“I Would Never Step Foot on American Soil Again,” Religion, Space, and Gender: American Missionaries in Korea

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ABSTRACT

By using three lenses of analysis not often used together, theology, space and gender, this dissertation explores the decisions, practices, and gender dynamics of one group of Protestant religious imperialists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea. The Southern Presbyterian’s missionary theology drew not only from Presbyterian beliefs and doctrine, but also from more radical ideas outside the church. This more radical theology emphasized the importance of and expedient nature in achieving world evangelism. To advance world evangelism as quickly as possible, the missionaries’ primary focus became converting Koreans to Christianity. Therefore, to convert Koreans, both Korean women and men, the Southern Presbyterians made two more changes, they created sex-segregated spaces to conform with Korean cultural expectations for spatial use and, secondly, used them for intimate, one-on-one evangelism, similar to the “inquiry room” styled evangelism of Dwight Moody. These decisions put American women to work in gender roles that mimicked those of men as primary evangelists, teachers, and tacit pastors to Korean women. These changes in theology, changes in spatial arrangements, and changes in gender roles characterized the Southern Presbyterian mission to Korea.

Importantly, all three of these transformations, when implemented on the ground in Korea, did not contradict with one another, however, instead contributed to the success of the mission with each change supporting the others. While the Southern Presbyterians espoused a conservative evangelical theology, that included conservative social values, their mission theology, based in their belief that they could help usher in the second coming of Jesus, superseded the upholding of Southern gender norms for women. Further, missionaries’ intimate evangelism in sex-segregated spaces allowed for evangelism of both Korean men and women in spaces and existing religious styles Koreans already considered as appropriate for religious or quasi-religious activities.

Specifically, the analysis sheds light on the significant role a group of evangelizers dedicated to certain theological beliefs not only shape a mission’s endeavors but also the lives of the missionaries themselves. These lenses of analysis also show that much similarity existed between existing Korean spatial religious practices and the spatial evangelistic methods used by the missionaries. Also, changes within missionary gender roles can be explained which exposes the central work of evangelism done by not only single female missionaries, but married ones as well.
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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the work of one group of Protestant religious imperialists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea, by looking at the missionaries’ Christian beliefs, the ways in which the missionaries built their homes and buildings and used them for evangelism, and the jobs they performed on the mission field. The Southern Presbyterian missionaries’ Christian beliefs drew not only from the Southern Presbyterian denomination’s beliefs and doctrine, but also from more radically evangelical ideas outside the church. This more radical theology emphasized the importance of evangelizing every area of the world to bring the second coming of Jesus. Therefore, the missionaries prime and most important focus was on converting Koreans to Christianity. To accomplish their goal of converting both Korean women and men, the Southern Presbyterians made two more changes, they created spaces where men missionaries would met only with Korean men, and women missionaries would only meet with Korean women. Secondly, they used their created spaces for intimate, one-on-one evangelism. This put American women to work in jobs that mimicked those of men as primary evangelists, teachers, and tacit pastors to Korean women. These changes in beliefs, changes in spatial arrangements, and changes in the jobs men and women did characterized the Southern Presbyterian mission to Korea.

By looking at the beliefs, the ways which they organized and used space, and the jobs they did on the mission field, connections between the rise of Christianity in Korea and missionary everyday decisions, life, and jobs can be seen. Specifically, the dissertation sheds light on the significant role a group of evangelizers dedicated to certain theological beliefs not only shape a mission’s endeavors but also change the lives of the missionaries themselves. By looking at these factors, this dissertation also shows that much similarity existed between existing Korean spatial religious practices and the spatial evangelistic methods used by the missionaries. Also, changes within missionary gender roles can be explained which exposes the central work of evangelism done by not only single female missionaries, but married ones as well.
I dedicate this dissertation in memory of my father whose enthusiasm for lifelong learning I inherited. I love you and miss you dad.
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Introduction

In August of 1892 seven missionaries from the Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States set sail to evangelize Korea, a small country half-way around the world. Three men, W.D. Reynolds, William Junkin, and L.B. Tate, and four women, Patsy Reynolds, Mary Junkin, Linnie Davis, and Mattie Tate made the journey. The missionaries approached their upcoming work in Korea with considerable faith and enthusiasm. Only months earlier, the Southern Presbyterian Mission Board had soundly rejected the applications of Reynolds, Junkin and Tate to start a mission in Korea. Not deterred, however, the men continued to pray daily for an opportunity to become missionaries to Korea.¹ Not long after, the Southern Presbyterian Mission Board did change their minds and contacted the applicants writing only, “Prepare to sail in August.”² They received the telegram on January 22, 1892, just five months before they sailed. The want-to-be missionaries believed the Board’s decision was a direct result of their importunity in prayer and that their desire to evangelize in Korea had the direct blessing of God. A donation from two Northern Presbyterians of $2,500 to start the Korea mission did much to change the Board’s mind.³

While the missionaries showed great zeal for their mission, the short time to prepare left them with very little understanding of Korean customs and culture. Rather than spending

¹ Type written biographical information on W.D. Reynolds, Box 2 folder1, RG 451, Reynolds and Groves Family Papers, circa 1870s – 1987, Presbyterian Historical Society. From here on out I will abbreviate the Presbyterian Historical Society as PHS.
² Anabel Nesbit, Day In and Day out in Korea, (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1819), 19.
³ Nesbit, Day In and Day out in Korea, 18-19.
time studying before they left America, the group spent most of their time preparing to leave and raising money for their new mission. Also, the prevailing designation of Korea among Westerners, and the missionaries, as the “Hermit” Kingdom increased the “mystery” of the country for the missionaries.4 (According to many in the West, since Americans and Europeans knew little about the country, then it must have acted like a “Hermit,” hiding itself from the world. This imperial and condescending designation belies the long history of Korea’s engagement with the countries of East Asia). However little they understood, the group arrived in Korea in 1892, determined to promote their own missionary theology and bring Korea, and specifically the southwestern area of the country, their mission field, into the “kingdom of God.”5

As the Southern Presbyterian mission established itself in Korea, they began to negotiate their presence and work within the customs of Korea. The missionaries’ theology, heavily influenced by the late nineteenth century non-denominational American evangelist, Dwight Moody, and the evangelical Student Volunteer Movement, rested heavily on proselytizing, on bringing Koreans into the “Kingdom of God.” The missionaries believed, as did Moody and the SVM, that evangelizing the world would help bring about the second coming of Jesus, the principal religious figure in Christianity.6 This priority of creating new Christians

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4 Nesbit, Day In and Day out in Korea, 17.
5 Kingdom of God” is a designation used in the English translation of the Bible that has complex theological meaning, however, for the missionaries it signified that a person had converted to Christianity so therefore they were now a member of the “kingdom of God.”
6 As Jesus left the earth, according to Mark 16:15, he told his disciples: “Go the whole world over, and proclaim the Good News to all mankind.” Mark 16:15, Weymouth New Testament. This verse coupled with a verse in Acts gives some of the Biblical backing for this belief. Acts 1:10-11 says this: “But, while they stood intently gazing into the sky as He went, suddenly there were two men in white garments standing by them, who said, ‘Galileans, why stand looking into the sky? This same Jesus who has been taken up from you into Heaven will come in just the same way as you have seen Him going into Heaven’” Acts 1:10-11, Weymouth New Testament.
rather than addressing the physical and social needs of Koreans was the driving force behind their move to Korea and remained their most important motivation during the first two decades of the mission. They were not willing to step away from their primary mission of evangelizing Korea for the purpose of bringing about the second coming of Jesus into a type of mission work that fore fronted medical or teaching work.

To evangelize, however, they would have to navigate Korean culture. In the late nineteenth century, although many changes toward “modernization” had begun in Korea, traditional Neo-Confucian societal order prevailed, especially in the southwest of Korea. One of the dominant features of Neo-Confucian society were strict delineations on who could be in, or not be in, certain spaces. Women, for instance, could not be in the same space with men. Therefore, Southern Presbyterian male missionaries could not easily evangelize Korean women, especially one-on-one or in small groups. Evangelism directed towards individuals or small groups, however, was an important tactic in their evangelistic method.

To address some of the spatial issues they perceived as hindering their evangelism, Southern Presbyterian missionaries began to accommodate to Korean spatial culture. For example, when the Southern Presbyterian missionaries L.B. Tate and his sister, Martha, “Mattie,” Tate began their mission work in Chunju Korea, one of L.B.’s first tasks was to modify his sister’s one room house. He refashioned the native Korean home by enclosing the porch with boxes to create a bedroom leaving the other space for encounters between herself and Korean women.7 With this modification, L.B. and Mattie turned Mattie’s home into a space for a bed and a space for intimate evangelical Christian encounters with Korean women, free from

7 L.B. Tate, “The Opening of Chunju Station”, folder 26, Box 3, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS.
L.B. Tate lived in a completely separate house and met with Korean men in his home opening personal intimate space for encounters with Korean men.

The description above of rearranging space, reveals three important aspects of the work of Southern Presbyterian missionaries, a focus on intimate encounters with Koreans, spatial arrangements to accommodate that interaction, and sex-segregated work among the missionaries themselves. Much of the early work of the Southern Presbyterian mission was not done within the traditional space of a “church” or separated building, but within the spaces of their homes where, due to Korean cultural expectations, female missionaries evangelized Korean women and male missionaries evangelized Korean men. Within these smaller spaces, missionaries created a type of evangelism based on small group or one-on-one encounters between missionaries and possible Korean converts. This was a tactic very similar to the “inquiry rooms” used by the evangelist Dwight Moody that called for intimate encounters with those who were interested in converting. Because of the intimacy of these encounters, questions could be asked and answered, and personal prayer could be given. In Korea, Southern Presbyterian missionaries moved Christian work from the church to created spaces in the home and women moved into roles as tacit pastors, evangelists, and teachers to Korean women.

*Argument*
In analyzing these aspects of intimate, sex-segregated mission encounters, I argue that three important transformations premised the success of the work of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea, changes in theology, changes in spatial arrangements, particularly of the home, and changes in gender norms for women and adaptations in gender roles for men. The Southern Presbyterian’s missionary theology drew not only from Presbyterian beliefs and doctrine, but also from more radical ideas outside the church. This more radical theology emphasized the importance of and expedient nature in achieving world evangelism. To advance world evangelism as quickly as possible, the missionaries’ primary focus became converting Koreans to Christianity. Therefore, to convert Koreans, both Korean women and men, the Southern Presbyterians made two more changes, they created sex-segregated spaces to conform with Korean cultural expectations for spatial use and, secondly, used them for “inquiry room“ styled one-on-one evangelism. This put American women to work in gender roles that mimicked those of men as primary evangelists, teachers, and tacit pastors to Korean women. These changes in theology, changes in spatial arrangements, and changes in gender roles characterized the Southern Presbyterian mission to Korea.

Importantly, all three of these transformations, when implemented on the ground in Korea, did not contradict with one another, however, instead contributed to the success of the mission with each change supporting the others. While the Southern Presbyterians espoused a conservative evangelical theology, that included conservative social values, their mission theology, based in their belief that they could help usher in the second coming of Jesus, superseded the upholding of Southern gender norms for women. Further, missionaries’ intimate evangelism in sex-segregated spaces allowed for evangelism of both Korean men and
women in spaces and existing religious styles Koreans already considered as appropriate for religious or quasi-religious activities.

*Stakes: Effects of Theological Commitments, Spatial Commensurability, and the Work of Women*

The results of this dissertation add to the scholarship on Protestant missionary imperialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, the dissertation shows the ways that evangelistic theology, spatial commensurability, and missionaries’ changed gender roles affected the societal dynamics and type of mission work done by a group of evangelizers in southwest Korea. By using three fields of analysis not often used together, new connections between missionary inner social dynamics and the rise of Christianity in Korea can be seen. Firstly, the analysis sheds light on the significant role theological beliefs played in not only shaping the type of mission work done by the missionaries but also the lives of the missionaries themselves. In addition, the work in the dissertation shows that much similarity existed between the spatially driven evangelistic methods used by the missionaries and late nineteenth century Korean spatial religious practices, paving the way for the acceptability of Christian practices. Furthermore, the analysis shows that changes within missionary gender roles, because of the missionaries’ commitments to conservative, evangelical theological beliefs and spatial commensurability, exposes the central work of evangelism done by not only single female missionaries, but married ones as well. The story of the rise of Christianity in Korea cannot be told without recognizing the significant role women played in establishing Christianity in the country.
The number of Christians in South Korea today, almost thirty percent of the population, shows the rapid rise of the religion over the last century and a half. Christianity is second to “no religious affiliation” and ahead of those who profess Buddhism as their religion. Also, the numbers that missionaries published for the first decade of the twentieth century point to an exponential rise in the religion during this time. This relative success of the mission effort in Korea and its legacy fuels much of the research on Christianity in Korea.

Several arguments have been made by scholars concerning the rise of Christianity in Korea. One area of research points to spiritual considerations such as word choices made by missionaries for the Christian God that dovetailed with existing ideas of a high god in shamanism, a type of purposeful syncretism. Missionaries, themselves, looking back on this early growth in the 1950s, credited a particular methodology of mission work or “missiology”, known as the Nevius system as the reason for the popularity of the religion.

The problem with crediting just syncretism or a missiological method is that they do not take into account other possible analyses beyond the spiritual. The spiritual is undoubtedly important, and I argue that in this dissertation, however, the “Why” of the rise of Christianity in Korea is a complex question with a multifaceted answer, a point made by scholar of Korean religion, Albert Park. Societal changes in the late Joseon Dynasty, the waning of the Confucian

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order, the impacts of imperialism, the weakness of the Dynasty on the East Asian political stage, and the annexation of Korea by Japan cannot be ignored in the analyses process. The rise of Christianity can best be understood by looking to a number of factors, most likely, I would contend, a “perfect storm” of reasons, dynamics and influences.

Space and Gender

In adding to this “perfect storm” of elements, I argue that lenses other than spiritual or political can also help explain the rise of Christianity in Korea. In particular, theories from scholars working on space and gender. Space is never a neutral backdrop and gender norms speak directly to the power relations in a group. By applying theoretical frameworks, the role of spatial commensurability and changes in gender power dynamics can be recognized and explored.

There are reasons for and consequences to the decisions made by missionaries concerning the spaces they constructed for interaction with Koreans. Built space is constructed, it does not just “happen.” The intentional spaces built by the missionaries become an important dynamic in the receptivity of Christianity in Korea. Spatial theorist Henri Lefebvre contends that the production of space comes out of specific social conditions and through social action. The Americans’ move to Korea produced specific social conditions, different from those they left in America. Lefebvre also asserts “(social) space is a (social) product;” that every society produces

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its own space. A society “produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it.” As Southern Presbyterian missionaries settled in Korea, they mastered the spaces they obtained to maximize converts. Further Lefebvre argues, “From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space,” (spatial practice). I contend that much can be learned about the society of missionaries through deciphering their built space. In agreement with religious studies scholar and theorist Kim Knott, who contends that religion is inherently social and thus must articulate itself via space, I argue that the Southern Presbyterians articulated their beliefs, evangelistic methods, and social practices in the spaces they produced.

The lens of gender also plays a large role in the analysis of this dissertation. Historian Joan Scott persuasively and firmly opened the door to the importance of gender as a lens of analysis in her essay, “Gender a Useful Category of Analysis.” Gender, according to Scott, points not only to perceived difference but to power differentials. Historians of gender have shown that when men’s relationship to women changes, new constructions of gender follow.

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14 Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 38. Of course these missionaries projected their power and wealth through space as well; however, since I am looking at the inner dynamics of the group itself and the impact of specific spatial choices commensurable with Korean culture for religious practice, I am not addressing their projection of wealth through space. Much work in post-colonialism has unequivocally shown missionaries projection of wealth,
17 Much work has been done on gender analysis in history, especially after Joan Scotts publication, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *American Historical Review*, vol. 91 no. 5, (1985), 1053 – 1075. Scott argues that gender is often based on perceived difference, but it also signifies power differentials. Scott contends that historians should look at social and political constructions of gender as this will bring new light into the history of male institutions.
Gender is not just a term used to identify biological distinctions, but constructions of gender establish hierarchies of power, whether that power is to keep the upper-hand in the Jim Crow south as Glenda Gilmore has shown, or establish patriarchal dominance in colonial America as Kelly A. Ryan has shown.\(^{19}\) Gender roles for men are often constructed through ideas of what constitutes masculinity and what does not.\(^{20}\) Gender historian, R.W. Connell argues that men continually develop hierarchical or “hegemonic” masculinities, which attempt to always produce dominance over women and dominant hierarchies among men.\(^{21}\) Masculinity is dynamic and not static and constructed through male hierarchies as well as men’s relationship with women. When men’s relationship to women changes, men move to establish another way to remain dominant.

The American’s move to Korea, along with changed societal conditions in Korea, formed a setting in which social relationships evolved and power dynamics among individuals transformed. The American men’s desire to hold on to American masculine control over all the operations and people of the mission, actually opened the door for much involvement in the spread of the religion by American women, and Korean men and women. As men try to remain dominant, it does not mean that they necessarily can oversee all the quotidian activities of those they want to dominate.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{20}\) This too supports Butler’s idea of the performativity of gender.


Space and gender also do not operate separately, but as feminist geographers have shown, much can be learned about gender roles and norms by looking at the built spaces women occupied and when, times of the day, women occupied them. Feminist geographer Gillian Rose argues in that, “Time geographer’s [geographers that use the framework of space and time in looking at geography] particular masculinity is established through their assumption that all space is white, bourgeois, heterosexual masculine public space. They deny other possibilities, including an Other.” In not denying the importance of women, by looking at where women were in a space at any given time, helps to illuminate what they were doing. American women missionaries often ministered very early in the mornings, as well as late at night to fit the schedules of Korean women. These times are outside of the “normal” working day. The spaces they performed them in as well were not in “churches,” but in the intimate spaces of their homes or the homes of Korean women.

Historical background

This dissertation predominately adds to the work of Protestant missions in Korea during the time period of 1884 – 1920, from the arrival of the first Protestant missionary until ten years after the annexation of Korea by Japan, a time when mission work becomes more institutionalized. Out of the three East Asian countries of China, Japan and Korea, Korea was the

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last to see an influx of Western missionaries. By 1884, Western Protestant missionaries had been active in China for almost fifty years and in Japan for almost thirty years.\textsuperscript{24} The first mission groups to all three countries though came from Catholics not Protestants.

Catholicism was the first Christian group to make an impact in East Asian society. As a general trend, Jesuit and Dominican priests followed the trade routes of merchants from Portugal and Spain and as trade began, missionaries quickly followed. The development of Catholicism in Japan followed this trend and China’s first missionary, an Italian, started his mission work from the Portuguese settlement of Macao. In Korea, however, Korean believers were the first missionaries, and the first priest was Chinese. In all three countries, however, conflicts between traditional East Asian values and loyalties conflicted with the values and loyalties of Catholicism, a mix that eventually led to persecution and a near complete decimation of the religion in East Asia before the mid-nineteenth century.

While evidence exists that knowledge of Christianity existed in China before Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci arrived, historians most often date the beginning of mission work in East Asia from his arrival and interaction with Ming Dynasty officials between 1582-1610.\textsuperscript{25} In China, as well as in Japan and Korea, the first missionaries were Catholic Jesuits and Dominicans. Ricci’s journals, preserved and translated into many languages, told the story not only of his travels in China, but also of the Christian mission work he did.\textsuperscript{26} Ricci understood the importance of the long-standing Chinese tradition of Confucian thought and, rather than

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[24]{Protestant missionaries became active in printing Christian material in 1830.}
\end{footnotes}
demanding complete change to Christian worship Western style, he instead taught that Christianity was not separate from Confucianism, but instead completed Confucianism. He used Chinese terms to explain Christianity, including the term *Tianzhu shiya* (The true meaning of the Lord of heaven) for the Christian God. This term pointed to a longstanding Chinese term for “heaven” and as Ricci argued, the Christian God actually represented the true meaning of *Tian* or “heaven.”

Ricci’s methods of accommodating to Chinese culture and language, however, eventually came to an end, and the Jesuits were expelled from China. In settling what became known as the Rites Controversy, Pope Clement XI banned ancestor worship in 1715. And in response, the Qing emperor banned Christianity. During the reign of the first three emperors of the Qing Dynasty, Christianity remained outlawed in China. Although Catholicism remained within a remnant of believers, those numbers fluctuated as the Qing mounted periodic persecutions. Due to the refusal to accommodate to Chinese cultural points of contact, the Catholic church’s official mission in China was short lived.

Japan also has a story of acceptance then rejection of Catholic missionaries. Jesuits entered Japan along with Portuguese and Spanish traders, with the first, Francis Xavier arriving in Japan in 1549. At first the Jesuits concentrated their efforts on the elites in society and managed to intrigue and subsequently convert some *daimyo* (Japanese feudal Lords) around the area of their mission station in Nagasaki. Dominican priests, many from Spain, however,


who arrived in the late sixteenth century concentrated on converting the commoners of Japan. By 1610, historians estimate that 2% of Japan had converted to Christianity. After the unification of Japan in 1600 and establishment of rule under Tokugawa Ieyasu, the new Shogun began to eliminate all perceived rivals, including Christians. While the number of Catholics in Japan is small today, a stronghold of the religion still exists around Nagasaki.

Catholicism entered Korea at a much later date than China or Japan. The faith also was not brought by outside Western missionaries, but by a Korean scholar official who converted to the new religion during a visit to Qing China in 1784. The religion grew to include around 10,000 believers by 1801. Scholars believe that Christianity’s egalitarian message of conversion for anyone, no matter their place in the social hierarchy, drove the rapid rise in converts. This large growth, however, garnered the attention of Joseon Dynasty officials who determined that Catholic beliefs, especially the renunciation of ancestor worship by Papal decree, undermined Confucian society. Persecutions followed and it is estimated that the Joseon Dynasty executed as many as 9,000 Catholics during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Protestant Missionaries Enter East Asia

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29 Historian George Elison argued that Christians brought much of this persecution on themselves through their entanglements in the politics of the day and adherence to a dogmatic insistence that only God receive their supreme loyalty. Elison, George. *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan.* 1 ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 1973).


Protestant mission groups, which eventually comprised representatives from over 30 different Christian institutions, began to infiltrate East Asia in the early nineteenth century. Missionaries came in force to the region after the signing of the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing, an unequal agreement between Britain and China which ended the First Opium War and opened up certain Chinese port cities for the work of missionaries. Other unequal treaties opened Japan and Korea to missionary presence in 1859 and 1883 respectively. Missionaries later moved inland through further unequal treaties (China and Japan) or missionary interpretation of treaties (Korea). The methods, and to some degree the beliefs, varied among missionary groups in the three countries as in the Protestant movement there was no central overriding authority, such as the Pope, to decide on issues of ways in which missionaries might accommodate to indigenous cultures. The very word Protestant comes from the word “protest” over such concentrated power. Mission work varied according to conditions on the ground in the area or country in which they worked.

Protestant denominations determined their own emphasis in mission work, and in many missions a “civilizing mission” trumped an evangelical one. Most often, after little success in evangelism, missionaries changed their focus, especially in the later half of the nineteenth century.

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33 Port cities opened for missionary work
century. Following a trend popular in the United States, missionaries moved towards a more “social gospel,” whose proponents felt “provided the foundation for social and political reforms designed to eliminate poverty, disease, filth and immorality.” These ideas of bringing “social uplift” to indigenous people, or “civilizing mission,” in essence, created American civilization as superior to that of East Asia and white people as superior to those of color. Missionaries often had similar goals, if not methods, as political colonizers in desiring to control and indoctrinate indigenous peoples. By espousing a “civilizing mission,” Western imperial countries could justify their religious and political imperialism through the idea of bringing “civilization” to “uncivilized” peoples.

Not all, but many Protestant missionaries in China, Japan and Korea put an emphasis on the civilizing mission over one that emphasized evangelism, especially around the turn of the twentieth century. Protestant missionaries poured into China after the signing of the Nanjing Treaty in 1842, and began to work in port cities. The earliest emphasis of mission work in China was evangelism, but producing converts turned out to be very difficult. The missionaries laid their failure to produce converts squarely at the feet of the Chinese proclaiming it as indicative of Chinese “ignorance, their dullness of conscience, their racial pride and their conservatism.” All of which showed the hubris and non-understanding of Chinese culture present in the

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missionaries. The Chinese, in turn, were wary of the “barbaric” Westerners who propagated a “gospel of love” with the backing of military might, were insensitive to Chinese cultural norms, and alienated the scholar gentry class by passing moral judgements on their actions, an act which was in direct opposition to the morality present in Confucianism.40

In response to this disappointing evangelical work, many Protestant mission groups began to employ different methods in their efforts. These groups believed that Chinese society needed to be “prepared” to accept Christianity and this preparation was “more important than the conventional approach of conversion.”41 By the late nineteenth century, most of the missionary groups, except for the China Inland Mission, prioritized establishing medical facilities and schools over evangelism.42

Protestant missionaries to Japan, like China, also encountered much resistance to evangelism. Strong ties to Shintoism and Buddhism existed among the Japanese, as well as the lingering memory of Tokugawa resistance to and persecution of Christian believers. After the signing of the Harris Treaty in 1858 which opened treaty ports for Americans, missionaries arrived in Japan. Due to their legal limitations on travel as well as proselytizing, missionaries concentrated on education, teaching the English language, and translating. Japan, on its own quest to achieve “modernity,” tried to prioritize a “civilizing” type of mission over an evangelistic one for the missionaries. Open evangelism of Christianity did not begin until the removal of the Edicts Against Christianity in 1873. However, within the context of the rising

40 Ling, The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952, 26
42 Ian Tyrell’s work shows this change in the late nineteenth century as Protestant hopes of a Christian empire devolved into the production of a moral empire instead as work focused on social programs over evangelism. Tyrel, Reforming the World.
Japanese nationalism of the late nineteenth century, loyalty played a role in the negative image of Christianity as loyalty to God could supersede loyalty to the Emperor. Because of the relatively short window missionaries ultimately had for meaningful evangelism in Japan, along with the waxing and waning of the popularity of Western learning, scholars argue indigenous Japanese Christians did much more evangelizing than the missionaries themselves.43

In a difference with China and Japan, Protestant missionaries in Korea (more widely known in the late nineteenth century as Joseon) seemed to experience less resistance to Christianity. Statistical numbers such as the large increase in converts between the years 1901-1910, from 26,643 to 214,960, as well as the present-day numbers of Christians in South Korea (27% of the population) help drive that narrative even though Protestant missions in Korea began almost fifty years after China and almost thirty years after Japan. 44

The first Protestant missionary to Korea, Northern Presbyterian Horace Allen, came not overtly as a missionary but clandestinely as a doctor with the first American diplomatic legation to arrive in Seoul. At the beginning of the Protestant’s work, the Joseon Dynasty continued to have edicts against Christianity, however, Allen helped save the life of a member of the royal family which helped Christians, and Americans, to find favor in the eyes of King Gojong. Protestant Christianity grew relatively quickly in Korea, especially after 1895. This cannot, however, be solely attributed to missionaries, but also to the small already existing presence of Korean Christians, as well as the actions of the conservative members of the Northern

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Presbyterian mission. The Northern Presbyterians despite the edicts, and to Allen’s dismay as he prioritized a social gospel over an evangelical one, proselytized, if not openly, actively.

American missionaries to Korea also benefited from the prior mission knowledge of their cohorts in China and Japan. Because these earlier East Asian mission groups often worked in the same area duplicating their efforts, within 10 years of the beginning of work in Korea, the Protestants decided not to compete and spatially divided Korea into different districts where one Protestant denomination would have sole control to operate their mission work in that area.\textsuperscript{45} (Larger cities such as Seoul and Pyeong Yang could have more than one denomination.)

Six denominations entered the comity agreement, Northern and

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{comity_map_for_Korea_(s.d.)_(Taylor_box45num19).jpg}
\caption{Comity Map of Korea (Public Domain)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{45} Methodist Episcopal Church, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons
Southern Methodist Episcopal of the United States, Northern and Southern Presbyterian of the United States, Australian Presbyterian, and Canadian Presbyterian. While areas would overlap at times, the denominations stuck to this agreement. The Southern Presbyterian mission was the purple area in southwest Korea on the map, an area not yet evangelized by the earlier arriving northerners.

While the comity agreement brought a degree of cooperation and unity among the mission groups, there arose a difference in the work of the two major denominations, the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterians. The Methodist Episcopal eventually moved more towards a “civilizing mission” and the conservative Presbyterians made a conscious decision to forefront evangelism over medical or education work. While neither denomination completely “quit” evangelizing or “civilizing,” there was a difference in emphasis.

American Political Interest (and non-interest) in Korea

The mission to Korea played out in the broader circumstances of American imperialism. While several countries sent missionaries to Korea, most of the Protestant missionaries came from the United States, including the Southern Presbyterians, and as stated earlier, the first Protestant missionary came under the guise of “personnel” for the American legation. From the beginning of the Korea mission, strong ties existed between the religious and political

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communities. Something that continued throughout the years the American legation remained in Seoul. Protestant missionaries to Korea arrived on the coattails of American diplomats.

American interest in the Pacific region dates from the very earliest years of the American republic. Ink had scarcely dried on the Constitution when traders bearing the American flag sailed to trade in China. Less than one hundred years later, America vied with other Western nations for influence in and exploitation of China, Japan, and Korea. Scholars have debated why America would be interested in the Pacific region, an area so far-removed from the country. Often answers to this question fall into some kind of continuation of an expansion West by America, whether following Seward’s extension into Alaska or a natural progression after America’s great push to the far west. 47 Capitalistic interests, globalization and the desire to compete with European countries for status on the world stage are also proposed answers to this question. 48 What is clear is that economics alone did not drive the push across the Pacific. Increases in economic power in an imperialist state are intrinsically connected with political power in imperialized regions of the world, as well as their position on the world stage.

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47 Historian of American strategic thought, Michael Green, contends that American engagement with the Pacific quietly spread during the last third of the nineteenth century as a result of early forays in the region by Secretary of State Seward who promoted a “grand strategic vision for Asia and the Pacific.” Green, By More Than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asian Pacific since 1783, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

57. Bruce Cumings sees the move into Asia as a natural part of America’s move west across the country and then further west into the Pacific. Korea’s involvement with American Imperialism would ultimately be a part of this push into the “Far West.” Bruce Cumings, Dominion from Sea to Sea: Pacific Ascendancy and American Power (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 55

48 Peter Thomson, W. Stanley, and John Curtis Perry point to the end of the Civil War as a significant turning point because as America fought for unity, they eschewed revolution and developed an idea of themselves as a country more on par with European nations, therefore in a position to engage in the same kinds of activities on the world stage as Europeans. Peter Thomson, W. Stanley, and John Curtis Perry Sentimental Imperialists - The American Experience in East Asia, (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), 95. Bernard Porter argues that America is a “terrifically capitalist” country and expansion arises from the intrinsic economic desire to “dominate or control” other countries through mostly economic means. 48 British historian Anthony Hopkins argues that American expansion was a part of and response to processes brought on by globalization. Anthony Hopkins, American Empire: A Global History, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 261.
A motivation, however, that cannot be left out and that became closely intertwined with economic and political interests, was America’s drive to take Christianity to the world. Historian Ian Tyrell writes the following in connection with American national imperial policy and its connection to religion in the late 19th century:

American imperialism has a strong tone of evangelical moral reform, even officially as seen in the pious reflections on the acquisition of the Philippines by President McKinley. There is a strong case for historians to investigate the importance of evangelical religion in the ideas of American policy-makers in the late nineteenth century.49

Tyrell is referring to McKinley’s declaration that after praying about whether to fight in the Philippines, he decided to go ahead and decide on annexation.50 Few scholars take the religion of McKinley or the religion of other contemporary actors seriously, however, along with economic and political interests, Christian religious interests also pushed American imperialism into the Pacific region. Most missionaries from America traveled with American imperialists to be purveyors of the Christian religion. Missionaries were an important and strategic part of America’s imperial plan. American policy makers believed missionaries would do the imperial work of “civilizing” and “converting” Koreans.

The American political, commercial, as well as religious presence in Korea began when America signed a treaty with Korea in 1882 that favored U.S. trade and pushed open the doors of Korea to the United States and extended her hegemony in the region. A flurry of activity followed from setting up a U.S. diplomatic presence to sending in missionaries. Then the United

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50 Hopkins, American Empire: A Global History, 381.
States seemed to pull back from Korea. During the years that America had a delegation in Korea, the highest diplomatic office in Seoul was often left unfilled leaving the legation presence in Seoul often occupied with lower ranking diplomats who could not get the attention of Washington. For Korea, this disinterest violated the good-offices clause of the treaty which stated that “If another power deals unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement thus showing their friendly feelings,” however, the United States rarely interceded when Korea asked for their intervention.51 In actuality, America had little interest in Korea beyond establishing favorable conditions for entrepreneurs and establishing missionaries in the country.

In the years after the United States signed a treaty with Korea, China and Japan fought over the peninsula in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895. The war produced a seismic shift in the traditional balance of power in East Asia from China to Japan.52 The treaty so favored Japan that European countries stepped in to curb the country’s growing power by amending Chinese concessions. The United States did nothing, even though they were considered by Korea as the “friendliest of powers.”53 As a result, Korea continued to fall under Japanese influence and imperialism.

Another war between Russia and Japan over the Korean peninsula followed in 1904-1905. Japan again won. American president Theodore Roosevelt brokered the Treaty of

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52 Green, *By More Than Providence*, 69.
Portsmouth and won a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. The treaty gutted Russia’s power, left Japan as the most powerful country in East Asia and opened the door for Japan to establish Korea as a protectorate, which Roosevelt acknowledged in 1908. Japan went on to annex Korea as a colony in 1910. The American diplomatic corps left, but the missionaries remained as Japan turned Korea into a Japanese colony. American business interests slowly sold most of their enterprises to Japan.

While Korea expected the United States to intervene to help protect them from the changing power dynamics occurring in East Asia in the late nineteenth century, America was more interested in establishing their own colony in the Philippines. The Joseon Dynasty petered out under pressure from outside powers and ultimately came under the power and domination of Japan. This dissertation’s time frame is within these years of upheaval and change.

*Missionary connections with American power – Negotiating Space in Korea*

As American political, economic, and religious tentacles stretched into East Asia during the second half of the nineteenth century, Christians in the United States began to identify these “un-Christianized” areas as places where they could go “into the world and take the gospel to all creation.” The Southern Presbyterian denomination, along with many other Christian groups, began to send missionaries into the Pacific region. The denomination first entered China in 1867, Japan in 1886 and Korea in 1892. Meeting minutes from the 1886

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54 Green, *By More Than Providence*, 99.
55 Mark 16:15.
General Assembly, proclaimed (a) “that Presbyterianism cannot accomplish its mission unless it becomes more aggressive; (b) that constant aggressiveness—in other words, preaching the gospel in the regions beyond—is one great mission of the church; that preaching the gospel to the poor is the distinguishing characteristic of the true church.” The Southern Presbyterian Church of the late nineteenth century prioritized mission work in “regions beyond.” Before they sent missionaries to Korea, they had already sponsored missionaries to China, Japan, Brazil and the Congo.

The Southern Presbyterians came eight years after Horace Allen, in 1894. As mentioned earlier, Allen arrived just in time to treat Queen Min’s nephew, Min Young Ik, who was injured in an assassination attempt as part of the Gapsin Coup. Due to the doctor’s medical abilities in saving the life of Min, Allen gained favor with King Gojong. This began the negotiation of American missionary presence in Korea. Joseon Dynasty statues outlawed Christianity, and especially proselytizing Christianity, nevertheless, Gojong remained interested in Western medical and scientific knowledge and allowed for the establishment of hospitals and then schools. He also allowed American missionaries to continue Christian worship services and rites among themselves.

Allen also provided missionaries with another important connection. Since the Joseon Dynasty outlawed Christianity, Allen did not come to Korea as a missionary, but as the doctor attached to the American legation. The legation arrived in 1894, along with Allen, after America

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57 Johnson, A History of the Southern Presbyterian Church, 369.
58 As mentioned in the introduction, the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were a politically volatile time in Korean history. There existed differing factions aligned with outside powers vying for control. The Gapsin coup was an unsuccessful attempt by a reform oriented faction aligned with Japan to seize power in Korea.
signed The Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation in 1892. The treaty greatly favored the United States in its terms and mimicked other “unequal” treaties enforced through the “gunboat diplomacy” of the West; however, in Korea’s case, the first successful “gunboat diplomacy” came from Japan. The treaty included both extraterritoriality and most favored nation status for the Americans. The United States, however, did not extend these privileges to Koreans coming to America.

Southern Presbyterian missionaries sometimes ignored laws concerning the proselytizing of religion, for example, in the early days of the Northern Presbyterian mission, when Korea still outlawed proselytizing, missionary Horace Underwood, against the protests of fellow Presbyterian Horace Allen, who was less evangelical than Underwood, secretly baptized Korean believers who travelled to Seoul for the rite.59 However, for establishing their space in Korea, the missionaries relied on their ideas of the rule of law. A combination of their purpose to promote Christianity, along with their education and ability to make arguments about existing treaty law, often accomplished the purpose of obtaining physical space in Korea for the mission.60

Obtaining space for Protestant mission work was a dynamic process of negotiation in which missionaries continually asserted what they saw as their legal rights according to treaty law. When missionaries met resistance from local officials over obtaining physical space, they often insisted on help from the American legation which, in turn, acted as an intermediary

between the missionaries and the Korean government officials. While the negotiations did not always turn out in favor of the missionaries, they often obtained some kind of accommodation for a spatial presence through negotiation – a negotiation that was firmly waged on their own Western terms.

When American missionaries encountered resistance to obtaining physical space, they would start the process of negotiation by writing and sending a petition to the American legation in Seoul. Once missionaries presented a petition to the legation office, the American diplomats then decided whether or not they would pursue the request and negotiate the problem with Korean officials. As the legation would not automatically agree to negotiate for missionaries, in order to achieve their objectives, missionaries needed to present their petitions to American diplomats couched in terms that seemed to make their request in the best interest of the United States. Therefore, missionaries based their petitions in Western ideas of the rule of law, most often treaty law. Missionaries did not dispute laws but worked within the framework of Western ideas of interpreting laws in order to secure physical space in which to work. Korean scholar Sung Kwang Cha argues that “in staking their claims, missionaries – along with the U.S. legation – attempted to force the Choson [sic] state to abide by their visions of what constituted a rational and legal argument.” Missionaries, through the legation, contested with Korean officials to accept Western legal rationale concerning the interpretation of law and not just treaty law, when applicable, Korean law as well.

While arguments based in law are seemingly nonviolent, Walter Benjamin’s well-known essay “Critique of Violence” brings this misnomer into question. According to Benjamin, law

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61 Sung, Contesting Obligations, 51.
and violence are intricately related. For example, in the Korean case, lurking behind the negotiations with Korean officials, is the potential for violence. This violence would be a result of the “guilt” of Koreans for not upholding the “law” as the Americans interpreted that law. With American strength on the world stage rising, along with an earlier invasion into Korea by the Americans, the violence behind not upholding laws as Americans saw fit was real. Korea’s lack of strength on the world stage left it vulnerable to the violence of Western law.

An example of Presbyterian missionary Samuel Moffet’s attempt to obtain land in the interior of Korea in 1892 around Pyongyang, illuminates these legal negotiations. In the early days of the mission, Americans both Methodists and Presbyterians, could not buy land outside of treaty ports. Pyongyang was not a treaty port. Instead, Korean Christians bought land in their name, which the missions used. Two years later, in 1894, Korean officials including the governor of the area arrested the Korean men who bought land for the Methodists and threatened to execute them for making a way for missionaries to reside in the city illegally. Before Korean officials realized that the Presbyterians had done the same thing, Moffett communicated with the American legation explaining the missionaries’ interpretation of the law. According to scholar Sung Kwang cha, Moffett made a five-point argument to the legation defending his actions. In the letter Moffett supports his actions by claiming that no law had been broken in the transactions for land, he didn’t buy the land, nor live on it, and the deeds had been properly recorded in Seoul, therefore, Governor Min needed to release the Korean prisoners. Governor Min argued that the missionaries may not have transgressed the law, but they did

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63 Sung, Contesting Obligations, 69
transgress the law’s intention. Americans based their arguments to the Korean officials in what they saw as using “rational” legal arguments based in written law not intent. Based on these arguments, the American legation did negotiate for the missionaries and the legation’s negotiations concerning land around Pyongyang were successful. Within this negotiation, Americans not only claimed treaty law but also brought into question Korean law concerning its own citizens. In this incident of claiming a dispassionate “law” as the source for obtaining land, the American interpretation destroyed the Korean intent for the law. Behind American interpretation of law stood American power and the threat of American violence.

Despite this threat, however, missionaries were not always successful in negotiating for land they desired in Korea. Korean officials forced Southern Presbyterian missionary William Reynolds to return land and remove the homes built on the land as it was “sacred to the memory of the Korean King’s first ancestor.” Officials told Reynolds the land needed to be returned and the homes removed as soon as possible. Although Reynolds spent weeks in negotiations between himself, the legation and Korean officials, Reynolds ultimately gave up the land but only after he “secured a special written agreement, reimbursing Chunju station for the money spent on the two residences, and granting excellent house sites on a hill across the stream from the West Gate of Chungju.” Reynolds fought for his “rights” as he saw them using the influence of the American Legation and ultimately by securing a written agreement.

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64 Sung, *Contesting Obligations*, 69
66 “Recollections of Early Beginnings,” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 3, folder 16. PHS.
67 “Recollections of Early Beginnings,” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 3, folder 16. PHS.
While missionaries benefited from treaty law, and the power behind that law, and the American legations’ influence with Korean officials, Koreans were not agentless in deciding whether or not the missionaries obtained a physical space for their work. Physical space for missions evolved over time through a number of contestations with Korean officials, sometimes involving the King. In order to fulfill their mission from God, missionaries embarked on the very secular mission of negotiating law and demanding their rights as they saw them outlined in the American treaty with Korea.

Methodology

The trifold argument in this dissertation on the importance of theology, space, and gender came from examination of the letters, personal writings, and records of the Southern Presbyterian mission to Korea located at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In this archive, I concentrated primarily on the personal papers of the Southern Presbyterians, rather than the tracts, pamphlets, and journal articles they produced for public consumption because these sources showed the intimate day-to-day relations of the Southern Presbyterians in Korea. The letters and personal writings showed how the missionaries negotiated their roles as religious imperialists to Koreans and how those negotiations affected their social relations. They included the types of work, gender negotiations, and built spaces they created for intimate evangelism. Along with personal papers and letters, I used annual reports. Early in the mission to Korea, the first eight years or so, women gave personal reports of what they were doing. After the first eight years, however, as the mission became more
organized, these personal reports fell out of the annual records. From there on out, the reports concentrate much more on what men are doing than what women or doing. These reports then became useful in showing the difference between what was being recorded about men’s work, and what was being reported about women’s work. These annual reports were also helpful in establishing the large amount of supervisory work done by the American male missionaries.

Letters and personal writings were pivotal to my research because these sources are a space that is produced by social relations and is a product of social relations, (broadly speaking including gender, race, and religion). Just as social relations shape space and spaces shape social relations, social relations shape letters and letters shape social relations in an ongoing and dynamic way. Therefore, a letter is made up of all the life traces, experiences, social interactions, emotions, aspirations, and ideologies that have shaped the writer before the letter is ever written and which are present in the writer at a certain historically specific time and place. The action, or dynamics, present in looking at the letter in this way looks beyond the static notion of presentation.

The letters and personal writings of the missionaries I used in this dissertation, were either written to family members or friends at home in the United States. They were intimate and not written for circular dissemination among congregations of Christians at home. One missionary, Nellie Rankin, specifically told her relatives not to circulate her letters, just in case the family members ever thought that would be a good idea. The personal nature of the letters, that they contain criticisms of friends in Korea and at home, that they talk of mundane things

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like wallpaper and specific clothes to send them, show the very personal nature of the writings. The letters also though talk about their daily activities, their relationship with their husband and others in the mission, and their personal triumphs on the mission field, for example passing the last language exam or teaching Korean women to read *hangul*, the Korean alphabet. Other personal handwritten writings are sometimes meant to write a history of the work of a particular place and are placed with personal letters and papers. Other personal writings are very personal and include the notes, diaries, and journals of the missionaries.

In analyzing these personal writings, three dynamics stand out, the evangelical theology of the missionaries, the missionaries use of sex-segregated space, and the large amount of work done by women. Because women’s work does not appear often in official records, their letters and personal writings show the tremendous amount of work they did. The existence of sex-segregated spaces in which women worked with Korean women and men worked with Korean men reveal that American women were evangelizing half the population of Korea, Korean women. Also, the official records and personal writings of male missionaries point to their work as evolving into mostly supervision of the mission, not evangelism.

The result of taking an in-depth look at the social dynamics of the Southern Presbyterian mission exposes a tension between the institutional version of the success of the mission in Korea, that the use of the Nevius System of missiology as administered by the male members of the mission produced the unusual success of the mission in Korea, and the results I arrive at in this dissertation. While I don’t dismiss the use of the Nevius system, other factors centered in space, gender, and theology also played a large role in the perceived success of the Southern Presbyterian mission in Korea.
Other scholars studying Christianity in Korea have used the personal papers of the Southern Presbyterians including Daeyoung Ryu, Seung Deuk Oak, and Elizabeth Underwood in studies that concentrated more widely on Protestant missionaries in Korea. My use of the sources differs by concentrating solely on the social relations, personal theology, and gender dynamics of this one group of American missionaries in Korea in the first twenty-five years of the mission. These early years show the ways in which the missionaries accommodated to and created spaces commensurable to Korean cultural expectations for the separation of sexes in space within their homes and churches. These years, before the institutionalization of Christianity in Korea, are important in showing the role women played in the mission.

While the use of the personal writings and letters of a set of Southern Presbyterian missionaries are fruitful, it does have limitations. The sources in the archive in Philadelphia are almost all written in English and contain the biases, viewpoints, and analysis of a group of Americans. Korean voices largely remained obscured. While this dissertation points toward the work of Korean women in the rise of Christianity, it cannot, and does not, tell their story. Nor does it tell the story of early Korean Christian men. Because of the limitation of the sources, the work also does not tell the administrative history, or the political history, or the institutional history of the mission. Also, this dissertation is a study of women’s work that speaks more to southern United States gender history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century rather than to East Asian gender history. However, one of the work’s main contributions is to reveal the work done especially by married American women missionaries and how their roles and lives differed from the roles and lives of Southern United States women.
Chapter Summaries

In chapter one, I examine the changes in theology between the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea and their sending denomination in the United States. I argue that their beliefs were more radical than their denomination and align closely with the teachings of late nineteenth century evangelist Dwight Moody, and the popular Student Volunteer movement. Rather than emphasizing a social gospel, the Southern Presbyterian missionaries practiced a conservative, evangelical theology centered in the belief that their evangelizing efforts could help bring in the prophetic second coming of Jesus. This motivation drove them to make personal and intimate contact with Koreans, along the same lines as Moody's “inquiry rooms,” for the purpose of evangelism.

In chapter two, I argue that missionaries, by creating intimate spaces for personal evangelism, stepped into spatial dynamics that already had religious or quasi-religious meaning for Koreans. After arriving in Korea, missionaries made the decision to change some of their Western spatial practices to accommodate to Korean social norms for sex-segregated built space. The sex-segregated space of the Korean man’s personal study, or sarangbang, existed for debate on moral Confucian questions. Male missionaries stepped into similar spaces with an evangelistic message steeped in morality. Likewise Korean women used the domestic spaces of their homes, or anbangs, for shamanistic rituals, practices, and prayers. American women and Korean Bible women taught Korean women to read a Bible full of demons that effected everyday life, and offered Christian prayers for deliverance in the same spaces as the Korean
women had practiced shamanism. These similarities in the use of space between Koreans and Americans played an underlying role in converting Christians to Christianity.

Chapter three follows up on chapter two, by arguing that due to the missionaries’ desire to produce converts and usher in the second coming of Jesus, the group of evangelizers deliberately changed the Western spatial ideas within their homes and churches to facilitate the underlying role space played in converting Koreans to Christianity. The conservative, evangelical theology practice by the missionaries was both reflected in and supported by changes in home design and living arrangement made by the missionaries. Missionary built space was an amalgam of Eastern and Western order and materials intentionally designed to host Korean men and women in separate areas.

In chapter four, I argue that the changes in spatial accommodations led to changed gender roles for both women and men in the mission. Women experienced expanded freedom and religious authority as they became the tacit pastors, teachers, and evangelists to Korean women. These changed gender roles for women, that mimicked those of men, caused changes in the mission roles of American men, as well. Male missionaries, in order to remain dominant over American women, and Korean men, reinvented themselves as the spiritual authority who must oversee all the operations of the American women and Korean men. This created a situation where men supervised while American women, Korean men and Korean women, evangelized.

The Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea made three important changes that both supported and sustained each other as well as added to the success of the mission. These changes in theology, spatial use, and gender roles, open the door for ways to look at the rise of
Christianity in Korea outside of the decisions and actions made by male missionaries or the volatile political situation that existed at this time in Korea. In essence, this dissertation shows that the work of missionaries in sex-segregated spaces was foundational to the success of the Southern Presbyterian mission and points to a larger role in and importance of women in the rise of Christianity in Korea.
Chapter One: Radical Theology, Bringing in the Second Coming of Jesus

In 1891, Southern Presbyterian Union Seminary student W.D. Reynolds attended a religious conference in Nashville, Tennessee. The Southern Presbyterian denomination was not the sponsor, but an organization completely unaffiliated with the official church, the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance. A missionary to Korea, Horace Underwood, spoke at the conference detailing the need for more missionaries in Korea. As a result of this message, Reynolds decided definitively to go to Korea as a missionary. After the conference ended Reynolds returned to the seminary in Richmond, Virginia and recruited his friend and fellow seminarian, William Junkin to follow him to the small East Asian country on the other side of the globe. Junkin was familiar with a related organization to the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance, a group known as the Student Volunteer Movement, since his undergraduate days at William and Mary College in Lexington, Virginia. Both of these intertwined nineteenth century organizations strongly pushed Christian young people to enter the mission field in various areas around the world where America had imperial interests.

The Southern Presbyterian denomination, however, did not have Korea on their mind. They declared they did not want to send missionaries to Korea. Nevertheless, Reynolds and Junkin did not take no for an answer but daily returned to their dorm at three in the afternoon to pray for a change of heart amongst the denomination’s mission board.69 The mission board

69 Notes in the archive of Reynolds talk about this time of prayer with Junkin. PHS The time of the prayer meeting at three o’clock is asserted by Heung-Bae Park, “되는데 레이놀즈 선교사와 전킨 선교사는 매일 3 시에 기숙사 방문을 걸어 참그고 온 마음을 쏟아, 선교의 길을 열어줄 것을,” Heung-Bae Park, “Missionary William D.
did change its’ mind, with the help of a large donation from Horace Underwood’s brother, John Underwood, of Underwood typewriter fame. As a result, the two men, their wives, Patsy Bolling Reynolds and Mary Leyburn Junkin, another attendee of the Nashville conference, Boyd Tate and his sister, Mattie Tate, as well as single female missionary, Linnie Davis, set out for Korea.

While, the Reynolds, Junkins, Tates and Davis, went to the mission field as part of the Southern Presbyterian denomination, their theological views, influenced by organizations and movements outside of the official church, were more radical than the church they left in the United States. The Southern Presbyterian’s writings will show that they followed more closely the teachings of Dwight Moody, the Student Volunteer Movement, and their affiliated organizations, than Southern Presbyterian doctrine. This radical, conservative, theology, which originated in movements in the United States, underlay Southern Presbyterian mission work in Korea and the group’s focus on establishing intimate, cross-cultural encounters to facilitate evangelism.

Neither Protestant nor Catholic missionaries followed a “one size fits all” approach to evangelism in the imperial contexts of the early modern period or the period of the New Imperialism of the nineteenth century. Several factors including personal beliefs, conditions on the ground in their selected mission field and what the group desired to emphasize shaped the work of local groups of missionaries. For example, Alida Metcalf shows that early Jesuit missionaries to Brazil participated in native language learning and adapted indigenous culture

into their Bible stories and evangelical message. However, by contrast, Vincent Rafael shows that Jesuit missionaries to the Philippines refused to use native language equivalents for important Christian concepts. They did not consider Filipino language and culture able to portray certain concepts within the Christian message.

Protestant approaches to mission work, which began to show a strong presence around the world in the nineteenth century, also varied locally. Japanese Protestant missionaries often, after encountering strong established religious Shinto beliefs and in response to needs/wants expressed by the Japanese government for schools, designed their work around academic education, including education in the English language. Protestant mission work among Western indigenous peoples of Canada took a somewhat similar form but centered on educating indigenous peoples in moralism. The emphasis of this group was on social work that endeavored to produce moral subjects rather than evangelism to create converts. The work of many of these missionaries centered on stripping indigenous peoples of their native culture and indoctrinating them in “civilized” living, often with disastrous results. Historian Ian Tyrell makes an argument that a large number of Protestant mission groups fore fronted social reform over conversions, which ultimately created a large network of Protestant groups whose mission became the development of a “moral” empire over an explicitly “Christian” empire.

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73 Hare, Jan and Jean Barman. *Good Intentions Gone Awry; Emma Crosby and the Methodist Mission on the Northwest Coast*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
However, even characterizations of mission work by area or country or type fail to capture the nuances of localized mission work. Korean scholar of missions Elizabeth Underwood argues that in Korea, differences existed between Protestant groups working on the peninsula. Specifically, that Methodists turned more towards social work and the Presbyterians to evangelism.75

To characterize the Southern Presbyterians under such a broad umbrella as “Protestant Southern Presbyterian missionaries of the late nineteenth early twentieth century,” would miss the nuance that made up the unique cross-cultural religious encounter between southerners from the United States and southerners of the Korean peninsula. While the men of the mission graduated from denomination seminaries, denominational theology did not determine their decisions, personal theology did. In this chapter, I will look at writings and events associated with Dwight Moody and the Student Volunteer Movement and how they correspond with the theology and practices of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries.

Seminary Theology vs. Evangelical Revivalism

Missionary studies have shown that a number of factors - beliefs of their denomination, beliefs of outside Christian organizations, as well as conditions on the ground ultimately shaped missionary theology. While some missionaries held dogmatically on to the tenants of the church, others did not.76 And while some continued to preach incomprehensible Western

theology, others adapted to their situation and used indigenous cultural ideas to explain Christianity. Other scholars have shown that missionaries, rather than working towards spontaneous conversions, engaged indigenous peoples in a “long conversation” on the benefits of Western knowledge to produce converts. Several factors ultimately produced the theology of any particular missionary or mission group. This is true for the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea.

Most of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries had an education either in a Southern Presbyterian seminary or a female college associated with Presbyterianism. They also came to Korea under the mission board of the Southern Presbyterian denomination and the archives show that Southern Presbyterian congregations in America monetarily supported their work. However, while the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea believed in much of the basic philosophy of the US church, I contend that the missionaries moved towards an even more evangelical and conservative theology than the U.S. Church and this theology can be explored through their association with the Student Volunteer Movement and the SVM’s association with the work of the non-denominational evangelist Dwight Moody.

The Student Volunteer Movement, SVM, was a highly evangelical group focused on sending young people to the mission field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The group believed in a close intimacy between God and believers and that the group’s work on global missions could help bring about prophetic changes talked about in the Bible. Although

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the men of the Southern Presbyterian mission were highly educated with post-graduate work in Presbyterian seminaries, the SVM’s teachings and beliefs nonetheless greatly influenced them.79 It is hard to determine exactly when and where each of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries encountered the SVM, although some mention their college or seminary days as the point of contact. This seems to be plausible as the movement was active on seminary and college campuses during the time the Southern Presbyterian missionaries attended higher education institutions.

The growth of the SVM mirrored the uptick in American imperialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. More than 6,000 missionaries became affiliated with the SVM in its first five years of existence, 1888-1893, and over 13,000 by 1945.80 Missionaries from around America who were associated with differing Protestant denominations took SVM ideas with them to the mission field. Missionaries did not always just take with them the theology of their denominations or sending organization as they followed American imperialists around the globe.

Scholarly work on the theology of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries almost always describes their beliefs as “conservative” and “evangelical.” In explaining the conservative (strictly held beliefs that the Bible is “truth”) and evangelical (supernatural conversion is the most important work of the missionary) nature of the Southern Presbyterian mission to Korea, scholar of Honam Christianity, Jaekeun Lee argues that Southern Presbyterian missionaries’

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79 Dae Young Ryu makes this argument as well in, Dae Young Ryu, “The Origin and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Church History*, vol. 77, no.2, (June 2008), 391-395.
conservative and evangelical beliefs, in part, came out of the theology present in the Southern Presbyterian churches of the United States. Particularly, Lee points to the theology of the leader of the denomination, Robert Lewis Dabney. Lee contends mission leaders such as W.D. Reynolds followed Dabney’s theology because two of the missionaries, Reynolds and Junkin, attended Union seminary where the faculty used Dabney’s text on systematic theology, a way of studying the Bible organized around important doctrines.81 (These doctrines might include how the theologist understands the Bible, such as the Bible is ultimate “truth,” or “inspired,” or a “guide to be interpreted.”) Dabney’s text was widely used and his opinions on theology were widely respected as he was the leader of the Southern Presbyterian denomination. Lee points to the conservative theology of the Southern Presbyterian denomination as one of the reasons for the Korea missionaries’ conservative practices on the mission field.

Dae young Ryu, however, explicitly points out the connection between the Southern Presbyterians and the Student Volunteer Movement as the root of the missionaries’ conservatism and evangelicalism. Ryu argues that it was the connection between the SVM and American students who came to Korea as missionaries that produced a Bible-centered evangelical theology. Ryu contends that “an understanding of the SVM is particularly pertinent for understanding American missionaries in Korea” because the American missionaries’ combination of theological conservatism, emphasis on individual salvation, and dedication to social uplift was a “basic strategy of the SVM.”82 His analysis looks almost completely to the formation of Protestant missionaries’ evangelical theology as developing in the United States

81 Lee, American Southern Presbyterians and the Formation of Presbyterianism in Honam Korea, 68?
82 Ryu, “The Origin and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” 390 & 392.
before they arrived in Korea and considers the American missionaries to be fairly homogenous in their adoption of a Bible-centered, evangelical theology.

While both Lee and Ryu have valid arguments concerning the theology of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries, I argue that a more thorough analyses of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries’ beliefs will show that they differed theologically in critical areas from that of the Southern Presbyterian theology espoused by Dabney in the United States. And that further analysis will also show that certain aspects of SVM “styled” evangelism that Ryu points to existing in American missionaries to Korea, found a ready “home” on the ground in the practices of the Southern Presbyterians. While SVM students went to the mission field through existing Protestant denominations, the sending denomination’s theology did not necessarily mesh with SVM’s priorities and beliefs. Many missionaries, from many denominations, took SVM ideas and beliefs with them as they travelled the globe as religious imperialists. With American imperialism on the rise, the missionaries could envision being able to evangelize the whole world.

While Southern Presbyterian missionaries agreed with many of the tenets of their denomination, their conservatism set them up for differences. For example, the leader of the Southern Presbyterian denomination Robert Lewis Dabney, as Jakeun Lee shows, was not a “conservative” in theology, but actually was a “moderate” concerning issues that were ultimately important to the missionaries. According to Lee, “Dabney did not participate in “disputable questions” such as...the eschatological positions of postmillennialism and premillennialism.”83 Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea, however, were not as

83 Lee, American Southern Presbyterians and the Formation of Presbyterianism in Honam Korea, 68.
moderate and weighed in strongly on the premillennialism side of the debate. According to premillennialism, Jesus would return to earth and reign for one thousand years after the “gospel had been preached to all the world.”\textsuperscript{84} Preaching the gospel to all the world to usher in a thousand years of peaceful rule by Jesus then became a central commitment of premillennialists, including Southern Presbyterian missionaries. While Dabney would not take a stance on the belief, the missionaries to Korea structured their lives around bringing this prophetic word to pass. They strongly believed they could help usher in the second coming of Jesus. In opposition, postmillennialism believed Jesus would return \textit{after} a thousand years of peace on earth had been achieved by humans and was not tied to the accomplishment of preaching the gospel to everyone. In this construction of the second return of Christ, mission work would not be tied so closely to the return of Jesus. Missionaries could not help usher in the “second coming.” However, for the Korean missionaries, helping to usher in the “second coming” was perhaps their single most influential motivation for mission work.\textsuperscript{85}

Also, in pointing to their characterization as “conservative,” the missionaries believed the Bible was the source of all truth. Present in American Presbyterianism at this time was more than one way in which to interpret the Bible. For example, some believed that the Bible was completely true from beginning to end, God used the fingers of men to write every word. Others believed that the Bible was inspired by God, but not every word was an exact word from God, and still others believed that the Bible was a text that man was to interpret.\textsuperscript{86} Missionaries

\begin{smallnotes}
\textsuperscript{84} Mark 16:15
\textsuperscript{85} Elizabeth Underwood also points to the importance of premillennial beliefs among Presbyterian missionaries to Korea. Underwood, \textit{Challenged Identities}, 32.
\end{smallnotes}
to Korea staunchly committed themselves to the idea of the “truth” of the Bible. They believed in the “reality,” of a “conversion experience,” or “salvation experience,” because they saw conversion as an experience that apostles and others underwent in the Bible. They believed that the “truth” of conversion was bound inexplicably with an experience. They also believed the Holy Spirit (Christian doctrine widely upholds the idea of God as the three in one, God the father, Jesus the son, and the ever-present spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit), played a large role in everyday life by bringing direction and inspiration.

These evangelical beliefs and strong conservatism, more reflect the evangelism movement led during this time by Dwight Moody and exemplified by the Student Volunteer Movement than the theology of the Presbyterian Church. The close ties between Dwight Moody and the SVM, and in turn, the SVM’s influence on the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea help explain the group’s conservatism, evangelical fervor, and intimate evangelism practices.

Conservative Evangelicalism – Dwight Moody Connections with the SVM

According to Michael Hamilton, scholar of American religion, late 19th century non-denominational evangelist Dwight Moody was the most important revivalist of the nineteenth century.
century.88 Primarily autodidactic, (he at best had a 5th grade education) theologians and leaders criticized Moody as having a “narrow theory of scripture.”89 Moody expressed that he did indeed not have a theology and criticized higher criticism of the Bible.90 The Bible was his textbook and he believed that you could not parse out parts of the Bible just because they made you “uncomfortable,” including parts that recorded supernatural events.91 However, uneducated, Hamilton argues that Moody’s:

Evangelistic tours, summer conferences, and other enterprises brought together transatlantic revivalism, Keswick holiness, premillennial dispensationalism, the Student Volunteer Movement, faith missions, Bible institutes, and Princeton Seminary ideas about the inerrancy of the Bible. Moody fused these elements into a genuinely ecumenical form of Christianity that gave twentieth-century evangelicalism its characteristic texture.92

Moody greatly influenced the evangelicalism of the late nineteenth century and held strongly to and declared vehemently his beliefs in the importance of converting souls to Christianity and that conversion was an experience which began a Christian’s life with God.93 These beliefs put him in direct opposition with the thoughts of 19th century theologians that turned toward a

more social gospel. These scholars clashed with Moody’s salvation first and experience God first beliefs. Any type of social gospel came after a salvation experience. Salvation, or conversion to Christianity, came first. For Southern Presbyterians, salvation also came first before the social gospel.

Although Moody drew large crowds at his evangelical services, his emphasis on a ministry known as “inquiry rooms” turned large scale evangelism into intimate, person-to-person evangelism, the same type of evangelism the Southern Presbyterian missionaries would employ in Korea. More than large scale evangelistic campaigns calling for mass conversions, Southern Presbyterians mostly converted Koreans through intimate, one-on-one evangelism. Moody also did not believe in having people respond to a call to “accept Christ” at the end of a service, he instead believed people interested in salvation should meet personally with an “inquiry room” consultant, a volunteer local church leader. In the “inquiry rooms” the seekers could then ask any questions they had about the message Moody delivered or queries on the Bible in general. The “inquiry room” consultants would endeavor to answer the questions and then, if the consultee wanted to do so, the leaders in the inquiry room would pray with them for “salvation, inner or physical healing, or sundry needs and burdens.”

College students, opposed to the formalism and lack of personal evangelistic zeal found in established churches responded positively to the personal evangelism and zeal of Moody’s “inquiry rooms”.

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95 Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements, 233.
Although Moody did not believe in asking people to accept Christ at the end of his messages, bringing individuals to a salvation experience was the central goal of Moody’s inquiry rooms. Salvation for Moody meant that the new convert would experience a life-changing event, not simply a brain centered decision to follow the path of Christianity. Henry Drummond, a contemporary to Moody, reported that “hundreds and hundreds” filled the inquiry rooms “professing penitence and in most cases, a new faith in Jesus Christ with experience of his power to make them better men.” Moody participated in the “inquiry room” activities, and although Drummond was a professor of theology, a theistic evolutionist and believed Moody had a limited understanding of theology, declared that “Men leaped out of darkness into light and lived a Christian life afterwards” after prayer with Moody. Implied in this statement is an experience that fundamentally changed the way the convert perceived, saw and lived in the world due to a religious experience.

During the latter part of Moody’s ministry and life, Americans became heavily involved in sending Protestant missionaries around the world. Fundamental to this endeavor was the Student Volunteer Movement and fundamental to the SVM was Moody’s beliefs. Moody’s beliefs shaped the SVM from the organization’s very inception. The SVM began when Moody agreed to participate in and host a national convention for American Student Christian leaders organized by Luther Wishard, director of the YMCA’s ministry to college students. The two held

97 Drummond, Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts, 10.
98 Drummond, Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts, 10.
the convention at Mt. Herman, a boy’s school in Northfield, Massachusetts on Moody’s property. Beyond fellowship and Bible study, goals for the conference included the desire “to gather up and consolidate and perpetuate the missionary interests which the previous years had widened and deepened.” 100 Although advertised and planned within a span of only five months, the conference sparked a missionary movement that sent hundreds of Americans to mission fields while thousands of Americans at home supported their efforts financially. 101

It was this first conference, often called the “Mount Herman conference,” that set the tone for the characteristic conservatism and intimate evangelism present in the Student Volunteer Movement of the late 19th and early twentieth century. At the conference, Moody, and other speakers, fore-fronted evangelical conservatism by espousing the importance of conversion, purporting the Bible as the source of all truth, and teaching the importance of spiritual experience. Moody also modeled “inquiry room” styled questioning at the conference. A local newspaper relatively close to Northfield and the Mount Herman conference, the Springfield Republican, reported almost daily on the activities and sermons of the conference. These accounts gave a record of a gathering that demonstrated and taught personal evangelism as a means of obtaining a spiritual, “experiential,” Christian conversion.

On the first day of the conference, Moody introduced his theme of evangelizing through personal encounters while using the Bible as the standard for truth. His aim was “to stir [students] up and get [them] in love with the Bible.” 102

100 Quoted in Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements, 240.
conference, speakers encouraged students towards literal interpretations of the Bible, including the miraculous events and imbuements of power from the Holy Spirit, found in the book of Acts. Leaders at the conference also employed person-to-person encounters to reach the students with knowledge described as Biblical truth. Our talks are going to be conversational,” Moody told the students, “If you want to ask a question speak out.”

Moody made himself personally accessible to the students by practicing an intimate teaching style. The atmosphere of the conference allowed for student leader conversations on topics within the Bible, a tactic similar to “inquiry rooms.” Moody eschewed a one-way indoctrination of theology.”

The expectation that believing Christians actively experienced God did not end with conversion for Moody. Moody taught the students that “when you pray you talk to God; when you read the Bible the word of God talks to you.” Moody believed that the Bible would speak specifically to students as would the Holy Spirit, the divine entity which brought about the supernatural work of God on earth. The foundational teachings of this conference at Mount Herman centered on a religious ideology closely associated with literal interpretations of the Bible and supernatural encounters with God. John Mott, leader of the YMCA and attendee at the conference, explained how the students put these ideas into practice. He recorded that the grove behind the meeting hall was “the most sacred ground...I never went into that grove but that there were men praying there in groups or alone.”

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103 Springfield Republican, July 7, 1886.
104 Moody’s morning sessions with the students centered on topics found within the book of Matthew in the Bible. Springfield Republican, July 7, 1886.
105 Springfield Republican, July 24, 1886.
106 There is a well-accepted idea in Christianity of a triune God, consisting of the Father, the son (Jesus), and the Holy Ghost.
107 Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements, 260.
after the conference, most of the men praying in the grove desired to hear directly from God, through the Holy Spirit, concerning what they should do with their lives. What was important in this account, was that many of the students believed that God spoke to them. A number of students spent time at the conference “seeking” a word from God concerning God’s will for their lives.108 Many believed they heard from God specifically, especially concerning a call to go to the foreign mission field. Before the end of the conference, one hundred of the attendees expressed their commitment to foreign missions as a life vocation.109

Beyond expressing commitment to foreign missions, individuals at the Mount Herman. conference expressed the desire to preach the gospel around the world. They believed that if enough people committed to become missionaries, they could reach the world in their generation for Christianity. This would fulfill the commandment “Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel” and thus bring in the second coming of Christ.110 As mentioned earlier the idea that reaching the world for Christianity would usher in the second coming of Christ is often termed premillennialism and was a characteristic of conservative Christian beliefs. Missionaries coming out of this late 19th century “revival” aimed to “lead every man to become...an active subject and member of Christ’s Kingdom.”111 “Christ’s Kingdom” to these missionaries was real and bringing more people into this kingdom was the prime object of the Student Volunteer missionaries’ efforts.

108 Statements such as students were “trying to decide the important question of their life work” appear scattered throughout the accounts of the conference. For example see, Springfield Republican, July 19, 1886.
111 Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movement, 281.
It took two years for the Student Volunteer Movement to develop into an “official” organization. It became an arm of the YMCA and YWCA, and also included a representative from the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance. The newly organized movement hired three permanent employees and adopted the motto: “The evangelization of the world in this generation.” A motto points to an organization primary thrust, in the case of the early SVM, the priority was evangelizing those outside of the Western Christian world. As a result, the organization encouraged young people to pressure denominational mission boards to send them to the mission field.112 As American imperialism opened the door to the world, Christians pushed to evangelize that world.

*Southern Presbyterian Missionaries and the SVM*

The earliest Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea came out of the missionary movement begun at Mt. Hermon. The inter-seminary Missionary Alliance, to which the early members of the Korea mission belonged, worked closely with the Student Volunteer Movement and the organizations eventually merged in 1898. All three of the earliest male Southern Presbyterian missionaries, William Reynolds, Lewis Boyd Tate, and William Junkin were members of the SVM, and pivotal to all three men’s decisions to go to Korea was Reynolds and Tate’s attendance at the 1891 Inter-Seminary Alliance conference held in Nashville, Tennessee. This conference directed the course of their lives toward mission work in Korea.

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One of the Southern Presbyterian attendees to the Nashville conference, William D. Reynolds, eventually became the de-facto leader of the small group of missionaries. This was most probably due to his extensive education and appointment to the ecumenical Bible translation committee in Seoul.\textsuperscript{113} Before attending the Nashville conference, Reynolds attended Hampton Sydney College for his bachelor’s degree, spent a year studying Greek at John Hopkins University and then attended and graduated from Union Seminary in Richmond. He was an able scholar and a gifted linguist. As can be seen in his affiliation with the SVM and his attendance at the 1891 Inter-seminary Alliance conference, he was also active in groups outside of the denomination.

Also attending the Inter-seminary conference in 1891 was Lewis Boyd Tate. Tate’s hometown was Fulton Missouri, an area described as a “town of educated, cultured, law abiding citizens composed of Southerners from Virginia, Kentucky and other Southern states.”\textsuperscript{114} L.B. Tate attended Westminster College in Fulton and then went on to McCormick seminary in Chicago. Although he attended seminary in Chicago, he remained committed to his Southern Presbyterian roots, as well as the SVM.

One of the key speakers at the 1891 Nashville conference attended by Reynolds and Boyd was a Northern Presbyterian missionary to Korea, Horace Underwood. The Northern Presbyterians arrived in Korea eight years before the Southerners. The very first missionary to Korea, Horace Allen, who arrived with the American delegation in 1884, was a member of the

\textsuperscript{113} The information found in the archive points to Reynolds becoming more and more the missionary other missionaries looked to for help or advice. He also most often negotiated for land for housing as well as often oversaw the building of homes. He resided in Seoul for long stretches at a time and was the Southern Presbyterian missionary who was sent to the seminary built in Pyongyang to teach.

\textsuperscript{114} This information came from a file sent from Montreat to the PHS and had not yet been processed in Philadelphia.
Northern Presbyterian denomination. Underwood entered Korea in 1885 and by the time of the conference, Underwood was in America on his first furlough from work in the small East Asian country. Underwood and Allen clashed often. Allen decidedly was not of the same evangelical persuasion as Underwood.115

Underwood’s emotionally charged sermon asked listeners to “seek” God concerning their role in missions. Many accounts credit Reynold’s and Tate’s decision to become missionaries to Korea to be the direct result of Underwood’s sermon.116 Underwood’s address asked the students to let God “search their hearts” as “God, alone can search...hearts.”117 In Underwood’s reality of Christianity, there is active involvement with a God he considers to not only exist, but to interact experientially with those who believe in Him. The above declarations were a part of Underwood’s own stated experience concerning the decision to enter the mission field. Underwood asserted that he felt he “was weighing the question fairly” in favor of not going to the mission field, however, when God searched his heart one day while sitting in his room, Underwood felt God did want him to go. “God certainly moved my heart and showed me that I was standing back, because I was afraid of the hardships.”118 Underwood’s stated experience paralleled that of the young “seekers” Moody encouraged in the first SVM conference in Mount Herman. In similar fashion to Moody, Underwood inferred through his story that his listeners should also let God search their heart. They too needed to “seek” and “hear” from God and answer the call to come to Korea as missionaries.

116 Anabel Nisbet, Day In and Day Out in Korea, (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1819), 30.
Underwood’s premillennial beliefs also came out in his sermon. Underwood believed the world could be evangelized by the year 2000 if enough “men” entered the mission field and carried the message of Christianity to the “lost.” For Underwood, as it was for Moody, the prime motivation for mission work lay in adding converts to the “Kingdom of God.” Underwood pleaded with the students to attend to his message. “The world is calling for the Gospel,” Underwood asserted, and “upon our shoulders rests the awful responsibility” of accomplishing the task. Premillennialism itself infers a reality in which missionary effort could directly affect the course of human history.

Also, in line with the conservative evangelical thought that came out of the Mt. Herman conference, Underwood pointed to the idea that Christians “experienced” God. In his talk, Underwood implied that the Spirit of God was present in meetings in Korea. In fact, Underwood testified that a Korean man attended the English-speaking service of Christians and that although he could not understand any of the words spoken, he “felt something that was there.” That something, according to Underwood, was the Holy Spirit. This falls in line with Moody’s evangelical thought in which the Holy Spirit facilitated communication with God. In this case, even if that communication was only understood as a “feeling.”

Rather than shying away from the conservative, and evangelical beliefs espoused by Underwood, William Reynolds and L. B. Tate desired to join him in evangelizing Korea and moving the world towards the second coming of Christ. Reynolds and Tate identified with Underwood’s “magnetic influence and burning appeal for Korea” and immediately applied to

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120 Underwood, Address,” 53-54
the Executive Committee of the Southern Presbyterian Mission Board to go to Korea as missionaries.\textsuperscript{121} In a hand-titled document named, “About Five Minutes,” Reynolds also claimed that this decision, not unlike Underwood’s, was “guided by the Holy Spirit.”\textsuperscript{122} Reynolds and Tate’s overwhelming support for Underwood’s appeal pointed to an agreement with Underwood’s leanings towards the priority of evangelism, the beliefs of premillennialism, and the reality of experiences with God.

Further support of the evangelical, premillennial beliefs taken to the mission field by Reynolds and the other Southern Presbyterians can be seen in a document entitled “Trial Sermon Before Hanover Presbytery, Apr. 6, 1892” by “William Davis Reynolds.”\textsuperscript{123} Although Reynolds was a trained theologian, his commitment to the ideas promoted by Moody and the SVM can be seen in this sermon. Reynolds, towards the beginning of his sermon, committed himself not to theology but to expound on “truth.” He wrote, “We might discuss the text theologically...[but] this is neither the time nor place for a Theological Essay. Rather, my brethren, with God’s help let us seek to get at the plain, simple truths put here by the Spirit for our instruction and comfort.”\textsuperscript{124} Similarly to Moody, Reynolds looked to expound the “simple truths” of the Bible, especially in terms of present-day needs – instruction and comfort. In this “trial sermon” he was actually speaking to theologians, members of the ruling body known as the Presbytery. Because of the date on the sermon as well as the title he chose for the sermon,

\textsuperscript{121} Nisbet, \textit{Day in and day out in Korea}, 30.
\textsuperscript{122} “About Five Minutes,” Handwritten document by W.D. Reynolds found in folder3, box 4, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
\textsuperscript{123} William Davis Reynolds, “Trial Sermon Before E. Hanover Presbytery, Apr. 6, 1892,” folder 17, box 2, Reynolds and Groves Family Papers, RG 451, PHS.
\textsuperscript{124} William Davis Reynolds, “Trial Sermon Before E. Hanover Presbytery, Apr. 6, 1892,” folder 17, box 2, Reynolds and Groves Family Papers, RG 451, PHS
it was likely given as a part of his ordination into the Presbytery as an official clergy. In reality,
this would be exactly the right time for theological exposition, however, Reynolds instead
approached his topic as “simple truths”, a phrase reminiscent of Moody’s belief in teaching the
fundamental truths of the Bible.

Reynolds also saw conversion as an experience. According to Reynolds, at the time of
conversion the new Christian experienced a change. Reynolds wrote:

Before conversion, you resisted the common calling of the Spirit; at conversion,
He implanted a new principle of life in your dead soul, and you at once showed
the new life by turning (“converting”) to Christ in newness of life. (emphasis
author’s)

Implied in this statement is a change, an implantation as he calls it, in which a convert “at once
showed” a changed life. Similarly, to Moody, Reynolds sees conversion as an experience.
Reynolds, as did Moody, also saw conversion as a time of salvation. Reynolds belief in salvation
coincides with his belief in a real heaven and a real hell. Conversion experiences brought
salvation from hell and “eternal life” in heaven. For Reynolds it was a “gift” from God and could
not be earned but a person would receive it as a part of the conversion experience. Reynolds
sermon contained similar themes to the SVM and Moody including the importance of salvation
as a conversion experience, the belief in a real heaven and a real hell, the present-day work of
the Holy Spirit, and the conviction that the Bible was ultimate truth.

While fewer sources on women missionaries’ beliefs exist in the archive compared to
men, the few do help explain their work and beliefs as missionaries. Patsy Reynolds, wife of
William Reynolds, and missionary in her own right, believed not only in her importance as a
missionary but also the importance of her conservative evangelical beliefs. Interestingly for the
time of their wedding, 1892, the minister sent them both off as a team to the mission field and admonishes them to help each other. He did not call for Patsy to be the “helper” of her husband, the way publications for popular consumption often described her. While she may not have gotten much press about her activities, report writers often described her missionary work with Korean women.

Evidence from the archive also pointed to Patsy having strong conservative, evangelical beliefs. In a document entitled “Rules for Christian living” she showed similar ideas on Christianity as her husband. In rule 2, Patsy wrote, “Never neglect daily private Bible reading and when you read remember that God is speaking to you and that you are to believe and act upon what He says.” Here we see the expectation that God would speak to her personally. That she would experience God. Other “rules” pointed to the Bible as paramount over all other truth, including her own feelings. One rule exhorted to “Never believe what you feel if it contradicts God’s word.” Patsy’s “reality” superseded her own feelings and posited “God’s word” as not only inerrant but as “truth.” This again was similar to Moody and the SVM.

Mattie Tate, one of the first band of missionaries to Korea, spent her life as a missionary in the country, remaining on the mission field for nearly fifty years. Like many other female missionaries, sometime in the late 1880s or early 1890s, Mattie Tate attended Synodical College. The Missouri Synod of the Presbyterian Church managed the school and it was one of America’s earliest female colleges. She, however, did not graduate. By 1890, both of the

125 Patsy Bolling, “Rules for Christian Living,” box 2, folder 16, Reynolds and Groves Family Papers, PHS.
126 Patsy Bolling, “Rules for Christian Living,” box 2, folder 16, Reynolds and Groves Family Papers, PHS.
Tate’s parents had died and without parents or other full siblings, (she had half-brothers and sisters), the two decided to go to the mission field together in 1892.129 In one of the few surviving documents related to her mission work, Tate wrote: “God’s ways all are right ways.” (emphasis author’s). Again, the emphasis is on the correctness and truth of the ways of God, something that could only be determined by study of the Bible as the authoritative reality. While Patsy Reynolds and Mattie Tate did not show up on the rolls of the SVM, their beliefs fell in line with those of the SVM.

The SVM also played a dominate role in the Junkin’s lives. Southern Presbyterian missionary William Junkin credited his involvement with the SVM as the impetus for his decision to work in missions. Junkin was born in Christiansburg, Virginia and attended Washington and Lee University before attending Union Seminary in Richmond contemporarily with Reynolds. It was during his time at Washington and Lee that SVM volunteers visited the school and influenced Junkin towards mission work.130 His good friend, William Reynolds, convinced Junkin to go with him to Korea. Junkin’s actions in Korea placed evangelism as primary importance. Very little is known about Junkin’s wife Mary. One thing that does show up is her appointment to the graves committee. She buried two children and then her husband in

reported that her highest degree of education was four years of high school. This points to her never finishing Synodical College. Synodical college was a school for women’s education overseen by the Missouri Presbyterian synod. An article in 1921 described the professions of their graduates. Teachers topped the list and missionaries made a up a good number. Also present however, were occupations such as bank manager or editor of a paper. “Former Synodical College Students give Occupations,” Saint Louis Post-Dispatch, (Saint Louis Missouri), Mar. 18, 1921. I could not find a time when the SVM came to Synodical college, just her brother’s association with the Inter-seminary Alliance.

129 Mary J. Tate, 1910 United States, Liberty Township, Calloway county, Missouri, digital image, s.v. “Tate, Calvin H.,” ancestry.com.
Korea. After her husband died, she returned to Lexington where she never remarried and raised her remaining children.

As discussed earlier, different streams of theology existed at this time in the Southern Presbyterian denomination. Some supported premillennialism while others endorsed postmillennialism, some saw the Bible as ultimate truth while others saw it as a text in need of contemporary interpretation, some fore-fronted evangelism while others moved towards social uplift. Seminarians debated these topics but significantly, as mentioned earlier, the most influential leader of the denomination, Robert Lewis Dabney did not specifically endorse one idea over another on controversial issues. While opposing many secular philosophical trends, such as positivism and Darwin’s evolutionary theory, among more nuanced questions of belief Dabney cast a wide tent under which different interpretations could develop and thrive. This included the evangelical theology of Reynolds, Junkin and Tate. In this atmosphere of relative tolerance, evangelistic theology taken from ideas of Moody, the Student Volunteer Movement and the Inter-seminary Missionary Alliance grew within the Southern Presbyterian seminary students headed for Korea.

The Reynolds, Junkins, Tates, and Linnie Davis left for Korea firmly determined to conquer Korea for Christianity and in doing so, help bring Christianity to the world and usher in the return of Jesus. Experiences in America associated with the SVM solidified their belief in the importance of promoting the Bible as the ultimate truth and conversion as the most important

131 Longfield, *Presbyterians and American culture*, 117-149.
132 Jaekeun Lee also draws connections between the SVM and Southern Presbyterians. Lee, “American Southern Presbyterians in Honam,” 119. A stream of evangelical thought among college students, both in seminary and university, flourished during this time and included a major revival at Princeton.
spiritual experience. These Southern Presbyterian missionaries’ perceived reality of the existence of a transcendent God that they personally experienced, made bringing new converts into the “kingdom of God” through a conversion experience their area of primary urgency.

*The Nevius Missiological Method*

As mentioned earlier, the Northern Presbyterian missionaries arrived in Korea before the Southern and in a show of unusual solidarity, did much to help that first group of Southerners become established in Korea. One of the more significant ideas the Northerners passed on to the newly arrived Southerners was a missiological strategy known as the Nevius Method. The Nevius method opened the door for the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to prioritize evangelism and employ ideas of intimate evangelism similar to the “inquiry room” evangelism of Moody.

John Livingston Nevius, a long time China missionary, visited Korea in 1890 and spoke to the Northern Presbyterian missionaries in Seoul convincing them to employ his missiology. Although he only stayed in Korea for two weeks, the new young Northern Presbyterian missionaries wholeheartedly adopted the ideas of the older more experienced evangelizer. Nevius, due to his perceived lack of Protestant converts in China, believed there should be an upheaval in traditional mission thinking and practices. He argued that missionaries should concentrate less on the cultural condition of indigenous peoples and more on their spiritual
condition. According to Nevius, a missionary’s goal should be to obtain truly converted, strong Christians that were not enticed by Western money to believe. Nevius accentuated the spiritual over the cultural and conversion over social reform. His aim was to put practical mission policy in action to produce indigenous self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting churches. For Nevius, Chinese culture and traditions were not the problem. Instead, he saw Chinese religion as the apostasy something he described as “diverse, multiplied and confused...doctrines of belief” that included a mixture of the importance of teaching, Buddhism and Daoism. Missionaries, therefore, did not need to change Chinese culture, they needed to change Chinese religion. (It seems Nevius had little understanding of the intertwining of both culture and religion in China.)

Also, Nevius, as did the Southern Presbyterians, believed in the Biblical idea of establishing a “Kingdom of God” on earth peopled by committed converts. This played into his promotion of the spiritual over the cultural. For Nevius, missionaries did not have the job of establishing an “American Kingdom” in China, but instead their job was to establish a spiritual kingdom. Conversions led to the further establishment of such a kingdom, as new Christians would increase the population of the Kingdom of God. Moody explained it this way: “I should like to see a wave surging from Maine to California sweeping thousands into the Kingdom of

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God."137 New conversions added to the kingdom. These ideas of the importance of the spiritual over the cultural and the importance of producing conversions fit well with the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea’s commitment to evangelism.138

One of Nevius’s main motivations for reforming mission policy, as mentioned above, lay in his perceived lack of commitment of Chinese converts to Christianity. He determined that instead of true conversion, the impetus for Chinese acceptance of Christianity lay in the monetary reward that came with their association with Westerners. Often derogatorily described as “rice” Christians by missionaries, the term involved missionary perceptions of converts who only converted to be associated with the wealth and power of missionaries.

Nevius’s perception was that once Chinese converts no longer received aid from missionaries, their commitment to the religion waned.139 The main practical, actionable practices that Nevius

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138 Southern Presbyterian Missionaries to Korea often talked of a separate spiritual kingdom. As Southern Presbyterian Anabel Nesbit wrote: “The field is the world, the good seed are the children of the Kingdom is what the Master Teacher taught by the seaside nearly two thousand years ago. So this seed sowing in the land of Chosen has been the planting of individual Christians here and there in the land until by his influence and life, the one seed man often multiplied a hundred fold.” Anabel Nesbit, Day In and Day out in Korea, (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1819), 61. Also: “The good seed are the children of the Kingdom.” Anabel Nesbit, Day In and Day out in Korea, (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1819), 62.
139 Scholars have debunked much of the idea of “rice Christians.” They have shown that thousands of converted Christians in China remained converted and contemporarily may equal the number of Communist Party members. Others have shown that missionaries would classify all converts as “rice Christians” despite their economic status. It should be kept in mind that this was Nevius’s perception. Rodney Stark, Bryon Johnson, and Carson Mencken “Counting China's Christians: there are as many Christians in China as there are members of the Communist Party,” First Things First, vol. 213, (May 2011), 14+. Gale Academic One File. gale.com/apps/doc/A254244418/AONE?u=anon~68697f19&sid=googleScholar&xid=6ca0fbbb. Accessed 17 July 2021, M. Christhu Doss, “Repainting Religious Landscape: Economics of Conversion and Making of Rice Christians in Colonial South India (1781–1880),” Studies in History, vol. 30, no. 2, (2014): 179.
promoted to combat this perceived lack of devotion included little to no financial aid for new converts.

The Nevius System fore-fronted a missiology centered on conversion, putting evangelism at the top of missionary agendas. Obtaining conversions that did not come with “worldly” advantages was paramount. Therefore, in the philosophy of the Nevius System, the number of converts was less important than the convert’s commitment to the existence of a Christian God and salvation through His son Jesus. Just as in the “inquiry rooms” of Moody, the purpose of missionaries’ efforts centered on bringing people to a conversion experience. Numbers were not as important as producing true, biblical styled, conversions.

Conclusion

The Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea took a personal theology to the mission field that closely resembled the teachings of Dwight Moody and the SVM. Their association with the SVM and its affiliate, the inter-seminary alliance, brought them into contact with conservative, evangelical teachings that fore-fronted experiential conversion and the idea that they could personally help usher in the second coming of Jesus. Southern Presbyterian missionaries had a mission to evangelize the world, and American imperialism opened the door for them to believe they actually could go into all the world with their message and achieve the goal of evangelizing the world for the second coming of Jesus. After forty-five years on the mission field, pioneer Southern Presbyterian missionary W. D. Reynolds returned to America to retire. While in retirement, in response to American’s inquiries about
Korean Christians Reynolds asserted that Koreans were “praying Christians, Bible loving Christians, Sunday Keeping Christians, witnessing Christians, “cheerful givers,” born again Christians, most of them premillennialists longing for the speedy return of Christ.” (emphasis Reynolds) In this statement you can see his beliefs in the truth of the Bible (Bible loving Christians), experiential conversion (born again), and premillennial theology (the speedy return of Christ). He considered his efforts a success and his goals achieved.

From their early years in Seoul, they learned and ultimately adopted a system of evangelism similar to the Nevius method that allowed them to forefront evangelism over a social or moral gospel. Of utmost importance to these Southern Presbyterian missionaries, therefore, became the need to connect with Koreans, personally and intimately. They needed to be assured that Koreans had a conversion experience and exhibited a life that showed a difference because of this experience. These priorities led them to be highly motivated to initiate cross-cultural encounters. Just like Moody and the “inquiry rooms,” these Southern Presbyterians needed to make intimate contact with Koreans, answer their questions, and lead them to an experiential conversion. In the next chapter, I will explore how Southern Presbyterian missionaries practiced this intimate evangelism, in quotidian ways, on the ground in Korea.

140 W.D. Reynolds, “The Hand of Christ as I have seen it working will all five fingers in Korea,” RG 451, Box 2 folder14 Reynolds and Groves Family Papers, circa 1870s – 1987, PHS.
Chapter Two: Religiously Comparable, Sex-Segregated, Intimate Evangelism

Southern Presbyterians commitment to intimate cross-cultural encounters with Koreans in order to bring about “true” conversions, led them to use spatial practices in Korea similar to the intimate “inquiry room” practices of Moody. These practices meshed with existing neo-Confucian and shamanistic ideas on the use of intimate space for study or religious purposes. Because there were overlaps in these concepts this contributed to opening the door for Southern Presbyterians to make inroads in the establishment of Christianity in southwestern Korea.

Space is not a neutral backdrop in the development of and receptivity to new religious practices. Several studies have looked at space at the intersection of imperialism and the production of knowledge. These scholars have shown that imperialists used constructed space to do everything from project power to teach object lessons. Scholars have established the strong connections between the production of space and imperial goals of domination, which often included the coercive imposition of religion.\footnote{Glover, William. Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City, University of Minnesota Press, 2007. Glover shows the structure of colonial space was arranged in Lahore to serve as powerful object lessons for the ways in which colonial authorities wanted subjects to behave. Matera, Marc. Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015. Matera looks at the connection between space and the development of decolonial conversations. Jay Kinsbruner, The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism, (University of Texas Press, 2005). Kinsbruner examines the structures built by the Spanish to project power in colonial Spanish American cities. Todd A. Henry, Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2014). Henry shows how the space of Seoul itself became assimilated to “Japanese-ness” under Japanese colonial rule. For a look at projection of power into cities by powerful institutions see: Lefebvre, Henri. “The Specificity of the City” in Writings on Cities, (London: Blackwell, 1996).} Southern Presbyterian missionaries built
large homes on the highest ground that projected the wealth and power of America. They also purposefully arranged their homes to teach object lessons on “right” living to Koreans.\footnote{Hyaeweol Choi, “The Missionary Home as Pulpit: Domestic Paradoxes in Early Twentieth Century Korea,” in \textit{Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific}, (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 2014).}

Along with uses of space to project power and object lessons, Southern Presbyterian missionaries also used intimate space to proselytize Christianity in Korea. They designed and repurposed spaces in their homes as a first step in reaching their evangelistic goals. Missionaries’ decision to use intimate space in similar fashion to Moody’s “inquiry rooms was a direct result of their motivation to have access to Korean bodies and souls for evangelism. They used intimate space, sex-segregated according to Korean social norms, as a means for evangelism “both as instrument and as goal, as means and as end.” \footnote{Lefebvre, \textit{The Production of Space}, 410-411.}

The spaces Americans built and used for Christian mission work mimicked already existing religiously significant space, and Southern Presbyterian missionaries’ religious practices of intimate encounter and inquiry were similar to practices that already held significance for Koreans. They mimicked existing spaces used by women for shamanistic practices and by men for debates and discussions on Neo-Confucian principles and ethics, an activity most prevalent among the elite class in Korean society, the \textit{yangban}. A complete analysis of this space, therefore, cannot only be looked at through a teleological objective where it is reduced to just a sex-segregated space to conform to Korean cultural expectations.\footnote{Scholars have acknowledged missionary use of sex-segregated space in Korea; however, a thorough analysis of the spaces in connection with religious practices in the United States and religious practices in Korea has not been thoroughly looked at.} While missionaries’ physical constructions to promote evangelization were a material production of space as means
for a particular goal, the similar ways in which Koreans experienced Christian practices as
similar to existing religious or quasi-religious activities, went beyond the teleological
motivations of missionaries. Although missionaries found it hard to identify a dominate religion
among men and women in Korea, and often thought religion did not exist, religion and religious
type deliberations did exist and played a large role in the everyday lives of many late
nineteenth century and early twentieth century Koreans.

Existing Religious Practices in the Late Joseon Dynasty in Korea

Although some missionaries surmised that Korea was a non-religious nation due to the
lack of an “official” religion, in fact a tapestry of syncretic beliefs and rituals existed in Korea.
The words scholars use most often to describe religion in Korea at the end of the Joseon
Dynasty are words such as “amalgam” or “bricolage” because of rituals that included aspects of
neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism and shamanism. Religious scholar David Chung
illuminated the intertwining of several religious practices in describing a Korean funeral in the
early twentieth century.

...it is Confucianism that dresses the mourners in sackcloth, while the Buddhist
bonzes chant their sutras for the departed to the Western Paradise, a Buddhist
heavenly kingdom. It is a shaman who exorcizes the evil spirits that may annoy
or harm the departed on his or her journey, while Taoist geomancers engage

themselves in supervising the digging of the grave on the site that they believe to be the most “profitable” location.146

Major life ceremonies, such as a funeral, often illuminate religious practices, as they do here in turn of the twentieth century Korea. Koreans did not see this as an unusual ceremony, but instead saw it as a uniquely Korean one, particular to their nation and their culture.

Neo-Confucianism was the dominant ideological influence in Korea at the turn of the twentieth century, influencing everyday life by inscribing ideas about proper relationships into the political, cultural and spatial fabric of the country. This philosophical and sociopolitical system has a long history, beginning with the work of Confucius in the fifth century BCE. Confucius developed his teachings, which became known as Confucianism, as a way to bring order to society.147 His philosophy dictated correct social relationships in which each member of the society held responsibilities towards others. By performing these correct social relationships with benevolence, integrity, sincerity, proper rites, justice and filial piety, morality would be restored to society and government, bringing a peaceful, well-ordered polity.148

Over a thousand years later, and again in China, neo-Confucianism developed as a reaction to aspects of Buddhist mysticism that had become a part of Confucian thought. In a sense, neo-Confucianism developed out of attempts to revive classical Confucianism. Of all the Chinese neo-Confucian thinkers, the philosophy of Song Dynasty scholar Zhu Xi (1130-1200 CE), most influenced Korean neo-Confucianism.


148 These ideas come from Confucius “Five Constants” and “Four Virtues.”
Early Korean scholars of neo-Confucianism in the late fourteenth century first integrated the ideology into the cultural, political and spatial fabric of Korea. However, they did this in isolation from and without contact with contemporary Ming scholars in China who also were interpreting Zhu Xi. Twentieth century Korean Confucian scholar Michael C. Kalton argues that a unique Korean neo-Confucianism developed. Instead of following Chinese interpretations, “a distinctive pattern of referring almost wholly to Chu Hi’s [Zhu Xi], the Ch’eng brothers and other authoritative Song dynasty sources was set in place” during the establishment of neo-Confucianism in Korea.149 This move prioritized certain thinkers above, and to the exclusion of, others.

Zhu Xi’s teachings laid an influential foundation for Korean neo-Confucianism. His ideas, which centered on correct social order and proper personal conduct, became codified by the Joseon Dynasty in 1394. As the centuries of the Joseon Dynasty passed, neo-Confucianism continued to become more and more ingrained in Korean society. Historian Bruce Cummings argues that, “Much of what we now reckon as “Korean culture” or “Korean tradition” was the result of this major social reorganization accomplished by self-conscious [Confucian] ideologues, who got going in the fifteenth century.”150 Neo-Confucian practices, including those that relegated spaces male and female, and women to private areas and men to public, continued to predominate in Korean society through the later Joseon, the time period of early missionaries.

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150 Bruce Cummings, Korea’s Place in the Sun, (New York: W. W. Norton and co., 2005), 54-55.
By the late Joseon, Daoism did not exist as a distinct religion or school of thought, rather elements of Daoism had become wrapped in with Korean Buddhism and shamanism. Religious scholar Donald Baker argues that “Daoism had hardly any institutional presence” by the late nineteenth century. Ideas and religious practices of Daoism however remained in the amalgam of Korean religion, including Daoism’s meditative practices and association with the religious space of mountains.

Buddhism, while weakened during the suppression of the Joseon Dynasty, still held institutional presence in Korea at the end of the nineteenth century. Because Buddhism had been associated with fiscal excessiveness and poor leadership during the Goryeo Dynasty, founding Joseon officials moved to cut governmental support of the religion and began a campaign to undermine its influence. They decommissioned hundreds of temples and decreed that no Buddhist temple could reside within the walls of cities, restricted the movement of monks, confiscated temple land, and forced temple servants to become soldiers. Due to the persecution, most Buddhist temples moved to very remote mountainous locations where Buddhist monks held on during the time of the Joseon. Officials highly regulated who and what could be in particular spaces, including Buddhist priests and temples. They saw Buddhism as a threat to neo-Confucian regulation of society.

After the fall of the Joseon, the underlying popularity of Buddhism, bubbling below the surface, came out into the open, especially among women. This was aided by a 1902 law which gave monks new protections and the alliance of some Korean temples with Japanese Buddhist

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152 Albert Park, “Religion 1876-1910,” 64.
temples during the colonial period of Japanese colonization. An American anthropologist, Frederick Starr, toured Korean Buddhist temples between 1911 and 1917. In lectures he prepared for a popular audience, Starr described a trip to a monastery in the southeast of Korea on Buddha’s birthday.

When we were within three or four miles of it [the Buddhist temple, Tongdosa] we found ourselves in a crowd of persons going up to the celebration. The nearest railway station is about ten miles away. Most of the people, however, had walked from their homes. It is a mountain district, sparsely settled; there are surely only two or three towns of any size within fifteen miles of the place. When we reached the monastery, we found one of the liveliest scenes we ever witnessed in Korea. The head-priest told us that ten thousand people slept on the grounds of the temple that night. The majority of them were women. Of course, that would have been true if had been a Presbyterian gathering...Probably fifteen thousand people were there that day...All this does not look much like death! It is said that at the other head monasteries there were proportionately equal crowds. (emphasis author’s)

Pilgrimages to Buddhist temples was a popular activity by the time of this writing, sometime between 1911 - 1917, and although an American missionary declared Buddhism dead in Korea in 1902, according to Starr, Buddhism was alive and well in the second decade of the twentieth century, especially among women. Korean Buddhists, including women, traveled many miles to pay homage to Buddha and learn more about Buddhist scriptures, to worship in early

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153 Park, “Religion 1876-1910”, 64. There is a good bit of debate about Buddhism during the Colonial period. Some argue that it helped promote Korean nationalism while others argue it was predominantly influenced by Japanese Buddhism. A recent work however, deconstructs this binary and argues that Korean Buddhism of the Colonial period was influenced by transnational influences. Hwansoo Ilmee Kim, The Korean Buddhist Empire: A Transnational History, (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2018).


155 Homer Hulbert, an American missionary, wrote in his History of Korea, “in 1902, a very determined attempt to revive the Buddhist cult was made. The Emperor consented to the establishment of a great central monastery for the whole country in the vicinity of Seoul, and in it a Buddhist high priest who was to control the whole church in the land. It was a ludicrous attempt, because Buddhism in Korea is dead.” Excerpt found in Starr, Korean Buddhism, Loc 309.
morning services, meditate, or spend hours in “silence and pious thought.”156 This shows that religious travel was, if not common, acceptable. Korean women traveled for religious purposes.

Shamanism, though an ancient religion that predated Confucianism, influenced the spiritual ideas of late nineteenth century Koreans, especially women.157 Basic ideas of shamanism included a belief in the supernatural – evil spirits inhabited many physical spaces, including bodies, and were strong causal agents.158 Koreans often called for the aid of shaman priestess, mudang, to communicate with the spirits to resolve an illness, to ask them for rain, or to address other anxieties. Historian Albert Park argues that “Shamanism was an extremely popular religion” despite neo-Confucian efforts to limit its influence.159 Unlike Buddhism, shamanism had little institutional presence and proved hard to regulate, especially since many of the religious activities took place in the women’s area of the home.

Shamanism taught that evil spirits were at the base of negative occurrences and as such, needed to be appeased or convinced to leave. Adherents believed strongly in the agency of evil spirits that resided in natural objects, but also believed spirits inhabited a myriad of animate and inanimate objects, as well as diseases. While different from Christian beliefs, there were similarities to the Christian idea of spirits as causal agents. While most missionaries took a more “rational” approach to disease and drought, the Bible itself contains incidences of

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156 Starr, Korean Buddhism, Loc 410.
157 Korean studies scholar, Andrew E. Kim argues that “Shamanism has been the enduring core of Korean religious and cultural thought, and behaviors as well as cultural practices. Its influence was so profound that newly introduced religions, including Buddhism and Christianity, had to compromise with and absorb elements of shamanism in order to be accepted by the Korean populace. Andrew Eungi Kim, “Christianity, Shamanism, and Modernization in South Korea,” CrossCurrents, vol 50, no ½ (Spring/summer 2000), 116.
communication with and exorcism of evil spirits. Also, despite their “rationalism,” Christian
missionaries taught and believed that they could talk to God in prayer and exhibited faith in the
supernatural, in a heaven and hell, and a devil, which was seen as the ultimate evil spirit.

Contrary to most missionary opinion, the people of late nineteenth century Korea were
religious or quasi-religious. Neo-Confucianism still predominated society. Buddhism, Daoism
and especially shamanism also thrived under the veneer of Confucian order. As I will show in
the rest of this chapter, existing religious and quasi-religious practices that already existed in
Korea, dovetailed with the evangelical religious practices of the Southern Presbyterians.

Sarangbangs and the practice of Christianity

Most scholars of Christianity in Korea rarely look at the connections between
Confucianism and Christianity but instead look to Christianity’s connection with nationalism,
socio-political conditions, or the connections between shamanism and Christianity to explain
Christianity’s popularity in Korea. By looking at the intersection of space, neo-Confucianism,
and the intimate “inquiry room” evangelism of Southern Presbyterians, however, connections
between neo-Confucianism and Christian religious practice can be seen. Both Christianity and
neo-Confucianism have strong ties to ideas of how to live a moral life and the ‘Inquiry room”

Presbyterians and the Formation of Presbyterianism in Honam, Korea, 1892-1940: Traditions, Missionary
evangelism of the Southern Presbyterians fits well with neo-Confucian deliberations that took place in Korean men’s study or sarangbang.

As the neo-Confucian Joseon Dynasty evolved before the missionaries arrived, much of the discussion and ambition of the men centered on achieving the Confucian goal of becoming a man of virtue – a “gentleman” or “superior person.” According to Korean religious scholar K. Kale Yu, “Centuries of Confucian ideology reinforced a preoccupation with ethical ideals and the pursuit of moral perfection as an individual and collective vision.”161 Much of the activity of the sarangbang centered on discussions of morality and “right living.”

Although missionaries little understood the neo-Confucianism of Korea, they did notice the high ethical standards.162 One missionary came close to understanding when he explained that “the coolie as well as the statesman or gifted man of letters says, ‘In-eui-ye-chi-shin.’”163 These are the five Confucian virtues in Korean. In or ren in Chinese, emphasized humanity, love, kindness compassion, goodness; eui/yi purported the importance of developing righteousness and justice; ye/li centered on proper social propriety or ritual; chi/zhi emphasized the importance of knowledge and wisdom and shin/Xin focused on faith.164 The missionary went on to understand that Korean thought centered differently on who was “civilized” and who was “barbarous.” According to Koreans, as interpreted by the missionary, “Any nation exemplifying

162 The earliest tracts written by Protestant missionaries argued “that Confucian moralism was compatible with Christian ethics” therefore Christianity would be easily compatible with the existing ethics the missionaries saw in neo-Confucianism. Oak, The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions 1876-1915, 262.
163 Gale, Korea in Transition, 96.
164 Yu, Understanding Korean Christianity, 19.
it [In-eui-ye-chi-shin] is civilized and any failing to observe it barbarous.”165 The importance of achieving or becoming the “virtuous man” cannot be underestimated even at this time of change in Korean history.

As Southern Presbyterian missionaries established themselves in Korea, they created spaces to accommodate meeting separately with Korean men and women. Korean men met with male missionaries in a separated spaces within their homes which mimicked the Korean male space known as a sarangbang.166 Korean men used the sarangbang as a place of scholarship, debate, and social and political networking. They studied the Confucian classics, deliberated with others on their meaning, and built competency in performing Confucian rights and rituals.167 The sarangbang was a highly masculinized space.

Southern Presbyterian missionaries stepped into this cultural dynamic of virtuosity with a practice of intimate evangelism and a message steeped in moralism. According again to Yu, “Confucianism provided fertile soil in which to sow seeds of Christian principles such gaining eternal redemption and salvation from moral shortcomings.”168 Ideas of correct living and correct conduct underpin Confucianism as they do Christianity. Confucian debates and reflections would often center on how to overcome moral failings.

The idea of “inquiry rooms,” a space where one-on-one conversation could take place mimicked the spaces in which neo-Confucian debates occurred. “Inquiry rooms” were a location, a physical space, in which moral questions could be asked and answered. “Inquiry

165 Gale, Korea in Transition, (New York: Eaten and Maine, 1909), 96
166 I will look more closely at the physical space of the sarangbang in the next chapter.
168 Yu, Understanding Korean Christianity, 190.
room” styled evangelism corresponded well with the space and activities already taking place in the sarangbangs in southern Korea. Southern Presbyterian missionaries could integrate an evangelistic practice within a system already in place for inquiry and debate on morality.

The southern area of the Korean peninsula during this time was especially known for the number of men who resided in the area that were “scholar gentlemen” or upper-class, elite, yangban. These were the men who would have the most time to debate Christian ideas in a sarangbang. Presbyterian missionary William M. Baird took note of the number of Yangban in southern Korea in his observations. Although his observations are strongly orientalist in nature, he nonetheless shows the connection between southern Korea, the yangban and the ways in which missionaries translated “yangban” as “gentlemen.”

The Traveler is impressed in the North by the independent, manly spirit of many of the mountain people...In looking for the causes of this I find it in the marked absence of the so-called “gentlemen” [yangban] class. In the South the independent middle class is apt to be crushed out between the upper and the nether mill stones, between the strutting, conceited “yangban” and the obsequious, cringing serf. (Brackets were put in by Baird)

In Korea, the Yangban were the ones who had the privilege of an education and that education was neo-Confucian in nature. The yangban from the conception of the Joseon Dynasty “defined itself as the carrier of Confucian values.” The Korean yangban were men whose occupation was study.

One of the most direct connections between Confucian “gentlemen” and the space of the study came in a description Southern Presbyterian missionary W. M. Junkin wrote to the head of the Southern Presbyterian missions in Nashville, TN. The letter concerned an incident in which another missionary was robbed and injured. In his description, he begins with where he was and what he was doing when he first heard the news. Junkin wrote:

The particulars are as follows: Sat. Mar 11 I was in (my) study at Chunju preaching to a Korean gentlemen when a runner came in saying that the gentlemen’s brother had just been badly wounded by robbers...\textsuperscript{173}

A missionary doctor was also robbed and injured trying to help the wounded Korean man. Important to this discussion, however, is the Korean gentleman’s presence in the study learning about Christianity. The word “gentleman” denoted a man of the upper-class, someone who would be used to discussing and debating ideas on morality.

In a document entitled “Sketch of Elder Cheung Chan Cho, of Kosan Magistracy” found in the archive the author described Cheung Chan Cho as a “gentleman” who debated with his friends over questions of morality. Before Cheung Chan Cho accepted Christianity, the Korean men wrestled with the inquiry of “What are we doing to help redeem this world?” According to the document, “As they [Korean men] pondered this great question unexpectedly word reached them that at surrounding towns...foreigners had established the Y.M.C.A.” When they went to the YMCA meeting they were “disturbed” by the use of low language and decided to order books, the “Gospels and A friend, the World Saviour” to study on their own. According to this missionary account, they did not fully understand the books until they connected with a

\textsuperscript{173} Personal letter, W. M. Junkin to Dr. Chester, March 14, 1905, Paul S. Crane and Sophie Crane papers, RG477, box, 4, folder 56. PHS.
Southern Presbyterian Korean church. The point here is that there is a connection between the space of the male study, debates on morality and the answer to the “world’s” problems, and the evangelization of Christianity.

Several missionaries included in their reports the practice of having Korean men into their studies for inquiry. For example, W.B. Harrison in his 1903 personal report declared that his principal work for the year was “the care of the local church...I visited the sick and bereaved men of the church, sent my helper to visit any who were absent from church and spent much time receiving their calls.” In “receiving their calls” Harrison was meeting with men in his study. Harrison wrote in another report that a “new class for Sunday school teachers was held in my study weekly.” This practice mimicked the Korean tradition of educating young men within the male spaces of the home.

Although Neo-Confucianism has most often been thought of as a philosophical structure, the zeal with which the Joseon Dynasty adopted the system as the authorized orthodoxy of Korea gave it a quasi-religious nature. East Asian scholar William de Bary argued that the “specific character” of the Joseon Dynasty’s Neo-Confucianism was “markedly religious in tone.” While it would be difficult to argue Neo-Confucianism was and is a religion, the zeal for which Korean men, especially the upper-class, sought for the ultimate objective of moral perfection is analogous to the Christian desire to grow and perfect themselves in the religion.

174 “Sketch of Elder Cheung Chan Cho, of Kosan Magistracy,” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG441, Box 3, folder 5. PHS.
175 W. B. Harrison, “Personal Report of W. B. Harrison,” Korea Mission Papers, Box 1, folder 1. PHS.
176 W. B. Harrison, “Personal Report of W. B. Harrison,” Korea Mission Papers, Box 1, folder 2. PHS
177 Choi et al contend that the “sarang-cha’e ...served as the living space of his [the master of the home] eldest son and an arena of training for the young man.” Sarang-cha’e denotes the male area of the home which included the sarangbang. Choi et al, Hanoak, 44.
178 Yu, Understanding Korean Christianity, 42.
One of the earliest Christian texts translated into Korean was a novel known in English as *Pilgrim’s Progress*, an allegory of the man “Christian” on his journey to the “Celestial City” in which he overcomes evil through moral excellence. This parable is similar to the Korean neo-Confucian gentlemen’s quest for moral perfection. Early twentieth century Korean Confucian turned Christian thinker, Kim Gyo Sin, wrote about his Christian walk that “It was an effort to accomplish the morals of Confucianism, the hope of my mind, ‘through the power of the Holy Spirit’ as the preacher would say.” Korean men sought morality, discussed morality, and felt they were on a personal journey to accomplish morality.

The constructed space of the “study” by American missionaries created a space in which the Americans were comfortable answering questions in a similar fashion to the question and answer format of the Moody “inquiry rooms.” Because the study was familiar space for debates on morality for Korean men, and especially for men of the upper-class *yangban*, they could also feel comfortable discussing Christianity as a moral system that went “deeper, wider, higher and larger” than Confucianism, according to Kim Gyo Sin. Korean Christianity during this time is somewhat unique in that new adherents came from all the classes, including the upper-class *yangban*. The connection between missionaries, Confucianism and the traditional uses of the study, a very important part of *yangban*’s everyday life, helps to explain this phenomenon.

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183 Sung Deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions 1876-1915*, (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013), 224. Oak contends that there were hundreds of *Yangban* Christians just in Seoul by 1907. He also contends that these converts became the leaders in the church.
Anbangs and the Practice of Christianity

By looking at the intersection of Korean women’s existing religious practices (as mentioned earlier, shamanism and Buddhism were most often practiced by women) and the space-driven mission praxes of American women missionaries, connections between shamanism and Buddhism, and Christianity’s receptivity in Korea can be seen that are related particularly to women. While a number of scholars have drawn connections between shamanism, Buddhism and Christianity in order to explain the growth of Christianity in Korea, these arguments mostly emphasize syncretism, little work has been done on specific spatial connections between the Christian mission work done in Korea and the existing religious practices of Korean women.¹⁸⁴ Both practices within shamanism and Buddhism had spatial dimensions that fit well into Christian religious practices.

Just as there was a men’s space in Korean houses, the sarangbang, there was a women’s area known as the anbang, or women’s room. The anbang was situated farthest from the main entrance in the back of the home’s area. Korean women were not allowed to be in the men’s area of the house, so Korean women visited each other in the anbang sections of the home. In many homes, there was a side or back gate entrance through which women could enter and exit. While upper-class families followed these dictates closely, almost all Koreans

tried to follow Confucian dictates as best they could. If a family home did not have a separated space, they would build it as soon as they could afford it.\textsuperscript{185}

The space of the women’s area of a Korean home not only served as the female space of domestic production, but also served as the space for most all of women’s activities, including religious activities. Korean women were already familiar with the idea of domestic space as religious space. Due to their shamanistic belief in the existence of evil spirits in everything from rocks and mountains to the roof beam or kitchen pot of their home, when distress entered the lives of Korean women, they called a \textit{mudang}, or Korean shaman priestess to the \textit{anbang} to deal with the \textit{kwishin}. A \textit{mudang}’s work most often began with a response to a Korean woman’s request that she visit their home to bring relief from physical ailments, emotional troubles, marriage problems or to pray for the general well-being of the home.\textsuperscript{186} After consulting with their client, the mudang performed a ritual ceremony, known as \textit{gut} within the \textit{anbang} area, that included specific prayers, incantations, and appeasement of evil spirits in order to bring relief to the Korean woman’s stated problems. Because of these associations, Korean women already understood domestic space as doubling for religious space.

The sex-segregated spaces Americans built in their homes to create an Americanized \textit{sarangbang}, left American traditionally female space for interactions with Korean women. While men met in studies, domestic space within the homes of American women such as living rooms, dining rooms and even bedrooms, became designated, female-only space for Christian

\textsuperscript{185} Choi Jin-Hee, et al., \textit{Hanoak: Traditional Korean Homes}. Especially true in the South, the most conservative Confucian area in Korea.

\textsuperscript{186} Strawn, “Korean Bible Women’s Success,” 131.
religious practices when Korean women entered the missionary home. This produced, female-only space, which mimicked the *anbang* areas of Korean homes.

Figure 2 “Studying the Bible in Korea,” From the Papers of William Harrison, PHS, Fair Use

The above picture, from the papers of William Harrison, a Southern Presbyterian missionary to Korea, encapsulated the use of space in missionary homes for Christian religious practices. In this picture, Korean women participated in the religious practice of Bible study. The rocking chair, wallpaper and bed all signal that this was a bedroom in the home of a missionary. Korean homes did not have beds, they used padding and blankets on the floor. Most Korean homes at this time also did not have chairs. The bedroom in this picture, however, portrayed a very different function than sleep. It showed Christian religious practices within
what would be considered in the late 19th century domestic space within the American woman’s sphere of influence. Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea considered Bible study to be the most important religious practice for new converts or potential converts. It should also be noted that William Harrison spent most of his time in Korea married. This picture most probably depicted a religious activity within the home of a married missionary which points to the work done by American married woman with children.

Both American married and single women conducted religious activities within their homes. In summarizing the work of married Southern Presbyterian missionary Patsy Reynolds, the minutes from the annual meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Korea mission, stated that her work consisted largely “of the reception and instruction of women in the home.”187 Almost the whole of Reynolds religious work occurred within the living room, dining room and bedroom of her home, free from the presence of men. Single women missionaries also produced space within their homes explicitly for the purpose of religious instruction and practice. The home of single Southern Presbyterian missionary Linnie Davis had a “six kan room for meetings for women” in the dwelling.188 (A kan is a traditional Korean measurement which equates to the distance between two supporting poles in a Korean home.) Likewise, in the Chunju station, Mattie Tate enclosed her porch in a one room house to create a bedroom and leave the main space for her living area and efforts of evangelism.189 Married and single women missionaries used their “parlors” and “living rooms” for religious practice and instruction with

187 Reports to the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea,” Korea Mission Papers, RG 444 box 1folder 3, PHS.
188 W.B. Harrison, “Opening of Kunsan Station”, folder 26, Box 3, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS.
189 L.B. Tate, “The Opening of Chunju Station”, folder 26, Box 3, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS.
Korean women. This, however, did not necessarily seem at all unusual to Korean women who already understood religious practices as taking place in the home, with men absent from the proceedings.190

American women also hired converted Korean women to work in evangelization, or Korean women themselves took on this task. Korean “Bible women” as they were known in English, often travelled from village to village visiting in the anbang areas of Korean homes. Scholars have pointed to the work of Korean Bible women as mimicking that of a mudang.191

Korean women (usually older and widowed) worked for the missionaries by itinerating from village to village to evangelize and teach other Korean women about Christianity. Their age and their analogous position to a mudang, who held a very low status in neo-Confucian Korea, gave them more freedom of movement. Korean religious scholar Ellen Strawn argues that Bible women followed the same physical paths as the mudang and performed similar rituals in female areas of the home. By mimicking a mudang, Strawn writes: “Bible women shared their new package of western Protestant ideas with Korean women by entering into the women’s quarters, borrowing the accepted female mudang’s religious authority in that sphere, and coherently merging traditional women’s practices and perspectives with modern Protestant views regarding women and their roles in society.”192 The few sources written by Korean women and mediated through missionary voices in the Southern Presbyterian archive support Strawn’s ideas and takes them beyond the teaching of Protestant perspectives to healings and

190 Most Korean men saw shamanism as superstitious and while they might approve of, or even ask, their wives to bring in a mudang, they rarely attended mudang ceremonies.
191 Strawn, “Korean Bible Women’s Success.” Yu, Understanding Korean Christianity
192 Lee-Ellen Strawn, “Korean Bible Women’s Success,” 117.
exorcisms of spirits, actions very similar in nature to that of a mudang. Bible Women brought more than Western Protestant ideas. They brought a religion very similar in nature to shamanism. They performed rituals similar to that of a mudang by calling on a Christian God to bring change and taught a message that the Christian God was the power needed over everyday problems rather than the shamanistic gods and fetishes.

Sources in the archive point to this supernatural work of Bible women. In a document entitled, “Life History of Yongdam Puin. (Mr. Ko Paik Yong’s Mother.)” Southern Presbyterian L.M. McCutchen translated the testimony of a converted Korean Bible woman which included results such as the healing of bodies and the exorcism of spirits. In this testimony, the Bible woman, Yongdam puin wrote both about physical healing and exorcism. She claimed her own healing by the new Christian God, an occurrence which astonished her neighbors who “all began to look on me with wonder.” Soon after her recovery, she also prayed for her brother’s wife who “was taken sick with an issue and as a result was rendered sub-conscious.” By praying for her brother’s wife, Yongdam Puin stepped into the same paths, spaces and religious practices as a mudang. For Yongdam Puin, evangelism and the super-natural went hand-in-hand; therefore, Bible women continued the religious practices already taking place within the existing anbang network.

Yongdam puin did not only write about healings, but she also wrote about the exorcism of an evil spirit.

Another young woman, Ko Paik Choon’s wife became possessed of an evil spirit and one night was extremely harassed, falling often as dead and slowly regaining consciousness as one come’s to life from the dead. She determined to believe

193 “Life History of Yongdam Puin. (Mr. Ko Paik Yong’s Mother),” translated by L. M. McCutcheon, found in RG 441, box 3, folder 5, PHS.
and spent her time in prayer and supplication. God was pleased to expel the evil Spirit [sic] of which she was possessed. She became sane and peaceful and continues to live as a sincere Christian. God honors the simple faith of these who dare to trust Him.\textsuperscript{194}

As mentioned earlier, in Korean shamanism, the existence of evil spirits as causal agents was widely believed, especially by women.\textsuperscript{195} The Christian Bible, that missionaries busily translated to Korean and taught Korean women to read, also contained reports of healings and exorcism. In this way, Bible women continued in similar practices as shamanism but with a new authority – that of the Christian God. By following the \textit{anbang} network, Bible woman Yongdam Puin easily stepped into the space taken earlier by a \textit{mudang}. In essence, Bible women used the same spaces and conducted similar religious practices within those spaces as the \textit{mudang}, continuing and accentuating similar religious practices between shamanism and Christianity.

Evidence in the archive also supports the contention that not only Korean Bible women travelled from \textit{anbang} to \textit{anbang}, but that Southern Presbyterian women missionaries themselves did as well. Single female missionary Nellie Rankin often itinerated in Korean villages before becoming the principal of a girl’s school. She frequently wrote home telling her mother, father, sister, and brother about her activities in Korea. In a letter to her sister, Ruth, Nellie tells of her plans to cook supper for some Korean women who have come to Chunju for a Bible class. Rankin wrote:

\begin{quote}
The Bible Conference or Study Class for the women of Chunju field is now on and this evening I am going to have 8 women to a supper. These women are some who have entertained me when I was out in the country teaching. Do you know
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{194} "Life History of Yongdam Puin. (Mr. Ko Paik Yong’s Mother),” translated by L. M. McCutcheon, found in RG 441, box 3, folder 5, PHS.PHS

\textsuperscript{195} Scholars point to these types of beliefs existing, as do the journals and letters of the missionaries
what I am going to have. Sprouted beans, rice, kimchi, coksu...a kind of vermicelli with beef stew, oranges, persimmons, fried seaweed and candy.  

While on the face of this description, Rankin wrote about her plans for the evening, including the menu for a dinner of Korean food, there are some important ideas to take from this description. First, in the bulk of her letters the word “entertain” meant to keep someone at your house over-night or for an extended period. When Rankin said that the women “entertained” her, she is referring to the fact that she stayed in the homes of these women while she itinerated. Secondly, she referred to the eight invited women to the dinner as only “some who have entertained me when I was out in the country teaching.” This statement implied that many other women had also “entertained” her while she itinerated. Southern Presbyterian Nellie Rankin went from village to village, teaching women, and staying in their homes as she prayed with them and taught them about Christianity. She followed the same paths and inhabited the same spaces as the Bible women as well as a shaman *mudang*.

Southern Presbyterian single missionary Mattie Tate also stayed in the women’s area of a Korean home while itinerating. In an 1895 report, the author lauded her efforts by stating that although, “she had a blanket...sleep did not come easily as the children kept crawling under the blanket.” The description, beyond praising the deprivation the missionary willingly endured for the cause, also told where she slept. She slept with children, therefore, she slept in the women’s quarters of the home. Mattie Tate mimicked the already present religious

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197 In another letter home she described a night’s stay in a Korean home.
198 Single page report dated 1895 found in the folder entitled “Korea Mission Histories, Correspondence and Biographical Sketches”, RG 441, folder 16, box 3, John Fairman Preston Papers, PHS.
practices taking place in the women’s spaces of the home. It is through everyday exchanges between women in female-only spaces that Christianity spread from living room to *anbang* and *anbang to anbang* through a network of female spaces which Ellen Strawn has named the *anbang* network.199 By following the *anbang* network, female missionaries and Bible women traveled paths of spiritual influence that had been present in Korea for hundreds of years.

*Movement through Space, Christianity and Buddhism*

A plethora of sources from not only the Southern Presbyterians, but all Protestant missions, told of the wonderful “success” of Bible classes for women that took place at mission stations. Hundreds of women would make the journey to participate in Bible classes. Below is an example of a 1918 women’s Bible class attendance in Pyongyang.200

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199 Lee-Ellen Strawn, “Korean Bible Women’s Success,” 117-149.
200 *One Year in Pyeng Yang Woman’s Bible Institute,* (Pyeng Yang: Presbyterian Missions USA, 1918), 13.
The picture shows a very large attendance to the “March Class For Country Women.” With the spatial and travel restrictions placed on women in Korean society, you might think that very few women would ever travel to attend a Bible Institute class. However, a religious precedent for women’s travel for spiritual instruction already existed among Buddhist adherents.

Buddhist faithful in Korea would make the trek to a Buddhist Temple for special occasions. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, thousands came out for Buddha’s Birthday celebration at the Tongsa temple. Most of the attendees walked to get there and most of the attendees were women. Teachings and prayers were the main events on the agenda, as well as a movie on Buddha’s life. This description of the Buddhist event was similar in nature to descriptions of women attending Bible Class. Most often Korean women walked to the mission station to attend the classes, bringing the food and supplies they would need. After arriving, they participated in teachings and prayer. Mission personnel created sex-segregated space for the women to stay in and men did not attend the classes. The sex-segregated space of the mission station and the Buddhist precedent paved the way for a better acceptance of converted Korean women’s movement through space for a religious destination. The author of the piece on Buddhism even mentioned that the overwhelming number of women in attendance at the Tongsa Temple celebration was similar to Presbyterian gatherings. By creating sex-segregated space at the mission station and drafting the institute in similar fashion to Buddhist celebrations and teachings, Korean women practiced Christianity in similar spaces and under similar circumstances to Korean Buddhism.

**Conclusion**

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Missionaries who believed that Koreans were not religious because a dominate religion did not exist in the country were mistaken. Significant religious or quasi-religious practices predominated the lives of Koreans. The space of the men’s sarangbang, or study, signified a space of searching for the answer to “How do I become a virtuous man?” As men sought the answer to ultimate morality, they spent hours in the spaces of their studies probing the Confucian classics and perfecting Confucian rituals. The sarangbang’s environs held hundreds of years of significance as a space for seeking answers to life’s questions.

Others, mostly women, daily tried to appease the evil spirits that lived around them in nature, their homes and even their bodies. When they sought relief from the evil spirits, shaman mudangs entered the women’s quarters to perform gut to appease or expel the evil spirits. The space of the anbang was an enchanted and sensuous space in everyday life and became the place of significant spiritual religious practice when mudangs entered.

While many Christian missionaries missed the place of religion in Korean lives, what they did notice when they began negotiating and prodding their way into Korea was sex-segregated space. In response to this, they built purpose-driven space to conform to neo-Confucian expectations for the separation of sexes. Protestant leaders then called for more women missionaries to come to the mission field to interact with Korean women. In constructing space that mimicked existing Korean spaces for the purpose of Christian religious practice, missionaries reproduced spaces that already held religious or quasi-religious meaning to Koreans. When American men invited Korean men to the study, debating Christianity and reading the Bible, which especially for Southern Presbyterian missionaries held a strong moral
component, did not seem unusual. Likewise, Korean women understood the home as a place for religious practice and women as religious authorities.

Building on this understanding of the commensurability of Southern Presbyterian intimate evangelism that contained similarities to existing Korean religious and quasi-religious practices, in the next chapter, I will show how the Southern Presbyterians deliberately planned and built intimate, sex-segregated spaces to facilitate intimate encounters with Koreans. Southern Presbyterians incorporated Eastern ordering of space within their Western buildings.
Chapter Three: Neo-Confucianized Christian Space

Southern Presbyterian missionary Eugene Bell built the home pictured above.\textsuperscript{202} He built it to accommodate his family, but importantly, he also built it in a way that produced specific sex-segregated spaces to facilitate interactions with Koreans for the purpose of producing Korean conversions to Christianity. The outside façade contains elements both of Korean architectural design, as well as American. The home had a Korean tiled roof and pagoda type entrance, which were common in upper-class Korean home compounds. The expanded covered porch in the front of the home also was similar to porches built on homes in the late nineteenth century in America. Different from many homes in America at this time however, and seemingly insignificant, were the two doors into the home, one on the left and one on the right side of the porch. They point to Korean spatial norms of separate entrances for males and females into a home. Many Protestant missionaries to Korea adapted Korean spatial norms in the buildings

\textsuperscript{202} Picture. “House built by Eugene Bell.” PCUS Mission Korea, Mokpo, RG 2121, PHS.
they constructed in order to conform to Korean societal expectation of sex-segregation, therefore creating space in American buildings that was commensurable to space in Korean buildings. Within this chapter, I will explore the construction of neo-Confucian styled Christian space and why two doors on a porch can be significant.

As shown in chapter two, there existed similarities in the use of religious space between Koreans and Americans that played an underlying role in converting Koreans to Christianity. Due to the missionaries’ desire to produce converts and usher in the second coming of Jesus they required interaction with Koreans in the intimate religious or quasi-religious spaces described in chapter two. To accomplish this goal, the group of evangelizers deliberately constructed sex-segregated spaces to facilitate cross-cultural interaction within missionary homes, and eventually in the churches they built as Christianity grew in Korea. In this chapter I will show that the conservative, steeped in premillennialism, theology adopted and then put into practice by the missionaries was both reflected in and supported by changes in home design and living arrangements. These changes were discernible both in the architectural style of missionary buildings and in the adaptation of gender segregation. Missionary built space was an amalgam of Eastern and Western order and materials intentionally designed to host Korean men and women in separate areas.

As Western imperialists spread around the globe, they brought with them specific ideas of spatial order. Western ideas of order became order itself and any other type of ordering of space, such as schools conducted in courtyards or sex-segregated homes, was “older” and
“backward.” Western imperialists saw the rearrangement of space along Western lines as seemingly doing everything from creating object lessons on proper living to dictating new modes of production, time, and education. Power was projected through the rearrangement of space. In this chapter, I will show that, in the Korean context, neo-Confucian ordering of space rather than Western ideas of spatial order became paramount in the missions’-built environments. The Protestant missionaries living in Korea during 1894-1920 sometimes completely mirrored Eastern ordering of space or modified Western ideas of spatial order along neo-Confucian lines to facilitate cross-cultural encounters with Koreans. In the Korean mission context, Western ordering of space was subsumed by new forms which allowed for similarly religious, sex segregated spaces for the purpose of evangelizing within the homes and churches of the Southern Presbyterian mission.

The key to analyzing mission spatial accommodation is to recognize the unique characteristics of a particular encounter. Two cultures are not homogenous structures largely incapable of compatibility with each other. Instead, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam argues, disparate groups interacting with each other created cross-cultural world history. Encounters between cultures are made; they don’t “just happen.” People are the makers and people build the

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In doing so he argues against scientific philosopher Thomas Kuhn’s idea of incommensurability, “to have no common measure.” People in cross-cultural encounters produce commensurabilities, or “common measures” between cultures. The key word here is “produce.” They do not just happen, people produce “common measures”, or commensurabilities. The cross-cultural encounter between American missionaries in Korea was a dynamic process in which missionaries and Koreans produced commensurabilities with each other’s spatial forms. The case study of Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea will show that they improvised often and made modifications in terms of space, in order to facilitate cross-cultural interaction.

Many factors determined the willingness of Protestant Western missionaries of the 16th-20th centuries to create spaces within their private homes for interaction with potential converts. Tensions, cultural differences, and local conditions drove missionary production of space. For example, Protestant missionaries in China most often secluded their homes within the inner walls of a mission compound and evangelized, as well as provided social uplift projects in created public spaces outside the inner walls. Jane Hunter and Connie Shemo, as a part of their work on women missionaries in China, showed Protestant missionaries as creating mission compounds that contained areas completely segregated from the Chinese. According to Shemo, even the adopted Chinese daughter of a single female missionary was not allowed to

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live in the mission compound after she returned from obtaining a medical education in the United States, solely because she was Chinese. The mission had stringent rules on who could be in or not be in parts of the mission compounds. Those that could not be “in” were the Chinese.  

Riika-Leena Juntunen argues that the compounds had differentiated spaces according to social status, some of which held public function. Parts of the mission compound were open for interaction with the Chinese, however, the missionaries’ homes within the mission compound were segregated in such a way as to make the “inner quarters a closed foreign land with no open access.” Space was created for social interaction within compounds but it was highly guarded and considered semi-open and did not include the personal space of the missionary home. China had many disparate mission stations from different denominations, some of which may have been more open to Chinese within their homes; however, the general trend was toward closed off mission compounds.

In the case of mission compounds in China, tensions between the Chinese and the Western foreigners, a local culture of large compounds among the wealthy, and missionary non-willingness to share private areas, drove the type of space missionaries created. Juntenan argues that the space itself mimicked Chinese spaces of the wealthy, something the Chinese found commensurable. However, boundaries within that space delimited who could be or not be in a particular space and showed the limits of that commensurability. The degree of

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211 Juntunen, *Borrowed Place,* 32.

Western missionary spatial accommodation depended on several local tensions and negotiations and vary accordingly. Protestant missionaries to East Asia did not have a uniform response to spatial accommodation.

In teasing out Southern Presbyterians’ production of neo-Confucian styled Christian space, I will first look at layouts of American homes and then Korean spatial layouts within the home as an introduction to the ways Americans reordered space in Korea. The last section will show that missionaries created an amalgam of American and Korean spatial concepts producing Christianized neo-Confucian space for proselytizing. This fusion of spatial ideas created highly gendered, yet commensurable spaces for interaction between missionaries and Koreans, a purposeful and distinctive practice of the Korea mission field.

*American Production of Home Space*

Before looking at the spaces American missionaries produced in Korea, I will look at the home spaces Americans were typically building in the United States during the late nineteenth century. American societal ideas prevalent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century drove the design of American space, including the home. The concept of separate spheres for men and women, where ideally men worked in the public arena and women kept the home, predominated late nineteenth century middle-class America. After industrialization, many men became wage earners instead of agricultural workers and women’s labor alongside men’s in an agrarian economy became less necessary. Although separate spheres were an ideal, many middle-class families strove for the appearance of separate spheres for men and women, where
men went to work to provide for the family, and women blissfully stayed at home keeping
house and raising children while reigning over the domestic space.213

Encompassed in late nineteenth century thought were Judeo-Christian ideas heavily
influenced by Biblical interpretations that supported the ideas of separate spheres of spatial
influence.214 Biblical ideals from the time made strong distinctions between the roles and
proper place of men and women. Men’s roles were firmly planted in leadership and work
outside the home. Women were the nurturers who stayed home. Protestant leaders, who
propagated this thought through sermons and Bible teachings, often subordinated women to
men through their interpretations of scriptures such as Ephesians 4:22-23, in which the apostle
Paul calls for wives to submit to husbands as the head of the household.215 However, Biblical
ideas also espoused that women should be educators of their children.216 While these
admonishments opened up educational opportunities for women, education was not for
professional purposes but to perfect their vocation as housekeeper and tutor to children.217

213 Barbara Welter in 1966 wrote an article entitled the “The Cult of True Womanhood.” These ideas have been
written about by many scholars and are known now as “The Cult of Domesticity.” Barbara Welter, “The Cult of
ideas in the Cult of Domesticity included creating the home as a sanctuary away from the “world” husbands
interacted with every day, as well as keeping up one’s appearance for their husbands. While these are prescriptive
ideas for women’s behavior often found in magazines of the time, work by archaeologist Robert Fitts in analyzing
refuse from homes, shows that women did attempt to go by the prescriptive behaviors outlined for them. Robert
Fitts, “The Archaeology of Middle-Class Domesticity and Gentility in Victorian Brooklyn,” Historical Archaeology,


215 The rest of this verse where Paul admonishes men to love their wives as Christ loves the church receives much
less attention.

216 Proverbs 1:8-9

217 Carolyn A. HJaynes, Divine Destiny: Gender and Race in Nineteenth-Century Protestantism, (Jackson: University
Press of Mississippi, 1998), 88. Other scholarly work as well as this dissertation, though show that women often
surpassed/bypassed/manipulated those ideals and found meaningful professional work in social reform and as
missionaries.
Due to the idea that men worked “out in the world,” late nineteenth century Protestant middle-class Americans constructed the home as a refuge and a place for family togetherness. The following house plan, from a portfolio entitled *Building Designs* by R. W. Shopell from the 1887, shows the way in which space was typically divided in a middle-class American home of the late nineteenth century to produce shared family area.

![Figure 5 1887 Shoppell House Plan, Fair Use.](image)

This Particular plan had a lower cost and is similar to Southern Presbyterian missionary John Preston’s description of his home in Korea.218

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218 R. W. Shoppell, *Modern Houses, Beautiful Homes*, (New York: The Cooperative Building Plan Association architects, 1887), design 204. I will discuss Preston’s plans more in depth later in this chapter.
Victorian styled architecture was also still popular at the end of the nineteenth century in America, a type of architecture that Eugene Bell mimicked in his home in Korea. Victorian plans divided space similarly to the foursquare home above, by placing the parlor, dining room and kitchen on the main floor and bedrooms above. American architect William Comstock designed the home below in 1893.  

Figure 6 Turn-of-the-Century House Designs, William Comstock, Fair Use

Comstock’s design conforms to spatial ideals connected to gender norms present in American middle-class homes at the turn-of-the-twentieth. Ideally, women worked at home in

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the domestic arena, keeping house, cooking, and establishing a sanctuary for the men who worked outside the home. While the historiography of women and space in the late nineteenth century has been nuanced through the years to show how women crossed the boundaries expected of them, the idea of the domestic realm falling within the purview of women at this time, however, has not been disputed.\textsuperscript{220}

\textit{Korean Ideas of Spatial Production}

Korean societal norms for space in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were based in neo-Confucianism. Neo-Confucianism heavily structured Korean society and dictated proper expectations for the production of space. At the beginning of the Joseon Dynasty, founders established neo-Confucian thought as the state’s official ideology. During the subsequent years, Korean interpretations of neo-Confucianism gained a stronger and stronger influence in the country.

For the purpose of this chapter, the ways in which neo-Confucianism shaped the everyday spaces Koreans could be in or not be in is paramount. As shown in chapter two, these cultural ideas greatly influenced the ways in which missionaries approached evangelism. Sex-segregation of space came out of neo-Confucianism’s emphasis on the five bonds or five relationships. Korean interpretations of these bonds established unequal relationships between men and women. The five bonds were ruler to ruled, father to son, husband to wife, elder

\textsuperscript{220} Andrea J. Merritt, “From Separate Spheres to Gendered Spaces: The Historiography of Women and Gender in 29\textsuperscript{th} Century and Early 20\textsuperscript{th} Century America,” \textit{UC Berkeley: Recent Work}, (2010), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8dd143rj.
brother to younger brother and friend to friend. In all of the other relationships besides friend to friend, the first role in the dyad was hierarchical to the second. Therefore, wives must always show respect to their husbands, and by extension to all men, even their eldest son.

Neo-Confucian relationship hierarchies structured the gendered spaces of late 19th and early 20th century Korea in the southwest area of Korea where Southern Presbyterian’s established their mission, a conservative section of the country known for its adherence to Confucian principles. Practically speaking, by the time of the end of the Joseon Dynasty, women “fulfilled” these expectations through public, strict adherence to hierarchical relationships, and the strict expectation to enter an arranged marriage and produce children, particularly sons. In the Korean context, Martina Deuchler argues that Korean neo-Confucianism centered on Confucian classics. One such classic was the *Analects for Women*. The author, Song Ruozhao, admonished women against allowing any public view of themselves, by stating “Don’t peer over the outer wall or go beyond the outer courtyard. If you have to go outside, cover your face; if you peep outside, conceal yourself as much as possible.” Expectations for men differed greatly from women as much of their movement was not delimited by their sex.

By the end of the Joseon Dynasty, public meant not only seclusion from all public roles, but seclusion from public view. Most Korean women secluded themselves in their homes,

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behind walls, so they could remain unseen. Women could and did, however, go out after dark or covered. For example, in Seoul, after the ringing of injeong or dusk bell, men remained inside and women could walk the city. Upper-class women went out rarely but did at times only if covered from head to foot and riding in covered palanquins. The practice of seclusion, while strictest in the upper-class, affected almost all Korean women. An example from the memoir of a Korean Christian convert showed the practice affected even women of lower social status. Keyong Sook Yi wrote, “I went [out] wearing my old clothes and carrying a paper lantern. I wore an apron over my head, being too poor to wear the green silk cloak, the kind used for the seclusion of women.” Strictness of seclusion varied geographically with the expectation highest in the southern part of the country, the area Southern Presbyterians evangelized. The onset of puberty marked the beginning of seclusion.

Francesca Bray argues that in China, another country heavily influenced by Confucianism, that it was in the small space of a woman’s private room and the homes’ courtyard that a Chinese woman’s life passed. It is where daily activities, conception, birth,

223 Samtuk Chun, the wife of a Royal Councillor in the Korean government, wrote the following, as mediated through and translated by an American missionary. “According to custom, I always remained at home. I couldn’t go outside of our house and its open court or yard which was surrounded by buildings and by high walls unless I were to go carried by chair bearers, with servants walking before and behind to protect me and to clear the way. Our family customs were especially strict...It was utterly impossible for me to go outside our home.” “Samtuk Chun” biography in Mattie Noble, ed. Victorious Lives of Early Christians, (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1927), 31-32.


225 Lee, Seoul, Twentieth Century, 99. Some women however would not walk out at night due to occasional attacks by wild animals.

226 Ellen Strong, “Woman’s Work in Korea,” Woman’s Work for Women, (New York: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, August 1893), 213-214

227 M.W. Noble, ed. “Biography of Mrs. Drusilla Kyeng Sook Yi, as told by her to Mrs. W. A. Noble,” Victorious lives, 22.


Mattie Ingold Tate Journal. Martha B. Ingold Tate papers 1892-1929, PHS. Nellie Rankin letters. Notebook of transcribed letters found in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS.
raising children, all occurred under the supervision of her mother-in-law. This was similarly true in Korea. Men and women married early; women as young as thirteen. The couple met on the day of their marriage and after the wedding, the bride moved into the home of her husband within the women’s space. At this time, a Korean woman’s responsibility in hierarchical relationships shifted from her father and brother to her husband and mother-in-law. During the first years of marriage, members of the groom’s household expected the new bride to talk little, follow her mother-in-law’s every direction and most importantly, produce a son. A periodical from the time period published by missionaries described Korean men as wanting “to be married, not for selfish reasons, nor because a little sugar-coated heart longs to rest in his love and be looked after. Not a bit of it: he wants a son, a son of his very own. He wants him wildly, unreasonably; anything for a son.” Until men married, they were considered boys. It was only after marriage that men’s status changed. A young married man of 20 was hierarchical to an unmarried man of 40. For some women, true membership in the family only came after producing a male heir. In line with this, women did not have names. Titles such as “Woo-joo Oma” or “Woo-Joo mom” identified women. While Bray argues that Chinese women’s lives, not unlike Korean lives, passed in constricted space, they nevertheless created strong bonds with other women, influenced the home, and significantly, impacted the political and economic

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232 Seth, “Choson Society” 157-165. C. Insun Yoon, “Civilizing Mission for Women,” 32. The practice of being called someone’s mother or wife still persists in Korea today, but is slowly dying. Also, women in Korea are marrying in smaller and smaller numbers – they do not want to enter “shi” world, or the world of catering to in-laws.
landscape of China. Lee Ellen Strawn’s work begins to show the role of Korean women, especially Bible women, in influencing the Korean Christian landscape.

While societal expectations delimited women’s movement, women did push those bounds at times, especially during official holidays, or when unusual circumstances arose. Women left their homes at times when there was a sick loved one, a family crisis occurred, or to work in agricultural fields, as was often seen in the lower classes. In other words, women traveled outside their homes when a need arose for them to do so. However, determination of the “need” often was the decision of males in the home. One example of this can be seen in Mattie Ingold Tate’s journal. Dr. Tate arranged for a sick woman to come to her clinic for treatment, however, when the woman’s “son came in and finding out what was up, ordered the coolies away and said she should not come up.” However, Korean women pushed back against this patriarchal domination, and would go out in public for the sake of curiosity and educational opportunities.

The American missionaries ultimately provided both opportunities. They provided an opportunity to appease curiosities, as well as provided prospects for educational opportunities. Missionary homes became objects of great curiosity, and the journals and letters of the women missionaries are replete with references to having Korean women come through their house for a “sight-see.” On occasion, women would also attend “strange” American events that

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235 Journal entry, Martha Ingold Tate, Jan. 22, 1900, Martha B. Ingold Tate Papers, PHS.
236 For example see: Letter. Annie Preston to “My Dear Mother.” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 4, Folder 4, PHS.
occurred outside, for example, an American baseball game. In an 1896 entry of William Harrison Butler’s journal, Butler took note of the rare sighting of women when they came out to watch Americans play a baseball game. After the Saturday afternoon game Harrison wrote that it “was a great sight to the Koreans. Quite a number of ladies were out.” So, while perhaps cumbersome, difficult and against societal norms, women did venture out from behind the walls of their homes. Though seclusion was the prescriptive norm, women pushed against that norm if the right circumstances arose.

Korean women’s lack of educational opportunities, including literacy, also became an important incentive to leave the space of the home and interact with American women. Because neo-Confucian ideas led Korean men to see women as inferior, few women received an education. While the percentage rate for literacy among women during the late Joseon is unknown, historians agree that very few Korean women could read. An article written by a missionary in the 1896 periodical *The Korean Repository*, claimed only boys received an education. Their education included primers which contained instruction on the inferiority of women. The article also claimed that no schools for girls existed. One of the adages taught to boys in their textbooks included the following admonition, “A man honors himself by governing his wife, and a woman honors herself by subordinating herself to her husband.” Some Korean men commented that women could not be educated. The men asserted that women

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237 William Butler Harrison Journal, April 26, 1895, box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS. This may be one of the first references to baseball in Korean history. Today baseball is a very popular sport in South Korea. A website for the Asian Baseball Committee puts the date as 1905, this reference predates that.


were incapable of learning. However, as missionaries discovered, Korean women desired education and wanted literacy. “Modern” America women missionaries agreed, and literacy became an important part of mission work among Korean women. “Safe” (free from males) sex-segregated spaces, therefore, needed to be produced for evangelism and literacy.

These dualistic ideas centered on the hierarchy of husband over wife and separation of spaces, male/female, directed spatial forms in Korea. In day-to-day life, men ate with men in the men’s section of the home, and women ate with women in the women’s quarters. Men slept alone and boys with their grandfathers. Women slept with their children (boys until around seven). Times for conjugal visits were determined by the head of the household and held in the wife’s room. Men walked the city anytime during the day as they wished but stayed home in the temporal time after the curfew bell rang so women could walk the city. While only the upper-class could strictly follow these ideals, as mentioned above, some form of separation of space and segregation of women flowed through almost all social classes. The layouts of Korean homes illuminate this dualistic gendered space.

The diagram below of a yangban or elite class home, from the book, Hoanoak, demonstrated the ideal for gendered domestic separation of space. In this layout, the walled off section at the back of the house compound contained the anchae or women’s quarters including the anbang or the room of the wife. Guests of the family would enter the main gate and then proceed to the entrance at the right or “middle gate” to access the “public” areas of the home, the sarangchae or men’s quarters, which included the men’s study or sarangbang.

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240 Yoon, Civilizing Mission for Women, 30-34.
241 Chun et al, Hanoak, 50. Hanoak was written and compiled by several Korean university faculty members in housing and interior design.
The sarangchae was the most prominent part of the home. The foundation of this section of the house compound was higher than any other foundation and the rooms’ construction was the best and most ornate. In order to facilitate the separation of functions, male/female, inside walls delineated proper areas for life activities. Women did enter male areas of the house for domestic duties such as serving food to male household members, but in performing these tasks, women often followed the less conspicuous paths in the home so as not to enter the more public areas.

Figure 7 Layout of a yangban Estate. The path leads from the gate through the men’s space to the anchae (women’s quarters), or women’s area. Chun et al. Fair Use.

242 Chun et al, Hanoak, 44.
243 Chun et al, Hanoak, 55.
Above is another example of a *yangban* home layout that follows the same general ideas of complete separation of men’s and women’s spaces.  

While the upper-class most strictly followed segregated spatial concepts, most houses in Korea delineated space according to gender. The layout diagram below is from a modest *chungin* or middle-class home. In this diagram, the *anbang* signifies the room of the wife of the house and the *Konnobang* was typically for the daughter-in-law. The *sarangbang* is the male area of the home. In the late 19th century, the middle-class consisted mostly of government workers and *yangban* sons of concubines. In this more modest home, the men’s area remained

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closest to the gate and the *anbang* continued to be in the rear, located away from the entrance gate and directly connected with the kitchen.\(^{245}\)

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![Diagram of Chungin middle class home](image)

*Figure 9 Chungin middle class home. Chun et al. Fair use.*

Even homes of the lower class did their best to delineate gendered spaces. When building homes, they would begin with the *anchae* area and build on a *sarangbang* when funds became available. In the diagram below, an *anbang* or woman’s room exists next to the kitchen and women would be expected to stay in the room and not leave it when male guests or family members visited the home.

As seen in these diagrams representing house space in the late Joseon Dynasty, space within the home was segregated by sex as much as the family could afford. Men met with other men in the male areas of the home and women met with other women in the female areas of the home. As Southern Presbyterians practiced their conservative, experiential evangelism based in obtaining cross-cultural encounters with Koreans, they built sex-segregated spaces in their homes for meeting with men and women by modifying existing American-styled home plans.

**Missionary Home’s “Confucianized” Space**

The very earliest missionaries to Korea lived in Korean homes that they modified; however, as soon as they could, missionaries began to build a home they considered to be “American-styled.” As mentioned earlier, Southern Presbyterian John Fairman Preston wrote home to his
parents about the home he was building in Korea. He stated that “the distinctive features of our	house are: Large front porch, with colonial pillars, an ‘old Virginia” doorway opening into
reception hall, real American stairway, large open fire-place in Dining room and grate in Sitting
room.” 246 While Korean space separated sexes, the spaces of a parlor and a dining room were
constructed to encourage interaction between members of the family, although it also was a
part of the private or domestic sphere of women. Preston showed what the missionaries
considered important in the home while contrasting their lives with Korean lives. In reference
to the lack of companionship in Korean marriage, Preston stated, “There is no family life, no
family meal together, nothing we think makes life beautiful.” 247 Family dinners together and
activities as a family were a high priority for middle-class Americans like John Preston. The
dining room and “parlor” allowed for this family interaction within the home.

Family togetherness in American homes, however, did not extend to sleeping quarters.
Preston’s comment on a “real American stairway” above shows the difference not only in
sleeping quarters, but in fundamental differences between Korean and American architecture.

According to Eastern ideas of Feng-shui a city or villages’ position within the natural landscape
was most important for the “life force” of the village, therefore, the wellbeing, of the
inhabitants. A position with mountains surrounding the back of the city with a river to the front
“inspired a sense of security and comfort” and therefore was a desirable location. 248 Ideas of
yin and yang, were also a part of Feng-shui. Yin and Yang refer to opposites that complement

246 Letter. John Fairman Preston to Father and Mother, July 2, 1906. PHS.
247 Letter. John Fairman Preston to “My Precious Mother,” May 13, 1906, folder 7, box 4, John Fairman Preston
Papers, RG 441, PHS. Korea historian Michael J. Seth shows there was much separation of the lives of men and
women, even down to the lower classes. 247 Seth, “Choson Socieity” 157-165.
one another. In Feng-shui, mountains would be considered as yang energy and “as for houses, tall ones are \textit{yang} and low ones are \textit{yin}.”\textsuperscript{249} (emphasis author’s) In order for the yang of the mountains to create harmony with the built environment “building tall buildings would not be fortuitous but cause the country to decline.”\textsuperscript{250} The yang of tall mountains needed to be complemented by the yin of low buildings. Preston though wanted to bring American ideas of home to Korea and would build a two-story house with a proper stairway to the second floor, as he detailed in his description.

As shown earlier in this chapter, large dining rooms and “parlors” predominated in home plans of the late nineteenth century. However, what did not exist in American home plans from this time period were rooms set aside as “studies.” The vast majority of middle-class American home plans did not contain this special area for the work of men.\textsuperscript{251} However, when Americans built homes in Korea, they did add the space of a study. These “studies” were separated from the rest of the house and designated on the plans missionaries sent home as a “study,” the same word they used to translate the Korean idea of the men’s area or \textit{sarangbang} in Korean homes. The contrast between typical American home plans and the plans adopted by the missionaries pointed to the deliberate production of sex-segregated space by the Americans along the lines of neo-Confucian styled Korean space.

\textsuperscript{250} Lee, \textit{Seoul, Twentieth Century}, 93.
\textsuperscript{251} I looked through hundreds of home plans from mail order home plan catalogues from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Very few had a “study” marked on the plan. If another room existed beyond the parlor and dining room, it would be termed as a “den” or a “library” and were only in the most expensive plans. Most plans that mentioned libraries were in Shopell’s $6000 per house plan book. While prices in Korea were lower than America, Bell spent only $1,200 on his home.
Above is an example of an American missionary home plan for Korea that contained a study. At one point, missionaries from the Methodist mission employed the work of an architect within their mission, James Arthur Thompson, to create home plans in Korea. He drew this blueprint which was similar in style to the foursquare design popular in America from the 1890s.
to 1930s. This plan modified that design in order to put in a study. The architect also included a small entry vestibule. Inside the vestibule, the door to the left led into the “study.” The door to the right led to traditional female spaces. This diagram suggests intentional separation of spaces with separate entrances to accommodate Koreans and Korean cultural norms for the separation of space according to sex. Closed off spaces and separate entrances while not directly mimicking Korean styled space, produced an amalgam of Western and Eastern ideas on space and gender.

Often early missionaries built their own homes, and some sent before and after sketches of their work to their families in America. A good example of the production of “Koreanized” American space among Southern Presbyterian missionaries can be found in the house of Eugene and Lottie Bell who arrived in Korea in 1893, their home is pictured at the beginning of this chapter. The Bells like other Southern Presbyterian missionaries began mission work by language learning in Seoul, but soon desired to begin “real” mission work in Mokpo. In order to facilitate the move to the south, Eugene Bell moved ahead of his family, partly to start the work and partly to build a home for his family. Building “American-styled” homes were a priority for missionaries in Korea. Men often saw this as a requirement for the continued health and prosperity of their families and mentions of the building process and design often come up in their letters home.

252 Missionary Residence: Songdo, Korea (undated) World Division Records, United Methodist Church Archives - =GCAH, Madison New Jersey. Architect James Arthur Thompson drew this set of blueprints and a 1913 alumni record for the University of Illinois states that he is the architect for the Methodist Episcopal South mission in Korea and lived in Songdo, Korea.
Eugene Bell sent the sketch above to his parents. The diagram outlined the house he planned to build in Mokpo and has a distinctive “Victorian” style to it. The right side of the sketch mimics the Victorian plan shown earlier in this chapter; however, instead of a parlor and dining room, Bell has a study and guest bedroom. The sketch was not done quickly to just give his family an idea about what he wanted to build. It actually was a sketch drawn to scale where each element is explained in the “Explanations” on the side. The exact locations for chimneys, walls, windows, and doors are outlined and color-coded in the sketch. Western ideas of domestic space are seen in the prominent positioning of the dining room and sitting room. Bell
however, included in the diagram a large study space with a separate entrance.\textsuperscript{253} The door on the side of the house (the right side when looking at the diagram) created a separate entrance to the study from the outside. The study could be entered and exited from this door; therefore, the study which could be accessed without going through the more “feminine” areas of the house – the sitting room and dining room. By the time Eugene Bell decided on the plan for his first built home in Korea, he took into consideration the production of and separate entrances to what could be sex-segregated spaces. Korean men and women could enter his home with separate entrances into sex-segregated spaces.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{bell_home.jpg}
\caption{Eugene Bell home, the same picture that was at the beginning of this chapter, Fair Use.}
\end{figure}

Eugene Bell did indeed build this house but modified it during the build to include an entrance to the study from the front. In the final home, Bell added a door to the study so it could be accessed from the front porch. At the front of the home, two doors existed – one that led to the “sitting room” or traditionally female areas (as shown on the sketch) and another outside door on the porch led to the study or the traditional Korean male area. This allowed for easy access to gender separated spaces from the front of the home. The establishment of a

\textsuperscript{253} Letter. Eugene Bell to Father and Mother, December, 1897. Eugene Bell Papers, 1802-1912, Box 2, folder 12, RG 435, PHS.
\textsuperscript{254} Picture. “House built by Eugene Bell.” PCUS Mission Korea, Mokpo, RG 2121, PHS.
door on the front rather than just the side, fit better with Korean norms for entering the space of a home. In Korean homes, women, not men, used side entrances. Through these separated doors and separated space within the house, Korean men and women interacted with missionaries within designated gendered spaces without fear of running into members of the opposite sex. Separation of domestic space proved important to missionaries as much mission work was done in the intimacy of the home, as discussed in chapter two.

Almost all Protestant missionaries to Asia built Western-Styled homes as quickly as they could. They often considered their homes as models of “civilized” living, in fact many missionary married women saw establishment of an exemplary Christian home as one of their most important duties. However, in China, after construction, rather than becoming a place for interaction, missionary homes often became places of refuge from the world around them, a space intentionally cut off and separated from the people they came to minister to. They were not designed for intentional interaction. By looking at the design of Korean homes, along with reading their letters home and mission records, an intentionality toward intimate cross-cultural encounters within the home can be seen.

“Confucianized” Church Space


Missionaries, in the process of constructing churches and schools, also incorporated Korean neo-Confucian style into their buildings. Mary Scranton, one of the earliest Protestant missionaries to Korea and a widow, desired to construct a building to accommodate a small but growing girl’s school where she and the students lived together. In constructing this school, she capitalized on the Korean idea of proper female space in her design. The image below is of the Korean styled building she built in 1889 in Seoul as a school for women.257

For Scranton, the building was a negotiation with Korean culture. It was an “approximation” and an “improvisation.”258 It conformed to correct Korean spatial ideas for women that Stanton gleaned from her time in neo-Confucian Korea. It also served the purpose

258 Subrahmanyam, Courtly Encounters, 29.
of Scranton for creating a school for women and girls. Descriptions Scranton sent in letters home, show that Korean Confucian ideas of spatial use directed the layout. The “Home,” as Scranton described it, was an intentional creation of private female space that mimicked the anchae of upper-class Korean homes. The design of this home contained many of the same elements found in a Korean home to shelter women from the eyes of the world. Therefore, both Korean women and Scranton shared the assumption that the home was acceptable, not only for Korean women to visit for Korean language literacy lessons, but for a school for girls. Scranton though, also saw the home as an acceptable place in which she could facilitate and accomplish Christian conversion.

In Scranton’s description of the “home,” she explained that the “tiled wall in the foreground is the one that separates us from the street” and that the “gateway is now covered over by a pagoda shaped roof.” Both the type of wall, tile, and type of gate roof, pagoda shaped, directly mirrored the wall and gate of an upper-class Korean home. She also told readers that the home contained “little houses” on either side of the gate to house “people employed about the place.” In the layouts of upper-class Korean homes, the rooms of servants are often situated next to the gate. The foundation and aesthetics of the architecture also were Korean.

In her letter, Scranton gave specifics as to the shape of the building, its lengths, widths and what rooms presided in which wing and that it had a “court in the centre forty by fifty feet.” The particular design described is based on the Korean alphabetical character mium.

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, a simple rectangle. It signifies a sound similar to the English letter m. The *mium* layout produced four separate wings with a small courtyard in the middle. It was a popular design for *anchae* areas of Korean homes and was the only *anchae* plan that produced an area enclosed on all four sides. According to the authors of *Hanoak: Traditional Korean Homes*, this particular pattern for *anchae* quarters was the most restrictive to women’s activities and interactions and its limiting nature probably pointed to its popularity as a design element.\(^\text{262}\)

When Mary Scranton arrived in Korea as a missionary, she negotiated her presence in the city of Seoul by accommodating to Korean expectations for the separation of sexes. She reordered the ground, not completely according to Western ideas of spatial use, but according to Korean neo-Confucian ideas of spatial use acceptable for women. In choosing a home design based in neo-Confucian ideas of spatial segregation, Scranton accepted the terms calling for the separation and segregation of women and she did so in order to convert Korean women.

Early church buildings built by American missionaries in Korea or Korean converts also segregated space by sex. Eugene Bell describes attending a church service in a church built in the “yard” of fellow Southern Presbyterian missionary William Junkin’s house. Eugene Bell in his letter, gave a detailed picture of the sex-separated spatial arrangements of the church. Bell wrote:

> Lottie and I could not go in together. Nor could she sit on our side of the church and I on the other as used to be the custom in some of our country churches but she had to go into an entirely different room with the women and I went in with the men where we all sat on the floor. Mr. Reynolds delivered his sermon sitting in a chair but when Mr. Junkin preached he sat on the floor...Near the preacher is

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\(^{262}\) Chun et al, *Hanoak*, 52.
Bell notes that sex-separated spaces for men and women were not on separate sides of a church, as had been the custom in some very conservative churches in the United States, but instead were in entirely separate rooms. Women could not be in the space of men and men could not be in the space of women. The missionary preachers, Reynolds and Junkin, taught from a space however that could be heard from both rooms. As Protestant Reform churches developed worship space after the reformation, there was a call for a more intimate distance between the preacher and the audience, and the pulpit became the most important element in church space. This was due primarily to the reformist’s belief that the preaching of the word of God was the most important part of worship services. This emphasis on preaching can be seen in the spaces for worship that American missionaries developed. In the churches they built in Korea, the area designated for preaching became the central area in their designs.

Missionaries often designed early churches based on the layout of a traditional Korean L-shaped Hanoak home. This Korean architecture provided for the separation of rooms needed by the missionaries. John So, a scholar at the Methodist Theological Seminary in Seoul, has researched the use of traditional Hanoak architecture in Korean churches. He shows that many Korean churches started in homes, especially L-shaped Hanoak home styles that intrinsically provided a separation of space. Below are illustrations he used in his article “The Origin of

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Korean Church Architecture” to show how early churches used the traditional layout of Korean homes to facilitate sex-segregated worship.265

On the left in these illustrations found in John So’s article “The Origin of Korean Church architecture,” is a traditional layout for an L-shaped hanoak home. The image clearly shows separated spaces delineated for each sex. The gate to the home would be near the men’s quarters and the women’s quarters would be furthest from the entrance. On the right, is an early church layout. It is very similar in design to the L-shaped hanoak home. By placing the “altar” of the church in the 90° angle of the L-shaped hanoak design, builders not only facilitated space for two separate rooms, but also created a preaching platform that could be heard by both the women and the men. A curtain could be hung between the “altar” and the

women’s room to assure that no women could be seen by males. The church constructed by
Junkin, and described by Bell, was a Korean-styled home built for church services.266

The women’s room served as a space for women to not only “be” during church services
but also to study, according to So. So argues that this built church space actually mimicked the
“inner rooms” of the home where female activities took place. The sex-separated spaces,
outside of the male gaze but nevertheless open for women, became more than worship areas.
They became learning areas as well.

One of the oldest surviving buildings in the Southern Presbyterian mission in Gwangju,
Owen Memorial Chapel, contains separate entrances to facilitate sex-segregated space. The
building, below, looks very Western in style. However, closer inspection shows the ways in
which the chapel was built to facilitate neo-Confucian expectations for the separation of the
sexes.


The missionaries constructed two outside entrances. One was for the men and one was for the women. One of the doors is on the right side of the building in this picture. The other door is more plainly visible in the left-center of the picture.

The following image of the present-day inside of the chapel shows the two entrance doors plainly, as well as the altar. Of special significance, is the placement of the altar. The altar was placed in a similar location to the positioning of the altar in L-shaped hanok churches. Missionaries placed the altar directly in the right angle of an L-shaped portion of the building. While the arrangements of seats are present-day, a partition could easily separate the two differing sides of the building facilitating native Korean worship services with a partition and English-speaking services without a divider.


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267 “Yangnim-dong, a Time Capsule of Early Modern Gwangju,” Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation, 2019, http://www.koreanheritage.kr/visit/view.jsp?articleNo=34. The Korean Heritage Foundation notes in the text that goes along with a picture of the chapel, that “The hall has two entrances originally intended for exclusive use by males and females to suit the Confucian standards that still dictated social mores at the time.”

Southern Presbyterian missionaries created neo-Confucian styled Christian space. They rearranged space in Korea, not only on Western terms, but also on Eastern terms. The production of space was a negotiation between what Western missionaries considered as correct spaces for ministry and what Korean culture expected for spaces of ministry. Their rearrangement of space was intentional, purposeful, and reflected the local mission societies’ dedication to put evangelism above all other considerations, even that of introducing and reproducing Western structural and gender norms.

Conclusion

As Southern Presbyterian missionaries began their mission in Korea, members negotiated their presence in Korea. Along with other American missionaries, legal arguments based on the rule of law, not intent, and intrinsically unequal treaty law, helped them to obtain land in Korea. Once they obtained the land, they rearranged that space according to their wants. Western ideas drove the space missionaries created in Korea, but so did Eastern ideas of spatial order.

By creating gendered spaces, missionaries conformed to the norms for gender separation in late nineteenth century Korea. Gender separation was an intrinsic part of the patriarchal structures that dominated Korean life and constructed men as superior in ability, nature, and competence to women. Missionaries’ conformity to Korean gendered space seemingly kept these dynamics in place. The space the missionaries built was commensurable to Korean space and the sex of the people in the space aligned with Korean expectations for who could be in or not be in the same space. By preserving the appearance of these dynamics missionaries created
gendered spaces for themselves that delimited their interactions with Koreans to males with males and females with females.

The separation of space according to gender also fit well in the American ideals of separate spheres. Women missionaries, especially married women missionaries, never left their home to go to work. Their work, although not all of a domestic nature, still took place in domestic space. American women still “managed” the home and kept up the “housekeeping” but with the help of Korean servants. Their journals, letters and spotty mentions of their work in reports reveal much work outside of the domestic taking place in the home.

Missionaries’ decision to create sex-segregated, intimate, evangelistic space for interactions with Koreans provided for spatial commensurability. Both Korean men and women could interact with America missionaries and still conform to Korean cultural expectations for correct social contact.

As I discuss in the next chapter, importantly, the purposeful delineation of space provided for female-only space outside the gaze of men and men-only space outside the gaze of women. For women, female-only space became a space in which both American and Korean women challenged patriarchy. Korean women’s participation in literacy learning challenged the patriarchal expectations for women and American women’s tacit roles as evangelizers, teachers, and pastors to half the targeted Korean population challenged American roles for women in this time period, especially women from the South.
Chapter Four: Changes and Adaptations in Missionary Gender Roles

The report of the 1898 annual meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission contained a short sentence about the work of two female missionaries. The report stated, “Miss Tate and Mrs. Reynolds have done a large and encouraging work among the women and children. There is a gratifying attendance at all the meetings for the women....”\(^{269}\) The rest of the report contained the work of the men, despite the admission that the women missionaries had a “large” work. Also, in an annual 1906 report detailing the work done by each person in the Southern Presbyterian mission, the author wrote much about the work of W.D. Reynolds and little to nothing about the work of his wife, Patsy Reynolds. W.D. and Patsy were among the first seven Southern Presbyterian missionaries to arrive in Korea, only months after their marriage. The report contained one sentence that alluded to the labor of Patsy. “Their home,” asserted the writer, “is the gathering place for large numbers of the native women, who come to be taught by Mrs. Reynolds.”\(^{270}\) Again, the sentence talks about a large work among the women that Patsy was doing in her home, but the writer was apparently not interested in telling the reader much about Patsy’s ministry.

I would argue that these quotes, although brief, are enlightening. First, it shows that both married and single women worked in the mission. Married women are often neglected in mission studies due to the responsibility of raising children, however, Patsy Reynolds, a married

\(^{269}\) “Annual Meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission,” Eugene Bell Papers, 1802-1912, RG 435 box 3 folder 3, PHS.
\(^{270}\) Reports to the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea,” Korea Mission Papers, RG 444 box 1 folder 3, PHS.
missionary with children, taught “large numbers” of Korean women in her home. Secondly, both Tate and Reynolds did not have a small barely surviving work among the women and children, they instead had a “large” work. Their work also covered children. These small quotes point to women doing the work of the mission in the space of their home.

Rather than peripheral to the mission, American women’s labor was central. Although official reports contained little about the work of women, especially married women, the archive which contains their letters, diaries and notes showed that women did much work in the Southern Presbyterian mission. This work, although often “hidden” as women worked in their homes or in the women’s areas of Korean homes, opened the door for female missionaries to take on functions done by men in the United States. As the primary missionary to all Korean women, American women missionaries became tacit pastors, evangelists, and teachers to Korean women.  

In this chapter, I argue that Southern Presbyterian women missionaries experienced expanded freedom and religious authority in Korea compared to America, and that the changed gender roles produced by the women’s work caused changes in the mission roles of the men. In order to reassert patriarchal dominance over American women, as well as establish it over

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271 Scholars have established the “hidden” nature of women’s work. For women’s hidden labor in reproduction within the home see Simone deBeauvoir, The Second Sex, (New York: Random House, 2010). Gayle Rubin brought attention to the political economy of women’s labor arguing that you must realize the “the mutual independence of sexuality, economics, and politics without underestimating the significance of each in human society.” Gayle Rubin, “The Traffic in Women,” in Women, Class and the Feminist Imagination, ed. Karen Hansen and Ilene Philipson, (Philadelphia: Temple, 1990). Mackenzie and Rose examined how the idea of work became public in the Western world. S. Mackenzie and D. Rose, “Industrial change, the domestic economy and home life in Redundant Spaces in Cities and Regions? Studies in Industrial Decline and Social Change, Ed J. Anderson, S. Duncan and R. Hudson (London: Academic Press, 1983) For the ways in which women’s work is hidden in America, including in the census, see: Mona Domosh and Joni Seager, Putting Women in Place, (New York: Guilford Press, 2001). I want to note here, that a lot of work was done by men in their homes. But their work was done in the “study” which of course had separate entrances. The work done in “studies” garnered much more coverage in the “official” press than the work of women in their “sitting rooms.” Nonetheless, the work was proportional.
Korean men, American men mostly became supervisors and monitors over mission work, rather than evangelizers. American women, and Korean men and women, became the dominant evangelizers. I also argue that the changed gender roles among the missionaries resulted from and were supported by the conservative, evangelical theology of the missionaries centered on obtaining conversions, as well as their spatial approaches to evangelism.

Academic missionary studies that concentrate on women’s work have shown ways in which American women of the late 19th century found more opportunity for professional work on the mission field. Works by Dana Robert and Jane Hunter, however, point out that this was true mostly for single women and not married women. Married women, they discovered, often became estranged from the mission and confined in their homes raising children. Academic missionary studies that concentrate on women’s work have shown ways in which American women of the late 19th century found more opportunity for professional work on the mission field. Works by Dana Robert and Jane Hunter, however, point out that this was true mostly for single women and not married women. Married women, they discovered, often became estranged from the mission and confined in their homes raising children. As I will show in this chapter, both single and married Southern Presbyterian women in Korea performed missionary work that mimicked that of the male missionaries.

Twentieth century feminist scholars, such as Simone deBeauvoir and Gayle Rubin have shown the hidden labor of women in reproduction. However, along with recognizing reproduction labor, feminist geographer, Gillian Rose, argues that scholars must look at the space of the home as a work environment to know what women are doing, whether related to reproduction or not. This is especially true in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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274 Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, (Minneapolis: Polity Press, 1993),
centuries in the U.S. as “work” became defined as labor done in the public arena. Along with looking at the spaces of the home for women’s work, Rose also argues that time plays a role in recognizing the labor of women in the home. In criticizing time geographers’ established assumptions that are based on space as white, bourgeois, heterosexual and masculine, Rose claims “They deny other possibilities, including an Other.” In other words, they do not look at what women are doing in specific spaces at specific times, but instead concentrate on the spaces and movements of men. Therefore, in opposition to this masculine geography, one must look at the spaces and movements of women to illuminate what they are doing. In the Korean Southern Presbyterian mission context, the space of the home, both American and Korean, must be examined. In chapter two, I established the importance of both American and Korean domestic spaces in religious practice. Time must also be integrated into the analysis as men’s work often spanned the normal “work” hours of the day; however, in the Korean context, much work by women missionaries occurred in the early morning hours or the late hours after dark when Korean women could more easily travel.

What women were actually doing, as opposed to the prescriptive norms set out by late nineteenth/early twentieth century middle class American culture for what women should be doing, exposes gender roles. This is so because gender, according to feminist theorist Judith

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276 Feminist geographer Gillian Rose asks scholars to look at women’s work in the home, not just wage labor work. Rose, in addition to arguing that there is a direct relationship between space and the quotidian lives of women, contends that scholars often do not know what the lives of women are when they do not look at feminine spaces. Looking at the space of the home can show ways that women are working at home in work that is not housework. Gillian Rose, “Women and Everyday Spaces,” Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge, (Minneapolis: Polity Press, 1993), 17-40. Quote from page 39.
277 While I have not talked much about class in this dissertation, scholars have established that most missionaries came from middle class or upper middle class backgrounds, For a study on middle class values in Korean
Butler, is not a discursively constructed uniform idea, but rather is also nonverbal and performative in a “stylized repetition of acts.” Butler asserts that gender is “real only to the extent that it is performed.” While women missionaries would not contend that their gender was anything but female in the strictest sense of the word, looking at the performances of women helps illuminate ways in which their actions differed from the expected gender norms and roles present in the turn of the twentieth century American South. Christian women in the American South at this time were not the lead evangelists, teachers and pastors to other women, men were. For example, Francis Willard was “condemned by Southern [Protestant] ministers for advocating female preaching.” However, preaching is the very word used by the Southern Presbyterian women missionaries to describe what they did. In Korea, women were the lead evangelists, teachers, and pastors to women.

In this chapter, I am arguing that women missionaries took on the same roles as men in the mission. They took the lead in evangelizing, teaching, and pastoring Korean women. Women were not ordained at this time and could not be “true,” ordained pastors, but much of their work mimicked what ordained pastors did. Male members of the clergy would go through many courses on theology and expository preaching as well as written and oral exams as well as a trial sermon before the Presbytery, the governing body of the Southern Presbyterians before missionaries see: Dae Young Ryu, “American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910: A Critical Study of Missionaries and their Involvement in Korean – American Relations and Korean Politics,” (PhD dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1998), 278 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), 140.
they became ordained. Only after this long process, would they be ready to preach and pastor a congregation. However, while the “ordained” American men evangelized in studies, American women mirrored their evangelistic work in the intimate spaces of their home. They taught, prayed with, and visited their Korean congregants. They spent many hours teaching, not just academic subjects, or household skills, but literacy and theology. This work often remained “hidden,” however, because women worked in traditionally female spaces of the home associated with housework or moved in networks and spaces not open to men. The Southern Presbyterian women’s “hidden” work was not housework, but mission work very similar to that of men.

By going to work, American women missionaries changed the gender dynamics they brought with them from America, and therefore needed to renegotiate their expected gender roles as single women, wives, mothers, and religious participants. As women became mission workers, they did work very similar to that of men, therefore, changing their gender role out of the domain of family and into the domain of quotidian mission work. As a result, I will show that men’s gender roles morphed in response to women’s comparable work. In the case of the Southern Presbyterian mission, when men’s roles were challenged by women, male missionaries reacted by positioning themselves as the officious overseers of all the mission work.

Gender roles are always in negotiation and the change of place from America to Korea, the creation of sex-segregated religious practices in sex-segregated spaces, as well as the

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importance of obtaining Christian conversions among Korean women, put women in the same roles as men and necessitated a re-negotiation of gender roles for the American missionaries in Korea. When women missionaries established their Christian authority through their mission roles on the mission field, men no longer solely held those positions, as they had held them in the U.S. Also, as Korean men became Christians, American male missionaries needed to establish hierarchies of masculinity. Therefore, American men constructed a mission field masculinity based highly in constructing themselves as the ultimate spiritual authority and purveyor of puritanical biblical maleness. In adapting to a new “mission field” masculinity, they endeavored to create a normative structure for “maleness” where they could still claim to be at the top of the gender hierarchy.

Due to the move to Korea, American male and female missionaries renegotiated gender roles that recognized women’s comparable work with men but, technically, in name, kept men as the spiritual authority over American women. Male missionaries spent most of their time trying to exert their spiritual authority over new converts, new churches, and American women missionaries; however, they could not oversee everyone associated with the mission.

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Ultimately, American women, married and single, had great autonomy over their work and lives in Korea as the men constantly travelled.

*Expected Gender roles in America*

As shown in chapters one, two, and three, Southern Presbyterian missionaries, in order to practice religious imperialism and bring converts into the “kingdom of God,” made spatial accommodations to conform to Korean societal expectations for gender-segregated spaces. This spatial accommodation coupled with the missionaries’ zeal for converts led to American women assuming the role of lead evangelists to half the population of Korea. American women missionaries then renegotiated their gender roles on at least two levels. Single female missionaries negotiated their expected roles outside the home as they “itinerated” (traveled from village to village evangelizing women) and married couples negotiated expected gender roles within the home. To illuminate the gender role changes, I will first look at expected gender roles for American southern women at the turn of the twentieth century.

Ideas of the proper conduct for Christian women, as well as the proper etiquette for Southern women shaped the prescriptive gender roles for most of the female Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea. For all of the “freedoms” American missionary women believed they brought with them in comparison to Korean women, in reality, they also faced American gender expectations which delimited their behavior. Ironically, most of these ideas arose out of Protestantism’s notions of the proper spheres for women within the family and the public arena.
As shown in chapter two, these ideas focused on the place of the home as being the proper sphere for nineteenth century American women. Prescriptions painted women as the natural caregivers and educators of children and their roles centered on being good wives and mothers. And while college level opportunities began to open for women in the male dominated, Protestant dominated, world of the late nineteenth century America, Christian dogma constructed college education as a way for women to perfect their roles as housekeepers, wives, and mothers and not in terms of their own personal intellectual growth. Graduates from female normal schools and seminaries taught outside the home, but only until they married. Most of the women with the Southern Presbyterian mission graduated from female seminaries. Despite these delimiting prescriptions, white Protestant Southern women still found outlets for meaningful work in the social and mission projects of the turn of the twentieth century. Women worked on mission boards, moral causes such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Movement, as well as “social gospel” activities in the United States.

White middle and upper-class women coming from the South faced additional restrictions on their movements and activities due to the conservative nature of the south. For example, both missionaries Annie Preston and Nellie Rankin grew up in very conservative, male-controlled, post-reconstruction Georgia in the late 1800s. When the two graduated from college in the early 1900s, conventional “sacrosanct” traditions concerning life for women still predominated in Georgia society, in particular, the idea of paternal authority in the home.

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285 Preston and Rankin graduated from Agnes Scott Female Seminary in Atlanta Ga.
Some scholars identify this paternal authority as “domination by men in the home.”287 Women in Georgia did participate in activist pursuits but only as an “extension of their household duties,” and as a “way to educate, convert, extol Southern values,” which included the values of white supremacy, as well as ideas of paternalistic protection and honor.288 In a patriarchal backlash against Progressive Era reforms of the time, paternalism in Georgia was actually strengthening in the early 1900s.289

Ideas of “honor” and white supremacy also had the effect of further restricting women’s movements and activities in the South. Complicit with white supremacy, many southern women accepted these limitations on their movement. “Honor” for women (middle to upper-class women) often meant “protecting” their sexual purity. As a part of the justification for strengthening the need for Jim Crow laws, white males used constructions of black male violence towards white women to assert control over both black men and white women. As women fabricated rape charges against black men, white Southerners fashioned black men as a threat to all white women’s purity. 290 In essence, white males put themselves in charge of guaranteeing the bodies of white women all under the guise of “protecting” them from the “menace” of the black male. According to these constructions, “oversexed” black men

290 There are a number of examples of white women’s complicity in accusing black men of rape, thus perpetuating the idea of Black male violence. For example, the case of the Scottsboro boys – a group of nine black teenagers who were accused of rape by two white women in 1931. Ultimately the black teenagers were exonerated. Jennifer Wriggins, “Rape, Racism, and the Law,” Harvard Women’s Law Journal, vol 6, (1983): 109-111.
imperiled the sexual safety of white women. In a two-fold movement, white men restricted the activities of black men as well as white women.291

The letters of missionary Nellie Rankin exposed these tensions, especially in correspondence between herself and her father. Rankin’s father actively opposed her decision to work on the mission field and for choosing a life that did not conform to the gender expectations for a young middle-class woman from Savannah, Georgia at the turn of the twentieth century. In one of the most poignant letters in Rankin’s archive, she wrote candidly to her father. She declared that the recent letter she received from him, (most likely the first he sent – eighteen months after she left Savannah), “brought up so much of an unhappy past” and chastised him that it took a letter to him, from someone else, to prompt him to write her. She also told him that she planned to stay in Korea “till d’finis’” so he should spend some time on her now by writing letters back and forth. She expressed that she has no regrets in coming to Korea and her aspiration was to “make good out here and I will be satisfied.” She also exhorted her father as to his behavior towards her mother, “I hope,” she wrote, “you will see that mother is not left to spend her evenings all alone.” This admonition points to her father’s apparent frequent absence from the home at night. The admonition also points to her mother’s apparent frequency of being at home alone in the evenings. Ranking here was being critical of the standards that allowed for men to be out at night, but not women.


292 Letter. Nellie Rankin to Father. October 20, 1908. Notebook of transcribed letters found in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140 PHS.
In opposition to the patriarchal restrictions of her father, Rankin chose to work in missions and to chart her own course. Certainly, consequences followed this decision, namely her relationship with her father and I suspect some degree of respectability for the family in Savannah society. News from Savannah that showed up in Nellie’s letters often detailed the engagements, marriages and childbirths of her friends, the central topic of seeming relevance for women. Nellie challenged these “normal” conventions of marriage and family so entrenched in the proper etiquette of southern society by remaining single and by moving away to do mission work.

Through the lines in the letter Rankin wrote to her father, it can be seen that Rankin’s father’s wishes, dictates, expectations and worldview drove Rankin’s life in Savannah, and she found a way to work outside of those expectations in Korea. Rankin’s letters show a woman determined not to go back to America and return to the patriarchal oversight so prevalent in southern U.S. society. Korea equaled freedom for her, freedom of movement on horseback and foot, freedom to make her own schedule, and freedom to pursue and ultimately show off her intellectual talents, as she was the first in her group to master the Korean language exams and was very proud of the accomplishment. For Rankin, if going back to America would jeopardize

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293 In a history of Savannah, Georgia written by two women in 1889, Historic and Picturesque Savannah, Nellie’s mother shows up as an officer, (treasurer), of the Telfair Hospital, described as “an excellent establishment providing for the suffering women of Savannah.” This work by her mother would be a part of the social welfare work considered appropriate for white middle class/upper class women. Nellie’s activities on the mission field, riding a horse by herself, itinerating by herself, would not. The history as a whole outlines events and work coordinated by the elite families of Savannah. Adelaide Wilson and edited by Georgia Weymouth, Historic and Picturesque Savannah, (Boston: The Boston Photogravure Company, 1889).

294 Rankin’s decision to not marry would also be outside of the norms for a woman from elite society in Savannah, decreasing the family’s respectability. Chirhart and Wood, Georgia Women, 9.
that freedom, she determined she “would never set foot on American soil again.” American soil equaled patriarchal dominance, but Korean soil equaled relative freedom.

The pertinent question here is: why did Rankin find a freer atmosphere in Korea than America when she worked under men who came from the same Southern Protestant background as her father? The answer lies in the importance of evangelizing Korean women. Men of the Southern Presbyterian mission field wrote home to Boards asking for more women to come to Korea as missionaries. They deemed women missionaries as an “absolute necessity.” Missionary George Gilmore claimed that sending women to the mission field was a higher priority than sending men. Eugene Bell, one of the most conservative of the Southern Presbyterians wrote in 1908, “Our urgent need is for more workers among women and children....This department presents a most attractive and inviting field.” American men wanted Korean women converts and America women were assigned the job to get them. (Of course, American women also wanted converts.) The ability to evangelize Korean women drove the push for American women to come to the Korea mission field.

296 Korean soil however, for Korean women equaled strict patriarchal dominance.
297 In Dana Roberts missiological work on the influence of mission theory by women, she points to mission work as an area where women in the late 1800s and early 1900s could pursue professional fulfillment. While acknowledging that women had more professional opportunity on the mission field, I want to explore how the cross-cultural context and dedication to evangelizing affected expected gender roles. Dana Roberts, American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice, The Modern Mission Era, 1792-1992, (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996).
299 Station Reports to the seventeenth annual meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea, “Annual Report of Kwangju Station,” Korea Mission Papers, RG 444 box 1folder 2, PHS.
Rankin experienced the results of the mission leadership’s desire to evangelize Korean women firsthand. Rankin arrived in Korea 15 years after the first Southern Presbyterians landed in Seoul, but only a few years after the Southern Presbyterians moved into the interior of Korea to proselytize. Soon after her arrival in Chunju, she met with the mission to discuss her desire to ride horseback while traveling to various Korean villages to evangelize women. After discussion with the leadership, she won approval.\(^{300}\) Rankin wanted to work on her own terms. The mission leadership needed a woman to evangelize. Because of the importance of evangelization, they let her. They rationalized their decision by asserting that Koreans already saw Americans as strange so she might as well be strange and ride horseback.\(^{301}\) They made this decision despite the practice of often conforming to Korean expectations for women’s travel. When push came to shove, keeping a woman on the mission field to evangelize Korean women, to gain access to spaces the male missionaries could not enter, overruled accommodating to this Korean cultural norm. To the Southern men who came to Korea, however, women missionaries’ ability to evangelize, to bring women into the Kingdom of God, trumped other considerations.

It should also be noted that evangelization overruled any idea of protecting Rankin’s sexual purity from Korean men.\(^{302}\) As much scholarship has shown, missionaries of the late 19th

\(^{300}\) Letter, Nellie Rankin to Sister. March 20, 1907. Notebook of transcribed letters found in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS.

\(^{301}\) Letter, Nellie Rankin to Sister. March 20, 1907. Notebook of transcribed letters found in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS.

\(^{302}\) There are no mentions, that I have seen, of women’s sexual purity/safety in what I have read. Pictures in the archive do show Korean helpers going along with American women. These helpers are mostly men though. The women themselves write of traveling sometimes with Bible women. Jane Hunter in her book *Gospel of Gentility* though made the following argument about sexuality and American women in China. “The Chinese scarcely regarded these large independent women as women at all...Chinese observers of American missionary women considered them women who had already forsworn their sex to assume roles as teachers, doctors or preachers..” Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility*, 264.
century took ideas of white racial superiority to the mission field. Their letters, writings and reports all reflect this racism, especially the letters of Southerners who talked about and compared Koreans and African Americans. Despite the racially constructed constrictions on women’s movement in the Jim Crow South at this time, Rankin moved freely around Korea. She proudly wrote that she held the record for the longest horseback trip in a day by anyone in the mission – 74 miles. On another horseback trip from Mokpo to Kwangju, she declared she “explored generally” and had “one of the best times I’ve ever had in my life.” Rankin often wrote home about her love of roaming the countryside on horseback and foot. By negotiating her presence in Korea with missionaries dedicated to bring the second coming of Jesus, she experienced greater degrees of freedom than in America.

Nellie Rankin’s freedom to roam the Korean mountains came with the caveat of doing the necessary work of evangelizing Korean women, of travelling to, accessing, and preaching in the spaces they would be in. In a summer of 1910 trip of about 100 miles, Rankin’s work included teaching, evangelizing, and visiting Korean women’s homes. Her work spanned from early morning hours to late hours at night and her worked spanned from meetings in a church, to meetings in Korean homes, to visits within the female spaces of Korean women’s homes. At her first stop, “Oachung Kol” where she stayed at a native church, she taught a two hour “Country Bible Class” for women. She also taught for two hours in the afternoon and two hours

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305 I want to acknowledge that it also came at the cost of Korean sovereignty. See introduction.
306 The size of female spaces in Korean homes differed according to class. Very high-ranking yangban homes contained a fairly large area for women; however, a commoner’s home would have a small room.
in the evening. In order to meet the needs of the Korean women, she began her teaching at
6:30 in the morning. At the second place Rankin visited, “Hin-poivee”, she, along with “Mrs.
Kim”, who was a Korean pastor’s wife, held evangelism meetings. Rankin wrote for the
periodical, The Missionary, that “At this point everyday Mrs. Kim and I had regular evangelistic
services and we kept up the preaching services from 1 to 10:30 P.M.” While Rankin does not
mention it in her letter or article, the later times at night would work well with the proscription
that Korean men stay in so Korean women can go outside after dark. Rankin believed these
meetings to be some of the best she ever conducted.

In the activities described above, Rankin’s work spanned temporally from early in the
morning to late at night, and spatially, it often fell out of the “official” space of a church.
Frequently in looking at space-time conjunctions, or where somebody was at a specific time, a
6:30am meeting for women, would be missed because it would not show up in the official
records. What often occurred in the records for Rankin, and other women, would be short
mentions of their work with women. Missing in these short dismissive descriptions are any
references to the time-space conjunctions of women. Personal letters and journals “fill-in” the
gaps left by the official record. By looking at time and place, much “hidden” evangelistic work

307 This information is gleaned from two letters Rankin wrote to her relatives in America. One was a letter to her
mother and the other to her brother. Letter. Nellie Rankin to Mother. April 21, 1910. Notebook of transcribed
letters found in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS. Letter. Nellie Rankin to Will. May
2, 1910. Notebook of transcribed letters found in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS.
308 I surmise that much more than missionaries, that Koreans evangelized each other. I would like to look at this in
further research. Primary sources on Korean women’s activities in the church are very hard to find.
309 The Missionary for August, 1910, found in the letters of Nellie Rankin, Notebook of transcribed letters in box 2,
William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS.
310 The wording space-time conjunction is not a technical word but something I came up with to describe very basic
time geography about where somebody is at a specific time. Basic time geography began with work by Torsten
Hägerstrand, “Torp och backstugor i 1800-talets Asby.” In Från Sommabygd till Vätterstrand. Edited by E. Hedkvist,
(Linköping, Sweden: Tranås Hembygdsgille, 1950), 30-38
by women can be discovered that occurs outside “regular” church times and in non-traditional spaces.

While male missionaries often preached to both males and females during the official Sunday services in Korea, this preaching only occurred at the correct time and place. In order to facilitate this once-a-week Sunday meeting, as shown in chapter two, missionaries held services in buildings that separated sexes. Effectively, male missionaries preached to Korean women, at most, once a week in a controlled environment acceptable to Korean expectations for the interaction of males and females outside of the family. The extent to which male missionaries left the proselytizing in the hands of the women in the mission can be seen in their reports. For example, when the mission men apportioned work for the year 1903 in the Chunju station, they assigned Mattie Tate the following responsibilities:

Miss Tate: --
  a) Charge of woman’s work in city and country
  b) Country classes for two months in the fall and two months in the spring
  c) Class for young married women during two winter months³¹¹

The men assigned Mattie Tate to be in charge of the totality of the women’s work. To put a woman in charge speaks to the male leadership’s understanding of their own sex-segregated constraints as well as their commitment to premillennialism. “Evangelize the World in our Generation,” seemed to be an attainable goal to male mission leaders, but only if women stepped into roles that required them to “preach.” Their perception was that American women needed to proselytize Korean women.

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³¹¹ Reports to the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea,” Korea Mission Papers, RG 444 box 1folder 1, PHS
Because of these constraints, the large majority of “preaching” to Korean women fell squarely in the laps of female missionaries, as well as the Korean Bible women they trained. As mentioned above, Rankin even terms her work as “preaching” when she declared that she and Mrs. Kim “preached” and held “evangelistic” meetings.312 The use of this term is rare in the records of the Southern Presbyterian Mission. The work of women missionaries in official records is almost always termed as “teaching” rather than “preaching,” a more acceptable term for women’s work during the late 19th century and early 20th century in America. While records kept by the missions do not distinguish converts by sex, missionary observations at the time, as well as pictorial evidence points to many more women coming to Christianity during this time period than men.313

Nellie Rankin’s life in Korea differed greatly from her life in Savannah, Georgia. In Savannah, as a single woman, Rankin’s father was a strong, over-bearing paternalistic authority over every aspect of her life. Roaming the country on horseback and “preaching” would not fit into acceptable gender roles for Rankin. While scholars have shown that women gained more room for professional development on the mission field, at least in the Korea mission, single missionaries such as Rankin also found more freedom of movement and opportunity to eschew the expected gender roles for single women in the Deep South. Rankin and other single female missionaries from the South such as Mattie Tate and Linnie Davis, changed their expected gender roles to mimic those of male missionaries as evangelists, tacit pastors, preachers and

312 *The Missionary for August, 1910*, found in the letters of Nellie Rankin, Notebook of transcribed letters in box 2, William Butler Harrison Papers 1895-1931, RG 1140, PHS.
313 Observation by Underwood..book at home. Also, many, many pictures in the archive show large numbers of Korean women attending country Bible classes, much more than the men.
teachers to half the population of Korea.\textsuperscript{314} Lying at the root of the “acceptability” of these changed gender roles was a determination to make contact with Koreans for the purpose of evangelizing, a consideration that trumped adhering to Southern societal gender norms for women’s behavior, and the spaces they could occupy and traverse through.

\textit{Married Women’s Mission Work}

Married women’s work in the Southern Presbyterian mission pushed gender role changes for both husband and wife. Due to the strict restrictions on not allowing men and women in the same space, married women as well as single women became the primary evangelists, pastors and teachers to half the Korean population. The work of married women is harder to glean than that of single women, as they are almost completely left out of official records. But as their jobs sometimes mimicked those of men, which are often written about in the record, as well as the women’s letters and diaries that talk about what they are doing, the “hidden” work and lives of these women can be gleaned.

Married women, even those who raised children, participated actively in the mission taking on roles as evangelizers, teachers, and administrators as well as overseeing worship services when their husbands were away from the mission. Southern Presbyterians such as Annie Preston, Lottie Bell, and Anabel Nesbit espoused Southern conservative ideas and

\textsuperscript{314} While Rankin leaves the most complete record in the archives of her activities, there are many, many references to women itinerating through the country as Rankin did on this 100 mile trip. There is also much evidence of female converts from these itinerating trips. Also, the record contains many references to work done early in the morning and late at night by women missionaries. Reasons for this include the seclusion of women during the day time, so many would come after the dusk bell in Seoul to see female missionaries during the time females were allowed on the streets of Seoul. In the country, it seems that early morning and late night
thoughts concerning house management, decoration, and proper clothing in their letters and personal writings, but within the structure of the mission, as well as often the place of their home, they worked tirelessly to propagate Christianity. Missionaries justified this work that mimicked male roles in Protestantism, again, with the caveat that the women missionaries brought Korean women into the Kingdom of God.315

The letters of missionary Lottie Bell help illuminate the southern prescriptive values present in the mission. In letters to members of her family in the early months of 1900, Bell complained about a new female missionary assigned to the Southern Presbyterians from Ohio. Frederica Straeffer lived with the Bells in the early months of 1900 until she had her own home. Bell described the new arrival as having pleasant manners, “but she is a Republican, a Northerner, and a believer in woman’s rights…it’s very hard to find many subjects on which we can talk without running up on a snag”316 While Bell gives Straeffer high marks for her work with Korean women, Straeffer seemingly missed the mark on Bell’s other interests, such as house decorating. When Bell’s husband finished a house for Straeffer to live in, Bell sarcastically wrote, “I hope she’ll enjoy fixing it up as I certainly should,” suggesting Straeffer would not “fix up” her new home.317

Bell also complained about the leadership roles Straeffer took in the mission. Bell asserted Straeffer “will find herself kindly, but firmly humbled by all the men in our mission if

316 Letter. Lottie Bell to Florence. March 20,1900. Eugene and Lottie Bell Papers, Box 2, folder 15, RG 435, PHS.
317 Letter. Lottie Bell to “Mamma.” June 24, 1900. Eugene and Lottie Bell Papers, Box 2, folder 15, RG 435, PHS
she tries to do any of their work.” Ironically, however, Bell does not complain about other Southern Presbyterian missionaries she views as “friends” who did jobs completely proportionate with men such as Mattie Tate, mentioned above, who was put in charge of all the women’s work. Bell saw Straeffer’s eschewing of southern ideals of homemaking and assertive belief in women’s rights peculiar, “We are all the rest of us, so very Southern that a stray in our flock seems quite strange." Not unsurprisingly, Straeffer returned to the United States where she worked for the Y.W.C.A. and the Wheeler City Rescue Mission in Indianapolis, Indiana. While women like Straeffer began to see more of a role for themselves as social reformers, Preston, Mattie Tate, and Bell considered themselves as Southern women upholding Southern values.

Annie Preston, who remained on the mission field for over thirty years, provides a good example of a married woman who worked in corresponding roles with men at the same time as running her household and espousing Southern values. Although her northern and midwestern counterparts began to move towards progressive ideas and reform activities at the turn of the twentieth century, Southern middle-class ideals kept Protestant Southern women like Preston firmly attached to nineteenth century ideas of women’s roles. You can see Preston’s attempts to show her Southern domestic values in the steady stream of correspondence she

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318 Letter. Lottie Bell to Florence, March 20, 1900. Eugene and Lottie Bell Papers, Box 2, folder 15, RG 435, PHS.
320 Lottie Bell died shortly after writing these letters after only a few years in Korea.
321 Jaekun Lee charts the peculiarity and conservative nature of Southern Presbyterians in the postbellum South. After the war, the South continued to see itself as a distinct region and the war had been “a fiery trial in order to make Southern churches purer and humbler.” As a part of this identification, Southern Presbyterians in the U.S. kept conservatism as part of the sectional identity. JaeKeun Lee, “American Southern Presbyterians and the Formation of Presbyterianism in Honam, Korea, 1892-1940: Traditions, Missionary Encounters, and Transformations,” (Dissertation, The University of Edinburgh, 2013), 61-72. Also see: Chirhart and Clark, “Introduction,” Georgia Women Their Lives and Times.
had with her family in Salsbury, North Carolina. Much of her correspondence talked about seemingly mundane things such as wallpaper and wardrobe. However, these comments on quotidian matters are not insignificant details, but important in placing Preston within prescriptive ideals for Southern women at this time. A key tenant of these prescriptive, conservative ideas for women included keeping the home as a “sanctuary” away from the “world” and dressing well to please husbands, which explains so much in her letters about wallpaper and clothes. Preston always saw her home as a place of southern culture.

Annie Preston’s interest in keeping up with the prescriptive ideals for Southern women, however, was purely an attitude she expressed through her interest in items important to conversations of Southern women, such as wallpaper and clothes. Her actions belie her true belief in woman’s marginalized place.

After arriving in Korea, the work plan for both Preston and her husband proved to be very similar. They both embarked on learning the Korean language. Most Protestant missionaries of the late nineteenth century considered language learning imperative as did the Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea. Protestant missionaries in Korea also made an

322 Early Catholic missionaries differed in their attitudes towards language learning. Some did work on acquiring language skills. See: Metcalf, Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil. Yu Liu, “The Intricacies of Accommodation: The Proselytizing Strategy of Matteo Ricci,” Journal of World History, vol.19 no. 4 (2008), 465-487. Some did not. See: Rafel, Contracting Colonialism. Protestant missionaries emphasis on all believers being able to read the Bible, however, moved them to incorporate language learning as a necessary skill. The first Protestant missionary to India, Bartholomau Ziegenbalg, translated the Bible into the native language of Tranquebar, his mission area, “so that they could understand and respond to it.” Prof. Daniel Jeyarj, Bartholomau Ziegenbalg: The Father of Modern Protestant Mission, An Indian Assessment, (New Delhi: Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2006), 216 & 258. Taking advice from a member of the mission board that sent him, missionary, Robert Morrison, a notable Protestant missionary to China in the early part of the nineteenth century, put language learning as a first priority. Language learning then became the first step for missionaries to accomplish. Christopher Daily, Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China, (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 2013). By the late nineteenth century, the Protestant template for mission work that arose out of Morrison’s work included language learning as a first step. This was true for Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea as well.
early decision to use Korean *hangul* characters in publications instead of the more complicated Chinese characters. An early Korean King of the Joseon Dynasty intentionally developed *Hangul* lettering to be phonetic representations of Korean language sounds. While the sentence structure and differing modifiers make Korean difficult for English language learners, the phonetic alphabet made it easy for Korean language speakers to learn to read this script. Preston prioritized learning the Korean language and while she never felt completely proficient in it, she did feel very confident in teaching it due to its highly phonetic nature.323

After language learning ended, Preston and her husband opened a new missionary station in Mokpo, a city very close to the southwestern tip of the peninsula and eventually also resided in Gwangju when the mission’s central station moved there. From Preston’s letters, personal documents in the archive and snippets from her husband’s annual reports, we know she started a school in Mokpo which Anabel Nesbit, another married missionary took over and supervised for years. While in Mokpo she also taught many Korean women to read. In Gwangju, she supervised the school and took her husband’s “place at the station” during his many and long circuit trips into the countryside, took charge of and taught in Bible training classes as well as continued literacy lessons for Korean women in her home.324

There were no “biographies” so to speak of Preston in the archive or articles produced for public consumption about her, this information was gleaned through reading the many letters she wrote home and the small mentions of her work in reports. This points to the real

323 Letter. Annie Preston to My Dear Mother, October 25, 1906, folder 7, box 4, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS. John Preston to “Dearest Mother,” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 4, Folder 5. PHS.
hidden nature of married women’s work in missions. Much more scholarship looks at single female missionaries rather than married women with children and the bulk of the scholarship looks at men’s work.\textsuperscript{325} The assumption is that married women must deal with children and cannot help much in the mission.\textsuperscript{326} Even though Annie Preston eventually had six children, she still worked hard in the mission directly with Korean women. In a letter home, Preston once stated that she would not be happy just doing domestic work but had to have her hands in the work of the mission.\textsuperscript{327}

Snippets from Preston’s letters tell us how she was able to do so much work in the mission, despite children, guests, and housework. She employed many Korean servants. For example, in a letter to her mother in 1908, she wrote, “I wish you had some of my servants. Your trouble is having too few and my trouble is having too many.”\textsuperscript{328} Despite her complaint of having “too many,” the work of those servants allowed her to be less directly involved in domestic work. Evidence of the impact of Korean servants comes out in Preston’s letters. For example, Preston’s daughter’s first speaking attempts showed the significant influence of a Korean \textit{amah} or “nanny.” In letters home Preston gave updates on her daughters burgeoning speech. These phrases demonstrated the Korean language word order using English words. When asking her father to hold her hand, the child said; “Me hand you holds it.” This shows the Korean order of object then verb. English order is verb then object. In another example from


\textsuperscript{326} Jane Hunter, as well as Connie Shemo and Rika-Leena Juntunen all argue as Hunter puts it that married women’s, “unanticipated children brought down to earth responsibilities which could compromise the most divine female ambition.” Hunter, \textit{The Gospel of Gentility}, 91.

\textsuperscript{327} Letter. John Fairman to “My Dear Parents,” December 12, 1905. Box 4, Folder 6, PHS. Letter. Annie Preston to My Dear Mother, October 25, 1906, box 4, Folder 7, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS.

\textsuperscript{328} Annie Preston to “My Dear Mother,” December 2, 1908, Box 4, Folder 9, RG 441, PHS.
the speech of the same child, the Korean language propensity to use “to do” verbs for many actions and the placement of verbs at the end of sentences appeared. In telling her mother that her father was awake the child declared, “Fadder wake up did it.”329 Certainly Preston greatly influenced the raising of her children, but Korean amahs did as well. This points to direct Korean labor contributing to the raising of Preston’s children.330 Letters in the archive point to much of this Korean labor being done in the kitchens of the American women, leaving the spaces of the living room and bedroom for mission work.331 This further division of space allows for an area where Korean servants and missionary children were and a space where American women did mission work.332

By looking at all the labor being done in the space of the home at all times of the day, scholars can better see how married women on the mission field could contribute despite having children. For example, Preston worked late at night in order to prepare for mission teaching. In the same 1908 letter to her mother mentioned above, Preston wrote it “takes a lot of time to prepare and teach the lesson. I sat up last night preparing for today and planning ahead and then the children kept me awake.”333 In order to continue the activities of the

329 Letter, Annie Preston to “My Dear Mother”, May 5, 1910, folder 11, box 4, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS.
331 See the letters of Annie Preston and Lottie Bell: John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS and Eugene Bell and Lottie Bell Papers, PHS.
332 This was not always true, sometimes missionaries wrote of having their children in their laps while they taught. This however, having to care for children while they taught seemed more of the exception than the rule.
333 Annie Preston to “My Dear Mother,” December 2, 1908, Box 4, Folder 9, RG 441, PHS.
mission, Preston worked when her children slept, and then lost sleep for herself when they woke up. Women’s homes, as Rose, Domosh, and Seager have shown, were (and are) places of labor at all times of the day and night.

Additionally, Preston’s home served as a workspace for teaching literacy to Korean women. In talking about her work in Mokpo, Preston recounted that Korean women often came to her home, the “whole countryside came to us” she wrote. Korean women who became interested in Christianity came back to learn more and as a part of their religious education, Preston taught literacy. A story in one of her letters home indirectly showed the impact of this teaching. In the story, a former pupil from Mokpo, came to visit Preston in Gwangju. I recount the story in full here including Preston’s biased language and assumptions that appear in this intimate letter to her mother.

One old lady from Mokpo has been up here on a visit – we call her Mrs. Buttinsky, because she used to call at any and all hours of the day. She was much disgusted with the women here because they are not all learning to read. She said she could not stay up here because she could not carry on her “studies” [sic] – Fairman had told me that the people of Mokpo had gone crazy on the subject of education. I was amused and gratified to see that the craze had reached old Mrs. Buttinsky.

While this passage diminished the efforts of the Korean woman and reduced her down to an inappropriate name, it does show the results of Preston’s literacy efforts among Korean women and the importance of the space of her home for learning. It also shows that the Preston’s were used to her as a visitor in the spaces of their home. As one of the earliest missionaries to Mokpo, Preston initiated mission work among women within traditionally domestic space.

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335 Letter. Annie Preston to My Dear Mother, October 25, 1906, folder 7, box 4, John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, PHS.
336 Other scholars who have written about literacy among women in Korea at this time. For example see: Hyaewoel Choi, “Women’s Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Choson Korea,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 6, no. 1
Beyond the efforts of Preston, the quote also showed how Koreans themselves created a culture of literacy and education in Mokpo. “Mrs. Buttinsky” took her studies seriously, as did many other Korean women. This is seen by Preston’s use of the word “craze” in her description of education in Mokpo. “Mrs. Buttinsky,” and no doubt other women in Mokpo experienced an educational transformation they desired all women of Korea to embrace.

While Annie Preston kept up the veneer of expected gender roles for women in the America South at this time, her actions pushed against a cult of domesticity which left women in the home doing domestic work. In letters home Preston often wrote about domestic tasks such as decorating a home or preparing clothes. This assured her mother, father, and friends that she remained within the Southern expectations for women’s roles without straying too far towards the “Republicanism” of women from the North and Mid-west, like Frederica Straeffer. Her actions within the mission, however, showed that she pushed hard against the expected gender roles for Southern women. From the number of times when she actually wrote home about the mission work she did and in the glimpses of her work found in her husband’s reports, Preston did much work that mimicked that of her husband, most of which occurred in her home. Beyond teaching, as often as seven times a week, Preston also supervised schools, ran the mission when her husband itinerated, evangelized in intimate settings mimicking the work done by men in their sarangs, and oversaw public church services during the many weeks her

husband trekked through the countryside.\textsuperscript{337} Besides baptism, a rite that only ordained men could do, Southern Presbyterian women missionaries performed the same tasks as the men.

Annie Preston’s work was not an exception. Excerpts from the archive show much work done by married women missionaries. As mentioned earlier, Anabel Nesbitt administered a very successful school. Her husband decided he did not have enough time to run the school, therefore, he turned it over Nisbet in 1910\textsuperscript{338} The authority she wielded can be seen when a male Korean teacher quit the school claiming he could not take reproof from a woman. In her 1919 report Nisbet wrote, “Mr. Kim must quit because he did not like to be reproved by the lady principal.”\textsuperscript{339} “All right,” was Nisbet answer in response to Mr. Kim’s declaration. Nisbet also was a prolific writer penning a book \textit{Day in and Day Out in Korea} as well as study materials.

Mattie Ingold Tate worked as both an evangelist and a doctor. And as mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, Patsy Reynolds work with literacy and evangelism in her home proved to be very successful when a single missionary arrived at her station to give Bible lessons and found a number of Korean women who could already read.\textsuperscript{340}

\textit{Men Adapt to Changed Roles of Women}

\textsuperscript{337} John Fairman Preston, “Personal Report of J. F. Preston to Mokpo Station,” June 30, 1907. Korea Mission Papers, RG 444 Box 1, folder 4, PHS. Station Reports, Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Mission of Korea, Chunju, Korea Mission Papers, RG 444 Box 1, folder 5. PHS

\textsuperscript{338} Letter. John Nisbet to the North Avenue Presbyterian Church. June 20, 1910. John Samuel Nisbet Collection, Korea Mission Papers. RG 443, box 1, folder 3, PHS.

\textsuperscript{339} “Report of Mokpo Station, June 1919,” John Samuel Nisbet Collection, Korea Mission Papers. RG 443, box 1, folder 11, PHS.

\textsuperscript{340} “Personal Reports of Chunju Station: Miss M.B. Tate,” \textit{Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea}, (Seoul: Methodist Publishing House, 1905), 50.
The changed gender roles of American women, although initiated by men in order to evangelize Korean women and follow the will of their God, put the men’s hegemony in question. As Southern Presbyterian male missionaries, due to sex-segregated space, did not do the bulk of mission work with half the population of Korea, their ability to control all aspects of the mission eroded. The circumstance of spatially segregated mission work put American women’s work on par with American men’s work, which in turn created the need for new adaptations of male gender roles to continue the appearance of men as hierarchical to women. The use of the Nevius system also eroded American male control over Korean men as Korean men began to take local control of churches. Both circumstances created the need for the male missionaries to create a mission masculinity highly steeped in maintaining themselves as the spiritual authority within the church and home. I will first look at the circumstances that threatened Southern Presbyterian masculine hierarchy with Korean men. I will then look at male Southern Presbyterian attempts to exert authority over American women as they ministered in spaces not accessible to their male leaders.

After arriving in Korea, as mentioned in chapter one, Presbyterian Protestant missionaries adopted a mission model often known as the Nevius system. In the Presbyterian literature of the time, leaders credited the use of the Nevius system as one of the reasons for the rise of Christianity in Korea.341 I argue, however the Nevius system, as practiced by the Southern Presbyterians, differed greatly from the ideals set forth by early developers. I contend

341 Arthur Judson Brown, The Mastery of the Far East: The Story of Korea’s Transformation and Japan’s Rise to Supremacy in the Orient, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1919, 516. Scholars also point to the Nevius system as a unique set of policies used in Korea. Lee, American Southern Presbyterians in Honam, 137-145. Oak, maybe ruy clark
that the interpretation of the system by the men of the Southern Presbyterian mission helped
male missionaries create new hierarchies between themselves and American women, as well as
Korean men. Southern Presbyterian interpretation of Nevius’s ideas established American men
as the ultimate spiritual authority in the mission and in the home. Within just a few years of
starting the Southern Presbyterian mission in Korea, male missionaries spent most of their time
trying to exert their authority over their wives, single female missionaries and Korean men. A
task, that from its outset, was problematic as Korean men led churches far-flung from the
mission compound, American women ministered in spaces they could not even enter.
Missionaries also had no control over Korean Bible women, whose activities fell under the
supervision of American women.

The Nevius system espoused a theory of missions which included ideas of indigenous
people self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting their own churches.\(^\text{342}\) Rev. James E
Adams of the Northern Presbyterian mission in Taegu, was the first to take the ideas of Nevius
and developed them into a policy for the Presbyterian missions on the peninsula. According to
Adams, missionaries should instill a policy wherein Korean churches supported themselves in
every respect, including in building churches, as well as the labor of a Korean pastor. In essence,
a Korean church must “finance its own way as much as it is possible.” Additionally, Adams
called for Korean churches to be self-governing. I will quote him on this matter in length as it
will help show the difference between Adam’s interpretation of Nevius’s ideas on self-
government and the Southern Presbyterian’s interpretation of the same idea.

History}, vol.83, no.1 (Spring/Summer, 2005), 23.
Self-government is the legitimate right of any Church that even approximately pays its own way, and should be given according as the young Church is able to assume its responsibilities, and, in practically every case, before it is demanded...The mission exists only for the Church; it should not even consider permanency, and should make all its work tend to its own withdrawal as soon as the ends which it seeks are accomplished.\(^3\)

It is evident from this passage that the “Nevius System” as interpreted in Korea called for authority in the Korean church to pass from missionaries to Koreans and that missionaries should leave before the Korean Christians demanded it.\(^4\) Of the three prongs of Nevius’s plan, self-support did not challenge the authority of the missionaries. Their insistence on Korean churches becoming self-supporting actually increased missionaries’ authority over Koreans as they had the power to appropriate any monies they might decide to give to a Korean church. Bible training classes also established missionary authority, as missionaries posited themselves as the expert in and experienced adherents of Christianity as churches self-propagated and grew. Allowing quotidian self-government, away from the mission station, however, passed missionary authority to Koreans, undermining the authority of the male missionary. With this challenge to their masculine authority, Southern Presbyterians moved to establish themselves as the only real authority on spiritual matters.

W.D. Reynolds, interpreted the Nevius System differently from Adams. Reynolds, the presumptive leader of the Southern Presbyterian mission in Korea wrote an article in the 1896 Korean Repository explaining his own interpretation of the method. Despite his call for a self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governing church, the article expressed the need for


\(^{4}\) As early as 1907, Korean Christians called for the missionaries to go home and leave the Christian church in their hands. Also, Lee.
paternalistic authority over the rise of a church in Korea. According to Reynolds, Korean pastors needed to remain in an inferior place to the missionary until the Korean Christian was thoroughly educated in a seminary and ready to supervise the Church in Korea. Some of Reynold’s directives included: “Don’t let him [someone a missionary believed would be a good candidate for a leader in the church] know for a long time that you have any idea of training him for the ministry...Don’t employ him as a teacher or evangelist on foreign pay, if you can help it...Don’t send him to America to be educated, at any rate in the early stages of Mission Work. Don’t train him in any way that tends to lift him far above the level of the people among who he lives.” As can be seen, these directives position the male missionary as the spiritual authority and the Koreans as the object of their authority. Reynolds and other Southern Presbyterian missionaries saw self-support as absolutely necessary, but despite their “belief” in self-government, true self-government in the Korean church did not happen until Japan forced missionaries to leave the country during WWII.

The archive and the annual reports of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea expose the hard work male missionaries did to hold on to official power and spiritual authority, as well as direct the organization and development of the Korean Church. Even though missionaries established self-supporting churches throughout the countryside, the male

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346 Korean theologian, Chae-Jun Kim was “particularly critical of missionaries in that they ‘were subjects and the believers of the Peninsula were objects.’ Chae-Jun Kim as cited in Jaekeun Lee, “American Southern Presbyterians...Honam, 143.
347 As late as 1937, the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea emphatically concluded that bowing at the Shinto Shrine amounted to idolatry. Other denominations, including the Methodist, left this decision to the Korean church. Jaekeun Lee, “American Southern Presbyterians...Honam, 145. Find source for leaving korea....underwood, clark, Lee are possibilities.
348 See the minutes, annual reports of the Southern Presbyterian Church 1903-1917. RG 444, PHS.
missionaries remained the “supervisor” of all the churches. The male missionaries spent a tremendous amount of time itinerating around the countryside. As opposed to itinerating female missionaries, the male missionaries would travel for a month or months at a time in order to visit all the local churches at least once a year, and sometimes twice. During these extended trips, the male missionaries “supervised” Korean male leaders, examined Koreans for church membership, and baptized. The American men constructed themselves as the only people who could do this work, despite a number of Korean men becoming highly educated in the seminary at Pyeong Yang. By keeping baptisms and examinations to themselves only, they held the power over who was in or out of the church. Even though Adams interpretation of the “Nevius System” called for “self-government [as] the legitimate right of any Church that even approximately pays its own way”. The male Southern Presbyterian’s desire to remain the spiritual authority over the whole mission, kept the Korean church from governing itself.

A good example of this kind of supervisory work comes from the 1907 personal report of Annie Preston’s husband, John Fairman Preston. In this report Preston wrote that “In spite of great hindrances...736 candidates for baptism and the catechumenate were examined, 163 were baptized and 353 enrolled.” In addition to this examination work, Preston supervised the building of churches in the country, oversaw two native evangelists who worked with the country churches, as well as supervised his personal evangelistic helper “Elder In Sung Ok,” who “Owing to pressure of work in the spring, he [In Sung Ok] was not able to return to seminary,

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349 “Personal Report of J. F. Preston to Mookpo Station, June, 30 ’07 to June 30, ’08.” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 3, folder 24, PHS.
much to my regret.” Here Preston shows that supervisory tasks that included examinations and managing Korean helpers took much of his time, which no doubt, was part of the reason he felt that Elder Ok could not leave and go back to the seminary. Preston needed help with evangelism, he was too busy supervising. It should be noted that it seems that no thought was given to the personal ambitions of Elder Ok as it appears the decision for Ok not to go back to seminary was Preston’s. It is also in this report that Preston wrote that his wife Annie “has taken my place at the station, enabling me to devote myself to the country work.” Preston’s country work centered on examining and supervising Koreans.

Arthur Judson Brown with the Ecumenical Missionary Conference who traveled and visited the Korea mission in 1902, pointed to this problem in his attempt to encourage missionaries to give more control to native churches. While his advice was considered important, Brown did not directly supervise the actions of the missionaries. In response to the decision to go with the three-self system, Brown mused, “When, however, this position is agreed to, the problem is by no means solved. There is practical unanimity among missionaries that the native churches should be self-governing; but when is that time? There is room for wide difference of opinion...It is feared that in some places this independence is coming before the Church is really fitted for it.” Brown’s thoughts on the matter though supported turning over Korean churches to Korean leadership. Brown wrote, “we should consider whether we are to be the final judges of fitness...Shall we deny to the churches of Asia a principle which we

350 “Personal Report of J. F. Preston to Mookpo Station, June, 30 ’07 to June 30, ’08.” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 3, folder 24, PHS.
351 “Personal Report of J. F. Preston to Mookpo Station, June, 30 ’07 to June 30, ’08.” John Fairman Preston Papers, RG 441, Box 3, folder 24, PHS.
cherish as fundamental?” 352 Brown’s opinions did not hold sway with the Southern Presbyterians in Korea. Establishing male hierarchies that kept male missionaries at the top proved to be more important than the platform of the “Nevius System” that called for self-governing churches.

Significantly, supervision extended into the work of the women as well. For example, every female missionary needed to have their Bible lessons approved by either their husband, or for a single female missionary, a male missionary in their area, before they could give them. 353 In the men’s eyes, this gave them power and authority over women’s work even though women worked in many of the same ways as men. Although most women held degrees from female seminaries, men inserted themselves as the spiritual authority over their wives and other single female missionaries in their desire to minimize the expertise of women and continue at the top of gender hierarchy. Also, male missionaries found it important to exert their control and authority over the mission station. As soon as male missionaries returned from itinerating, they again took control of the station from their wives who often supervised and oversaw the work at the mission compound while their husbands spent months traveling in the countryside. 354

While Southern Presbyterian male missionaries to Korea couched their work in terms of evangelism, in reality much of their evangelistic work turned out to be supervising. They did implement self-supporting Korean churches in the countryside around their stations and

353 Source that talks about women having their bible lessons approved. (I read this, but don’t remember where...I will find, sorry!)
established a Korean male to be the leader. They also supported women missionaries’ work in converting Korean women, but in order to remain at the top of both the male hierarchy and retain their position as the heads of their households and the mission, they constructed themselves as the authoritarian supervisors. Arthur Judson Brown, after visiting the Protestant missionaries in Korea, summed up their work in the following passage.

The missionaries [Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea] found results multiplying with such rapidity that they were overworked in the effort to organize and superintend them. Every missionary assigned to evangelistic work is virtually a bishop of an extensive diocese, and is obliged to toil and gravel almost incessantly in order to keep any kind of oversight of his numerous and scattered outstations. A typical missionary, whose report is before me, supervises forty-seven churches and thirty other outstations. He visits each of these churches and outstations twice a year, and some of them oftener. This obliges him to ride 1,500 miles on horseback, besides the time he spends in trains and on foot. Thirty miles a day is a common experience, with one or more sermons preached in the evening. This itineration keeps him from home two hundred days of the year...These itinerating tours are busy times for the missionary. He must labor early and late, for he is expected to assign native workers to their circuits, give the leaders instruction regarding their work, lay out a course of Bible study for those who are prepared to take it, invite selected men and women to attend the training-classes at the nearest central station, examine candidates for admission to the church, settle disputes often prolonged and loquacious, administer discipline, baptize, marry, and perhaps bury.355

This account should not be taken completely at face value. The annual reports of these men emphasize their hardships and all the work they are doing, often to the point of whining for more helpers. While Nellie Rankin saw her horseback rides as ‘freedom,” male missionaries complained about the amount of riding they did. What does come through in their reports, however, was their herculean efforts to supervise all aspects of Christian work in their given

territory and keep for themselves rituals such as baptisms, examinations, and marriages. As the roles of the women around them changed, male missionaries faced changes in their gender dominance. No longer were they the only leaders in the mission, or church, women and Korean men were too. American men had to reconstruct gender hierarchies when “others” began to challenge their position as leaders, pastors, evangelists, and teachers. Rather than allow women and Korean men to assume positions in equal stature with the leaders, they instead needed to construct a missionary masculinity that situated the male Southern Presbyterian missionaries as the spiritual authority of the home and mission field. Ultimately, the American men spent the vast majority of their time trying to exert that authority, while American women and Koreans, men and women, kept on evangelizing. Eventually, American male missionaries monitored and supervised themselves out of the real work of evangelizing, while the “others,” ultimately became the primary evangelizers.

Conclusion

Nellie Rankin’s declaration that she would “never step foot on American soil again” if she thought she might have to stay in the United States and not return to Korea after furlough exemplified the strong attachment Rankin had for the relative freedom of movement and religious authority she enjoyed in Korea. Rankin traveled freely around the country, made decisions on her day-to-day activities, and spoke as an authority on the Christian religion to half

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356 Arthur Judson Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, 512-513. Also see: the minutes, annual reports of the Southern Presbyterian Church 1903-1917. RG 444, PHS.
the population in her area, Korean women. She did this, paradoxically, all while working for the very conservative Southern Presbyterian denomination. Southern Presbyterian women living in the South would not have such freedom of movement, exemplified by Rankin’s empathy for her mother’s long nights at home alone.

In Korea, gender norms for American women changed from the norms they faced living in the deep South. In Korea, male members of the mission perceived that only woman missionaries could proselytize Korean women. This opened the door wide for American female missionaries to step into the spaces of Korean women as the religious authority on Christianity. As historians such as Ann Little and R. W. Connell have shown, when women begin to challenge existing gender hierarchies, men develop a need to remain dominant and invent new ways to stay on top of gender hierarchies. I argue that in order to maintain gender structures that kept American men on the top of hierarchies with women, and Korean men, they constructed themselves as the ultimate spiritual authorities who must oversee the totality of the mission work. While men still evangelized, they spent the bulk of their time trying to supervise people in churches spread around hundreds of miles and oversee the myriad of activities of American women. This task proved to be impossible. They visited most churches they “oversaw” only once or twice a year. They did not even enter the spaces where women ministered and did not go with them on their itinerating trips.

While Southern Presbyterian missionaries espoused a conservative, evangelical theology that eschewed “women’s rights,” in order to proselytize, men encouraged women to work as

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tacit pastors, teachers and evangelists to half the mission population. The conservative evangelical theology of the mission, along with their spatial decisions, opened the door that not only supported Nellie Rankin’s relative freedom, but put evangelizers other than American white males on the frontline of spreading Christianity in southwestern Korea.
Conclusion

Spatial dynamics played a large role in the Southern Presbyterian mission in Korea. Sex-segregated intimate evangelism created opportunities for much work to be done by American women missionaries, and ultimately by Korean women as well. Sex-segregated intimate evangelism put women in positions of religious authority, doing evangelical work in spaces free of men. Although their work does not receive the same attention in the official records as the men’s, their work was nonetheless central to the mission, and therefore to the spread of Christianity among Koreans. Religious cross-cultural encounters don’t just happen they are made through the interactions of individual characters, in this case women with women and men with men.358 Christianity in Korea spread from one individual to the next.

By using the lens of theology, I have shown that Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea held a personal theology that was more radical than that of the US Southern Presbyterian denomination. Their theology as stated and acted out on the ground in Korea, more resembles that of the Student Volunteer Movement and the late nineteenth century evangelist, Dwight Moody. The missionaries’ theological commitment to premillennialism drove the motivations and decisions of the missionaries toward evangelism. The Southern Presbyterian’s wanted to add new converts to the Kingdom of God.

By looking at the implications of the missionaries’ theology, this work pushes existing conversations on the evangelical nature of mission work in Korea from being a label which is attached to these missionaries to being an important factor in the success of the mission. This

dissertation shows the practical, on the ground, decisions missionaries made because of their strong evangelical theology. The missionaries’ premillennial beliefs drove them to personally connect with Koreans for the purpose of initiating conversion. Also, in order to accomplish their goals of personal conversion for Koreans, they used an intimate evangelism similar to the “inquiry room” evangelism of Dwight Moody. Using this intimate evangelism method allowed a modicum of surety that a Korean convert understood what a conversion experience entailed. The personal theology of Southern Presbyterians, steeped in the belief that their work could bring in the second coming of Jesus, drove their decision-making process on the mission field.

By using a spatial lens of analysis, this dissertation opens the door for the central role space plays in the analysis of Christianity in Korea. Knowledge of sex-segregated spaces occurs in the literature on Christianity in Korea, however, a determined focus on space begins a more in-depth conversation on its significance.\textsuperscript{359} For example, in this dissertation by fore-fronting spatial ideas and concepts, the similarities between space specific religious and quasi-religious activities among Koreans and the intimate evangelism of the Southern Presbyterians can be seen. By using “inquiry-room” styled evangelism, Southern Presbyterian male missionaries stepped into a centuries old tradition of debating moral questions within an intimate setting. Debating moral and value laden predicaments and difficulties were important in the Neo-

Confucian ideology of the time period and a Christian answer to morality is a central part of conversion to Christianity. Also, in using space as a lens of analysis, similarities between the shamanistic spatial practices of Korean women and the Southern Presbyterian practice of intimate “inquiry room” evangelism can be seen. American Southern Presbyterian missionaries used intimate analogous spaces to those Korean women saw as culturally acceptable for religious purposes. Southern Presbyterian missionaries used the traditional female spaces of their own homes or those of Korean women for evangelism. Also, as Ellen Strawn has shown, American missionaries to Korea mimicked the work done by the Korean shaman priestess or mudang. Rather than shamanistic prayers and teachings, Southern Presbyterian missionaries taught Christianity and prayed to a Christian God in the same spaces Korean women already practiced shamanism.

Using a spatial analysis also shows the extent to which Southern Presbyterians accommodated to and adapted Eastern ideas of spatial order in their Western styled architecture. As shown earlier, much literature on space in Western imperialism points to the rearrangement of indigenous space purposefully in Western ways to show the lessons of modernization, and part of Southern Presbyterian’s motivation is the same. However, in this dissertation I show an exception to the missionaries’ wholesale use of Western ordering of space. Eastern spatial ideas became paramount in Southern Presbyterian built space. By creating these spaces, the missionaries practiced commensurability with Korean culture. These

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361 See the introduction to chapter three.
created spaces should not be ignored in analyses of historical events as space is never a neutral background and significant religious space is not always found in a church.\textsuperscript{362}

Lastly the lens of gender builds on the analysis of theology and space to illuminate and bring to light the importance of gender within a group of religious imperialists. Due to the Southern Presbyterian’s mission-field gender adaptation, the integral role of women is exposed. Southern Presbyterian women did not occupy a side role in the rise of Christianity in Korea but instead inhabited a central role in mission work. American women missionaries worked in roles that mimicked those of men. They did not support the work of the men. They did the work of evangelism. Also, evangelism was not limited to only single female missionaries but married female missionaries as well. The prevailing argument in missionary studies is that married women lacked the time or ability to do much mission work, but instead much of their time was devoted to raising children.\textsuperscript{363} This dissertation though shows that married women spent much time in mission activities, even if they are not written about in mission records. I would also argue that a gendered analysis of Southern Presbyterian’s personal writings points to the substantial work done by Korean women in the rise of Christianity. While few sources written by early Christian Korean women have been found, a gendered analysis points in the direction of Korean women having a large role in evangelism.

The legacy of the Southern Presbyterian mission in Honam can be seen in the lives of Christians from the region and the institutions that remain. While there is not much written by Korean women influenced by Christianity during the early years of the Southern Presbyterian mission, a notable exception is Louise Yim. Louise Yim was an early convert to Christianity through the missionary work of Southern Presbyterian missionary Mattie Tate. In a book of her memoirs, Yim spoke of a Christian conversion experience in which she “shivered with excitement” and “felt a great love enveloping me.” She also was drawn to the message of social equality found in Christianity. Christianity changed the way in which she viewed the world as she became known for her strong views against Neo-Confucianism. Christianity also played a large role in her forty years of nationalist activism for Korea as she saw Korean nationalism in congruence with principles of Christianity.

The legacy of the evangelical work of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries also lives on in the institutions of the Honam region of South Korea. Present today on a hillside overlooking Gwangju (most missionaries built on the highest ground they could) are two institutions that reflect the Southern Presbyterian influence in the region, the Honam Theological Seminary, and the Christian Hospital of Gwangju. The school and hospital are nestled among older missionary homes, and a missionary graveyard.

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364 Louise Yim, My Forty Years Fight For Korea, (New York: A. A. Wyn, Inc., 1951), 26
365 Yim, “My Father Wanted a Son,” My Forty Years Fight For Korea, 17-38.
366 Yim, My Forty Years Fight For Korea. Louise Yim went on to hold high offices in education as well as government, including a term in the Korean National Assembly and a representative to the United Nations.
367 The oldest home surviving on the grounds was built in 1920, so was beyond the time range of this dissertation. Eugene Bell is buried in the graveyard here. Many of the graves are missionary children who died in Korea. Personal trip to Gwangju.

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These institutions speak to the ongoing legacy of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries, which I will talk about below, however, they also show the move towards the institutionalization of Christianity in Southwest Korea. Christianity and the work of the Southern Presbyterian mission became more and more institutionalized, especially after 1920. This institutionalization established more and more power to the organized church and away from the individual decisions of missionaries, and by extension, I would contend, Korean evangelizers such as Bible women. The institutionalization of the church also produced strong patriarchal structures establishing what Korean women Christians could do and could not do in Christian work. Kelly H. Chong, in her work *Deliverance and submission: evangelical women and the negotiation of patriarchy in South Korea,* characterizes that the present South Korean Protestant church as a place where “Confucian-patriarchal principles of female inferiority and male superiority, sanctioned through conservative interpretations of the Bible, are firmly institutionalized, and the secondary status and subservient roles of women are perpetuated.” The lack of institutionalism of Christianity in the early years opened the door for the work of American and Korean women. However, institutionalization began to limit the work of women.

The delimiting of the work of women in Christianity also problematizes my assertion of the “success” of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries. I have asserted, and rightly so, that the establishment of Christianity in Korea could be termed a success due to the numbers of Christians in South Korea today and Southern Presbyterians played a role in establishing

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368 Kelly H. Chong, in her work *Deliverance and submission: evangelical women and the negotiation of patriarchy in South Korea,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 32.
Christianity in Korea. However, the Southern Presbyterian mission and other Protestant missions were not successful in perpetuating the importance of women as lead evangelizers and teachers. At the beginning of the Southern Presbyterian mission, there was a relatively small window of time in which women’s work remained “hidden” from patriarchal structures and Christian women fell somewhat outside the radar of men’s domination. Evangelical Protestant churches today could learn much about the importance of women’s work in cross-cultural encounters based in religion in this dissertation.

As mentioned earlier, two institutions directly related to the Southern Presbyterian mission reside in Gwangju, South Korea, the Honam Theological Seminary and the Christian Hospital. The theological seminary began in the 1950s after the end of the Korean War and the hospital dates to an early clinic begun by missionaries in 1905. Although the Japanese closed it in 1940, it reopened in 1951. On their current websites, as of August 2021, both institutions have pages reciting their respective histories and mission statements. Ironically perhaps, the Seminary says nothing about “evangelizing” except to say that they prepare missionaries and teach according to “Presbyterian doctrine.” However, the hospital’s number one objective states: “1. Evangelism: Spread the gospel through the medical mission.” However, in the seminary, in the place where it would seem the evangelicalism of the early missionaries would be reflected, evangelism is not even mentioned on their website. The evangelical, conservative,

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370 “Welcome to the Kwangju Christian Hospital: “sharing the love we have received,”” Kwangju Christian Hospital, http://www.kch.or.kr/eng/about.html, accessed August 8, 2021.
premillennial thrust of the early missionaries does not stand out as the current overriding mission of the seminary.

This lack of a conservative, evangelistic thrust, is actually not surprising in light of the twentieth century history of the Southern Presbyterian church in the United States. As the church moved into the twentieth century, debates began to arise over whether the Southern church should re-unite with the Northern. These debates, however, were less about the South joining the North, than they were about the conservative South becoming entangled with the progressive liberal ideas of the North. The more liberal members of the Southern Presbyterians finally won the day and the South re-united with the north in 1983. Conservatives in the Southern Presbyterian church split into a new denomination, the Presbyterian Church of America. The Honam seminary begun in the 1950s was associated with the more liberal seminarians of the Southern Presbyterian church. In contrast, the hospital, begun years earlier by the missionaries, still sees evangelism as their primary goal.

Over the twentieth century in Korea, as well as America, part of the Presbyterian church moved towards liberalism, while the other part remained conservative. Evangelical Christianity lives on in conservative Presbyterians. Splits in the Presbyterian Church of Korea, not unlike America, led to a conservative, evangelical wing known as the Hapdong group, which today is the largest Presbyterian denomination in Korea. The more liberal sect of the denomination is known as the Tongnap group. Honam seminary is affiliated with the Tongnap group.

Whether conservative or liberal, Christianity’s impact in Korea is undeniable. It is reflected in the percentage of the population that confesses Christianity, around 30%, and it is reflected in the number of Christian churches in Korea. The night skyline of Seoul looks very
different from other East Asian cities as red neon crosses dot the landscape of the city, many of them atop Presbyterian churches.371

The neon crosses point to the establishment of Christianity in Korea and, because of this, the early years of the American Protestant mission is an object of study that draws scholars into a variety of debates. For example, these debates often center around the political situation in Korea. The annexation of the country by Japan brought a time of great upheaval for Koreans and Christianity became a new religion to look to in troubled times.372 Syncretism between Korean indigenous religion and Christianity is also a field of much study, as is the imperial power and wealth of America.373 An indepth study of the missionaries themselves, their negotiations, religious practices, and internal social dynamics opens the door to

understanding the rise of Christianity as a phenomenon not of global processes or the accomplishments of male leadership. This study puts intimate evangelism first and ultimately put American women missionaries, who outnumbered the men, on the frontlines of missionary evangelism.

The lack of real and effective supervision over far-flung churches, American women, and especially Korean Bible women by male missionaries, opens the door for further research on women’s role, American and Korean in the rise of and indigenization of Christianity in Korea. While undoutedly political considerations, the imperial power of America, and purposeful syncretism by missionaries played a role in the dynamics that came together to produce a “perfect storm” for the rise of Christianity in Korea, the “hidden” work of women needs just as much, if not more, research effort as the men. For as Anne Braude contends, “Religious history is women’s history.”

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**Thesis and Dissertations**

