 23rd Jan 1935 despite the compassionate nursing she received from a number of children and women whom

⁴⁸⁴ In 1928, 280 won of total 880 won, 31 % of the total budget was for agricultural enterprise. In 1934, the association made the special budget of agricultural women's education increase 500 won. This presents the 30 % (650 won) of total budget. Yi Hyo-jae, p.56.

she took care of.⁴⁸⁵

With her last breath, she expressed her will:

How can I leave from the earth with my sisters remaining in Saemkul town!
How my pitiful students' future is going to be without me!! Please, take care of
their studying in the lovely school of Chunkook, forever even though I am
leaving.⁴⁸⁶

Her love to the weak and poor people in undeveloped, isolated areas and the agricultural countryside is a lasting memorial to not only Christians but also Korean non-Christians. This dedication was not finished even though she was dead. Some followers wanted to continue her works.

Such as Ch'oe Yong-Shin, there were some dedicators in not only agricultural areas but also medicines. Medicine was an apparent area of social works in Korea. We will see how *chōndo puin* worked social services in medicine and what differences from the other areas of *chōndo puin* were.

3.2 *Chōndo puin* in Medicine

Medical work of *chōndo puin* begun as a need of the Korean Protestant mission but it expanded to become a crucial dedication to Korean society. In the beginning of medical mission, the consideration of Korean women in traditional medicine was very important. According to the record of Miss. Harriet G. Gale,

The women doctors are better called sorcerers and are most cruel, burning and

⁴⁸⁵ See Kim Sung-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han'guk kyohoe chondo puin jaryojip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), p. 337 and Hong Suk-chang, *Sangnuksu Nongchunsarang, Ch'oe Yong-Shin; (An Evergreen Love to People in the Country; the Story of A Pioneer of the Agricultural Enlightenment Movement, Choi Yong-shin)*, (Seoul, The Christian Literature Publisher, 1991).

⁴⁸⁶ A paper titled 'the will of Ch'oe Yong Shin who possesses a profound meaning in the history of the YWCA' in *the minutes of the Daehan yōja kidokkyo chunganghwae* (The United Committee of Korean Christian Young Women), from 1922 to 1950.

cutting the patients in a hideous way. A medicine which is sometimes given to a father, when others have failed and his life is thought to be in danger...⁴⁸⁷

The even worse situation of women's health was a very good evangelistic element of mission. Some missionaries immediately approached medical mission for women. In the process, they needed the native Christian women's assistance and services. The reason is not only the language problem but also cultural leadership, since the Korean people were already accustomed to the women. In a sense, the activities of *chōndo puin* in medicine were noticeable.

In the courses of *chōndo puin* training, there were one or two courses on hygiene. This appears to have led to the result that *chōndo puin* who before were merely able to manage hygienic problems in some fields of their work, because more skilled medical workers optimistically involved as nurses and doctors. Accordingly, some nurses and doctors such as Esther Park were employed in some hospitals by mission societies; doctors 22, pharmacists 5, dentists 2 in 1927⁴⁸⁸; nurses 2, experts 1, Korean doctors 9, intern course doctors 5, assistant nurses 20, student nurses 40 in the hospital of Pyōngyang by the Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1937⁴⁸⁹. This was obvious considering the situation that male doctors worked after boy's schools' graduation and higher educational institutes for medicine.

However, nurses and female doctors who worked with western doctors, helping with their language problems and cultural hindrances were not common under Korean tradition, which distinguished between men and women in society, although they were also working only for Korean women. Therefore, popularly there were

⁴⁸⁷ 'Korean Women and Korean Homes', *The Gospel in All Lands*, Sept 1893, no. 9, p. 423.

⁴⁸⁸ Yi U-Jōng, p. 47.

⁴⁸⁹ Chang Byōng-uk, p. 166.

chōndo puin who worked in hospitals in order to counsel and take care of patients and their families for evangelism. If categorised in western terms, it would be a sort of chaplain work where Christian hospitals managed to lead non-Christian patients to Christian faith. The examples were well presented in the Methodist mission records or Dr. Rosetta Sherwood Hall's reports such as *The Korea Methodist in 1905*, *Korea Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1906* and so forth.

During the early 1900s, the beginning of medical mission, the role of *chōndo puin* was very basic and simple consisting of sending the Christian gospel to patients. Then, their roles developed into something more than gospel deliverer. They played a counselling role in patient care or hospices by Christian social services. They were in charge of patients after hospital discharge. In the case of the Severance hospital, *chōndo puin* in the hospital possessed this system that helped non-Christian patients and the families after leaving from the hospital visiting in them.⁴⁹⁰ In this important work of the hospitals, there were many needs for trained *chōndo puin*. For instance, Choi Namoi (1873-1949) graduated in the Kaesung Bible institute in 1910 and worked in the Hyupsung Women's Bible Institute in 1911 for one year. This disciplined woman went to do chaplain work in the Kaesung Namsung Hospital for five years, July 1912 to September 1917.⁴⁹¹ In addition, Yeo Mi-rae (1872-1933) was the typical example of this work in hospitals. She was one of the first students of the Ehwa Hakdang as a bright, clever and intelligent student who received the name, Mary in 1889 when baptised. She showed her remarkable ability of English-Korean translation. On the ground of her talent, she was employed as an assistant of Dr. R. S.

⁴⁹⁰ Yi Chun-ran, 'Han'guk e itesewee Miguk ūi ūiryohwaldong, 1884-1934 (The Medical Mission Services of America in Korea, 1884-1934)', *Edaesawōn* (The Magazine of Ehwa University), Vol. 10, 1972, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁹¹ Kim Sung-tae and Yang Mi-kang, *Han'guk kyohoe chōndo puin jaryojip* (The Materials of Korean Bible Women of Korean Churches), p. 330.

Hall; “our ever faithful Bible woman and dispensary assistant”⁴⁹². Like Hall’s evaluation, her chaplain work was very successful not only language translation but also Christian hospices or counselling work for Korean patients. Accordingly, she concentrated upon counselling, chaplain ministry and Christian propagation supported by Dr. Hall before Hall left back to America for Sabbath in 1900.⁴⁹³

To sum up, *chōndo puin* in medicine can be referred to by two categories: a technical professional group such as nurses and doctors and Christian social group like counsellors. The meaning of *chōndo puin* in hospitals ultimately came to represent the good connection between Christianity and Korean society. Firstly, they linked naturally lower situated Koreans such as a number of Korean women who could not be treated properly and western medical doctors who wanted to help them immediately. Among them, the *chōndo puin* solved the language problem and cultural differences in medical mission. Hence, secondly, missionaries were assisted greatly and more easily due to *chōndo puin* in their medical work without antagonistic attitude, distrust and refusal of Korean people because there were *chōndo puin*’s enthusiastic persuasion and explanation based upon their own comprehension of Christianity. On the other hand, through the help of *chōndo puin* Korean patients gained benefits, such as being treated by quality medical services despite the anti-western situation of Korea. Thirdly, Korean female professionals in medicine, some *chōndo puin* dedicated themselves to Korean society for women and children in poverty. They formed social groups and played a social leader who even men could not ignore in the Korean society. *Chōndo puin* in medicine were very vital mediators between westerners in Christianity and Korean people in traditional

⁴⁹² *The Women’s Conference of the M. E. C. AR*, 1899, p. 120.

⁴⁹³ Rhie Deok-joo, *Early Christian Women in Korea*, p. 45.

culture. And they developed the position of Korean women using the context of hospital work. The medical area was also another good space of *chōndo puin*'s work. Comparing the women's state of Korean traditional society, the social treatment of female leader in the society of this research period was much better than in the past Korean society. However, we cannot avoid the fact, what *chōndo puin*'s counselling works and medical professional activities were acceptable very easily although the works was under sex-discriminated situation was that their works were founded in traditional women in medicine. That is to say, Korean people reflected the women's image in traditional Korean society to *chōndo puin* in medicine. This can be merit or sometimes demerit to *chōndo puin*'s activities.

Then, we will look at the two *chōndo puin* who represent the lives in education and medicine in the Korean society in detail.

3.3 Teaching & caring; two stories of *chōndo puin* in school, hospital and social institutes

In this section, I will portray two stories of *chōndo puin* in this research period. Both stories will be of use understanding how the roles of the *chōndo puin* were efficient and crucial in the social context. The first story is about Yi Kyōng-suk and will show us how *chōndo puin* transformed their lower social position in traditional society to a higher professional status in a Christian background. Then we will look at the activities of *chōndo puin* as initial Christian leaders in detail. The second biography, describes Pang Ae-in. Her story represents those *chōndo puin* who were educated in modern institutes for girls and who then went on to work in such schools, hospitals and Christian social associations as educators and social workers. The

expectations and demands of Korean society on these women will be discussed. With this respect, let us observe the wonderful life stories of two *chōndo puin*.

3.3.1 Kyōng-suk Yi (1851-1930); from cursed widow to first female teacher

Yi Kyōng-suk, was born in 1851 the daughter of a ruined *Yangban* scholar in Hongju of Chungchōng Province. Her family background implied she had enjoyed a high level of education and could read *Ōnmun* and basic Chinese script, and do household chores such as sewing. During her childhood because of many wars, the situation was very dangerous for young girls. So, her parents were quick to get her married off and settled down with a man in Seoul. However, to everyone's shock the man who became her husband went back to Seoul the day following the wedding and there was no news from him for three years. Eventually in 1869 they heard he had died. Yi Kyōng-suk was only 18 and a widow. A miserable time followed this fraudulent promise of marriage along with an awful financial situation. The worst time was the death of her father in 1888. This incident saw her family scattered to all parts of Korea. She went to Seoul and stayed in the house of her uncle working in the household. She described in the following about this hard time;

My future is too gloomy when I think my tomorrow, living in this dispassionate and cruel world. Ah! What pitiful circumstances my life is in! Well, I do not care! I would be better off becoming a Buddhist monk out of Dongdaemoon (it means, 'out of Seoul city') after cutting off all my hair. However, I cannot do it by emotionally momentous decision because I have experienced serious hardship, living in chastity for a long time...⁴⁹⁴

Becoming a Buddhist monk at that time meant giving up the life of a normal woman. That is to say, it means more than death to Korean women. Following this

⁴⁹⁴ Mrs. Noble, *Victorious live*, p.55

passage, she would be in danger, panic, poverty, hopelessness, and agony.

Nevertheless, she never gave up her future. This attitude made a great opportunity to meet an important person who changed her life, Mrs. M. F. Scranton.

In 1888, Mrs. M. F. Scranton was faced with the most difficult crisis of her mission. The so-called 'Baby Riot' triggered after rumours that westerners ate Korean children. Therefore, her mission work suffered because Koreans, who believed the gossip, attacked some western missionaries. During these times she was forced to stay indoors. At that time, she heard about Yi's horrible story from her language teacher. She invited Yi into her home and counselled Yi with warm consolation and tangible financial support such as clothes and food. Yi was very impressed by her hospitality and finally went to live in Mrs. Scranton's house in April 1890.⁴⁹⁵

Ms. Yi assisted with running the household of Mrs. M. F. Scranton's family and worked at the Ehwa Hakdang. In the period of the second principal, Miss. L. C. Roseweiler, Ms. Yi was teaching *Ŏnmun* and basic Chinese script and guiding Korean ladies who wanted to see westerners. Guiding the ladies around the school grounds and explaining missionaries works was very important considering the bad publicity of the 'Baby Riot'. This was not merely introducing westerners' way of life but also persuading Korean people to send their girls to the Ehwa school without any fear and antagonism. With her endeavours, in October 1890 the number of students in the school increased to eighty girls compared with six students at the beginning of the same year.⁴⁹⁶ She had taught students in Ehwa for six years using a Baptised name, Drusilla. This teaching period was very meaningful to her in terms of status

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ehwa palshipnyŏnſa* (The Eighty Years History of Ehwa), p. 23.

improvement.

Nevertheless, there was a conflict of her activities in the school with Miss Rothweile. As the first female teacher, she was responsible for speaking for Korean students and workers in the Ehwa. But Miss. Rothweile was too strict with managing the administration of the school. In the process, many teachers and students experienced difficulties due to misunderstandings. In the end, she gave up teaching there. But, there was no job for her in Korean society because she was a woman even working for lowly western Christians. So, her life returned to the former normal life of her childhood.

After Mrs. M. F. Scranton came back to Korea, she was able to get a job. It was a job as a *chōndo puin*. From 1897 to 1911, she had focused on evangelisation work in the area of Kyōnggi Province. Her contribution was remarkable such as exorcisms to cure 'possessed' *mudang* and teaching Christian doctrine and hygiene. This shows that she played a teaching leadership role from school to church again. In 1911, she retired from all works of church and lived lonely and poor in a small room till 1930.

This story of a *chōndo puin* Yi Kyōng-suk gives us some points; 1) She was a real pioneer of Korean women situated in the lower, poorer, and horrible circumstances of the period. 2) She was a good outcome of Christian mission for women by western missionaries' works. 3) Her main difficulty was the relationship with missionaries in her working place, educational institute and the discrimination of Korean society. And 4) To the limit, she could work into a protected area from a secular society, church as only women's leader. Her life shows how a *chōndo puin* as a person could change round her horrible life and at the same time, how Korean society and Korean Protestant mission restricted her activities and ability. Then, what was the case of

chōndo puin who was educated by modern teaching and worked by the need of Korean society differing from Yi's initial situation?

3.3.2 Pang Ae-in (26th September 1909-16th September 1933); from modern woman to greatest social activist: '*a Saint of Chosŏn*'.

Pang Ae-in was born into a Christian family living in Hwangjoogun of Hwanghae Province. Her father, Pang Jōng-il, grandmother Kim Jōng-sŏn, and grandfather Pang Hūng-bok were sincere Christians. In the Christian family, she grew up in church and modern education.⁴⁹⁷ At the age of seven, she entered Yangsŏng School established by the Hwangjuūp Church and supported by S. A. Moffet, a missionary of the North Presbyterian Church of the U.S. As a gifted graduate from this school in 1921, she studied at the Sung-Wee Girls School of Pyōngyang and the Hosudon Girls School of Kaesŏng in 1923. In both schools, she was evaluated by teachers and students as a very promising student. Her grades were good enough to go to a higher educational institute such as the Ehwa College. However, her family opposed her hopes for a qualified profession. This general trend of discord with their family experienced by educated women in the period was due to the social conception of the time that too educated a women suffered social discrimination in the marriage and job market. Surrendering to her family, Pang Ae-in was employed in the Ki-Jŏn Girls School of Chŏnju for three years, from 1926 to 1929.⁴⁹⁸ This was a typical route for normal educated women at that time; not too much educated and not too little earnings. These kinds of women gained a lower salary than educated men but more than

⁴⁹⁷ Rhie Deok-joo, *Early Christian Women in Korea*, p.251.

⁴⁹⁸ Bae Ūn-hi, *Chŏson ūi Sŏngja Pang Ae In Sojun* (The Story of a Chŏson's saint, Ae-In Pang), (Chunjoo, Chunjooeuchiwon, 1934), pp. 5-8.

ordinary women. In society, the women were distinguishable from Korean women by dress; make up style, and choice of entertainment. They were dressing in western style clothes, make-up, and usually spent time in book-reading clubs, music concerts and so forth. If they were Christians, they got together in churches. Also, women's dream was to go to Ehwa College in order to achieve a high quality profession as nurses, doctors or professors. Pang's lifestyle seemed like that but she reached a turning point in Hwangju Yang Söng School.

In January 1930, she wrote this in her diary;

10th Jan 1930-I heard God's voice for the first time. 'Be white like snow' Oh! This is my happy and holy birthday!; 11th Jan 1930-I heard the sound of clapping hands three times from somewhere, so I went to early morning service by myself and lonely. Oh! What a joyful step!!⁴⁹⁹

After this spiritual experience, she threw away her luxurious western clothes, cosmetics, and modern social groups. She was determined to live very humbly wearing a white *chögori* (a Korean-style short coat for women) and a black Korean skirt. When she came back to Chönju, she was not the same woman. Her attitude was changing from sharp and intelligent elite teacher to wise, generous and faithful teacher to solve discord between teachers and teach students with divine love. There were a number of teachers like Ch'oe Yak-sil, Kim Sön-rae, and Hong Suk-ho who were evangelising people in the street of Chönju, after school.⁵⁰⁰ Furthermore, she was the most important *chöndo puin* in the Semoonbak Church of Chönju to lead non-Christians to the church and taking care of Christians. The greatest of her works was to take care of the ill in hospitals and on the streets. One day, lepers went to her working in the Ki-Jön Girls School because her prayer touched to the lepers with her

⁴⁹⁹ Bae Ũn-hi, *Chöson ũi sungja Pang Ae In sojun* (The Story of a Chöson's saint, Pang Ae-in), p. 8.

⁵⁰⁰ *Chönju Ki-Jun 70nyönsa* (The 70 Years History of Chönju Ki-Jun Girls School), (Chunju, Ki-Jun Girls School, 1974), pp. 30-34.

tears from a true heart and introduced medical treatment. Her charitable work did not end here.⁵⁰¹ Yi Hyo-duk, president of YWCA in Chŏnju in 1927, supported an orphanage in a space of the Semoonbak Church. However, there was nobody to manage it. She was voluntarily working for orphans and itinerating in all areas of Chŏnbuk Provinces to collect money.⁵⁰² That is to say, she worked in school, church and the orphanage.

During her hard work, she broke down and finally died of typhoid on 16th September 1933 at the age of twenty-four. Many Chŏnju citizens mourned her early death.

Through her story, we can know some points. Firstly, the family background influenced Korean modern women's education. Pang's family was three generation of Christians and allowed her to learn modern studies. Nevertheless, they restricted her social career and activities not to be out of line with Korean traditional stipulations for women. Therefore, the modern educated *chŏndo puin* would be very narrower to study and work in society. Secondly, the New Women group's life was totally different from that of ordinary Korean women. In social terms, the group was accepted enviously or antagonistically. With this contrasting perception, they were acting upon Korean society's demand to be modernised. They were a kind of class in the modern Korea. Pang belonged to this group but changed her lifestyle to merge with Christian life and modern education for charity. To sum up, educated *chŏndo puin* were differing from the New Women in the period to do social activities due to Christian love and charity in terms of social contribution.

⁵⁰¹ Bae Ŭn-hi, *Chŏson ūi sŏngja Pang Ae In sojun* (The Story of a Chŏson's saint, Pang Ae-in), pp.20-33.

⁵⁰² Yi Hyo-jae, *Han'guk YWCA banbaengnyŏn* (The 50 History of Korean YWCA), pp. 39-40.

Through these two tragic but blessed life stories, we understand the basic form life took for an educated *chōndo puin* in the initial period and middle period of Japanese occupation. In the respect, we need to see the issue of Korean Independence under Japanese occupation in the period. This historical event was detrimental to Christians' activities, church direction and the relation between church and state. Based on this concern, I will discuss two periods of history centring on *chōndo puin*'s stories.

4 Division within the *chōndo puin*; the national struggle in Japanese occupation for Korean women, 1907-1920 & 1930-1945

4.1 The First nationalist movement for saving *Chosōn* in *chōndo puin*, before and after 1919

Three Christian women—O Hyun-Gwan, a school teacher in Chaeryong, O Hyon-Ju, a teacher in Kunsan, and Yi Chong-Suk, a nurse at Severance Hospital—were leading members of the Hyolsong-dan, a patriotic group founded in April 1919 to collect funds for the families of the imprisoned. Later their activities widened to help the exiled government in Shanghai and they renamed their society the Korean Women's Patriotic Society, the Tae-han Minguk Aeguk Puin-hoe... The women most prominent in the 1919 movement—Maria Kim, Esther Hwang, Yu Kwan-sun, Kwon Ae-ra, and O Yun-hwi—were all Christians. A report showed that of the 2, 656 Presbyterian Church members known to have been arrested in 1919, 531 were schools than in other schools, the presence of schoolgirls in the demonstrations was interpreted by the Japanese to mean that missionaries had instigated the movement.⁵⁰³

This was a historical description of a Martha Huntley about the situation after the First March Movement in 1919. In the passage one can see how the female Christian leaders working in their various professions were systematically acting for

⁵⁰³ Martha Huntley, *To Start A Work; The Foundation of Protestant Mission in Korea (1884-1919)*, (Seoul, The Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1987), pp. 529-531

independence. Some women were teachers or nurses. Some women would be Christian leaders in churches as female professionals in the Korean society. In this respect, we need to see how *chōndo puin* participated in the Independence Movement and led the patriotic groups based upon Christian organisations. Also, in terms of nationalistic movement, we are wondering how *chōndo puin* cooperated with other religious organisation.

Firstly, we can notice a move to save *Chosōn* from Japan or western powers, the Gukchae bosang undong (國債報償運動; The Movement for Compensating national debts) which was started in February 1907 in Taegu of Kyōngsang Province. Following this movement, high-class educated ladies organised the Gukchae bosang puinhwae (The Ladies' group for Compensating national debts). In this process, many Korean women dedicated their precious jewellery and cutlery such as silver spoons, gold rings from their marriage and the like to rescue their *Chosōn* from hopeless national debt. Even women in Samhwa of Pyongan Province organised a group called by the Paemul Paeji Puinhwae (The Ladies' Group for dedicating their own ornaments or trinkets to *Chosōn*)⁵⁰⁴. In the situation, there were many Christian women deeply involved in this movement; the Gukmijuksōnghwae (The Group for Collecting Rice for *Chosōn*)⁵⁰⁵, the Namyang gun puin Ŭisōnghwae (The Ladies' Group for Achieving the Meaning for Saving *Chosōn* in Namyang Area), the Kyōngju Heunbawi Yesuminnūn puinhoe (The Christian Married Women in Kyōngju) and the Bisukdong puin gukchae bosanghoe (The Christian Married Women for Compensating national debts in Bisuk town). These organisations

⁵⁰⁴ Ch'oe Ŭn-hi, pp. 262-280.

⁵⁰⁵ The members were Uriba Park, Nuisa Yeo, Esther Jung, Mariah Chang, Silvia Kim, and Chunshimee Song in Inchun of Kyunggi Province in 29th March 1907.

covered thirty-one percent of the women's groups for compensating national debts.⁵⁰⁶ Many Christian leaders such as *chōndo puin* closely helped in this movement and from this movement, they were working in this social work connecting some nationalistic movements after this event.

In the First March Movement in 1919, many Christian women acted in the network of churches. Before the movement, Christian women organised a group the Songjuk Bimilkyulsadae (The Demolition Squad Organisation of Songjuk) centring on Esther Hwang, Kim Kyōng-hi, and Pak Jōng-Suk in 1913. This group's role was to collect members for this movement in all areas of Korea and prepare the organisation for saving Korea from Japan. For instance, it had a wonderful network in all Korea such as Yi Hae-Kyōng in Hamkyung Province, Bae Bae-mol in Pusan, and Pak Hyōn-Suk in The Ki-Jōn Girls School in Chōnju. Based upon this intense network, they collected money and support for this organisation.⁵⁰⁷

At the date of the movement, many mission school girls participated in the event. One good example was Ryu Kwan-sun who was a girl in Ehwa at sixteen years old. In this situation, there was conflict with the western president of mission schools. In the case of Miss Lulu Frey, she stood up by the bolted gate in front of Ehwa students who went to the movement at the date, 1st March 1919, saying that "Well, girls, you will go out over my dead body". She did it apparently to protect her girls. Nevertheless she could not stop the girls' passion. Finally, some students climbed the walls at points not easily visible and went out to join the independence march. In spite of Miss Frey's protest, more and more of students left to participate in the

⁵⁰⁶ Pak Yong-uk, *Han'guk gūndae yōsōng undongsa yōngu* (The Historical Research of Korea Modern Women Movement), (Seoul, The Cultural Research Institute of Korean Ideology, 1984), pp. 124-125, and 141.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173.

demonstration. Some were wounded and killed. A number of students were arrested and served three years in prison.⁵⁰⁸ After being arrested, some mission school girls were very brave. In the case of Ki-Jŏn girls during investigation, they said, “this was from the heart of God. All Korea was shouting ‘Mansei!’ by the righteousness of God. How dare you say to us ‘who forced us to do it?’ you are in the dark ignoring the world situation”⁵⁰⁹.

After this movement, Christian women moved more systematically through the Daehan Aeguk Puinhwae (The Korea Patriotic Women’s Committee) in Seoul and Pyŏngyang. Mariah Kim and Esther Hwang led this group effectively and the members were usually teachers in mission schools and nurses working in Christian hospitals. Their works had an impact upon establishing the Korean exiled government in America and China, and making Japanese governors nervous and keeping them from dominating Korea completely. In addition, to prepare the long-term foundation of Korean people, female Christian leaders like Marisa Cha organised the Chosŏn Yŏja kyoyuk hyŏphoe (The Korean Women Educational Committee) in 1920, which worked in the patriotic view connecting the First March Movement.⁵¹⁰ In the 1920s, many patriotic Christian organisations appeared even in the respect of incorporation with socialists or the other religious women.⁵¹¹ These endeavours were built upon many Christian women’s suffering. However, there were some separatists and some betrayers appeared within Christian women’s groups during the long occupation as a Japanese colony.

⁵⁰⁸ Kim Helen, *Grace Sufficient*, (Nashville, The Upper Room, 1964), p. 42.

⁵⁰⁹ Yi Wu-jung, p. 162.

⁵¹⁰ Park Yong-uk, *Han’guk Geundae Yŏsŏng Undongsa Yŏngu* (The Historical Research of Korea Modern Women Movement), pp. 180-187.

⁵¹¹ Choi Eun-Hee, p. 120-129. The groups are like the Kenwoohae.

4.2 The second national storm for survival in *chōndo puin* 1930-1945

There were several phenomena in the 1930s differing from the situations from the 1910s to the 1920s. Some groups were against Korean nationalistic movements but for Japanese policy in the religious persecution of Japanese government in order to maintain churches. Some groups continued to rescue Korean nationalistic aims from Japanese occupation even apart from Christianity. Some groups protected only the Christian faith from Japanese Shinto strategy, which aimed to make Korean people become Japanese religious slaves. Within these groups, a number of new groups appeared. Anyway, the shape of Christian communities was totally different from their initial shape in the 1910s in the storm of Japanese occupation and international wars such as the Pacific War, Chinese-Japanese war and so forth. Into the 1930s, Japanese Capitalism chose its policy from the World Economic Panic, and invaded China in 1931 and 1937, and attacked western countries in 1941. Through these wars, Japan constructed its nationalistic fascist expansion. During this fascism, Korean Christianity was seriously oppressed by Japanese fascist policies, such as Shinto religious propaganda and political force to become what the Japanese called 'Naesunilchae' (Korea and Japan was one). *chōndo puin* in Christianity as leaders were in very harsh reality of the period.

In this situation, many leaders from *chōndo puin* turned to the pro-Japanese side; Sun Kim, Mariah Park, Helen Hwal-Ran Kim, Hwang Shin-duk and so on. They were working for the Japanese government to collect money from Koreans. In the Japanese women's organisations such as the Chosŏn Puin Yeongohwae (The Research Institute of Korean Ladies), the Chosŏn Unronbogukhwae (The Korean Journalist Group for Japanese Army), the Chosŏn Imjunbogukdan Puindae (The

Korean Ladies Group for support of Japanese Army), they were acting very positively. They used to be respected leaders in the churches and Korean society. Their influence was very powerful whenever they addressed and wrote articles in many newspapers and magazines.⁵¹²

In addition, they systematically moved in the activities to support Japanese army. Through raising the power of these pro-Japanese women's organisations in the beginning of the 1940s, they turned to doing their best to send Korean boys and girls to the battlefields as soldiers and comfort women even travelling in all countryside of Korea to address for this enterprise. Particularly, by their address and advertisement, a number of Christian girls went to the war in South Asia or islands of Pacific sea as comfort women. They were tortured and lost their future because they were forced to provide sex to Japanese soldiers. According to some victim's witness, they had to receive around ninety soldiers a day and after the war most women had become infertile.⁵¹³

In full knowledge of these goings on, the Christian leaders still encouraged or sometimes forced the girls in their schools and churches to go to war for Japan. The girls believing in their leaders' reputation and honour went to join what they thought was a 'war-effort' thinking they would be working in hospitals, but many never returned. This horrible history can be seen in detail in the tragic life of a *chōndo puin*. Through her story, we can face the historical tragedy of Korean Christianity.

⁵¹² Lee Hyōn-suk and **Yi U-jōng**, pp. 160-161.

⁵¹³ Jung-Guk Im, *Jungshindae shilluk* (The Stories of the Korean Comfort Women), (Seoul, Ilwolskak, 1981), pp.23-25.

4.3 A tragic *chōndo puin*, Kim Helen Hwal-ran⁵¹⁴ (1899-1970)

When the most important battle for the destiny of 1 million Asian people reaches its end, how women can just watch it!! We already had in mind about it. With Japanese students, *Chosōn* students from colleges and boy's schools going to the army as special support soldiers on 20th January. The Ehwa girls must follow the glorious way, which the students are willing to walk. Nevertheless, our students deplorably should not be restricted from joining for the only reason of the women...From now on, we must do the best to participate in this decisive battle for support in the end which only one leave here.⁵¹⁵

This is an article of Hwal-Ran Kim in the Japanese governmental magazine, *Maeilshinbo* in 1943 when she was a president of Ehwa. She was an important Korean leader with the approval of the Japanese government in the Pacific war. By her wonderful address and activities, many Korean girls and young men passionately went to a number of battles only Japan to win in Asian areas. As much as they followed it, she was a very powerful and respected leader in Korean society. She was the first woman who achieved a Ph. D degree in Korea and the first president of Ehwa as a Korean. In addition, as a Christian evangelist, she played a great powerful role in Korean society leading some movements within mission schools. However, at the end of Japanese occupation, she was on the route of Korean national betrayers and anti-Christian apostates.

History has referred that both the Black people's liberation and the Cross War were called 'the Holy War'...Helping our soldiers at the front of the battlefield we must defeat Britain and America in Asia against western cultures and technology which focus on materialism, ignoring morality.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴ In the list of *chōndo puin* by Kim Seng-tae, there is no her name. The reason is that some *chōndo puin* as social leaders actively encouraged Korean lower people and young male and female students to go to the bloody and meaningless battlefield for Japan.

⁵¹⁵ Kim Hwal-ran, 'Not to be turned over men-Fulfil our mission as the women of Japanese Empire', *Maeilshinbo* (The Daily Magazine), 25th December 1943.

⁵¹⁶ Kim Hwal-ran, 'Women under arms', the address in Kyuljunpuindaehae (the Grand Meeting of Ladies fro War) organised by *Chosōn Imjunbogukdan* (The Supporting Group for War in Korea). 27th December 1941 in the Buminkwan Assembly Hall in Seoul. Un-Hyun Chung, Nanun Hwanggukshinminirosoida (I am a people of Japanese Empire), (Seoul, Kaemagowon, 1999), p. 48.

This is her address in the Buminkwan Assembly Hall established in 1935 located in the central Seoul in 1941. She strongly claimed the aim of women under arms is against western power in Asia and to attain Asian people's victory as Japanese Empire's women. Like George L. Paik, Yŏn Chi-ho, and Shin Hung-u, she was a pro-Japanese Christian leader.

This is an almost impossible situation to understand, because her past history in the 1910s to 1920s was totally different from that in the 1930s to 1940s. In the March First Independent Movement, she was working in Ehwa as a teacher. At that time, she was deeply involved and linked to some underground organisations working for Korean Independence. In her autobiography, 'Kee Bipsukwee Jakween Saengmyung (The Little Life in the Light)', she described the situation.

It is true that I was in charge of a very important task. If the Japanese police revealed it, I must be arrested, tortured and jailed. I secretly played a significant part in an underground organisation. The task was to transfer the money from schools and women societies of churches to the main organisation of Korean Independence to support some independent groups out of Korea. I acted under strong controls.⁵¹⁷

Because of this independence movement, she had to escape from the Japanese police in Korea for one year. Furthermore, she organised the evangelistic group, which consisted of seven people. Their activities were more than Christian propagation. Centring the group, she spread her nationalistic enterprises. In the 1920s she enthusiastically went to today's 'Northern part' of Korea such as Pyŏngyang and Shinweejoo for evangelistic works leading her Ehwa students. Like this, Korean people could not help respecting her in the period. To most Korean girls, she was on the top cloud, the final dream for them.

⁵¹⁷ Kim Hwal-ran, *Ki Bipsuk ūi Jagŭn Sengmyŏng* (The Little Life in the Light), (Seoul, The Ehwa Women's University Press, 1999), p. 101.

In addition, she was passionately committed to Christian social organisation: to establish the YWCA with Ryu Kak-kyōng and Kim Pil-rye in May 1922. Also she was seriously involved in social organisation, the Keunwoohwae (The Group for Mookunghwa lovers; the Patriotic women group in the connection to Shinwoohae) which got together even with female socialists in order to free Korea from Japan in 27th May 1927. Here she faced troubles with the socialists in 1928. After this, she left the group, as she had to work in Christian organisations.⁵¹⁸

However, the situation did not leave her peaceful to keep Christian faith. In the period of her presidency, from 1937, the Japanese government forced her to stand on the pro-Japanese side. The effect was very great because she was a respected Christian leader in social terms and already was a leadership member of an anti-Japanese group, the Keunwoohwae. Using her was great advertising for the Japanese colonial policies to Korea. Kim Hwal-ran who had proclaimed Korean independence in the 1910s and had dedicated her wealth to saving Korea, participated as a leader for the Aegukkeumchaehwae (The Patriotic Gold Donation Committee; Pro-Japanese group for stealing gold or precious things from Korean people). Many Korean women had to provide their valuables such as gold ornamental hairpins to Japanese army to prepare weapons and military financial support. Moreover, she was involved in many pro-Japanese groups: the Chosŏn Puiin Yeongoohoe (The Research Institute of Korean Ladies), the Chosŏn Unronbogukhoe (The Korean Journalist Group for Japanese Army), the Chosŏn Imjunbogukdan Puiinhoe (The Korean Ladies Group for support of Japanese Army) and so forth. Even in 20th June 1938, she organised the Aegukjaneodan (The Group of Patriotic Children), which consisted of four hundred

⁵¹⁸ Kang Jōng-suk, *Chinilpa 99in* (The 99 Pro-Japanese people) Vol. 2. (Seoul, Banminjokmoonjaeyeongooso, 1999), pp. 275-283.

Ehwa girl students in order to support the Japanese army in the battlefield. In the process, she changed her name to Japanese style, Yamaki Casran (人城活蘭).

According to her nephew, she wanted to restore her fallen family and construct her own family's power by changing her name to Japanese style if she must do that.⁵¹⁹

After changing her name, her actions were much more outrageous. On 8th June 1938, she united two Christian organisations, Korean YWCA and Japanese YWCA. In 1941, she travelled enthusiastically in all parts of Korea in order to send Korean young men and women to battlefields as soldiers and comfort women.

Now we met as expected, the system of Compulsory military service with our exciting hope... for a while we just watched with jealous minds Japanese mothers who had sent their sons to the glorious battlefield... But we can become them. Now we have the chance to take charge of it and by the obligation, we can be a real people of the Japanese Empire. How glorious to us!!⁵²⁰

During the Pacific War of Japan, she actively spurred many Korean young people to join the Japanese war in media addresses and even newspaper articles. However, she was not glad to do these. By Uk-Keel Kim's witness, she was in pain from her activities. In 1944, she consulted a doctor because of her eye illness with danger of blindness. At that time, she said to the doctor; "I deserve to be blind because I forced Korean parents' lovely sons and daughters to go to the killing fields...it is an obvious penalty to me..."⁵²¹.

How should one evaluate her life in such a tumultuous period? As a *Chōndo puin* working remarkably in the social field of Korea, her defection to the Japanese cause deserves to be denounced historically because her actions obviously betrayed the

⁵¹⁹ Kim Jung-uk, *Kim Imonim Hwal-ran* (My Mother's sister, Hwal-Ran Kim), (Seoul, Junwoosa, 1977), p. 69.

⁵²⁰ Kim Hwal-ran, *Jingbyōngjaewa Bandoyōsōng ūi Kago* (The Compulsory Military Service and the Swear of Women living in Penisular), *Shinsaedae* (The New Generation), December 1942, p. 89.

⁵²¹ Kim Uk-gil, *Kim Hwal-ran Paksa Somyo* (The Portray of Dr. Kim Hwal-ran)', (Seoul, The Ehwa Women's University Press, 1959), p. 90.

Christian faith and Korean patriotism. However, I would say that she was a victim of the most difficult situation of Korea as a Korean Christian woman. It is not the intention here nor can it ever be possible without knowing the exact circumstances, to judge her life. Notwithstanding of her situational hardships, it seems to me that she, Hwal-ran Kim, thoroughly maintained her leadership position as a higher-class woman of the society of late *Chosŏn* and Japanese occupation, a new elite in the period.

5. The Ehwa; *chŏndo puin* emerging from the educational institution

*Missionaries from the society opened the first college for women in India, and founded the largest college for women in Asia (now Ehwa Women's University in Korea). By the time of the jubiYi, the WFMS had the largest budget, the most teachers, the most Bible women, the largest number of woman's missionary organization in the United States.*⁵²²

This is the historical evaluation of the historian Dana Lee Robert, in her book about the Women's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. She referred to Ehwa school when discussing the successful achievements of the Society for 'Woman's Work for Woman' in producing female native professionals. What role did Ehwa play in the mission works for women; and how important was it in the Korean contexts as a Christian educational institutes established both to evangelise and civilise Korea for women? How much did it contribute to Korean society? In the questions, let us see the beginning and development of Ehwa briefly and critically.

Ehwa was founded in 31st May 1886 by Mary F. Scranton of the Methodist

⁵²² Dana Lee. Robert, *American Women in Mission*, p. 137.

Episcopal Church of the United State. In the beginning, she had a student in her house in Jungdong. In February 1887, King Ko named the school 'Ehwa Hakdang' indicating that the Korean government accepted the girls educational institutes managed by the western Christian group. In 1904, middle level education was added to the previous primary education, followed in 1908 by higher level, and then in 1910 by college level education. The first president was Lula E. Frey. In 1917, finally, the Ehwa presented a highest educational frame, a college for women. The first Korean president of the Ehwa was Kim Helen Hwal-ran, appointed in 1939, fifty years after the school began⁵²³, and despite the plethora of well-qualified Korean women.

The educational courses had been developed according to the perceived needs of Korea. The basic aim was "to provide broad foundation for the richest and fullest Christian living, and to give special education to women in literature, music and home economics"⁵²⁴. At the beginning, the school had just Bible Studying and English. However, by 1930, the college consisted of nine faculty committees; Academic, Rules and Nominations, Religious, Athletic, Library, Social, Dormitory, Student Aid and Music. Academic departments included Literature (music history and theory, Japanese History and Literature, Philosophy, Sociology, Civics, Ethics, Economics, Religious Education, Western History, and Korean Composition and Literature), language part (English, Korean, and Japanese), Science (Mathematics, Science, Physical Education, Biology, and Physiology), Educational (Education, and Educational Psychology), female education (Textile and Clothing, Household, and Cookery) and Art (Music, Korean Music Instrumental, organ, piano, voice and Art).

⁵²³ A Summary of *Ehwa palshipnyōnsa* (The Eighty Years History of Ehwa).

⁵²⁴ *Ehwa College Catalogue*, (Seoul, Ehwa College, April 1930), p. 15.

Almost half of the faculty were Korean. One male teacher, George L. Paik in the course of Western History, graduated from the Yale University with Ph. D in 1927. In addition, Youn Sung-duk achieved B. M degree in Northwestern University in 1929.⁵²⁵ The courses were excellent, improving the overall standard.

According to the survey of Ehwa graduates from 1914 to 1937, two hundred and eighty nine women completed their course. Investigating their position after graduation, one hundred and forty eight women became or returned to being wives. The others were 96 teachers, 2 medical doctors, 17 higher educational students (studying aboard or in the other institutes), 6 dead and 20 other cases.⁵²⁶ Over eighty percent of the graduates were married and had a family. Their education was not in vain, despite their failure to alter the work force. Usually, Ehwa graduates married to male elites who graduated in western higher educational institutes in Korea or abroad, and were employed in high positions in Korean society. Thus while Ehwa graduates did not directly participate in social activities, they did establish new elite families with their well-matched elite husbands, maintaining an indirect but powerful influence on Korean society. Twenty percent of graduates became powerful evangelists, professionals, and social activists, with a direct influence on the Korean society throughout social practical and nationalistic crises.

Several famous Korean women were *chōndo puin* trained in Ehwa; Yi Kyōng-suk, Yō Mae-rae, Kim Mariah, Park Esther, Hahr Nan-sa and so forth. Their contributions were crucial to the social development and nationalistic movement of Korea in the period of Japanese occupation. 1) We can perhaps surmount the role of Ehwa women

⁵²⁵ Ibid., pp.10-13.

⁵²⁶ Yi Hyo-Jae, "Iljaeha Yōsōng Kūlloja Chigōpsiltaewa Nodongundong e kwanhan Yōngu (The Research of the Employment State and Labour Movement of Korean Women in the Japanese Occupation)", *Nunchong*, Vol. 22, (Seoul, The Ehwa Korean Cultural Research Institute, 1973), p.8.

from 1886 to 1945 in the following way.

Firstly, Ehwa successfully had achieved their aim of the achieving girls in order to improve family life and elevate the status of Korean women. Secondly, the evangelistic aim of the Woman's Foreign Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was also well accomplished because the graduates set up homes, churches and societies as Christians and then played evangelistic roles in them through their own connections. Thirdly, Ehwa created a new class of western educated Korean women in Korean society, called 'Shin Yōsōng'.

Passing the various historical events from the end of *Chosŏn* to the period of returning to Korea from Japanese occupation, the Ehwa significantly played basic and profound roles to raise the social leadership of *chōndo puin* in the Korean society.

6. Conclusion; *chōndo puin* as social leaders obeying thoroughly each authorities in the end of *Chosŏn* and Japanese occupation in the name of new elite

In respect of social activities, *chōndo puin* in Korean society went through difficult times, facing Korean traditional views, the political situation, Japanese persecutions and so forth. Despite these events, they played a great role in Korean society.

In the beginning of modern education and the enlightening movement, they stood between conflicting understanding of missionaries and Korean leaders about the modern western style education. The former wanted to use the educational tool as the most effective tool of Christian mission. However, the latter required missionaries with western medicine and modern technology only to develop a new and modern *Chosŏn*. In this situation, *chōndo puin* who were educated and working in mission schools had to embrace two discourses with differing aims, and satisfy both

expectations. *Chōndo puin* and other Christian female leaders established their own schools to achieve the aims. In the respect, they were very expected social pioneers in the period of Korea Reformation.

However, the experience of *chōndo puin* in the practical social fields was not different from that in areas such as conservative church contexts: sex-discrimination was the most. Female teachers had a lower salary and lower status in schools. Nurses and doctors were also treated less well and had to endure being treated as objects, as in traditional Korean society. Working for themselves or caring at their sphere, they did eventually dominate in their own areas using their education and professions.

During the political difficulties of Korea in the 1910s, educated *chōndo puin* had a chance to achieve a status nearly equally to that of men. In the initial moment for Korean independence, Christian female leaders' support and indeed their leadership was very helpful giving them considerable social power. However, from the 1930s to the early 1940s, being changed certain *chōndo puin* supported Japanese policies and from the nationalistic point of view betrayed a number of Korean people, as other Christian leaders, have been blamed till now.

Yet overall, *chōndo puin* performed a vital social part at an important time, developing Korea as a modern country can try. In addition, they were great mediators between western culture and Korean culture, between missionaries' Christian mission and Korean needs, and (though controversially) between political crisis and Korean nationalism. I would say that *chōndo puin* in social roles thoroughly acceded to the requests of the authorities of Korean society as new elites in the period, connecting the frame of Yangban class women in traditional society by the view of leadership roles without the straightjacket of immorality or morality.

Conclusion of Part Two

Through these chapters, we will be able to recognise what the *chōndo puin* of Korean Protestant Christianity were.

Firstly, they were called *puin kwōnse* in initial works on Bible Women mainly under control of mission societies and church organisations in the early Korean Protestant mission. In the Asian mission like the Zenana mission of India, Bible Women had played independent leadership roles in the important practice of the BFBS as educators and native mission agents. Here, *puin kwōnse* played an initial contribution to the establishment of Christian mission foundation rather than submissive roles as mission helpers for missionaries in Korea. *Puin kwonsō* mainly taught *Ŏnmun*, Korean orthography enabling low status people and women to read bibles. This was very significant to mission work in Korea because literacy was a vital element in effective Christian propagation. Accordingly, the John Ross version bibles, which were translated in Manchuria before the final version of the BFBS, were spread among the Korean people by *puin kwonsō*. Their initial work enabled Christianity to survive in Korea among Korean traditional customs such as Confucianism and indigenous religions such as Buddhism and Shamanism, and to be ready to be indigenous. Based upon their evangelistic passions for mission, there the foundation of Korean churches arose ignoring their poor conditions and treatment by mission societies.

Secondly, they were evangelistic deaconesses, helpers, and Sunday teachers who belonged to women's societies of local churches. Usually, they were trained by *chōndo puin* who were educated in Bible schools and experienced as *puin kwōnse*. They systematically acted for church evangelism in the form of women's societies.

The group activities had been remarkably effective at evangelising non-believers, leading them to churches, and supporting theological students and evangelists. In order to build Korean churches, *chōndo puin* were willing to do underground work such as caring for newcomers, visiting non-believers' homes, serving at church events and even dedicating their finances. Their contribution was surely the foundation of indigenous church growth in Korea.

Thirdly, *chōndo puin* played an independent leadership role in the development of Korean Protestant churches as women evangelists. Korean churches, which recognised their importance, increasingly organised educational systems, from Bible schools to Women Theological Institutes. They were fully educated in theological knowledge and church trainings. Korean churches, which had needed qualified church leaders since the Korean spiritual revivals, employed them in every part of church work. In the process, they were discriminated against because of their sex in salary and official status in churches. However, they were extremely devoted to the development of Korean Protestant churches, which were under male-centred control.

Not only inner difficulties but also other hardships were encountered. Under religious persecution, Shinto practice of the Japanese occupation, many *chōndo puin* kept churches and their Christian faith alive. There were two ways for *chōndo puin* to act as church leaders in this situation; religious warriors against Shintoism and negotiators to keep churches going and protect Christians.

This case was also connected to another *chōndo puin* group as elite Christian women. They were educated in mission schools for girls such as Ehwa, Jungshin, Hosudon, Kijun and so forth. With the propagation of Christianity the main aim of mission societies and high nationalistic expectations of Korean society, they studied

and then worked in professional areas such as schools, hospitals, and social Christian institutes such as YWCA before Japanese occupation. During Japanese occupation, their activities were very significant in playing a social role in their society as teachers, nurses, doctors, counsellors, and social actors. Their importance appeared in political situations as both Korean independent actors and pro-Japanese leaders. This apparently paradoxical phenomenon shows how *chōndo puin* responded to social requests relying upon the authorities of the period and situation. Accordingly, they were the wholly new elite of Korean society similar to higher-class women in the *Chosŏn* monarchy.

Considering *chōndo puin*'s roles in the three areas of Korean Protestant Mission, Korean Protestant churches and Korean society, their contributions to them possessed links to traditional roles of Korean women. By part one, Korean women played a practical leadership role in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism. Accordingly, *chōndo puin*'s works were influenced by Korean women's practical leadership in Buddhism and Shamanism, the *anpang* network, and *Yangban*-class women's social authority, linking to evangelistic leadership, women's societies as church networks, and new female elite in Korean Christian context.

Therefore, the historical meaning of *chōndo puin* is vital for us to understand the process of Protestant mission in Korea, how Korean churches had been developed, and how much Korean Protestant Christianity impacted upon Korean society. Consequently, regarding their importance for Korean Protestant Christianity, we are going to the conclusion of this thesis in order to challenge the existing historical studies of Korean academics with an essential element *chōndo puin* of Korean Protestant Christianity.

Conclusion

Hidden *Chōndo puin* of Korean Protestant Christianity; Historiographical Renewal and Christian Reality

Using the history of *chōndo puin* as the paradigm, this research has presented a new trajectory for reading the history of Protestant Christianity in Korea. The thesis sought to analyse the question why *chōndo puin*'s stories have been neglected or ignored in Korean church history until now and what implications this has both for that history and for the present. The *chōndo puin* were, firstly, female Christians, secondly practical leaders who did pioneering work in mission, church foundation, church organisation and society, and thirdly, were mostly powerless in human relations. They were considered 'lower status' people in society, excepting a small number of higher-class women. Accordingly, historical descriptions about their stories have been partial in the history of mission and church in Korea, despite representing the majority of Korean Christians. This is not unusual in church history, nor, indeed, in history, there being many examples from European church history which omitted or even intentionally changed evidence of women's work. As elsewhere too, elite groups have been in the minority but extolled as major actors in history where they appear to "tell the story of all others". True to this pattern, *chōndo puin*'s existence has been effectively eliminated from existing historical descriptions, being ordinary Korean Christian female leaders unimportant to historical work on the Korean churches, and even to the church.

In this respect, I suggest the issue of leadership for *chōndo puin* to the present researchers of missiological and historical works; practical leadership of mission context can be centred in the writings of mission history.

In the feminist area, female leadership has been a burning issue in church history. A typical book, *Women of Spirit*, edited by Rosemary Ruether shows that women on the margin who possessed spiritual powers acted even in institutional space as seekers of sanctity, mystics and teachers of holiness, and established the authority of prophetic and charismatic leadership to eschatological renewal. Additionally, women's leadership appeared where lay leadership is stressed.⁵²⁷ Just as her research in feministic research, feminists continuously pose the issue concerning ordination and the activities of institutional leaders. Traditionally, female leaders have faced difficulties because of Paul's statement in the New Testament. The typical text is "women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the Law says." (1 Corinthians 14:34)⁵²⁸ In the discussion between male-centred scholars and feminists, this text is the greatest issue in leadership. Due to the text's authority in the canon, academic and popular discussion of discipleship, church order, worship or mission has generally taken for granted that the Christian communities had an all-male leadership. Of course, some feminists have attempted to struggle with the text and find some new texts against it. Nevertheless, there are effective walls to discovering female leadership because the Bible is also the product of male-dominated cultures. Accordingly, we can discover female leadership from the historical realities and omissions. For this, we have to do several things.

⁵²⁷ She wants to present how the existing Christianity historically distorted and rejected the leadership role of women from the period of early Christianity to the present in the Jewish and Christian tradition, notwithstanding women played a leadership role in their underground area of Christian traditions. Also, she describes that female contributors to the book commonly have the idea that women played a great teaching role in Christianity through their spiritual gifts. The spiritual gifts controlled the patriarchal trend of mainstream churches even though they were later defined as marginal or heretical. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (eds), *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp.17-22.

⁵²⁸ NIV Bible, CCMI. Net, <http://www.ccmi.net/bible/blist.php3?bun=46&jang=14&gu=3> (26-02-2003)

First of all, we have to redefine the concept of 'leadership'. The definition of leadership is traditionally very institutional and hierarchical. That is to say, it is defined by its high position, not by its practical or experienced status. This trend extends to the writing of history and causes people to consider the historical activities of patriarchal and elite-centred leaderships with the omission of women's leadership. But, in fact, the secondary role or underground work of Christianity is realistically a vital element. When we draw the boundary of the definition, we have to think over the importance of women's 'subordination' leadership and draw wider boundaries in the definition of leadership. Consequently, the importance of historical omissions from the established history, secondly, has to be recognised in order to reveal the historical traces of women's leadership. To sum up, the research into female leadership through '*chōndo puin*' is an especially important part of a new paragraph of Korean church history and an excellent subject by which to demonstrate contextualisation in mission history about women.

Based upon this conceptual subject, what is my conclusive assertion in historical studies?

Firstly, I strongly claim that this thesis focuses on a number of elite and marginalized women who have contributed to indigenous religions and then developed Protestant Christianity of Korea in the context of mission and churches. We should rather pay attention to stories of ordinary women as well as higher elite women all of whom made fundamental contributions to the outcome of Christian mission and development of churches, simultaneously regarding and overcoming dichotomies, 'western imperialistic perspective versus the third world view', 'male versus female', and 'the powerful versus the powerless'. These three structures are

very important to acknowledge in the people themselves. Particularly, historians ought to regard various situations reflecting to their historical facts. One viewpoint of history only leads to the mistake of historical description and outcome not to persuade readers their historical works. In the point, when the stories of women in mission studies and church history, the first consideration is that mission contexts have to be equally investigated by the relation between missionaries and natives. This results in the balanced facts between mission societies and natives' stories apart from the existing stories which have implied imperialistic powers. The second is that church contexts need to be researched by gender and sociological aspect of historical facts. We can obtain more historical facts from the two aspects against the existing male-elite centred histories and even feministic dual structure. Through the three paradigms, historical researchers enable historians to see their missing points in their former works and observe facts of realistic majority in historical fields.

With the premise of historical methodology, secondly, the historical interpretation of Christianity ought to be honest about the positive interrelation with other religions in every historical context, abandoning the attitude of religious superiority by imperialistic, sex-discriminate, and social class views. Thirdly, it appears that historical studies need to be researched by contextualisation, considering the existing western style of historiography and against blindly strong feministic methods. In this respect, I assert the 'historical perspectives of Korean women' in the context of Korean Protestant Mission, Korean Protestant Church and Korean society to women's history of mission and Korean church history.

Through the historical studies, which outcome can we expect in mission studies and Korean Church history?

First of all, this research would contribute to missiology, as it will serve as a good example of innovation in mission theory and of defining mission in a bold new way that accompanies the opening of new mission fields. Also, it will expose the problem of existing western-centred studies in missiology and suggest an Asian women's perspective in this area.

It will contribute to Korean church history, since it focuses on the indigenous Christianity and the evidence of independent Korean Christians in the early Korean church, and suggests new approaches in historiography from three paradigms which I presented. In addition, it will seriously challenge the perspectives of the established Korean church history, which has dealt with male-centred or upper-class-centred history, because it will present the history of real people who were active behind the scenes in Korean Protestant churches.

This thesis will contribute to raising the awareness of Korean society and the role of Korean women. Up to the present, the position of Korean women has been marginalised or assessed less valuable than the real facts of Korean women's sacrifices and contributions would warrant. At present, the research of Korean women in various academic areas is increasing gradually. However, in the period of this thesis the research and evaluation of their works are still deficient. Accordingly, this thesis will help to overcome the marginalisation of Korean women in Korean history and widen the research interest of Korean gender studies.

More important, I practically wish, that this research will stimulate the mission work of Protestant Christianity and help the churches to go through the present crisis of stagnation or accumulation within Christianity, confirming the evidences of this thesis that women have been vital catalysts in the global history of Christianity.

APPENDICES

<Appendix 1> the background to the thesis period, 1890s to 1945

1. The beginning of Christianity in Korea and the Catholic female martyrs

There were two attempts at Christian mission in Korea. In the eighteenth century, Catholic Christianity was introduced to some Korean people when some Confucian scholars of the *Chosŏn* dynasty were attracted to what they called the ‘Western teaching’ (*Sŏhak*) of the Jesuit missionaries in China, proving that Korean people first contacted Christianity through their own studies of a new ideology. However, other Koreans responded negatively to *Sŏhak*. A prime reason was that Catholic Christianity’s mission was supported mainly by Western imperialist countries, with clear political and economic involvement. Accordingly, most Korean people perceived Catholic missionaries, along with Western armies, as their national enemies. During the rule of Hŭngsŏn Taewon-gun¹, the *Chosŏn* government successfully checked aggression by the French and American armies,² leading to a

¹ Politically, Korea was in the conflict of international imperial competition for colony. Around 1860, the *Chosŏn* Dynasty faced difficult external and internal problems. Internally, the foundation of national law and order weakened as a result of “*Sedo*” politics. This period, which spanned 60 years, saw the manifestation of both severe poverty among the Korean population and ceaseless rebellions in various parts of the country. Externally, Catholicism spread far and wide throughout the country and foreign ships appeared on Korea’s coasts to request commercial activities with the *Chosŏn* Dynasty. Such domestic and foreign conditions spawned feelings of crisis throughout the whole nation. Thus, the Korean people demanded that the government stabilize the livelihood of the people, check the inroads into *Chosŏn* by western powers, and bring national peace. At that time, the Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn-kun, the Regent, who represented King Kojŏng who was a child at the time, courageously enforced reforms in order to overcome internal and external crises confronting the nation. In order to get rid of the evils of “*Sedo*” politics, he promoted persons without making references to political party or family affiliations, and in order to reduce the burdens of the people and solidify the basis of the nation’s economy, he reformed the tax system. In order to establish order through law and strengthen royal authority, he also reorganized government organizations, destroyed the Sowon (Confucian academy) and rebuilt Kyŏngbok Palace.

² After a month of fighting, the defenders of *Chosŏn* drove out the French army, who had invaded Kanghwa Island to protest the persecution of Catholics in 1866. During this period the U.S. military presence was also driven out in 1871. The U.S. had invaded the *Chosŏn* regime in retaliation of the burning of a merchant ship on the T’aedong River in P’yŏngyang.

‘closed door’ policy,³ and the suppression of the Roman Catholic Church. There were a number of Korean Catholic martyrs, 103 being remembered as saints, including forty women (See table 12 below).⁴ Their deaths epitomise the conflict between Korean existing culture and new paradigms from western culture in the period. Christianity lost in the short term. However, their deaths were not forgotten and effected a ‘settling down’ of Christianity in Korea.

After ten years of severe persecution, Hŭngsŏn Taewon-gun ceased being Regent. *Chosŏn's* foreign policy began to open ports and engage in commercial activities, but it was forced to sign the first modern treaty of amity with Japan in 1876.⁵ *Chosŏn*, which signed these treaties for diplomatic and commercial trade, made many efforts to accept the modernity of the west,⁶ especially in political and military organisation.⁷

³ At important locations in Seoul and throughout the country, monuments were erected to inspire people to fight against aggression by Western powers. Furthermore, the Japanese were driven out for being Orangkye (barbarians) since they maintained relations with the West. The anti-foreign powers policy led by Hŭngsŏn Taewon-gun received enthusiastic support from the people, because they felt threatened by potential aggression. However, this closed door policy was not an adequate measure against the great current of world affairs, and thus, it further delayed the modernization movement of Korea. Kim, *History of Korea*, (Seoul, Greenwood Press, 2005), pp. 320-332.

⁴ *Korea Catholic Martyrs*, <http://www.cataegu.ac.kr/catholic/marty/index.html>

⁵ The government also concluded treaties of amity and commerce with the United States, England, Germany, Russia, France and other nations. Although *Chosŏn* entered the international arena by signing treaties with various nations, the treaties signed during these times were unfair to *Chosŏn*. For through these treaties, *Chosŏn* was forced to permit the rights of low tariff rates, extraterritoriality and residence of foreign nationals in *Chosŏn's* open ports. This in effect, prepared a springboard for possible political and economic aggressions against *Chosŏn* by these nations.

⁶ The government dispatched Pak Chŏng-yang and other officials to Japan to observe modern institutions and industrial organizations. In addition, it dispatched Kim Yun-shik and other bureaucrats to China to study methods of manufacturing modern weapons and training the army.

⁷ The central government established 12 ministries under the T'ongni Kimu Amun to take charge of such duties as diplomacy, military and industry. Among new developments in the army, special military forces were organized and provided with modern military training. Furthermore, *Chosŏn* accepted the proposals made by officials dispatched to foreign countries to set up modern machinery plants. The Research Committee of Korean History, *Han'guk yŏksa immun III* (The Guide of Korean History III), (Seoul, Pulpip publisher, 1996), pp. 232-237..

<Table 13> the list of Korean female Catholic martyrs

Name	Baptised name	Age	Status	Contents
Ko, Sun-I	Barbara	42	Married	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kwon, Chin-I	Agatha	21	Married	Beheaded in Tanghyŏn
Kwon, Hŭi	Barbara	46	Married	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, No-sa	Rosa	56	Single	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Nu-shya	Luçia	22	Single	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Teresa	Teresa	44	Widow	1840. 1. 9. Strangled in Seoul
Kim, Russia	Luçia	71	Single	1839. 9. Death in prison in Seoul
Kim, Barbara	Barbara	35	Widow	1839.5.27.Death in prison in Seoul
Kim, Sŏng-im	Martha	53	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Ah-ki	Agatha	66	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Up-I	Magdalena	53	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Uridae	Yulietta	56	Court lady	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Im-I	Teresa	36	Single	Strangulation in Seoul
Kim, Chang-kŭm	Anna	51	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Hyo-im	Columba	26	Single	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Kim, Hyo-ju	Agnès	24	Single	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Pak Bong-sŏn	Magdalena	44	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Pak A-ki	Anna	57	Married	Behead at Sesŏmun
Pak Kŭn-a-ki	Maria	54	Married	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Pak Hi-sun	Luçia	39	Court lady	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Son So-pyŏk	Magdalena	39	Married	Beheaded in Tanghyŏn
U Sul-im	Susanna	44	Widow	Strangled in Seoul
Wŏn Kui-im	Maria	22	Single	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Yu So-sa	Cecilia	79	Widow	1839.11.23.Death in prison in Seoul
Yu Chŏng-ryŏl	Tarina	57	Widow	Death in prison
Chŏn Kyŏng-hyŏp	Agatha	53	Court lady	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Chŏng Chŏng-hyae	Elisabeth	43	Single	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Chŏng Ch' ŏl-yŏm	Katharina	30	Married	Strangulation in Seoul
Cho Magdalena	Magdalena	33	Widow	Death in prison
Cho Chŭng-I	Barbara	58	Married	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Ch'oe Yŏng-I	Barbara	22	Married	Beheaded on a hill near Dang
Han A-ki	Barbara	48	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Han Yŏng-I	Barbara	56	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Hŏ Kyae-im	Magdalena	67	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Hyŏn Kyŏng-ryŏl	Benedicta	46	Female President	Beheaded at Sesŏmun
Hong Kŭm-chu	Perpetua	36	Widow	Beheaded at Sesŏmun

2. The Protestant Mission influx and Mission societies' situation in Korea

American missionaries came from Japan and settled in central and southern Korea.⁸ Bearing the Roman Catholic experience in mind, the Protestant mission had to search for new ways that did not ignore Korean nationalism. The Korean people, balancing the increasing threat from the Japanese government from the 1880s, accepted the mission of male and female Protestants at the opening of Korea beginning in 1876, but Christians had to trend carefully and to avoid arousing antagonism.⁹

Mission societies were very enthusiastic. They came from various denominational backgrounds; four Presbyterian churches from America, Canada and Australia and two Methodist churches of the United States. There was a policy of dividing up the mission field to avoid conflict and competition between the various societies and reduce the waste of money and time.¹⁰ These denominational mission societies, still under home churches' control, nevertheless searched for ecumenical work in Korea in the form of the General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea. This organization began in 1905 at Ehwa School, with the aim of becoming one Protestant church; "The purpose of this organization is to cooperate in mission

⁸ Yi Man-yŏl, *Han 'guk kidokkyo wa minjok ūi sik* (Korean Christianity and National Consciousness), (Seoul, Jisiksanupsa, 2000), pp. 41-45. He presents John Ross' contribution to Korean mission by the enterprise of the vernacular Bible (예수성경전서) in terms of Christian settlement

⁹ According to one Korean church historian, Kyung-Bae Min, the positive acceptance of Protestant Christianity by the Korean people was influenced by the relationship between nation and church. The failure of the early Catholic mission to Korea stems from Catholic missionaries' attitude that opposed Korean isolationism with imperialistic power. On the other hand, the success of the Protestant mission was due to the missionaries providing the Korean people with the supporting elements of national honour, Korean people's confidence and the independent ethos of the Christian gospel, without any background of Western imperialism, under Japanese occupation. Min Kyŏng-bae, *Han 'guk kidokkyo haesa*, (The History of the Korean Church), (Seoul, Yŏnsei University Press, 1993), pp. 25-28.

¹⁰ On 11th June 1892, firstly the policy was achieved between mission societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States and the North Presbyterian Church of the United States. Kim In-soo, *Han 'guk kidokkyo ūi yŏksa* (The History of Korean Christian Church), (Seoul, The Christian Literature of Korean Christianity, 1998), pp. 89-91.

work and as a result, only one evangelistic church will be constructed in Korea”¹¹.

The basic strategy, as presented by the Rev. H. L. Underwood was that of Nevius.

From lectures and books by Nevius, he adapted Nevius’ methods for the Korean situation.¹²

3. Nationalist Independent Movement and Religious persecution under Japanese occupation

The period of Japanese occupation for thirty-six years can be divided into the following; 1) militarism period (1910-1919), 2) cultural Politics period (1919-1931) and 3) commissary base and war preparation period (1931-1945).¹³

In the first period, Japanese rule worked on the basis of making Korea a colony in administrative, military, and legal terms. Due to the powerful police presence of 40,000 army and 20,000 police forces, the Japanese began to dominate Korea despite Korean protests.¹⁴ In the second period, the Japanese government’s policy changed and was much more lenient. This was a carefully planned political treatment of Korea in order to pacify Korean nationalist leaders and divide Koreans.¹⁵ The third

¹¹ Suh Myōng-won, *Han ’guk kyohoe sōngjangsa* (The History of Korean Church Growth), (Seoul, The Christian Literature of Korean Christianity, 1966), p. 129.

¹² Charles Allen Clark, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work: Illustrated in Korea*, (Seoul, Christian Literature Society, 1994), pp. 97-109. 1) Self-livelihood and self-organisation 2) The method and organisation of church for the evangelism of indigenous Korean churches 3) Korean independent administrations in church systems and 4) The established indigenous style-churches and self-finance

¹³ Shin Yong-ha, *Ilje kangjōmki Han ’guk minge yōksa I* (The Korean Nationalistic History in Japanese Occupation), (Seoul, Seoul National University Press, 2002), pp. 5-7.

¹⁴ For instance, the event of 105 people was very big political issue of Japanese government. Korean people were members of *Shinminhoe* a voluntary Christian committee consisting of male Christians in 1910. Also, there was a trial of a viceroy Derauchi assassination by Ahn Pyōng-ken in 1911. In 1919 many Korean people all over Korea participated in the First March Independence Movement.

¹⁵ In detail, the third viceroy Saito Makoto proclaimed seven elements. Some of these proclaimed equality between Korean and Japanese, respect for Korean tradition, and freedom of language, meeting, and publishing, yielding to Korean’s demands. As a direct result, Korean newspapers such as the *Chosōn Ilbo*, *Donga Ilbo* and *Shidae Ilbo* were printed. However, the Japanese government continuously plundered Korean funds and resources using public companies and trades. Consequently, Korean poverty increased.

period was the harshest for the Korean people under Japanese occupation, as Japanese government made it into a major Japanese supply base.¹⁶ All educational and religious activities had to follow the Japanese way as ordered by the Japanese government. All Korean people had to practice Shinto, with no exceptions, even for Christians: some refused and suffered prison or death, others complied.

The period can be summarised thus:

<Table 14> Relations between American missionaries and the Japanese government in Korea¹⁷

Period	Historical event	Policy	Foreign relation between Japan and America
Checking, 1894-1905	Chinese-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russian-Japanese War (1904-1905)	The restraint policy to missionaries through the diplomatic relation between America and Japan.	Friendly incorporated relation.
Conciliation, 1906-1910	The entente between Korea and Japan (1907), and the Union of Korea and Japan (1910)	Japanese government used missionaries.	Friendly incorporated relation
Oppression, 1911-1919	World War I (1914), and The First March Independence (1919)	Japanese government controlled missionaries.	Power tension for dominating East Asia.
Division, 1920-1935	Manchuria invasion (1931), and Shinto practice in Pyong Yang (1935)	Japanese government separated between missionaries and Korean Christians.	Conflict between two countries.
Persecution, 1936-1945	Chinese-Japanese War (1937), The Pacific War (1941), and Japanese defeat (1945)	The policy which Japanese government expelled missionaries from Korea	Extremely antagonistic relations

¹⁶ In 1936, Minami Jiro forced the Korean people to participate in Japanese wars and sacrifice their finances for the battlefields. He proclaimed *Sŏn man il yŏ* (鮮滿一如; Korea and Manchuria are one) which intended to justify the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Korean people participated in the war. Additionally, he forced the Korean people to keep the three rules; *Guk chae myŏng ch'ing* (國體明徴, thoroughly obeying Japanese governmental power), *Ne sun il chae* (The one union between Korean people and Japanese), and *In go dan ryŏn* (Enduring pains and being stronger for Japanese victory). Following this policy, the Koreans had to learn and speak Japanese instead of their own language, Korean.

¹⁷ This table was from Kim Sŭng-tae, *Naehan sŭnkyosa chŏngnam* (The Material of Missionaries in Korea), (Seoul, The Institute for Korean Christian History, 1994).

<Appendix 2> Missionaries' Work in the Japanese occupation

<Table 15> Work among the Japanese in Korea

	A.P.S. and A.P.N.	A.B.C.F.M.	E.C.M.	O.M.S.	M.E.S. ¹
Churches, organized	8	1	3	—	4
Churches, unorganized	4	3	—	—	1
Pastors, ordained	4	2	—	8	2
Pastors unordained	12	4	3	8	5
Church Buildings	11	5	3	4	3
Number baptized during year	129	48	—	—	—
Total Communicants	1,601	1,031	400	500	246
Active Communicants	934	478	—	—	149
Contributions	Y29,081	Y11,126	—	—	—
Value of Church Property	Y146,304	Y67,520	—	—	—

¹ Statistics of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church are not available.

<Table 16> Work among Koreans in Manchuria

Province	Station	Mission	Men	Wives	Single Ladies	Total
North Kando	Lungchingsun	U.C.C.	4	4	4	12
West Kando	Hingking	A.P.N.	2	2	—	4
Harbin	Harbin	M.E.	1	1	—	2
3	3	3	7	7	4	18

Taken from *Korea, the hermit nation*, by Theodore Stanley Soltau & R Kilgour, (London, New York, World dominion Press, 1932), p. 118.

<Appendix 3> John Ross and Korean women in the early Protestant mission of Korea

1. From Scotland to North Korea¹⁸

John Ross was born on 9th August 1842 as the eldest son of Hugh Ross and Catherine Sutherland. At that time, Ross' family lived in Migg town located in Inverness where people used the Gaelic language. So, he learnt English which he learnt when he started school. In the mid 1860s he studied theology in the United Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, later working under Rev. George Brown's supervision in Inverness as a trainee. Nevertheless, he dreamed of mission work. From the autumn of 1868, he kept in touch with Dr. William McGill, a General Secretary of World Mission. He supported John Ross' idea and then asked his opinion on certain matters of mission in Indian or Chinese.¹⁹ With McGill's support, he chose Chinese mission in 1871, and in 1879, he was ordained, married to Miss Stewart and sent by the World Mission to China.

On 23rd August 1872, John Ross and his wife arrived in Sangdong where Alexander Williamson, a representative of the National Bible Society of Scotland led the Chinese mission group of John McKenzie, Lewis Nicol and Dr. William A. Henderson. Williamson had visited the 'Corean Gate'²⁰ in 1867, and showed his interest in propagating Christianity to the Korean people. Ross learnt Chinese.

Even though he had lost his wife, he did not stop learning Chinese. The reason for

¹⁸ See *Chon Rosu: Han'gug-ui ch'ot son'gyo-sa* (John Ross, Korea's First Missionary), (Taegu, Kymyung UP, 1982).

¹⁹ After finishing his pastoral work in Inverness, he went to a church in Portree of Isle of Skye. For 2 years, he had difficulties in the work there. And then he moved to Stornoway in Isle of Lewis.

²⁰ "The Corean Gate is the name given to a small village, the most advanced outpost of China towards Corea. At the extreme east end of a long street, but standing out from and at right angles to it, is a small house over thirty feet long, divided into three parts, the north and south portions are rooms with the ordinary kang, in which the tax collectors live. The central division is the gate through which all goods imported or exported must pass, and have duty levied... Thus the only mode of communication is through the gate-a precaution taken against smuggling" John Ross, 'China', *the United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, May 1, 1875., p. 472.

this was that Ross had serious difficulties with Dr. Hunter of the Irish Presbyterian mission in China. To Irish missionaries, John Ross as a Scot was not easily acceptable. During these events, he continued to work in mission for example with travelling evangelisation. Through this repetitive work, he had founded the base of his mission work, handled widely in order to strengthen his position vis a vis the Irish Presbyterian mission in Shina, with whom he had problems. His way, exemplified in his 1873 working, was to base his Christianity touching local culture without eliminating religious, cultural or ethical elements in the process of mission: he knew Confucian books and ethics very well, studying the *Sasesamkyung* (four books and three classics of Confucianism). Based on his rich knowledge of his mission field, he had few troubles with natives, for the respected Chinese culture.²¹

In 1874, Irish and Scots missionaries divided the mission area in Manchuria. The Irish mission society took the west, and the Scottish mission society took the east and north. The eastern area of Manchuria was very close to the North Korean part. This negotiation resulted firstly in removing the competition between denominational mission societies and in concentrating on the mission, to North Korea, the border of which he visited in 1871.²²

²¹ He intended to preach in the church building not at street. He always got the style of lecturing with the name of religious discussion. This style is that firstly some one had lecture and then some audiences or participants asked questions or added footnoting. This method is closely similar to Chinese culture. Since third century, there has been a method of Chungdam(清淡, uprightness) which was applied to Chinese philosophical discussion. Using this method, a lot of Chinese people were able to accept Christianity easier.

²² "On Monday, the 10th day of 9th moon, I was informed that a number of Coreans had crossed the river and were encamped 60 li from the gate; nearer they dared not come till the gate was formally opened. That afternoon I saw about twenty Coreans, chiefly servants, clad in garments that were once white. They came to secure and prepare lodging for their employers...I told the market would not be in full swing for another week, the Coreans never feeling at home till the return of the superior magistrates who accompany them. I was much disappointed, and resolving to return, if possible, at a more favourable time, did what I could in the way of preaching and endeavouring to sell copies of dospel, etc. I was successful enough in getting an audience and a healing for the greater part of the afternoon;" Ibid.

2. His mission methods and contributions

He studied hard and researched Chinese religion and culture.²³ Applying what he knew of Chinese values to his mission work and training native agents. He learned Korean through Yi Eung-chan who was a businessman selling Korean medicines, writing his first 'Corean Primer' in 1877 and based on the 'Mandarin Primer'.²⁴ This 'Corean Primer' had special characters, exactly representing Korean pronunciation, the expressions and sounds are totally based on North Korean dialect in the period. from 1878, Ross had a mission arena in Shenyang, where he translated the Bible from English to Korean.

He wrote the first Korean grammar book, 'Corean Primer', and a Korean history, *History of Corea, Ancient and Modern with Description of Manners and customs, Language and geography*²⁵. These were saved aids for western Protestant missionaries to Korea with information a language, people, politics, economics, religion and culture of Korea.

²³ See *Mission Methods in Manchuria* written by Rev. John Ross (Edinburgh and London, Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1903). In chapter 1, he presented what is the Chinese consciousness of sin. This shows he possessed a great understanding of Chinese culture. "Many years ago in my native land I heard a missionary publicly declare that the Chinese were destitute of a sense of sin. When one mingles with the Chinese in the large towns and the untiring industry of the people, their unwearied struggle to keep their heads above the waters of poverty, and their no less all-absorbing efforts to attain to an easy competency, the conviction cannot fail to be driven in that the all-controlling thought of the Chinese is what they shall eat, what they shall drink and wherewithal they shall obtain the other comforts or necessities of life. The same conviction would certainly arise in the mind of thoughtful Chinese who had the opportunity of passing days or months, or even years, in the busy centres of industry in our home lands." pp. 9-10.

²⁴ John Ross, *Corean Primier; Lessons in corean on al ordinary subject transliterated on the principles of the 'mandarine primer*, (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, MDCCCLXXVII), p. 3. "The Lessons, matter, arrangement and number., are those of may "Mandarin Primer," where the English is rendered idiomatically. The transliteration is also on the principle of the Primer. And in comparing the two little books it will be discovered what a remarkable proportion of Chinese words has become incorporated with the Corean language, supplying defects, displacing some words and used alongside of others, (as bit, 'light' and gwang 'light' metaphorically), like Latine and Saxon in English, Chinese being the Latin of the Coreans, through which their learning has been acquired. This comparison requires only to note the defects of the Corean alphabet and its numerous example of the ancient pronunciation."

²⁵ John Ross, *History of Corea, Ancient and Modern with Description of Manners and customs, Langauate and geography*, (London; Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster row, 1891).

3. John Ross version Bible to Korea

The Ross version Bible came into Korea via three routs, from Japan, Manchuria and Inner Manchuria. The Bible would be the first edition of the Gospel of Luke and John in Korean, published in 1882. Ross wrote a letter to Arthington on 24th March 1882,

I should much like if you send on £50 to cover the cost of John's Gospel. If you so desire it, £10 or £12 more might be sent to engage a member as colporteur and within the year 6,000 copies of the gospel would be circulating and preaching in as many centres throughout the length of the land from our shores to those of Japan. From what the Coreans tell me, I believe that though having to distribute in secret, the sales would cover travelling expenses.²⁶

The Ross version Bible gained a route into Korea from Japan and an influx of bible selling began in Korea. According to a record in 1882, Ross sent 1000 copies of Luke and John to J. A. Thomas from Manchuria, the NBSS of agent and missionary of the U. P. Church in Japan with a view to introducing them into Korea.²⁷ Rev. Thomas and his wife Mrs. Thomas who became the first white woman to enter Korea when they visited in 1884,²⁸ distributed Ross' text; they distributed 1,155 copies of the gospels Luke and John to Koreans in 1885 and 1,250 in 1886. Judging from the fact that there were no more reports on scripture circulation until 1895, Ross' version seems not to have been available.²⁹ After failing his version by Japanese routes, another Korean version of the four Gospels and Acts, which was translated in Japan by Soo Jung Yi published by the B.F.B.S. in 1884.

There was another route of the Ross version Bible to Korea. The distribution of Bibles was carried out in two ways, among Koreans in Manchuria and Koreans

²⁶ Editorial Correspondence of the British Foreign Bible Society- Inward, Vol. 17, P. 76f.

²⁷ *ECI-BFBS*, Vol. 17, p. 177. and *The BFBS AR* in 1888, p.287. the first Korean Bible, 'Jesu Söngkyo Lukabokum Jyunsö (예수성교누가복음전서, The Book of Luke of Jesus Christ' was published in March 1882. After 1883, the BFBS supported to publish Ross version Bible.

²⁸ *QRNBSS*, Oct. 1884, 'A visit to Corea'.

²⁹ *The BFBS AR*, for 1885 p. 42, & for 1886, p. 46.

visiting Manchuria. For instance, Kim Chung-song's case is very typical. He worked as a compositor from spring 1882.³⁰ Or, some people worked using official connections, acquaintances visiting Manchuria; "A translator in Moukden had 200 left to give to the Korean Embassy which passes through Moukden from Peking in a few days".³¹

The third route from Manchuria was also complicated. According to a document of the B.F.B.S. in 6th October 1882, the first colporteurs are Yi Eung-chan who was 'long re-established in good conduct and the evangelist in Paek Wee-joo must be Hong Chun who was employed by McIntyre.³² Both men had worked for Ross as teachers, translators, or compositors. Now they were working as colporteurs. They went back to Korea with Ross version bibles and short collections. Working with Ross translating Bibles and teaching Koreans, they would be indoctrinated into Ross' Christian ideas and then already interpret Christianity themselves on the basis of their own cultural-religious background. Those who possessed this indigenous Christian ideology were powerful messengers for mission work.

According to the magazine, 'Bible Society Monthly Reporter' in July 1884, the state of affairs in that period was noted as follows;

The Rev. John Ross writes from Moukden, on the border of China and Corea, under date March 20, as follows:- "Your colporteur Li (a Korean)³³, while acting as compositor, returned two years ago to his native land, taking with him several copies of Luke and John, then newly printed. A copy of each he gave to a friend, Jang, who had never been an idolater, but had always believed in the Supreme Being. During those two years he studied the Gospels attentively, as, having given up business, he had abundant leisure. Several months ago he came here with the colporteur, taking with him a younger brother. He was intimately

³⁰ *The Christian Dawn in Korea*, p. 243f.

³¹ *ECI- BFBS*, Vol. 17, P. 338

³² *ECI- BFBS*, Vol. 17, pp. 177ff.

³³ The man who had his surname, Li can be deduced Yi Eung-chan in the period of this report and the outlook of this report written by Rev. John Ross.

acquainted with the Scriptures he had read, his errand here being to solve some difficulties and especially to be baptized. Both he and his younger brother were baptized, and I persuaded him to remain with me for a few months, as the literary man whom I had hoped for had not come to my assistance. He is doing good work, being an excellent Chinese scholar, as well as knowing accurately his own language. He is the first fruit of your new version. Of very many who speak highly of the doctrines revealed to time through it I cannot speak particularly time will manifest them... A younger man, formerly a compositor, who came back a few days ago from a visit to his mother, who was seriously unwell, has just gone to Corea at his own special request, to sell tow boxes of our Gospels. He knows nothing of danger, though, of course, his sales are transacted in dwelling-houses and inns, not in the public street.³⁴

This is a good record showing how Korean mission agents like colporteurs were devoted to bible selling and mission, having understood Christianity from translating the Bible with Ross at a time when Korea was displaying antagonistic Christianity that corrupting religion from the 'western' world. This third route was the most effective way of Bible influx to Korea. Then how did the people of the period evaluate the Ross version Bible? First of all, we need to know what was the Ross' criticism to the Chinese Bible for Korean people and how he emphasised on the superiority of his Korean version Bible.

I have read a great deal of a translation being made in Japan³⁵. Specimens have been sent me of the Gospels and Acts. It is not a translation, but the Chinese literary version given with diacritical marks though these marks are not always correctly used, I do not see that they can do much harm as they are placed beside the text. At the same time this "version" leaves matters exactly where they were. To a good Chinese scholar they are of little or no value, as he could make them for himself, while to a poor scholar, or to the nineteenth of the population who know not Chinese, nothing can be of any service which is not written in their own language.³⁶

He pointed out the problems of the Chinese version Bible in comparison to his

³⁴ 'An Open Door in Corea', *Bible Society Monthly Reporter*, July 1884, (London, the British and Foreign Bible Society), pp. 127-128.

³⁵ This bible would be translated by Yi Su-jöng.

³⁶ *ECI-BFBS*, Vol. 20, p. 144f (8th March 1885).

Korean version Bible. Firstly, the Chinese version Bible for Koreans did not make the exact meaning of the Bible understood to Korean people who were only able to speak Korean. At that time, most books had been written in Chinese letters in Korea even though Korean script, the *Ŏnmun* had been created in the fifteenth century of the early *Chōson* dynasty. This script was then mainly used among women and not men. This shows the illiteracy problem is to be considered in Korean society, since Korean men positioned in over upper class continued to use the prestigious Chinese script but most Korean women except some high-class women were not supposed to. Nevertheless, among Koreans including women, most middle class people had used the *Ŏnmun* in the period. Ross recognised this problem and the need of the *Ŏnmun* in the Korean mission.

My interest in the people deepened with the progress of the year and as, after many amusing and futile attempts, I was able to find a clue to their language, I resolved to have the Scriptures in part or wholly translated into that language. This resolution was all the more decisive on discovering that everybody in Corea knew their beautifully simple phonetic alphabet, that “even all the women and children could read it.”³⁷

With regards to the number of Koreans’ Chinese literacy, the Chinese version was not a good tool to evangelise Korea. This version did not lend itself practical to the ordinary Korean, but only to the high class. To make Christianity popular amongst Koreans, the Ross *Ŏnmun* version Bible was accepted as the most appropriate for the Korean readers who were interested in Christianity or already Christians.

However, some missionaries rejected the Ross version Bible the ground of North Korea dialect. In 1887³⁸ the “Permanent Executive Bible Committee” decided to

³⁷ Rev. J.Ross, ‘Corean New Testament’, *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Vol. XIV, Shanghai, November-December, 1883, p. 491.

³⁸ By this time, there were only two missionary societies established at the end of 1884, American Presbyterian Mission (North), and American Methodist Episcopal Church (Northern Methodist) in 1889, the Australian Presbyterian Mission and the Anglican Mission (S.P.G.) p. 156 Sungil Choi, *John Ross (1842-1915) and the Korean Protestant Church: the first Korean bible and its relation to the*

revise Ross' text, for second readers³⁹, but by 1893, therefore the committee revision had become a new translation, published in 1900, the Old Testament being completed by 1911, the whole being called the Authorised Korean Version.⁴⁰

4. Women's marks; John Ross and Miss Davison in terms of colportage and Bible Women

This section will discuss whether there was any work with native women or female missionaries, among Ross' works, translation and Bible selling. According to 'The Women's Missionary magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland', in the Moukden area in the early 1900s, a female missionary offered native women mission training. The female missionary was Miss Davison. Since 1900, her reports regularly appeared in the magazine. The Moukden area was Ross' mission arena. Also, he moved several times from this to the Korean borders. In addition, when he had considered Korean vernacular work with Korean men and then travelled to the Korean borders for evangelisation, he needed someone able to work with women because his wife had died. Why we need to point out the conjecture from his stories is the link between Ross and women in the mission. Following the mission trend which most missionaries' wives mainly managed the mission for native women, Ross would be impossible to work for native women, particularly Korean women. Here we could have some questions; was there any concern of Ross who was eager to

Protestant origins in Korea, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992.

³⁹ Rev. Reynolds, 'Bible Translation in Korea', *The Missionary*, October 1898, pp. 499-500. "Under the present constitution, the "Permanent Executive Bible Committee", consisting of two members from each Protestant Evangelical Mission, has full and permanent control of the whole work of Bible translation. The actual work of translating however, is done by a "board of five official translators," selected by this permanent committee. Salaries of native assistants cost of publication, etc., are defrayed by the permanent committee with funds contributed by the three Bible societies-the American, the British and Foreign and the National Bible Society of Scotland- in the proportion two-fifths, two-fifth and one fifth, respectively."

⁴⁰ About the concrete process of Korean version Bible, See 'fifty years of Bible Translation and Revision', *KMF*, 1935, pp. 116-118. There was presented about how the Ross version had negotiated with modified version or the other version in the situation of Korea. To sum up, Rev. E. Brayent, agent of the BFBS in Tientsin, finally persuaded American missionaries working in Korea and suggested to

Korean colportage about Bible Women? If he had, could Miss Davison and Ross work together for colportage?

Miss Mary S. Davison was working for a hospital and particularly in the training of Bible Women in Moudken. She arrived in China on 23rd September 1901 with Dr. Mary C. Horner.⁴¹ Her work was mainly educating Chinese girls and ladies.⁴² It was developing quickly and obtained many fruits like establishing a girls' school and training school of Bible Women.⁴³ Through her work and her Bible Women activities⁴⁴, she was able to examine ten women to be baptised within three years.⁴⁵

She expressed her wonderful impression of her works in the following;

With some of these women, we made the experiment of sending them out as bible-women, and from the first the plan has worked well and their ministrations have proved very fruitful. This is not to be wondered at. These women, belonging as they do to the people themselves, know how to find access to the home of the women. They know the common speech of the people, and what is of even more importance, they know the involved etiquette of Chinese life and intercourse. They come and go in the streets and among the villages without attracting any stir. So far our choice of agents has been restricted to middle aged women, especially widows.⁴⁶

Her major task was to educate and discipline Bible Women. According to records until 1913, she successfully trained Chinese Bible Women are colporteurs. One document in 1910⁴⁷ shows that Ross had known Davison, having spent Christmas with the same mission society in Manchuria.

⁴¹ *The Women's Missionary magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland* (After WMM), Vol. 1 No.10 October 1901., p. 242. And No.60 December 1905 p.279.

⁴² *WMM*, Vol. 2. No. 15. March 1902., p. 51. "We are going quietly about our work; it is the day of small things compared with the great work that was being carried on before I am going, whenever I can to hire a room and open a girl school."

⁴³ *WMM*, Vol. 2. No. 17 May 1902, pp. 109-110.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108. "In the immediate future, it will be impossible foreign women to take up their former method of work of itinerating in the towns and villages, and more dependence than ever will be placed in the bible-women. More and more of our time and strength will thus be devoted to the work of fitting them for this important work"

⁴⁵ *WMM*, Vol. 3. No. 35 November 1903, p. 254.

⁴⁶ *WMM*, Vol. 1. No. 5 1901 p.106.

⁴⁷ John Ross, 'Christmas at Moukden', *WMM*, Vol. 10 no, 110 February 1910, p. 36.

<Appendix 4> Nansa K Harh's 'A Protest'

The following was written by a Korean lady, who has received a Christian education. It is well worth perusal by all who are interested in the problems of woman's education, for what lies here between the lines as well as on the surface. The last word has not yet been said on what is the ideal education for the average girl, either in the West or the East. In preparation for woman's great vocation what have not yet fully learned, much that is most needed neither the Oriental nor we have altogether learned. It is probable that Westerners often attempt much too much, as the East, teach too little. The problem, of course, is to give our girls all that is really necessary, without overloading them with what is superfluous. In fulfilling their destiny, their burdens are sufficiently heavy. Let us forbear to add a feather's weight that is not essential. It was a childish, heathen concept, that of Atlas. The world and its destinies, under God, rest upon woman's shoulders.

A PROTEST

With all deference to the writer of the article "The Kind of Education for Girls," which appeared in the July number of the FIED, I should like to know if he is at all serious in what he has said therein. A careful perusal of his treatment of the subject will at once convince us that he was either sadly misinformed or blindly prejudiced: in any case it does not seem to do credit to his reputation and standing.

He has made charges against the girls of schools, conducted by the Christian missionary ladies, accusing them of being ignorant of two fundamental domestic arts, *i.e.*, the cooking and the sewing. Now, with all fairness and justice, I must say that the graduates of the schools I know, cannot be allowed to be accused of not knowing how to cook neither can we rightly make complaint against them for not knowing how to cut and sew, wash and iron clothes. It is true that neither the cooking nor the sewing is listed in the curricula of some of these schools, yet it must be remembered that their girls are obliged during the several years of their stay in the school to prepare their own food and to cut, sew, wash and iron their own clothes. Consequently for all plain family cooking and sewing they are as skilful if not better than their sisters who stayed at home and who have never seen a black-board.

Again granting for a moment that the complaint relative to two domestic arts is true, the writer must realize that even in *America or in Europe a graduate of an ordinary high school is not expected to know cooking and sewing by virtue of their schooling. He must also be aware that the aim and purpose of the instructions given by the aforesaid institutions are to produce a new type of women who will become wise mothers, dutiful wives and enlightened housekeepers and not cooks, nurses nor seamstresses.* *

Then again the writer's assertion that the girl graduate is not submissive to her mother-in-law is entirely absurd and prejudiced, as far as my personal knowledge as well as that of many others is concerned, we do not remember that we have ever heard of any complaint made against the graduates of those schools for a constructive insubordination and disobedience to their mother-in-law. A great deal of nonsense about their not being submissive to their mother-in-law is, it we look into the matter more closely, due to the superstitions and eccentricities of the heathenish mother-in-law.

The public must realize that a graduate, for instance, of the Ehwa Hak Tung or the of the Chung Sinn Girls' School, is a Christian by her training, and as such she has her hands full in defending herself against the heathenism of her mother-in-law; she has to be on guard all times to keep her faith unimposed on.

If she is in any way firm, or is not easily cowed to forsake her religion, to be superseded by the witch crafting sorcery and what not of her mother's devilries, her case will surely be pronounced by a hard and cold verdict "Insubordination," and at every turn of the road she will be up against her heathen mother and she will be known far and wide as one who is not submissive to her mother-in-law. In such a case can her behaviour be construed as a constructive insubordination and sheer disobedience? I am sure that the writer himself would prefer to see an insubmissive Christian daughter-in-law, to a submissive girl of the old regime whose ideas and training are those of heathenism and superstition.

Furthermore, the author of the article asserted that she seems not as ready to do hard manual work as girls who never went to school. Here again it is certain that he is either prejudiced or misinformed. We challenge him to cite an instance or two if there were ever any which would corroborate his wild statement.

In conclusion I must say that taking all I all, the writer's complaints seem to be wholly absurd and ridiculous, inasmuch as they are contrary to the facts of existing conditions. Furthermore, I think that I, because of the nature and spirit of his "suggestions" am justified in most solemnly censuring him for his harbouring a typical Oriental conception of the woman, *in spite of all his previous Western education* and enlightenment. Finally he must remember that because of his standing in the community where he lives and moves about, what he says has always a great deal of weight to carry, and therefore for him to asperse the female education at this early stage of its existence isn't it somewhat like putting a damper to an ultimate good cause?

*italics ours.

Taken from Korea Mission Field Vol. 7 No. 12 December 1911, pp. 352-353.

<Appendix 4> The Event of World Women Prayer Meeting in 1941

Title: Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. 뜻이 하늘에서 이루어진 것같이 땅에서도 이루어지리이다.

Hymn: (Presbyterian) 32 (Methodist) 77

Scripture for a prayer leader 인도자가 볼 성구

Psalm 91: 1/ Yahwe's gratitude is very beautiful, ah, what a highnesses!, it is beautiful to praise your name. (여호와께서 사레하는 것이 아름다우니 지극히 높으신 자여 이름을 찬양하는 것이 아름답도소이다.)

Daniel 4:3/ His nation is an eternal nation. His control will be in the future generation.(나라가 영원한 나라요 그 관할이 대대로록 이르리로다.)

Psalm 22: 27-28/ Everything of the earth will remember and go back to Yahwe.

People of the World will worship Him in front of the Lord. (땅의 모든 곳이 여호와를 기억하여 돌아갈 것이오 만국의 족속들이 주 앞에 경배하리로다)

Revelation 11:15 / The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever. (세상나라가 우리 주와 그리스도의 나라가 되어 저가 세상에 왕노릇하리로다.)

Prayer: Pray for achieving God's will to individuals, nations and the World(개인과 이웃과 국가와 온 세상에 하나님의 뜻이 이루어지기 위하여 기도할 것.)

1. Pray for coming God's will true in individual lives (하나님의 뜻이 개인의 생활에 있어서 이루어지기를 기도할 것.)

[Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness. (너희는 먼저 그 나라와 그 의를 구하라)]

Confession(자복기도)

① we must confess the fact that we do not have any confidence in our mind and focus our aim on the World even though we have prayed like "thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." (하나님의 뜻이 하늘에서 이룬 것같이 땅에서도 이루어지이다 라고 기도하지마는 우리의 마음에 이루어진 확신이 없고 우리의 목적도 세상으로 향한 것을 자복할 것.)

② we must confess the fact that we have been in jealousy, separation, and greed although God want the peace of human being. (하나님께서서는 인류의 화평을 원하시나 시기과 분쟁과 물욕의 생활을 한 것을 자복할 것.)

③ we confess the fact that the lankness of our lives comes from that we are not close

to God through the Bible. (이상 부족한 생활의 원인은 성경을 통해서 하나님과 가까이 하지 않은 것임을 자복할 것.)

Entreaty Prayer

- ① we must desire to the Lord that we never forget the aim of Jesus coming and passion for making the World peaceful. (예수께서 세상을 화평케 하시기 위하여 오셔서 곤란을 당하신 그 목적을 잊지 않기 위하여 간구할 것.)
- ② we must desire to the Lord in order to give up arrogance, grudge, and relentlessness. (교만과 원망과 남을 용서하지 않는 마음을 버리기를 간구할 것.)
- ③ we must desire to the Lord in order to have a fruit of Holy Spirit with spirit and mind of Jesus Christ. (예수의 마음과 정신을 가짐으로 성신의 열매 맺기를 간구할 것.)

Hymn: (Presbyterian) 225 (Methodist) 216

2. To pray that God's will comes true in our neighbours and other nations (하나님의 뜻이 우리의 이웃과 나라에 이루어지기를 기도할 것.)

Confession(자복기도)

- ① To confess that we worship both God and World and then harm the others and prohibit their future for ourselves. (하나님과 세상을 겸하여 섬기므로 개인의 이익만 도모하여 남을 해롭게 하고 남의 장래를 막은 것을 자복할 것.)
- ② To confess that we have been lack of children education and lazy of home prayers in family lives.(가정생활의 있어서 부족한 자녀교육과 가정예배 등을 게을리한 것을 자복할 것)
- ③ To confess that we have been indifferent about the fact which the other are doing very wrong. (타인의 잘못을 알고도 무관심하였음을 자복할 것.)

Entreaty Prayer(간구기도)

- ① To ask that we keep the thought for the other's peace like Jesus' doing (예수와 같이 평안을 자기에게 구하지 않고 남의 평안만을 위한 생각이 항상 있기를 간구할 것.)
- ② To ask that our joy for doing love and equal lives are not for ours but the others. (남을 사랑하고 공평한 생활로 즐거움이 나를 위함이 아니고 남을 위함이 되기를 간구할 것.)
- ③ To ask that we diminish class lives in social lives and then live in egalitarianism. (사회생활에 있어서 계급적 생활을 버리고 평등주의로 협조적 생활을 하기 위하여 간구할 것.)

Hymn (Presbyterian) 96 (Methodist) 232

3. To pray for that God's will becomes done in earth (하나님의 뜻이 온 세상나라에 이루어지기를 기도할 것.)

Confession prayer (자복기도)

- ① To confess that we ignore the conflicts between nations owing to disobey God's will without our respect to God. (하나님을 사랑하고 공경하지 않고 그 뜻을 불순종하여 참된 연락을 아니함으로 국제간 분쟁이 있는 것을 자복할 것.)
- ② To confess that we do not help and rather have invaded the other countries for our country's own benefit. (자국의 이익을 도모하여 다른 나라를 괴롭히고 도와주지 않은 것을 자복할 것.)
- ③ To confess that we do not send God's Word to the end of World not following Jesus' calling. (예수의 명령대로 하나님의 말씀을 땅끝까지 전하지 아니한 것을 자복할 것.)

Entreaty Prayer(간구기도)

- ① To ask that God's light shines on this World as soon as possible. (하나님의 빛이 속히 이 세상에 비치시기를 간구할 것.)
- ② To ask for people who disobey God's Word and so are under suffering. (하나님을 불순종함으로 괴로움을 받는 사람을 위하여 간구할 것.)
- ③ To ask that all disorders must be solved and the world will be peaceful. (모든 어지러움이 속히 지나고 화평한 세상이 되기를 간구할 것.)
- ④ To ask that God's will comes true in this World by that all believers of Korea send God's Word to unbelievers and live faithfully. (한국에 있는 모든 신자들이 참 진실한 생활과 하나님의 말씀을 전도함으로 하나님의 뜻이 이 세상에 이루어지기를 간구할 것.)

Hymn (Presbyterian) 93 (Methodist) 234

Offering (Following each churches' decisions: 각 교회에서 미리 작성한대로)

Special Hymn (Solo or Chorus)

Luke 12: 32 Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Revelation 21:1-4

1. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first

earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.
3. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.

And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away

Hymn (Presbyterian) 75 (Methodist) 62

Benediction

Proclaiming end of prayer meeting (폐회)

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