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**American Southern Presbyterians
and the Formation of Presbyterianism
in Honam, Korea, 1892-1940:
Traditions, Missionary Encounters, and
Transformations**

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Declaration

I declare that, I, Jaekeun Lee, have composed this thesis, that it is entirely my own work, and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Abstract

The missionary enterprise of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS, American Southern Presbyterian Church) in Korea was initiated by the arrival of ‘seven pioneers’ in Korea in 1892. By a comity agreement between the three Presbyterian missions, the southwestern region of Korea, known as Honam or Jeolla province, was assigned to the American Southern Presbyterian Mission. Until 1940, when they were forced to end their mission work in Korea and to leave the country by the Japanese colonial administration, the American Southern Presbyterian missionaries contributed to the formation of indigenous Protestant Christianity in Honam by planting churches, and building hospitals and schools. They also encouraged the Korean converts to establish their own churches following the Nevius method which stressed the founding of three-self independent churches.

In this thesis, I attempt to analyze the process of the formation of indigenous Protestantism in Honam according to the three themes of traditions, encounters, and transformations. Presbyterians in the South shared with other leading Southern Protestants such as Baptists and Methodists both the warm evangelistic impetus of evangelicalism and an appeal to the Bible to justify racism. In particular, ecumenical missionary movements originating from a series of evangelical revivals helped the Southern Presbyterian workers in foreign lands overcome their inherited identity as the adherents of a geographically, culturally, and theologically sectional organisation to become the advocates of a more pan-evangelical obligation. Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries already shared many common elements of evangelical theology and middle-class values with other Protestant missionaries even before the initiation of their mission work in 1892. From 1892 onwards, in response to the example of their Northern Presbyterian counterparts in the Korea mission field in initiating a more amicable relationship with their Southern colleagues, their isolated Southern identity gradually began to dissolve. The dominance of the pietistic stream of evangelical Christianity in Honam resulted from the congruence between Southern Presbyterians’ missionary Christianity and the traditional worldview of Honam people. In addition, a series of events, such as the revivals in the 1910s, the March First Movement in 1919, the complete revision of the constitution of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1922, and the devolution of church and school management administration were the primary landmarks in the successful founding of indigenous Honam Christianity.

If mission history is in part about what happens to one Christian tradition when it crosses geographical and cultural frontiers, my primary contribution in this thesis is to show in what ways the evolving Southern Presbyterian tradition at home was further changed and transformed, and then indigenised, in the Honam context. The thesis concludes that the progressive weakening of Southern Presbyterian sectional identity, first in the United States and then in Korea, significantly facilitated the indigenisation of Christianity in Honam. Crucial in this process was the democratising impact of revivals and the implications of wider ecumenical relationships with representatives of other denominations and regions. Honam Presbyterianism today is not a replica of the American Presbyterian tradition in its traditional Southern form. However, it does display many of the same features as the broad pan-evangelicalism to which the Southern Presbyterian mission increasingly adhered.

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JAEKEUN LEE

In Edinburgh, January 2013

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Declaration | i |
| Abstract | iii |
| Acknowledgements | iv |
| Table of Contents | v |
| List of Abbreviations | viii |
| List of Maps, Tables and Figures | x |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Introduction to Topic | 1 |
| Justification of Topic | 2 |
| Literature Review..... | 3 |
| Primary Research Questions | 16 |
| Methodology and Structure of the Thesis | 17 |
| PART I. AMERICAN SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANISM IN HISTORY | 21 |
| Chapter 1. ‘Christ-Haunted’: Protestant Religion in the American South | 21 |
| 1. Origins: Revivalism and Popular Evangelical Protestantism | 22 |
| 2. Distinctives: The Creation of a Southern Regional Religious Culture | 29 |
| 3. Appearances: The Post-bellum South in the Eyes of Yun Ch’i-ho..... | 38 |
| Chapter 2. The Shaping of the Southern Presbyterian Tradition | 46 |
| 1. Evangelical Development and the Reformed Legacy: Tension and Accommodation | 47 |
| 2. ‘Our Southern Zion’: Southern Conservative Regionalism and Presbyterians.. | 55 |
| 3. Presbyterianism in the Post-bellum South | 61 |
| 4. Southern Presbyterian Missions: Origins and Characteristics | 72 |
| A. The Missionary Origins of the Southern Presbyterian Church | 74 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| B. Southern Presbyterian Mission Policies, 1837-1940: A Historical Evaluation | 76 |
| C. The Beginnings of the Southern Presbyterian Korea Mission | 93 |
| PART II. TRANSFORMED IDENTITIES: FROM SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANISM TO HONAM PRESBYTERIANISM | 99 |
| Chapter 3. Encounters: The Beginning of Convergence of Two Cultural Traditions in Honam..... | 99 |
| 1. The First Encounters, 1892-1895: The Allocation of Honam to the SPKM..... | 99 |
| 2. Formed Identities: History, Tradition, and the Culture of Honam..... | 104 |
| A. Brief Introduction to Honam's History and Geography..... | 104 |
| B. Assessments of Ideal Portraits of Honam Culture..... | 109 |
| 3. The Political Context of Korea in 1892-5: The Donghak Revolution and the Sino-Japanese War | 116 |
| 4. The First Evangelistic Itinerations | 119 |
| Chapter 4. Transmissions: Southern Presbyterians in Honam, Korea | 126 |
| 1. Messengers: A Profile of Southern Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea..... | 126 |
| 2. Commonalities: The Nevius Method and Missionary Conservatism | 136 |
| 3. Diversities: Men and Women, Evangelists, Educators, and Doctors..... | 146 |
| Chapter 5. Receptions: The Responses of Honam People to Christianity | 161 |
| 1. Indigenous Initiatives: Explanations of Christian Conversion among Honam People..... | 161 |
| 2. Diversities: Religion, Gender, and Social Class | 175 |
| 3. Divisions: Varieties of Protestant Christianity in Honam..... | 194 |
| Chapter 6. Identification and Indigenisation: The Emergence of Honam Presbyterianism..... | 207 |
| 1. Mixed Identities: Trials and Errors of Missionary Identification | 207 |
| 2. Commonalities: Sisters and Brothers in Christ..... | 219 |
| 3. Transformations: Revivals, Nationalism, and Devolution..... | 231 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Conclusion: Cross-cultural Mission Encounters as Both the Transmitter and Transformer of Inherited Identities | 251 |
| Bibliography | 258 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| ABCFM | American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions |
| AHR | <i>American Historical Review</i> |
| AP | <i>American Presbyterians</i> |
| AQ | <i>American Quarterly</i> |
| BDCM | <i>Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions</i> |
| BMM | <i>Baptist Missionary Magazine</i> |
| CA | <i>Christian Advocate</i> |
| CH | <i>Church History</i> |
| CHK | <i>Christianity and History in Korea</i> |
| CMS | Church Missionary Society |
| CO | <i>Christian Observer</i> |
| CR | <i>Chinese Recorder</i> |
| CTS | Columbia Theological Seminary |
| DPRTA | <i>Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America</i> |
| FR | <i>Foreign Missionary</i> |
| HGUP | <i>Horace Grant Underwood Papers</i> |
| ICW | <i>Illustrated Christian Week</i> |
| IKCH | Institute for Korean Church History |
| IVP | InterVarsity Press |
| JCS | <i>Journal of Church and State</i> |
| JPH | <i>Journal of Presbyterian History</i> |
| KBS | Korean Bible Society |
| KMF | <i>Korea Mission Field</i> |
| KR | <i>Korean Repository</i> |
| KRv | <i>Korea Review</i> |
| MEC | Methodist Episcopal Church (Northern Methodist Church) |
| MECS | Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Southern Methodist Church) |
| MK | <i>Mission to Korea</i> (by G. Thompson Brown) |
| MR | <i>Missionary Review</i> |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>MRW</i> | <i>Missionary Review of the World</i> |
| <i>MS</i> | <i>Missionary Survey</i> |
| <i>NESC</i> | <i>New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture</i> |
| NPKM | Northern Presbyterian Korea Mission |
| PBP | Presbyterian Board of Publication (PCUSA) |
| PCA | Presbyterian Church in America |
| PCC | Presbyterian Church in Canada |
| PCK | Presbyterian Church of Korea |
| PCP | Presbyterian Committee of Publication (PCUS) |
| PCUS | Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern Presbyterian Church) |
| PCUSA | Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Northern Presbyterian Church) |
| PCVA | Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia |
| PHS | Presbyterian Historical Society |
| SOAS | School of Oriental and African Studies |
| SPG | Society for the Propagation of the Gospel |
| SPKM | Southern Presbyterian Korea Mission |
| <i>SPR</i> | <i>Southern Presbyterian Review</i> |
| SVM | Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions |
| <i>TKBRAS</i> | <i>Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |
| <i>TM</i> | <i>(The) Missionary</i> |
| <i>YD</i> | <i>Yun Ch'i-ho's Diary</i> |

List of Maps, Tables and Figures

Maps

Map 1. Comity (Territorial Division) among the Six Protestant Missions in Korea 102

Map 2. SPKM Stations in Honam 120

Tables

Table 1. List of Male Southern Presbyterian Student Volunteer Missionaries to Korea, 1892-1913 133

Table 2. List of Female Southern Presbyterian Student Volunteer Missionaries to Korea, 1892-1913 135

Table 3. Proportion of Newly Appointed Missionaries Classified By Gender, 1892-1987 157

Table 4. Korean Population Classified by Administrative Districts, 1894 168

Table 5. Statistics of Korean Protestant Adherents in Reference to the Six Federated Missions 169

Figures

Figure 1. Rates of Growth of Adherents in Reference to the Six Federated Missions, 1989-1936 170

Introduction

Introduction to Topic

The missionary enterprise of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS, Southern Presbyterian Church) in Korea was initiated by the arrival of ‘seven pioneers’ in Korea in 1892, eight years after the entrance of the first Protestant (PCUSA, Northern Presbyterian Church) medical missionary, Horace Allen, to Korea in 1884. These pioneer missionaries consisted of three ordained men (William D. Reynolds, William M. Junkin and Lewis B. Tate), two missionary wives (Patsy Bolling Reynolds and Mary Leyburn Junkin), Tate’s sister (Miss Mattie Tate) and one other young single woman (Miss Linnie Davis). In 1893, one year after their arrival, by a comity agreement between the three Presbyterian missions (the third was the Australian Presbyterian mission that entered Korea in 1889), the south-western region of Korea, known as Honam or Jeolla province, was assigned to the Southern Presbyterian Korea mission.

Honam was a longstanding centre of Confucian tradition as well as the heart of Korea’s rice belt. That is, Honam was marked by a traditional communal culture, based on an agricultural economy and a conservative religious ideology. On the other hand, the region was relatively alienated from central administration, active industrial development, and new currents of cultural change due to both geographical distance and political exclusion.

From the beginning, the PCUS missionaries welcomed the fact that Honam had been allocated to them as they acknowledged that Honam’s political, geographical and cultural context was similar to that of their homeland, the ‘Dixieland’ of the American South. The American South was America’s cotton heartland, characterised by its conservatism in religion and culture, isolation in politics, and underdevelopment in economy, just as Honam was. These young missionaries, conscious of their ‘Southern identity’, were keen to identify themselves with the people in Honam and tried to realise their ideal of the identification in their mission field in diverse ways. However, they soon began to find that there were too many barriers to overcome in every social sphere. Nonetheless, Southern

Presbyterian missionary history in Honam until 1940 is the story of the trials and errors that both Southern Presbyterian missionaries and Honam Protestants encountered as they tried to overcome these differences and to reach unity and identification through the medium of Christianity.

A key theme I propose to deal with in the first part of the thesis is about how religious, racial and cultural identities were shaped in the American South and how these regional traditions were inherited to the Southern Presbyterians who would become missionaries in Korea. This requires research into the religious landscape in the New South in the period of the Reconstruction after the Civil War, and especially, into what ways the Presbyterian churches in the Southern states experienced theological, cultural and historical change. Attention must also be paid to how the evangelical revivals and their related missionary movement in the nineteenth century contributed to the change of Southern religious culture. Southern Presbyterian missionaries were born into, brought up within, and influenced by this background. Accordingly, to understand their formative period in their homeland is crucial to understand their life and work in Korea.

The subject in the second part of the thesis which is naturally linked to the first part is the Southern Presbyterian missionaries' life and work in Korea, the indigenous response to their presence, message, and activities, and the procedure of the formation of indigenous Honam Presbyterianism. If mission history is in part about what happens to one Christian tradition when it crosses geographical and cultural frontiers, my primary contribution in this research is to show in what ways Southern Presbyterians' theological ideas, social identities, and their principles of practice were changed, transformed, appropriated and indigenised in the unique missionary context of Honam.

Justification of Topic

Despite the explosive increase of research into Korean church history since the late 1980s, most research has been quite specifically focused, geographically on the capital area of Seoul and adjacent cities and the north-western regions centred on Pyongyang, and denominationally on the Northern Presbyterians and the Northern

Methodists. Predictably, this is because these two denominations were the largest mission forces and the earliest to arrive in Korea in 1884-5. Seoul was the capital city in which foreign diplomatic residences and major international commercial organisations were located, and Pyongyang was the centre of Korean Protestantism from the opening of the first mission stations in the 1890s. The church and mission history of the localities and provincial regions has been scarcely covered by researchers, and even though some research has been done, it has not been paid much attention by both academic and ecclesiastical circles.

There could be two more reasons why the PCUS mission in Korea has remained on the fringes of research: the intentional exclusion of Homan in politics and economy by recent military administrations—these leaders mostly came from the south-eastern region—in Korea from 1962 to 1992, and the official disappearance of the PCUS denomination in America after the merger with the PCUSA in 1983. Thus, research into the local history of Christianity—the PCUS missions and the Honam Church—could be a useful way to enlarge the boundary of research as well as a challenge to the academic and ecclesiastical trend of research which has been biased towards the national capital region.

Literature Review

More than forty years ago, in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in New York City, 29 December 1968, John K. Fairbank argued that ‘the missionary in foreign parts seems to be the invisible man of American history’ and claimed the historian’s interest in a hitherto neglected theme.¹ The situation changed after Fairbank’s epochal inaugural address. Research by secular scholars, related to the studies of specific geographical areas or diplomatic history between the United States and foreign nations, developed in the 1970s so that general knowledge about the range of American foreign enterprises increased.

Historians of American religion soon found in the 1980s that they needed to interpret and reconstruct the actual life and history of mission in foreign fields

¹ John K. Fairbank, ‘Assignment for the ’70s’, *AHR* 74 (February 1969): 877.

beyond the general description of what happened and who did what and where. They mostly focused on considering how the American Protestant missions were initiated and why the movement grew, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A significant theme that rose to the surface in this inquiry was Americans' agreed belief in their nation and people 'as a chosen people and a redeemer nation' to save the world for God—the ideology of manifest destiny.²

As the period of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries was the heyday of the mainstream Protestant missionary enterprise, historians have delved into the relationship between the missionary impulse and the evangelical movement, which became the dominant system both in the people's mind and in the public sphere at the time. In relation to this, the Student Volunteer Movement, which was arguably the most influential episode in American mission history, its social background, and its theology have also been paid attention by scholars. Diverse and persuasive interpretations appeared: from the argument that the SVM was an extension of the frontier idea in the American mind,³ through its identification as a manifestation of premillennial belief⁴ and as a moral equivalent for imperialism,⁵ to viewing the movement as a reflection of the American middle-class worldview.⁶ However, none of these analyses exactly fits every single Protestant group from every geographical area in the United States. The numerous diversities in unity, by which people from other parts of the States defined their own identities, should also become the subject-matter of research.

In relation to this last point, the dearth of scholarship on both the history of

² William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 3 and 91-124.

³ Fairbank, 877-8.

⁴ Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925* (Grand Rapids: Academic Books, 1983), 69 and 73-4.

⁵ Hutchison, 91-124.

⁶ Valentin H. Rabe, 'Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Resources to 1920', in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 56-90. More recently, two comprehensive studies on the SVM have been added. The titles of these books display their key arguments: Nathan D. Showalter, *The End of a Crusade: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and the Great War* (Lanham, MD.: Scarecrow Press, 1998) and Michael Parker, *Kingdom of Character: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1886-1926* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998).

Christianity in the South and its international missions is striking. Many significant works on American religious history have concentrated on the Christian tradition in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. It is natural for Americans to search for their origins from which they started and flourished. As the centre of their culture, politics, economy and even religion has been fixed in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states, the culture and lifestyle of major cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington D.C. and their adjacent regions has dominated American public life. Accordingly, the Northeast in American life has often been regarded as representative of the whole nation and the Yankee culture in the Northeast has been considered as standing for American culture as a whole. The events that happened and the figures who worked in the north-eastern regions have been paid particular attention by the scholarly community in American religious history. In contrast, the historical events and figures that largely contributed to the shaping of the Southern political, cultural and religious life have seemed to be of interest only to Southerners. For instance, almost all the major pieces of academic work on Northern Protestantism have been published by the leading publishers and university presses representing the entire nation. But most of the books on Southern Christianity have, with a few exceptions,⁷ been issued by the presses of universities in the Southern states. In other words, Southern history appears to belong to no others, but uniquely to Southerners. This imbalance may be the reason why the Southern Dixie have until now tended to identify themselves by reference to their differences from the Northern Yankee. In order to see the significant events and figures in the Southern religious history and to interpret them in an appropriate context, it is indispensable to refer to the works of Southern scholars of Southern religion.

A disproportionate tendency is apparent even within Southern scholarship. The two religious groups which have aroused the most scholarly interest have been Methodists and Baptists. These denominations emerged as dissenting voices against

⁷ Discussion of the Southern churches' proslavery ethic in antebellum America has entirely been written by Southern scholars and issued by Southern publishing houses. According to Carwardine's list, the only exception is D. T. Bailey, *Shadow on the Church: Southwestern Evangelical Religion and the Issue of Slavery 1783-1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985). For the full list, see Richard J. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 457.

the Anglican Church as the mainline state religion in the colonial era. Their populist tendency was oriented to the lower classes of society, including white farmers and black slaves, and stressed the expression of emotion and experience. They soon came to dominate Southern religious topography. Presbyterians, in contrast, have attracted little attention in analyses of Southern religion. John B. Boles, an expert on Southern religion, has assigned a substantial section to Presbyterians in his standard monograph of the Southern revivals. However, his intention was to show that this Calvinist denomination was sharply divided by the inner conflict among its adherents over the reception of the Arminianised evangelical synergism, finally leading to the birth of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1813. With this relative neglect of Presbyterianism in the South, the scholarly focus on Southern religion has been directed to Methodists and Baptists, who exhibited greater inner coherence in their denominational theological and practical orientations. These denominations have become known as champions of Southern interests.⁸

The disregard of the Southern Presbyterians even increased after the merger of the Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS) with the Northern Presbyterian Church (PCUSA) in 1983. Though the merger officially was a unification between two denominations on an equal basis, the PCUSA which was already in the ascendancy both in human resources and organisational system soon established hegemony over its Southern partner. This trend is proved by the quantity of the articles regarding the Presbyterian churches in the Southern states in the official journal of the united PCUSA, the *Journal of Presbyterian History*⁹. The number of articles on Southern Presbyterianism published in this quarterly (half-yearly since 2005) journal after the 1983 merger until 2008 was only twenty among about four hundred articles (5%). Not every article of the remainder in the journal is exactly about Northern Presbyterianism, but the stress is still asymmetrically placed on the Northern region.

Despite this general lack of scholarly literature on Southern Presbyterianism, there are several significant standard works on this subject. One indispensable source

⁸ See index in John B. Boles, *The Great Revival: Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 223-36, and idem, 'Revivalism and Renewal, and the Social Mediation in the Old South', *Modern Christian Revivals*, Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer, eds. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 60-83.

⁹ Between 1987 and 1996 it was named *American Presbyterians*.

of reference is Ernest Trice Thompson's three-volume *Presbyterians in the South*.¹⁰ The author published the first volume of the book in 1963, celebrating the one hundred years of the denomination's existence since 1861. But it needed more ten years to complete the other two volumes. This book dealt with the account of Presbyterian life in the South, from 1607 to 1972, namely, from the first European settlement of Jamestown to the dawn of ultimate American Presbyterian ecumenical union. The author, in his portrait of the New South, suggested his revisionist stance by introducing his distinctive Southern heritage proudly, but simultaneously by criticising its obvious faults, specifically the old-fashioned idea of the spirituality of the church which was used by the denomination to justify slavery. The key argument in the book was that the denomination had moved closer to a more universal form of world Presbyterianism by overcoming extreme Southern exceptionalism. Since particular research themes in Southern Presbyterian history are scattered throughout this encyclopaedic text, however, for more detailed research into specific topics, including theology, social order, spirituality, gender, and mission, researchers must consult a monograph written on a particular subject. Unfortunately, except for some works on Southern Presbyterian theology, preaching and racial ideology,¹¹ books treating particular subjects such as missions and gender have not yet appeared. The history of Southern Presbyterian mission is fresh ground which remains to be tilled.

The first academic research into Korean Protestant history was undertaken by L. George Paik, who completed his doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Kenneth S. Latourette at Yale in 1927 and then published it in 1929. Paik reflected Latourette's view of the history of Christianity as in its essential nature the history of mission, asserting 'the study of the history of missions, therefore, inquires into the nature of the Christianity that has been propagated. ...' in his introduction to the 1929

¹⁰ Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, 3 vols. (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1963 & 1973).

¹¹ Morton H. Smith, *Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1987), Douglas F. Kelly, *Preachers with Powers: Four Stalwarts of the South* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1992), and Joel Alvis, *Religion & Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946-1983* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994). The last one covers a period different from that of my research.

English edition of the book.¹² Namely, faithfully following his teacher's methodology of Christian history writing, Paik introduced a transmitter-centred approach to the academic circle of Korean church history. Paik's research has evoked words of praise both from missionary groups and from Korean historians even until now as it was a disciplined piece of writing with full quotations of original sources and careful explanations of important events in early Korean Protestant history. Harry Rhodes, who wrote a history of the Northern Presbyterian Korea mission as an official historical record in 1934, also stated that he had consulted Paik's book with profit and asked Paik's advice to complete his book.¹³ For Korean church historians of succeeding generations, Paik's is still a standard work to which reference must be made.

Two new approaches to Korean church history emerged after 1968. For the advocates of these two innovative methodologies—one, a nationalistic interpretation, and the other, a more liberationist analysis—who stressed, first, the subjective reception of Christian message by the Korean nation—'minjok'— and, second, by the common people—'minjung'—, Paik's missionary-centred view of Korean church history seemed to be a triumphalist approach based on Latourette's optimistic view of the American nation and Protestantism. The emergence of these two new approaches represented divergent responses to political and social conditions in Korea in which the anti-Communist military dictatorial government ruled the country and oppressed its people since 1962. The common ground shared by the proponents of these two approaches, although their opinions of politics, economy and society were largely different from each other, was that the writing of Korean church history should be free from an excessive emphasis on missionaries' achievement and should focus instead on the Korean spontaneous and voluntary acceptance of the Christian message. Representative historians in this field such as Kyong-Bae Min, Mahn-Yol Lee and Jae-Yong Ju¹⁴ took Korean Protestant history from the margins of the history

¹² L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Pyongyang: Union Christian College Press, 1929), 3-4.

¹³ Harry Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church USA, Vol. I: 1884-1934* (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), ix.

¹⁴ Kyong-Bae Min, *Hanguk Gidok Gyohoisa* [A History of the Korean Christian Church] (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1968); Revised Version (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2000); Mahn-

of the church as an isolated group and put it in the broader context of the modern history of Korea. Yet significant criticisms were made against these new approaches by an evangelical church historian: they ignored the tradition and the catholicity of the Christian Church since the nature of the Church should not be considered only according to its relation to the national spirit and culture.¹⁵ Dong Sung Kim has pointed out the contradictory structure of the nation discourses in Korean Protestant historical scholarship: ‘The colonial experience under the Japanese imperial historiography’ is ‘the single notable historical experience which influenced and continues to affect Korean historiography.’ By this, all historiographies, in both secular Korean history and church history, have been overridden by ‘the perspective of nationalism as the central and dominant motif in their method of historical study.’¹⁶ That is, every group, whether it is situated on the conservative right or the liberal left, in Korean history, has suffered from an obsession with demonstrating its patriotic and nationalist credentials. As a result, church historians’ efforts to combine Protestant religion with national identity have created a ‘habitual mono-narrative that portrays Korea as pseudo-Christendom.’¹⁷

Writing on Korean Protestant history by Korean researchers since 1990s has been a continuous process of reflection on and supplementation of these previous studies. They have sometimes attempted to redress the imbalance of views that have been biased either towards the side of receivers or towards the transmitters and have also tried to correct errors of fact and interpretation regarding historical events and figures. In hundreds of dissertations and articles, both those written in the Western languages in diverse Western universities and seminaries and those in Korean in Korea, researchers have tended to repeat the same or similar topics, arguments and

Yol Lee, *Hanguk Gidokgyo Suyongsa Yeongu* [A Study of Korean Receptive History of Christianity] (Seoul: Duresidae, 1998); and Jae-Yong Ju, ‘Hanguk Gidokgyo Baeknyeonsa—Munjungsagwaneui Ipjangeseoeui Bunseokgwa Bipan’ [One Hundred History of Korean Christianity—Analysis and Criticism in the View of Minjung History], *Sinhakyeongu* (Fall 1979): 199-216.

¹⁵ Young-Jae Kim, *Hanguk Gidogyoeui Jaeinsik* [Reconsideration of Korean Christianity] (Seoul: Emmaus Press, 1994), 14.

¹⁶ Dong Sung Kim, ‘Historiography, History Writing and Identity: A Critical and Comparative Analysis of Five Korean Protestant Historians and Their Histories’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2008), 41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

methods of description, often without demonstrating creative insight or innovative argument that goes beyond earlier pioneering works. As Hyeon-Gang Song has analysed in his study of Protestantism transplanted in Chungnam soil, the middle part of South Korea, numerous researchers have lacked a serious and profound consideration of the process of transmission and reception of Christianity. In other words, early Korean Christians have easily been described as ‘an awesome group, who although they were poor and simple by nature, after meeting very paternalistic missionaries, the Korean converts had a surprising digestive power of the gospel.’ They allegedly were ‘the subjective and autonomous receivers of gospel and the innovators of a narrow and closed society.’ Song states rightly that there is no analysis of ‘the American background of missionaries in their homeland, the socio-cultural situation in which early Korean Protestants lived, the uniqueness of nineteenth century Protestantism propagated in Korea, the confusions and conflicts in the mind of Protestant receivers when they accepted the gospel and the personal ambition hidden behind the religion itself.’¹⁸

In addition to the first problem of shallow and uncritical research, the second difficulty raised by the study of Korean Protestant history is the geographical and denominational imbalance. Most researchers have focused on the two major areas of Korean Protestant growth, Seoul and Pyongyang, and the two largest and strongest missions—namely, those of the American Northern Presbyterian mission and of the American Northern Methodist mission. One of the main reasons why these two organisations have been paid particular attention is that they were the first two missions planted by the pioneers, the Presbyterians Horace Allen, M.D. and Horace G. Underwood, and the Methodist, Henry G. Appenzeller, in 1884-85. It was no wonder that they settled in Seoul, the capital of the country for about six hundred years and the only city open to foreigners by the 1882 treaty of commerce between Korea and the USA, in which most diplomatic and economic organizations were located. Due to its strategic importance, Seoul and the surrounding region was not assigned to one specific mission even after the final comity agreement between missions in 1909, but remained as a common zone shared by the three missions of

¹⁸ Hyeon-Gang Song, *Daejeon Chungnam Jiyeok Gyohoisa Yeongu* [A Study of Church History in the

the Northern Presbyterians, Northern and Southern Methodists. It suggested that no group wished to lose its hegemony in Seoul, and the relatively weaker and younger denominational missions were by tacit consent forced to retreat from their losing battle.

Major Protestant figures from high social class and higher educational institutions lived and worked in Seoul as almost every Christian ecumenical enterprise was based in Seoul. Thus, Seoul itself and the missions occupying Seoul have consistently attracted the notice of researchers. Rhodes commented in 1934 on Seoul citizens' insolent understanding that they regarded all Koreans from country area as 'Galileans.'¹⁹ This idea was reinforced by the military governments' oppressive policy of centralisation from 1962 to 1992. Studying a regional topic in any academic field, including Christian history, was regarded as something to expect necessarily the worst indifference and alienation by the majority of scholars. The only exception was Pyongyang. The Great Revival of 1907 exploded here and major higher educational schools, including the only official Presbyterian theological seminary, were located in Pyongyang.

After the late 1980s, however, significant literature on local church history by several scholars who were interested in unearthing the hidden treasures of Korean Christian history began to appear, reflecting a new trend of local history research in academic circles in Korea. Most of these works were written by local historians living and studying in specific regions linked to their geographical area of research, just as the major works on the American South have been produced by Southerners. They provided students and local Christians with substantial information about which missionaries came to and worked in respective regions, what they did, and what contribution they made to the shaping of Protestantism in the regions.²⁰

Region of Daejeon and Chungnam] (Seoul: IKCH, 2004), 16.

¹⁹ Rhodes, 289.

²⁰ Major works of local Protestant history are as follows. For Honam—by the SPKM—Su-Jin Kim and In-Soo Han, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoisia* [Christian History of Honam in Korea] (Seoul: PCK Department of Education, 1979); Su-Jin Kim, *Honamseongyo Baeknyongwa Geu Sayeokjadeul* [One Hundred Years of Honam Mission and the Workers] (Seoul: Goryogeulbang, 1994); idem, *Gwangjuchodaegyohoisia Yeongu* [A Study of Early Church History in Gwnagju] (Seoul: Center for the Study of Korean Christian History, 1994); idem, *Honamgidokgyo Baeknyeonsa, Jeonbukpyeon* [One Hundred Years of Homan Christianity, Jeonbuk Region] (Seoul: Qumran, 1998) and Myeong-

However, one of the characteristics of these works is that they largely depended on information given by missionary writers who served in these specific regions for quite long periods. In other words, with two exceptions²¹ in the literature of regional Protestant history listed in the footnote, most of these works are close to descriptive general surveys rather than critical monographs. From this viewpoint, Song's indication concerning the superficiality of existing scholarship into Korean local ecclesiastical history needs to be reflected on more seriously by present and future researchers in this academic sphere.

Neither American Southern Presbyterian missionaries themselves nor historians in their home country have produced significant accounts of their own or their forebears' missionary enterprise in Korea, whether from a critical perspective or not. This becomes clearer when compared with the considerable body of literature produced by Northern Presbyterian missionaries and their posterity. According to Harry Rhodes, ninety-five Northern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea published 404 documents until 1930. These included Korean-English and English-Korean dictionaries, textbooks for studying the Korean language, textbooks and references for teaching Koreans in the schools, hymnals for regular worship services, tracts and books for evangelism and pious daily life, diverse newspapers and journals, books for introducing Korean folk tales and history to Westerners, novels, biographies, official reports, translated books from English to Korean and vice versa, and

Jun Ju, *Jeonbukeui Gidokgyo Jeonrae* [Introduction of Christianity in Jeonbuk] (Jeonju: Jeonju University Press, 1998). For Gyeongbuk region assigned to the NPKM, Sung-Chun Jun, *Hanguk Yeongnam Gyohoisa* [A History of Church in Yeongnam] (Seoul: Yangseogak, 1987) and Jeong-Gyu Park, *Daegu jibang Gyohoisa* [A History of Church in Daegu Region] (Seoul: Imun Press, 1994). For Australian Presbyterian missionaries in Busan area, Sang-Gyu Lee, *Busan jibang Gidokgyo Jeonraesa* [A History of Introduction of Christianity in Busan Region] (Seoul: Geulmadang, 2001) and Byung-Joon Chung, *Hoju jangrohoi Seongyosadeuleui Sinhaksasanggwawa Hangukseongyo, 1889-1942* [Theology and Mission of the Australian Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea, 1889-1942] (Seoul: IKCH, 2007). Hyeon-Gang Song's recent volume of South Korea's central area, *Daejeon Chungnam Jiyeok Gyohoisa Yeongu* is the only analytic production of the Protestant history in the region. Research into Christian history in regions where currently belong to North Korea is largely limited owing to the lack of surviving written materials and the limitation of accessibility.

²¹ The two studies by Hyeon-Gang Song and Byung-Joon Chung mentioned in the previous footnote suggest some meaningful progress of Korean scholarship in this field since the beginning of the new millennium.

academic books on Korean religions, politics and international relations.²² Many of these were the first books written by Westerners and often became the standard reference books essential for research into any specific field on Korea. Even to this day it is unavoidable for any student who is interested in Korean modern history to consult some of these works. Most of all, the records of the Northern Presbyterian enterprise and its related history are rich enough for researchers to examine all aspects of the PCUSA missionary experience.

On the contrary, historical documents written and intended ‘for public use’ by Southern Presbyterian missionaries are extremely scarce. Except for private letters and individually contributed articles in journals and the formal minutes and annual reports of mission, the first historical document written by a Southern Presbyterian missionary for publication was Anabel M. Nisbet’s *Day in and Day out in Korea* in 1910.²³ One other public historical record that Southern missionaries regarded as a significant record of their achievements was the ‘Quarter-Centennial Report’ of the mission, issued in 1917, the twenty-fifth year after the mission had initiated its enterprise in Korea.²⁴ This was a descriptive report of what Southern Presbyterians had done in Honam since their initial work in 1892. The SPKM could not celebrate its jubilee year of 1942 as every missionary from a hostile country was forced to leave Korea by 1940 by the Japanese imperial government. One of the likely reasons why Southern Presbyterian publications were so scarce was that they as latecomers were not able to produce works of a better quality than those of Northerners. In addition, they may have thought that the approach to rural and uneducated people of Honam needed to be different from that to the intellectual Koreans in Seoul.

The first and indeed the only piece of research surveying the history of the Southern Presbyterian missionary enterprise in Korea and analysing it with some degree of critical acumen was G. Thompson Brown’s *Mission to Korea*.²⁵ Brown,

²² For a full list of this literature, see Rhodes, 273-9.

²³ Anabel M. Nisbet, *Day In and Day Out In Korea: Being Some Account of the Mission Work That Has Been Carried on in Korea Since 1892 by the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Richmond: PCP, 1910).

²⁴ *Quarter-Centennial Report of the Korea Mission, Southern Presbyterian Church, 1917.*

²⁵ See G. Thompson Brown, *Mission to Korea* (Richmond: Board of World Missions, PCUS, 1962), 156-65. Hereafter, *MK*

born in China as son of a Southern Presbyterian China missionary in 1921, went to Korea to teach in Honam Theological College in Gwangju in 1954. He felt that he himself must be a witness to his predecessors' Christian service and submitted his doctoral research on the topic to Union Theological Seminary, Virginia in 1962. His dissertation set out to survey and described the historical events and facts chronologically although he tried to interpret the events from his missionary viewpoint. He appears to have regarded it as his responsibility to let readers know exactly what happened and who did what in the SPKM. Almost every original source he used and quoted owed its origins to his missionary precursors or to Japanese administrative organisations. He excavated a wide-range of hidden and buried original sources for his research which would provide a rich resource for future researchers. On the other hand, Brown as both a missionary and a descendant of missionaries unavoidably appears to have been concerned to defend and advocate the early missionaries' policy and ways of life.

One of the main arguments in his thesis was that from the beginning, Southern Presbyterians in Honam had stressed Bible study meetings and evangelism as well as Korean Christians' determination to practise self-support, self-government and self-propagation to be loyal to the Nevius principles,²⁶ just as their Northern Presbyterian counterparts in Pyongyang did. This, suggested Brown, was the main reason why the churches in Honam grew so rapidly, just as the churches in Pyongyang which adopted the Nevius mission method exploded with the fastest rate of growth of any mission field of the world. After leaving Korea to become secretary in charge of Asia mission fields in the PCUS foreign missions department in 1966 and then to be a professor of Missiology at Columbia Theological Seminary, he developed the same argument in an article.²⁷

²⁶ The Nevius Plan's outline is as follows: 1. Christians should continue to live in their neighborhoods and pursue their occupations, being self-supporting and witnessing to their co-workers and neighbors. 2. Missions should only develop programs and institutions that the national church desired and could support. 3. The national churches should call out and support their own pastors. 4. Churches should be built in the native style with money and materials given by the church members. 5. Intensive biblical and doctrinal instruction should be provided for church leaders every year. See John Mark Terry, 'Indigenous Churches', in A. Scott Moreau, ed., *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 483-5.

²⁷ Brown, 'Why Has Christianity Grown Faster in Korea than in China', *Missiology* 22:1 (January 1994): 77-88.

Brown's monograph is an authoritative reference book which must be consulted but whose limitations must at the same time be overcome by researchers of this topic. He surveyed his denomination's missionary enterprise in a corner of the Hermit Kingdom through a thorough reading of the original documents previously neglected by others. This is the chief strength of his dissertation although his work is more of a chronological account than an academically distinctive one based on strict and close examination and interpretation. What is now required for researchers is to examine how critically the original sources have been used and how objective his interpretation of the materials was, in order to compensate for his approach and finally to produce a solidly-organised literature with a fresh point of view and a balanced approach between transmitters and receivers.

Since Brown's pioneering research into the topic, three doctoral dissertations on the Southern Presbyterians have appeared, all written within the last few years in Korean²⁸ and none in English until now. The advent of these theses suggests that interest in local church history has expanded among scholars. Notwithstanding this desirable new trend of local history, the quantity of research is limited, the scope of the subject materials is still restricted to several specific individuals of early pioneering missionaries and the arguments of the dissertations—the most serious problem—are never inspired and creative. Hence, these three dissertations cannot be reckoned as major achievements in scholarship, as especially Yong-Ho Cho's study of William Reynolds has been criticised severely by a historian in Korea due to its inaccuracies, improper quotations of sources and failure to be more than a general survey.²⁹

²⁸ Titles of three doctoral theses are as follows. Yong-Ho Cho, 'Minamjangrogyo Seongyosa William D. Reynoldseui Saengewa Sinhak Yeongu' [A Study in the Life and Theology of William D. Reynolds, Southern Presbyterian Missionary] (Ph.D. thesis, Yonsei University, 2007); Jong-Cheol Kim, 'Eugene Bell Seongyosaeui Mokpo Gwangju Seongyohwaldong Yeongu' [A Study in Missionary Work of Missionary Eugene Bell in Mokpo and Gwangju] (Ph.D. thesis, Jeonju University, 2008); and Min-Soo Kang, 'Honamjiyeok Jangrogyohoisaeui Yeongu: 1938-1954eui Jeonnamnohoe Sayeokeul Jungsimeuro' [A Study of Presbyterian Church History in Honam Region: In Special Reference to Jeonnam Presbytery in 1938-1954] (Ph.D. thesis, Gwangshin University, 2008).

²⁹ Dae Young Ryu, 'Minamjangrogyo Seongyosa William D. Reynoldseui Sinhak Yeongue Daehan Nonchan' [Review of the Study of Theology of William D. Reynolds, American Southern Presbyterian Missionary] *Newsletter of the Institute for Korean Church History* 78 (April 2007): 39-40.

We may summarise the conclusions of this literature review as follows: Firstly, studies of regional religious, especially Presbyterian, history, including both American Southern history and Korean history in Honam are still a neglected field of research. Critical research into the Christian history of these regions will fill up a marked gap in the scholarship. Secondly, the production of fresh insights into the Southern Presbyterian missionary project in Korea at the turn of the twentieth century will link the hitherto separated narratives of the history of the American South and the history of south-western Korea. Most works until now have not described adequately the process of indigenisation and transformation, which happened when the Dixie Presbyterian tradition crossed the geographical and cultural boundary and took root deep in Honam soil.

Primary Research Questions

The primary research questions which will be asked in this study relate to the three themes that appear in the thesis title—traditions, encounters, and transformations—as follows:

1. What were the distinctive theological, social and cultural features of the Southern Presbyterian tradition?
2. In what ways did the growing involvement of Southern Presbyterians in mission and revival movements in the Southern states begin to re-shape this tradition?
3. How did involvement in the Korea mission extend and develop this process of re-shaping?
4. What (if anything) was distinctive about the people and culture of Honam?
5. In what ways did those distinctive features (if present) shape the response of Honam people to Christianity as it was presented by the Southern Presbyterian missionaries?
6. Were there any elements in the evolving Southern Presbyterian tradition that were especially favourable or unfavourable to the process of transforming Christianity from an alien American import into an indigenous Korean faith?

Methodology and Structure of the Thesis

My thesis is a research project in the history of Christianity which analyses the history of a Protestant missionary tradition in a specific locality. Hence, the primary methodology used in my thesis is based on documentary research, and thus the thorough reading of all surviving primary documents produced by Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea and Honam Koreans was crucial. Almost all missionary documents relating to the SPKM—diaries, journal articles, letters, minutes and annual reports—are currently deposited at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, in the series of personal files and microfilms. The Linton Academy of Hannam University in Daejeon, Korea, which was established by William Linton, a PCUS missionary, in 1956, has obtained a substantial amount of PCUS-related missionary documents. These were donated by John and Virginia Somerville, PCUS missionaries in Honam between 1954 and 1994, who had collected almost every kind of Southern Presbyterian missionary documents.³⁰

The main problem of the existing primary sources is their imbalance towards missionary perspectives. To obtain Korean voices relevant to this thesis, an exhaustive search was made for other primary records from Honam's local church leaders who were trained by Southern Presbyterian missionaries. Honam Presbyterians had their own presbyteries from 1911. Some surviving annual records of presbyteries and church sessions were significant sources of indigenous perspectives. Sermons, journal articles, and autobiographical writings, despite their obvious inadequacies, were useful for identifying their motives of conversion and their perceptions of Christianity. In addition to the written primary sources, I undertook some oral history research in Korea to address the problem of the imbalance of materials toward the missionary side of the relationship. There are several congregations which have a long history and have some elderly members

³⁰ The Academy holds 4,525 letters, 1,270 articles in major missionary journals and annual minutes, created by Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea from 1892 to 1984 in downloadable PDF files through its online library. I checked the collections of the Linton Academy against the originals in Philadelphia to know what has been omitted from the Linton's collections, and found that the documents at Linton Academy, along with unpublished nineteen-volume collection of materials written by Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries until 1986, bound by Institute for Study of Literature in Korean Church History, are ample enough to do a full research into the Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries.

who have some second-hand information about the Southern missionaries, native leaders, and the early life of the churches, gleaned from their parents. I met seven of them for interviews on my research trip to Honam between February and April 2011.

I also consulted original materials produced by a significant early Korean Protestant leader who, though not from Honam region, had a vital influence on some of the first American missionaries from the Southern states. Yun Ch'i-ho was the first Korean Protestant who experienced the American South and one of the most influential figures over Protestant leaders and especially educated young people in Korea. Moreover, he left behind a rich autobiographical source in his diary, which is available online. It provides a substantial amount of eyewitness information on late nineteenth-century Southern society, from which the Southern Presbyterians absorbed ingredients for their growth.

To avoid becoming either a purely transmitter-centred approach or a purely a recipient-focused method, I will try to hold the balance between studies of the American South and Southern Presbyterian missionaries, and the examination of the Honam culture and the Protestant converts of Honam. Major attention will be paid to analysing the domestic background of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries and examining in what ways Southern Presbyterian identity was transformed and indigenised when it crossed cultural and geographical frontiers and encountered the unique context of Honam. I will divide the thesis into two parts. My analysis in Part I will comprise a historical investigation of the religious characteristics of Southern society, the relationship of the religious culture to the unique social order, and the place of the Presbyterian Church in Southern society. It will also include an analysis both of the impression which Yun Ch'i-ho formed of Southern society, and of the reception which he received from Southern Christians.

The second half of the thesis will analyse what happened in Honam, Korea, especially focusing on Southern Presbyterian missionaries' encounters with Koreans in Honam, indigenous responses to mission Christianity and its transmitters, and the transformations of both missionaries and Honam Koreans effected by the impact of Christian mission experience in Honam. The thesis consists of six main chapters, subdivided into twenty sections, plus an introduction and a conclusion.

The first chapter aims to answer these questions: what was the origin of the Southern evangelical mind; how did revivals help the South become an ‘evangelical empire’; and how did the unique Southern institutions, notably the hierarchical plantation system based on slavery, contribute to forming a Southern evangelical identity, differ from evangelical patterns that prevailed elsewhere? Some hints for identifying the place of Presbyterians and their mission theology within Southern evangelical religion will be inserted in the first chapter. A case study of Yun Ch’i-ho will illuminate what he saw in post-bellum Southern religion and how he, as a Korean Protestant, reacted to and evaluated Southern religious life and its linked segregated culture.

The aim of Chapter Two is to apply the broad characteristics of Southern evangelical religion, which have been dealt with in Chapter One, more specifically to the subject of our special concern, the Southern Presbyterian Church and its foreign missions. The key argument in this chapter is that Presbyterians in the South shared the warm evangelistic impetus of evangelicalism as a common belief system with other leading Southern Protestants such as Baptists and Methodists. In particular, ecumenical missionary movements originating from a series of evangelical revivals helped the Southern Presbyterian workers in foreign lands overcome their inherited identity as the adherents of a geographically, culturally, and theologically sectional organisation to become the advocates of a more pan-evangelical obligation. The discussions in the first two chapters of Part I function as a linkage to the main topic of the thesis on the Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Honam, Korea.

Part II discovers how this common commitment to missionary activities among Southern Presbyterians was expressed in the unique Honam context and how this Southern Presbyterian cross-cultural mission enterprise contributed to the eventual shaping of an indigenous Honam Christianity. This latter part of the thesis will examine this development in terms of the four key themes of encounters, transmissions, receptions, and transformations. Chapter Three describes how the people of Honam formed a distinctive cultural identity and tradition, how they responded to Honam’s changing social context at the turn of the twentieth century, and how the representatives of these two cultures of the American South and Korean Honam reacted to their first encounters. It also analyses some narratives survived

from these first encounters.

Chapter Four scrutinises the process of transmission of Southern Presbyterian missionary Christianity to the indigenous people in Honam. Once again, it will show that Southern Presbyterian missionaries already shared many common elements of evangelical theology and middle-class values with other Protestant missionaries even before the initiation of their mission work in 1892. From 1892 onwards, in response to the example of their Northern Presbyterian counterparts in the Korea mission field in initiating a more amicable relationship with their Southern colleagues, their isolated Southern identity gradually began to dissolve. Chapter Five will examine the responses of Honam locals to Southern Presbyterian missionaries and the Christianity they imparted. Various explanations of the different aspects of conversion and church growth in Honam according to the indicators of gender and social class will be suggested. In addition, three different types of Protestant Christianity in Honam will be identified and discussed in this chapter. The chapter concludes that the dominance of the pietistic stream of Christianity in Honam resulted from the congruence between Southern Presbyterians' missionary Christianity and the traditional worldview of Honam people.

Chapter Six will examine the process of transformation and indigenisation from Southern Presbyterianism to Honam Presbyterianism. An analysis of the trials and errors of Southern Presbyterian missionaries in their attempts at identification with the Honam population will be followed by an investigation of missionaries' devolution of ecclesiastical affairs to indigenous leaders. A series of events, such as the revivals in the 1910s, the March First Movement in 1919, the complete revision of the constitution of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1922, and the devolution of church and school management administration, will be suggested as the primary landmarks in the successful founding of indigenous Honam Christianity. Finally a concluding chapter will sum up the key arguments advanced in the earlier chapters.

PART I. AMERICAN SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANISM IN HISTORY

Chapter 1. 'Christ-Haunted': Protestant Religion in the American South

Scholars of Southern religion commonly agree that two of the most representative characteristics of antebellum Southern religion were its evangelical ethos and the implications of the presence of black slaves.¹ An evangelical tendency was a shared key element which could justify the interpretation of Southern religious life simply as one part of a broader global evangelical community. However, evangelicalism in the American South, according to Samuel S. Hill, can be regarded as a distinctive regional manifestation of Christianity since this region is 'the only society in Christendom in which the evangelical family of Christians is dominant.'² It is arguable and may seem perhaps overstated to claim that the American South is the only society dominated by evangelical influence. Evangelical Christianity in South Korea, Ghana, or some ethnic societies in the north-eastern region of India, is also a dominating type of religion. Nonetheless, in view of the absolute influence of evangelical religion on the broader society and culture in the American South, Hill's argument is acceptable. Its unique, complicated and diverse experiences, which began with the influx of African slaves from the 1700s,³ also gave the American South a distinctive character that is often described as sectionalism or regionalism.

¹ Some key texts on the evangelical and revivalist origin and essence of Southern religion are: Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974), Samuel S. Hill, *Southern Churches in Crisis Revisited* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), Boles, *The Great Revival*, and Christine Leigh Hyerman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Knopf, 1997).

² Samuel S. Hill, 'Religion', in *NESC, Vol.I: Religion*, edited by Samuel S. Hill (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1.

³ John Boles has claimed that large-scale influx of African slaves to the Southern states began only after 1700. Even before 1700, Southern Christian slave-owners did little try to evangelise their slaves. John B. Boles, ed., *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 3.

American Southern religion, especially in the post-Civil War era, was a distinctive regional product created by the long-standing tension and eventual accommodation between the contrary impulses of global evangelical Protestantism and a regional civil religion.

1. Origins: Revivalism and Popular Evangelical Protestantism

The three main characteristics of Southern religion, according to Samuel S. Hill, are as follows: first, the South's religion was relatively homogeneous in form and quite narrow in the range of its theological options; second, evangelical dominance in the South was so decisive that the South is even today widely considered the 'religious region'; and finally, there was a set of four common beliefs as the norm by which the authenticity of their religion were judged. These four shared convictions in the South were 'the *Bible* as the sole reference point of belief and practice'; 'direct and dynamic access to the Lord', especially to the *Holy Spirit*; '*morality* defined primarily in individualistic and interpersonal terms'; and an 'informal *worship* service with loose structuring and spontaneity.'⁴

Considering Hill's three distinctive features of Southern religion and four common convictions as a norm, one can easily find that these elements are in accord with the four defining marks of global evangelicalism first proposed in 1989 by David W. Bebbington in his *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*.⁵ This definition of evangelicalism in terms of four crucial characteristics has been broadly accepted and applied to academic works by scholars of global evangelicalism.⁶ In his book,

⁴ Hill, 1-2.

⁵ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989). This has been reprinted by Routledge since 1993, but the substance of the book has not been revised except for a few minor alterations. See page xi of the Rutledge edition.

⁶ For instance, in a five-volume series of *A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movements and Ideas in the English-Speaking World*, the authors of the first three books, published until January 2012, namely Mark A. Noll, John Wolffe, and David W. Bebbington, adopted Bebbington's definition of evangelicalism to provide an overall framework for understanding evangelicalism in global perspective. The remaining two books will be by Geoff Treloar and Brian Stanley. See Mark Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2003), 19-21, John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2007), 19-22, and David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2005), 21-

Bebbington argues that the basis of evangelicalism is formed by the following four qualities: ‘*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.’⁷ Some elements in Bebbington’s formula are omitted from Hill’s model, such as the centrality of conversion experience and the cross of Christ. These omissions, however, do not imply an ultimate incompatibility between two models. Rather, the relationship between the two models is reciprocal. Bebbington’s framework concentrated more on the theoretical substance of evangelical faith, whereas Hill gave more attention to the practical points of reference settled by essential evangelical belief. Indeed, a conversion-centred approach to Christian experience has perhaps been stressed more by dynamic Southern Protestants than any other Christians in history, as they have been frequently called ‘born again’ Christians, both by themselves and by others. The primary experience of conversion could be produced only by the cooperating work of the conviction of their sins, the belief in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and the direct and dynamic intervention of the Holy Spirit. In other words, evangelicalism in the South was a local brand or variant within transatlantic pan-evangelicalism. Flannery O’Connor portrayed the nineteenth- and the twentieth century South as ‘Christ-haunted.’⁸ However this ‘Christ-haunted’ region was consumed by a specific type of Christian tradition, evangelicalism.

It seems widely agreed that ‘the origins of the Southern evangelical mind’ and the ‘beginnings of the Bible Belt’ were ‘the Great Revivals’ which exploded in Kentucky and spread across the South between 1787 and 1805.⁹ This first Southern

51.

⁷ Bebbington, 2-3.

⁸ Flannery O’Connor (1925-1964), a native of Georgia, was known for her deep knowledge of the Southern religion, particularly her fascination with the untutored practices of hinterland religious folk. Even though she was a Catholic, ‘she found a surprising pattern of true Christianity that encompassed the pattern of her own Catholic faith’ in the Southern dominant Protestantism.’ She expressed in her 1960 lecture, ‘While the South is hardly Christ-Centred, it is most certainly Christ-haunted.’ For more details of O’Connor, see William Mallard, ‘O’Connor and Religion’, in *NESC, Religion*, 199-200, David Eggenchwilder, *The Christian Humanism of Flannery O’Connor* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1972) and Ralph C. Wood, *Flannery O’Connor and the Christ-Haunted South* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

⁹ See the titles of Boles’ standard work on the Southern revivals. Originally his book was published

revival was a local phenomenon of the English-speaking world's Second Great Awakening, which 'gathered momentum in the 1790s and early 1800s, and continued to reverberate until the 1840s.'¹⁰ This means that the American South was not dominated by the evangelical ethos before the early nineteenth century. Unlike the nineteenth-century South, culturally isolated and more homogenised by the emergence of a self-conscious Southern identity, the colonial South in the eighteenth century was a place of religious and cultural diversity in a global context. Spanish Catholic missionaries and explorers lived and worked among their settlers and Native Americans in the southern part of the Gulf States including Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida. The Louisiana French colony represented a unique Creole civilisation, known for its distinctive French Catholic culture. This colony was also famous for the long-standing presence of African religious influence, especially in its Caribbean form. Diverse dissenting religious adherents, such as Quakers, Mennonites, Moravians, French Huguenots, Presbyterians, English Catholics, and even Jews helped to form a wide-ranging religious landscape in the colonial South. English settlers, who enjoyed privileged status in the colonial South, set up their elite religious and legal institutions and plantation system on the Chesapeake, the Carolinas and the deep backcountry.¹¹ 'Anglican Christianity' in this diverse religious atmosphere, however, failed to 'stamp its liturgy, doctrine, ministry, and piety upon what became the South.'¹²

It was approximately fifty years later that a new revivalist mood, fostered by

under the title of *The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind*, by the University Press of Kentucky in 1972. The paperback edition in 1996 changed its title to *The Great Revival: Beginnings of the Bible Belt*, by the same publisher. However, the original text did not change. Both titles exactly describe what the author meant to argue in the book. For the broad agreement of the origins of Southern evangelicalism, in addition to the key works by Boles, Bruce, Hill and Hyerman, see Donald G. Matthews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), Ann C. Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), David Edwin Harrell, Jr., ed., *Varieties of Southern Evangelicalism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1981), and Charles Reagan Wilson, ed., *Religion in the South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985).

¹⁰ Wolfe, 43.

¹¹ Charles Reagan Wilson, *Southern Missions: The Religion of the American South in Global Perspective* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 5-6.

¹² Donald G. Matthews, 'Christianizing the South—Sketching a Synthesis', in *New Directions in American Religious History*, ed. Harry S. Stout and D. G. Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 86.

the First Great Awakening in New England and the North Atlantic states in the 1730s and 1740s, fully reached the South. Before the Great Southern Revival at the turn of the nineteenth century, there were some small revivals such as the Presbyterian revival in Hanover County, Virginia in the 1740s, the Separate Baptist revival in North Carolina and Virginia in 1750s and the Methodist revival in Virginia and North Carolina in the 1760s. However these were limited to specific locales and denominations.¹³ This tardiness in the spread of revival was partly because, in the early and mid-eighteenth-century South, the settlers were so scattered as to be little influenced by George Whitefield's revival campaigns,¹⁴ and partly because the preliminary requirements for revival were not satisfied. According to Boles, these prerequisites included 'a network of churches and ministers, a widely accepted belief system about how God worked with mankind vis-à-vis salvation and a perceived social-economic-cultural tension' which 'could only be resolved by revival of religious faith.'¹⁵

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the religious dissenters experienced what is sometimes termed the Great Southern Revival. They soon replaced the dominance of Anglican conformists in the region, identifying themselves with opposition to the ecclesiastical and political establishment. The Presbyterians, especially the New Light group with a more pietistic frame of mind, the Methodists, introduced from England, and the Separate Baptists who owed their origins to the First Great Awakening of New England, emerged as promoters of the new Southern evangelical atmosphere. The fact that James McGready (1762?-1817), the first initiator of the Great Revival in the South, was a Presbyterian minister, was a potent symbol of the future of the Southern Presbyterianism. Presbyterians traditionally stressed sophisticated principles of pastoral education and church polity and the systemised confession of faith derived from Calvinist scholasticism in previous centuries. Accordingly, the membership of the Presbyterian Church was mostly founded on the educated middle-class. However, unusually for a Presbyterian

¹³ See Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1930), 40-67.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁵ Boles, 'Revivalism, Renewal, and Social Mediation in the Old South', 60.

minister, McGready started prayer meetings in his church in Rogan County, Kentucky from 1797. In 1801, he held a large-scale camp meeting in Cane Ridge, which imitated the Scottish ritual form of ‘communion season’ camp meetings. ‘Electrifying results including the jerks, dancing, laughing, running, and the barking exercise’ were produced.¹⁶ The interest in a revitalized Christian faith, derived from many camp meetings similar to that in Cane Ridge, rapidly spread to the Presbyterian churches in the South, but the audiences’ responses to McGready’s messages went beyond traditional Presbyterian order.

Daniel Baker (1791-1857), pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah, Georgia and one of the organizers of the first presbytery in Texas in 1840, was also a significant figure who made revivalism an integral part of Southern Presbyterian life. He reported that a revival had occurred ‘in his church during a four days meeting in which ministers of the Methodist, Baptist and Lutheran churches had united with Presbyterians’ in 1831: ‘Preaching in the church three times a day..., including a prayer meeting at six in the morning and meetings for different classes of people, such as professors, inquirers, mothers and youths.’ He held several more revival meetings in Baptist and Episcopal church-buildings in nearby towns in South Carolina, again in co-operation with pastors of other denominations. According to Robert Baird’s analysis in his *Religion in America* in 1844, these kinds of united revival meetings were ‘a constituent part of the religious system of the country.’¹⁷ However, Presbyterians in the South made a much more enthusiastic attempt than those in the North to unite together for the success of the revival meetings and evangelistic campaigns. The cases of McGready and Baker are examples of the shift in the frontier Southern Presbyterian revival movement to a more ecumenical, popular, and pietistic type of evangelical Presbyterianism.¹⁸

¹⁶ Boles, *The Great Revival*, 68.

¹⁷ See Anne C. Loveland, ‘Presbyterians and Revivalism in the Old South’, *JPH* 57:1 (Spring 1979): 36-50. For the reference from Baird, see Robert Baird, *Religion in America; Or, An Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States. With Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844), 202.

¹⁸ For another example of Presbyterian revival in the South, see David W. Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 131-58. He has characterised a revival at Union Church, Moore County, North Carolina in 1857 as a revivalist experience disciplined and restrained by Presbyterian good order.

The camp meeting revivals and the regular revival meetings in local churches secured the rapid growth of the three main evangelical denominations of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. The latter two, more open-minded to the experiential expressions of revival meetings, however, soon consolidated their hold over the Southern religious world, leaving Presbyterians far behind. According to C. C. Goen's table in his *Broken Churches and Broken Nation*, in 1850, 'a stunning' 93.8% of all churches in the eleven States that would be the Confederacy were occupied by these three evangelical denominations: 45.3% were Methodists, 36.8% were Baptists, and 11.7% were Presbyterians.¹⁹

The development of the camp meetings and revival meetings into regular annual religious events helped rural Southerners see their churches as an integrated community, in which their social self-awareness was unified with their religious commitment. These rural evangelicals who lacked a regular school education or cultural adaptability responded eagerly to the pressing appeals of revivalists for individual repentance, conversion, and reception of the Spirit. Speculative expositions of the Scripture on themes such as the atonement or moral imperatives against collective sins including slavery were not welcomed. Conversion-centred emotional and experiential evangelical faith also harmonised with the pace and worldview of agricultural society. The essential concepts of cycle and harvest in the countryside were congruent with the cyclical pattern of Christian life between sin and forgiveness, fall and recovery, spiritual depression and revival as a spiritual harvest. The fact that most regular revival meetings were held in late summer at harvest time was of profound significance in symbolizing a deep connection between secular matters and spiritual practices. When, in the course of being more systemised in the late nineteenth century, Baptists and Methodists accepted a greater range of social classes to their churches, newer evangelical sects such as the Holiness- and Pentecostal adherents found their niche within a lower social stratum, to which most members of the Methodist and Baptist churches formerly belonged.²⁰ The spiritual

¹⁹ C. C. Goen, *Broken Churches and Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the Civil War* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), 1985. Goen composed his tables from Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962).

²⁰ Boles, 'Revivalism, Renewal, and Social Mediation in the Old South', 64-7.

soil of the South always seemed ready to provide all the nourishment that any kind of popular religious movement needed.

Since the revivals in the South resulted *from* the South's distinctive social and cultural context as an agricultural frontier society, at the same time, it is possible to say that these religious revivals resulted *in* the re-creation of uniquely Southern social and cultural features. The Southern evangelical mind, as already mentioned, concentrated on the private experience of faith and individual responsibility for moral issues rather than on the public and social engagement of moral principles. This led the Southern churches, including Presbyterians, and their broader society in a direction totally different from that which their Northern evangelical counterparts took. Northern evangelicals became the promoters of most of the social reform movements. The contributions of evangelicals in the British Isles and Northern U.S. to the ending of slavery have been given recognition by historians.²¹ Southern churches, by contrast, reassessed their original anti-slavery orientation in order to grow in the Southern states and to commend themselves to Southern slave-holders with little resistance. Since Southern evangelicals' major goal was to preach the gospel to 'win' individual souls, both whites and blacks, it was better to maintain institutionalised slavery.²² Thus, granting priority to the conversion and spiritual renewal of individuals, Southern Presbyterians and other Southern evangelicals paid more attention to criticising the abuses of slavery and the exceedingly cruel ill-treatment of slaves, rather than condemning slavery itself. As shown in the Southern Presbyterian case, known as the doctrine of 'the Spirituality of the Church',²³ evangelicals in the South placed social and political issues, such as slavery, outside of the sphere for which the Church should bear responsibility. This justification also came from an exegesis of scripture.²⁴ If the Bible suggested that slavery itself was no

²¹ For more details, see Wolffe, ch.7. For the Presbyterian case in the United States, see George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970; Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003), chs. 2 and 3.

²² Elmer T. Clark et al., ed., *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, vol. 2 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1958), 591 [5 February 1809], quoted in Boles, 67.

²³ I will treat this doctrine, related to the Southern Presbyterian tradition in particular, in detail in Chapter Two.

²⁴ See pp.36-7, 56-7, and 64 of this thesis.

sin, then the responsibility of the Church was limited to protesting against abuses of the system. As a result of this compromised understanding, the institution of slavery in the South was justified by the churches, and finally followed by the schism of the country and the consecutive Civil War. As we will observe in detail in the following discussion, it was Presbyterian theologians and thinkers who played a key role in the pro-slavery arguments influencing the whole Southern churches.

Evangelical Protestant faith and the institution of slavery were the two principal pillars that supported the ceiling of religion in the antebellum South. Even after the defeat of the Civil War and the official emancipation of slaves, however, these two Southern essentials of religion stayed alive. Evangelical religion in the South survived the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy in the 1920s, the turbulent years after the World Wars, the Swinging 1960s and even the new-millennium Post-Christian era. The presence of African Americans in the Old South contributed decisively to the unusual character of Southern religion and culture. The post-bellum South and its people living there, both whites and blacks, were not free from the long-standing racial segregation policy, a ghost of Southern slavery, until at least the 1960s. Slavery in the South was not only about how whites treated black slaves, but also all about how American Southern people thought of the social order, including race, class, family, gender, education, politics and missions. The significance of slavery in Southern history, particularly in its relation to religious life, will be dealt with in the following section. In this respect Presbyterians were no different from other ordinary Southerners. Southern Presbyterians also leaned both to an evangelical expression of belief and towards racial discrimination throughout the nineteenth century.

2. Distinctives: The Creation of a Southern Regional Religious Culture

The American Southern region clearly shared its evangelical supremacy with other parts of the English-speaking world during the period when evangelicalism rose, expanded and finally became the dominant form of nineteenth-century Protestantism. Indeed, Christian churches in the American South were much more

uniformly evangelical than those in any other region of the day. One additional essential to the distinctive development of Southern religion, however, was the presence of slavery as a core system of social order. Slavery sharply separated the process of evangelical growth in the South from the social and cultural developments of evangelicalism as a conversion-centred religion in other areas, including both the American North and the British Isles. Not every abolitionist was an evangelical Christian, but many of them were deeply influenced by evangelical revivalism.²⁵

The story of the South, in which the ultimate orientation of the revival movement was towards a conservative and privatised attitude to social issues, was largely different from those of other areas. Charles Reagan Wilson rightly maintained that ‘if we are looking for the profound aberration, or fault line, in the Atlantic world, it was not to be found in the distinctiveness of United States’ evangelicalism compared with the experience of Britain and the Old World; rather, it was the exceptionalism of theologically and socially conservative southern evangelicals as against the advancing, postmillennialist anti-slavery culture of ambitious British and Yankee reformers.’²⁶

It, however, needs to be noticed that the voices of a small group of antislavery proponents were consistently lifted up in the Southern states until the early nineteenth century. The War of American Independence allowed some African Americans opportunities to lead their own churches. African American Baptists such as David George (1742-1810), George Liele (1750-1820) and Andrew Bryan (1737-1812) established their own churches in Savannah, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and ultimately also in Sierra Leone in West Africa.²⁷ Simultaneously, the American

²⁵ For an extensive discussion of reformatory characteristics of evangelicalism, see Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) and Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). For the parallel study of developments of social thought in the English-speaking countries before the Civil War, see Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism*, chs. 6 and 7.

²⁶ Wilson, *Southern Missions*, 11. Wilson concludes this through his analyses of works such as Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and North America, 1790-1865* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978) and George Marsden, ‘Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon: A Comparison with English Evangelicals’, *CH* 46 (1977): 215-32. For a more detailed argument of this theme, see Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America*.

²⁷ For more details, see Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand

Revolution drew some conscientious white Christian leaders' attention to the evil nature of slavery. Samuel Hopkins and other followers of Jonathan Edwards in New England, Methodists, such as Francis Asbury, James O'Kelly, Freeborn Garretson, Lorenzo Dow and William McKendree, the Baptist David Barrow, and Presbyterians, including Jacob Green and David Rice were among them. One notable characteristic is that four among these figures lived and worked almost all their life in the Southern states: O'Kelly (North Carolina and Virginia), McKendree (Virginia and Kentucky), Rice (Virginia and Kentucky) and Barrow (Kentucky).²⁸ Francis Asbury (1745-1816), though he was born in Staffordshire, England, also travelled and preached throughout Southern and Western frontier regions and died in Virginia. The prominent Virginian Presbyterian David Rice (1733-1816), co-founder of the Presbyterian-affiliated Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia in 1775, formed the foundation of Transylvania Presbytery after his move to Kentucky in 1783, being credited as 'father of the Kentucky Presbyterians.' Despite his strong conservative Old School theological position, Rice was famous for his opposition to the legalising of slavery in Kentucky.²⁹

However, ironically, the evangelical priority of spreading the gospel to people on the Southern frontiers and to African American slaves gave birth to the compromise with slavery. On the one hand, slavery in the South was already an institution on which every economic and social structure depended. For church leaders, including pastors, revivalists and theologians, any attack on this core system of life would result in the loss of white slaveholders as key church members and supporters for the churches. On the other hand, white evangelicals assured themselves that, though slavery itself was evil, if slaves heard the gospel and then achieved their freedom from sin and eventually eternal life, slavery could be tolerated. For example, Francis Asbury, one of the first two bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) and once an abolitionist, recorded his changed position in

Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 136-42 and Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1983).

²⁸ Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 139.

²⁹ L. B. Weeks, '(Father) David Rice', in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, Daniel G. Reid, Robert D. Linder, Bruce L. Shelley and Harry S. Stout, eds. (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1990), 1015.

his diary on February 1809, seven years before his death: ‘Would not an *amelioration* in the condition and treatment of slaves have produced more practical good to the poor Africans, than any attempt at their *emancipation*?’³⁰

From the 1830s, several major nationwide denominations which had significant strength throughout the Southern states began to split over slavery-related issues. In 1837, Presbyterians divided into two groups, the Old School and the New School, mainly owing to theological and ecclesiological differences. The New School which adhered to revival movements, particularly in New England, upstate New York and the Midwest, predictably weakened the strict Reformed doctrines of divine sovereignty on human redemption from sin and death. Moreover, this group had a strong tendency to cooperate with other denominations which had different theological emphases for the sake of a more effective evangelistic purpose. However, political tensions, primarily based on slavery, were also a motive of schism among Presbyterians. The more conservative Old School regarded slavery as a secular issue outside of the Church’s control, whilst the New School, in contrast, wanted urgently to remove social evils, including slavery. Presbyterian churches in the South were almost absolutely dominated by Old School Presbyterians during the 1837-8 schism. This helps to explain why, in the second major ecclesiological schism in the 1860s, Southern Presbyterian churches with few exceptions supported their political separation and the subsequent disastrous Civil War.³¹

The divisions among the biggest two Protestant denominations—Methodists and Baptists—in the whole country followed in the 1840s. The key issue which led both religious bodies to schism was slavery. The fundamental controversy among Methodists was over whether it could be regarded as appropriate for bishops to hold slaves. James O. Andrews, Bishop of Georgia, was not a slaveholder when he was elected to the episcopate in 1832. However, when his deceased wife left him her slaves, he was accused of becoming ‘connected with slavery’, and asked to resign his

³⁰ *Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, vol. III. (New York: Lane & Scott, 1852), 298.

³¹ For full argument over the emergence of New School Presbyterians, see Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience*. For the issue of slavery, see chapter 4. The best summary of the Presbyterian secession scenario until 1861 is found in Goen, *Broken Churches, Broken Nation*, 68-78.

episcopate. In the end, in 1844, the churches in the South, which denied Andrews' resignation, formed the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS).³² Among Baptists, conflict occurred over the slaveholding of their denominational missionaries. When Northern Baptists, who had dominance over the national missionary societies, clearly declared their refusal of missionaries' slaveholding, Southern churches departed from their mother organisation to form the separate Southern Baptist Convention in 1845.³³ These series of denominational schisms implied that for Protestant adherents in the South, the confession of the same doctrinal articles as fellow-members of the same denominations was no longer accepted as the absolute norm of their identity. Rather, Southern Protestants began to consider themselves members of a regional community sharing a common providential destiny and a political and cultural identity beyond denominational boundaries. In fact, in the course of successive Southern states' political secession from the Union, a Southern Presbyterian editor identified the political Civil War with a regional 'revolution' and the 'uprising' of Southern Christians. The 'broken churches' created a 'broken nation', as Goen concluded.³⁴

The Civil War as a religious and theological crisis or conflict has frequently been analysed by historians. Both the Union and the Confederacy viewed the War as a holy war, believing that they were endorsed and supported by God and their causes were united with divine will.³⁵ Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederate States of America from 1861 to 1865, called for nine days of fasting for the Confederacy, and Abraham Lincoln also pronounced four days of thanksgiving for the Union.³⁶ Preachers and revivalists, both in the South and the North, proclaimed

³² For the account of Methodist secession, see Goen, 78-90.

³³ Ibid., 90-8.

³⁴ A. A. Porter, editorial in the *Southern Presbyterian*, 20 April 1861, quoted in Goen, 107.

³⁵ The most authoritative historiography treating the religious feature of the Civil War includes James H. Moorhead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860-1869* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

³⁶ Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 318.

that their armies stood and fought for God and encouraged church members to participate in the holy war through prayer, money and volunteer work. Indeed, small-scale revivals were reported from the military camps, especially among the Confederate armies, which were frequently interpreted as divine intervention into the War and heavenly support for the side concerned.³⁷ The increase of chaplains in both camps resulted from the providential interpretation of the Civil War. Robert Lewis Dabney, perhaps the most influential Southern Presbyterian pastor and theologian in the mid- and late nineteenth century, also served as a military chaplain and a staff member of General Thomas J. ‘Stonewall’ Jackson in 1861-62. In short, the Civil War was for both sides an evangelical event, since it was led by the dominant evangelical assumptions in the nation; the faith was ‘quick to *action*, *eager* to discern the mind of God, and deeply *convinced* of the rightness of their cause.’³⁸ For Southerners, who interpreted this war as a holy War for the Southern Independence, the evangelical reality of the Civil War was more intense.

The Civil War reinforced the pre-existing attempts to define Christian faith and identity in terms of a specific region’s ideas, culture, and social order. In the post-bellum South, a hitherto immature form of sectional religion at last became a ‘Civil Religion.’ ‘Civil Religion’, according to Mark Noll’s definition, is ‘the sense of a mingling of ultimate allegiance to the universal standards of Christianity with the particular values of a person’s nation, region, or way of life.’³⁹ This portrayal exactly fits for the case of post-war Southern religious life. Even before the Civil War, Southerners looked upon themselves as a chosen people ‘under a holy contract with God’ in order to ‘serve as stewards and moral conservators of the Africans’, as William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), an antebellum Southern poet and novelist, argued. ‘The author of the Southern way of life’ ‘was God’, and ‘slavery, grounded in

³⁷ For contemporary sources describing revivals in the military camps, see J. William Jones, *Christ in the Camp; or, Religion in the Confederate Army* (Richmond: Martin & Hoyt Co, 1904); William W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival Which Prevailed the Southern Armies* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1877); and *Christ in the Army: A Selection of Sketches of the Work of the U.S. Christian Commission* (Philadelphia: Ladies Christian Commission, 1865). A recent work is represented by Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., *A Shield and Hiding Place: The Religious Life of the Civil War Armies* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988).

³⁸ Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 320.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 331.

the Bible, was an extension of His law.’⁴⁰ A discourse of Benjamin Morgan Palmer (1818-1902), the first moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, delivered on the Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer on 13 June 1861, is a typical example of ways in which the biblical text was exploited for buttressing the Southern mystical cause. Quoting 2 Chronicles 6:34-35 to use metaphorical language, this Presbyterian ecclesiastical command-in-chief mocked Abraham Lincoln as follows: ‘Eleven tribes sought to go forth in peace from the house of political bondage: but the heart of our modern Pharaoh is hardened, that he will not let Israel go. In their distress, with the untried sea before and the chariots of Egypt behind, ten millions of people stretch forth their hands before Jehovah’s throne, imploring him to stir up his strength before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manesseh, and come and save them.’⁴¹

This creation of a mystical self-image in the antebellum and wartime South indicates that drawing a line of demarcation between religion and myth became increasingly difficult. For Southerners who considered themselves crusaders but had lost in the holy war, it was essential to find the divine will and meaning in the bitter defeat and recover from their deep suffering and psychological wounds. Southern Protestants began to identify their cause as a ‘lost’ one, and finally the South became the region ‘baptized in blood.’ In the civil religion of the Lost Cause, Southern Protestants connected their Christian identity with the Southern cultural identity in a new way, ‘using the past as the basis for a Southern religious-moral identity, an identity as a chosen people.’ They, especially ministers, considered the loss in the Civil War a test from God to purify Southern people and to prepare the South for a greater destiny and purpose in the future. Through the Civil War, as in the Crusades and other holy wars in history, certain figures in the region, such as General Robert E. Lee, or General Thomas J. ‘Stonewall’ Jackson, attained saint or martyr status. Lee

⁴⁰ Patrick Gerster, ‘Religion and Mythology’, in *NESC, vol.4: Myth, Manners, & Memory*, Charles Reagan Wilson, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 160.

⁴¹ Benjamin Morgan Palmer, ‘*National Responsibility Before God*’, *A Discourse Delivered on the Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, Appointed by the President of the Confederate States of America, 13 June 1861* (New Orleans: Price-Current Steam Book and Job Printing Office, 1861), 5, quoted in Richard T. Hughes, ‘A Civic Theology for the South: The Case of Benjamin M. Palmer’, *JCS* 25:3 (Autumn, 1983): 456.

was even compared to Moses in the Old Testament who attempted to liberate his people from a dictator. Social rituals such as Confederate Memorial Day and Confederate reunions were also introduced and institutionalised.⁴²

The contribution of Southern Presbyterian leaders, as in the case of Palmer's address, was outstanding in the theorisation of religious culture in the post-Civil War period. Robert Lewis Dabney even proposed the publication of a book similar to John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which would praise and commemorate the Southern soldiers who died for the good and sacred Southern causes.⁴³ Here, it is noteworthy to see how Southern theologians' rationale and demonstration in the justification of the Southern social order changed from the antebellum to the post-bellum period. The focus of this thesis is on the Southern Presbyterians, a relatively small group in the Southern religious life. However, since their intellectual influence deriving from their longstanding higher-educational heritage was dominant among Southern Protestants, the voices of Southern Presbyterian theologians commonly reverberated in the sectional accents of other nineteenth-century Southern denominations.

Historian William D. Carrigan has recently studied changes within race thought in the nineteenth-century South, particularly those among Southern Presbyterians.⁴⁴ He found that Dabney's view of African Americans was transformed by the impact of the Civil War and its outcome. In the antebellum South, according to Carrigan, Southern Presbyterian leaders relied on Scripture for their defence of the social order, rather than appealing to ideas of the innate and acquired supremacy of the white race to other races. In their eyes, the Bible seemed in many places to support the institution of slavery, or at least, to be silent on the race and slave matters, without explicit condemnation. The defeat in the War and the subsequent emancipation of slaves, however, changed everything. The New South was not like the Old South anymore, a new Garden of Eden and the Promised Land where the chosen people of promise were living with dignity and honour. The New South after

⁴² Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 1-17, and Patrick Gerster, 'Religion and Mythology', 161.

⁴³ Noll, 332.

⁴⁴ This analysis derives mostly from William Carrigan, 'In Defense of the Social Order: Racial Thought among Southern White Presbyterians in the Nineteenth Century', *American Nineteenth Century History* 1:2 (Summer 2000): 31-52. I generally agree with his argument.

the War was a land, full of ‘a sectional consciousness of its pains and sorrows, of the gallantry and chivalry of its sons, of its mistakes and sufferings, of its superiority to the worst calamities which came to it’, and ‘of its ability to build a civilisation from ashes.’⁴⁵ From this consciousness, Southern religious people were bound together to mould their new destiny for the new divine land of promise.

In this new perspective from the Civil War and its aftermath, desperate Southern Protestants endeavoured to frame a new social order which corresponded to the new context. However, the problem was that their new argument for racial segregation could not so easily be supported from Scripture. As a result, Southern Protestant intellectual leaders, led by Presbyterian theologians, who still firmly believed in the justice and righteousness of their old cause, began to justify racial segregation by overt appeal to white racial supremacy. For instance, Dabney’s life is representative of the overall changes in race thought affected by the Civil War among Southern Protestant leaders. In 1840, Dabney had expressed his ambiguous ideas over slavery, characterising slavery as ‘a system, liable to the most enormous abuses’, and in 1856, he had criticised mob law for its possibility of challenge to the social order. However by 1882, in an article, he was supporting the Ku Klux Klan’s extra-legal practices as a means of saving ‘society from absolute anarchy and chaos.’ In 1890, Dabney even claimed that African Americans must be ‘gotten rid of as possible’ or ‘poured out in a steady stream upon Washington City, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.’⁴⁶ This theological and philosophical transformation in the Reconstruction era eventually paved the way for the policy of extreme racial discrimination in the Southern states, which was maintained until the 1960s.⁴⁷

Even though Carrigan does not use the term ‘social Darwinism’, and although the Southern authors in his article did not articulate their ideas in terms of social Darwinism, it appears that social Darwinist ideas proliferated and were widely

⁴⁵ Victor I. Masters, *The Call of the South* (Atlanta: Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1918), 17-8.

⁴⁶ Robert L. Dabney to Mrs. Elizabeth Dabney (22-28 January 1840), Dabney Papers, University of Virginia Special Collections, Charlottesville, Virginia; ‘Mob Law’, *Central Presbyterian*, (4 October 1856): 158; ‘Politics and Parties in the United States, Again’, manuscript, Dabney Papers, 35-6; Dabney to Dr. Joseph D. Eggleston (13 September 1890). All are quoted in Carrigan, 47 and n.44.

⁴⁷ Carrigan, 31.

diffused throughout the South in this period. This helps to explain how Yun Ch'i-ho, who learnt Protestantism from Southern Methodist leaders in China and in Tennessee and Georgia in the 1880s and 1890s, encountered Christianised social evolutionary thought and ultimately internalised it until his death.⁴⁸ It is well-known that Southern Presbyterian theologians did not hesitate to employ Scottish common sense philosophy to construct a rational Reformed system in the antebellum Southern Presbyterian Church.⁴⁹ Likewise, post-bellum Southern Presbyterian scholars borrowed a fashionable set of ideas and absorbed them within their intellectual heritage. Nonetheless, they did not appreciate that what they had taken on board was a philosophical version of the secular biological Darwinism which they had vehemently opposed.⁵⁰ What were its implications for views of Asians, especially Koreans? The missionary movement emerged from the Southern churches in exactly the same period in which Southern social Darwinism greatly expanded. One of our concerns in this research is to ask: Did the Southern missionary movement succeed in overcoming this desperate, self-destructive post-bellum Southern system of racial thought? Was the Southern missionary activity a way of attempting to recreate the ideal Old South overseas? Or was it a form of liberation movement seeking to escape from the New South? Before going to the following chapters to answer these questions, I will draw a case study of Yun Ch'i-ho, the first Korean Christian to visit the American South.

3. Appearances: The Post-bellum South in the Eyes of Yun Ch'i-ho

As observed in the previous sections, two key elements of religious life in the

⁴⁸ This argument is a theme which will be covered in the following section.

⁴⁹ See Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *Protestants in an Age of Science: The Baconian Ideal and Antebellum American Religious Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), E. Brookes Holifield, *The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1978), 110-126, Fred Hood, *Reformed America: The Middle and Southern States, 1783-1837* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 1-67, 88-112, and James O. Farmer, Jr., *The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 77-122.

⁵⁰ This will be treated in Chapter Two in detail.

South were its strong evangelical inclination and its attachment to the traditional social order based on racism. This section as a case study examines how these two core systems of the Southern religion were internalised and practised by Southerners. Specifically, this theme is addressed through the eyes of a member of the Korean Protestant elite, Yun Ch'i-ho (1865-1945), who first encountered the American South and the people from the area in the Post-War period. Indeed, this encounter changed his world of ideas and mentality. The impact of his American experience on Yun was long-lasting. If the South he encountered became a decisive source of influence on his whole life, even though he stayed just five years there, we can easily imagine how the South and its culture were the decisive fountainhead from which the Southern Presbyterian missionaries, who were born and lived their whole time of their youth there, sought to get their inspiration. On the other hand, we must be open to the possibility that American Southerners in Korea were transformed and converted into new selves overcoming their intolerant Southern identity, through their contact with the people and their culture in their mission fields.

It may be questioned how far a study of Yun can be useful for illuminating the Southern Presbyterian culture and its interactions with native Koreans. This arises from the facts that Yun was not Presbyterian but Methodist, was not from the south-western rural region of Korea but from the central urban and capital area, and was an aristocratic elite figure rather than a commoner with little education. However, there are several reasons why it makes sense to include him in this discussion: first, Yun was the only Korean to have resided in the Southern states in the nineteenth century. Apart from him, no Korean had first-hand experience of the post-war South. Second, Yun left behind a rich autobiographical source in his diary. It provides a substantial amount of eyewitness information on late nineteenth-century Southern society. Third, as a high-class Protestant leader throughout the colonial period, Yun can be viewed as representative of Protestant leaders in Korea. Especially, as president and general secretary of the YMCA which functioned as the centre of Protestant social and educational movement, he was enormously influential on young Christians and educational leaders. Even rural pastors who maintained a certain measure of distance from his influence could not insulate the promising young people in their local churches from Yun's ideas and example. A prominent

Presbyterian lay leader from south-western Korea, Oh Geung-Sun,⁵¹ had a close relationship with Yun Ch'i-ho and was under his deep influence throughout his life. Fourth, although Yun was a Methodist rather than a Presbyterian, the religion he experienced in the South and in Korea was a form of American evangelical Christianity in a broad sense, rather than a unique form of historical Methodism. Finally, Yun, along with Horace G. Underwood, played a critical role in inspiring Southern Presbyterian volunteers for the Korean mission at the Nashville conference of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in 1891.⁵² This was the beginning of his direct encounter with the Southern Presbyterians and one of the most significant moments in the history of the SPKM.

Before 1892 and 1896, the years when two Southern Protestant denominations, the PCUS and the MECS, respectively started their missionary activity in Korea, the only Korean who had previously encountered American Southerners and their culture was Yun Ch'i-ho. Yun attended the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, affiliated to the China mission of the MECS, from 28 February 1885. He then went to the American South for further studies at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee and Emory College, Oxford, Georgia, both Southern Methodist institutions, between November 1888 and November 1893.

When Yun arrived at San Francisco harbour on 26 October 1888 en route for Nashville, what surprised him at first was the magnificence and splendour of the buildings and goods in the streets.⁵³ The next impression which earned his

⁵¹ Oh Geung-Sun (1877-1963) became the first Korean professor in medicine at Severance Medical School in Seoul in 1912. He was sent to Kentucky for his medical education by Southern Presbyterian missionaries from 1902 to 1907, and sent back to Korea as a medical missionary of the denomination. Unfortunately, he did not leave any memory of his American stay.

⁵² See pp.44-5, and 93-6 of this thesis.

⁵³ *Yun Ch'i-ho Ilgi* [Diary of Yun Ch'i-ho] 11 vols. (Seoul: National Institute of Korean History, 1973-1989), entry for 26 October 1888 (hereafter, *YD* refers to this edition published by NIKH). Yun wrote his diary as long as 52 years, from 1883 in his eighteen in Tokyo, to 1943 two years earlier than his death in Korea. Diaries between 3 July 1906 and 31 December 1915 do not exist. The Japanese police department confiscated and disposed the early part of his diaries (until 1912) of this period and diaries for the remaining days in his imprisonment were not written as any writing tool was not given to him. (For bibliography on the 'Korean Conspiracy Case (1911-1913)', which cast Yun into prison, see n.110 in Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 121). Yun recorded his diaries in three languages in each different period: in Chinese (1 January 1883 – 24 November 1887), in Korean (25 November 1887 - 7 December 1889), and in English (7 December 1889 - October 1943). The diaries were published in eleven volumes by the National Institute Korean History from 1973 to 1989. Currently these are accessible online at

admiration was the warm reception from Dr Hannon. Hannon was a pastor who had been asked by Dr Young J. Allen (1836-1907),⁵⁴ his Southern Methodist colleague at Shanghai's Anglo-Chinese College, to welcome Yun.⁵⁵ The next day, he was impressed by the enormous size of fruits in San Francisco, several times as big as those in Shanghai.⁵⁶ As early as a couple of days after his arrival in the US, he was overwhelmed by a Western industrialised country's great wealth, power and refinement. It was the world which he had long imagined and aspired to see since he had met Americans and encountered the American way of life during his study in Japan between 1881 and 1883, during his career until December 1884 as an interpreter⁵⁷ at the American legation,⁵⁸ and during his study at the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai from 28 January 1885 to 28 September 1888.⁵⁹

Yun was baptised in Shanghai on 3 April 1887, and thus became the first Korean member of the MECS. Yun's stay and experience in the South led him to believe almost absolutely that Protestantism was the prime motive power to reform

http://db.history.go.kr/url.jsp?ID=NIKH.DB-sa_019a_0020_0020_0100. Unfortunately, this source is available only to researchers who have a good command of Korean. The Institute of Modern Korean History at Yonsei University launched its new project for new annotated edition, translated (from Chinese, Old Korean, and English) into modern Korean rules of spelling, publishing two volumes so far (January 2013). His original diaries were donated to the library of Emory University, Yun's one of alma mater, by his descendants.

⁵⁴ On Allen, see Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *BDCM* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 12, and Adrian Arthur Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens: University of Georgia Press: 1983) and <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/a/allen-young-john.php>.

⁵⁵ *YD*, 27 October 1888.

⁵⁶ *YD*, 28 October 1888.

⁵⁷ Yun was famous as the first Korean to speak in English fluently and he was able to speak and read another three foreign languages including Chinese, Japanese and French. See *BDCM*, 757f.

⁵⁸ The first American legation was established in Seoul in terms of the Korean-American *Treaty of Amity and Commerce* in 1882, with the appointment of Lucius H. Foote (1826-1913) to the first diplomatic minister to Korea between 1883 and 1885.

⁵⁹ Yun was required to depart for Shanghai since he was suspected of his engagement in the 1884 coup, mounted by the reformed group who were supported by Japan, and finally proved abortive in three days. There was no evidence which Yun joined in. However the leading figures in the coup were familiar to Yun. (*YD*, 4-12 December 1888.) This was tragic for the reformers, but it was opportunity for Christian mission since Horace Allen, the first Korea missionary and medical doctor, cured a seriously injured high official which was led to official opening of royal hospital, supported by the royal court. It was actual beginning of the Protestant mission in Korea. For missionaries' descriptions of the accident, see Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (London: William Heinemann Co., 1906), 124-6, and Rhodes, 14-7.

and change an old-fashioned society to a more innovative and enlightened one, represented by the Anglo-Saxon nations such as England and America. For him, Protestantism was not simply a message about the conversion of individuals. The day after his shock at witnessing the US's enormous prosperity, Yun encountered a totally different aspect of that great Christian nation. Arriving at Kansas City to change trains for Nashville and looking for accommodation for the night, he was repudiated, being mistaken for Chinese.⁶⁰ This may have been an aftermath of the 1882 regulation which limited Chinese immigration into the US. This accident and similar consecutive experiences of being treated as an ugly Asian drove him into a severe self-consciousness of the inferiority of his Asian race and culture, which almost all Southerners took for granted. After long and immense agony, Yun adopted social Darwinism based on concepts of racial superiority and inferiority as the foundation of his thought, considering it an indispensable reality given by God, even if he himself suffered from the whites' ill-treatment of coloured people during his whole life.⁶¹ Indeed this sort of self-consciousness was a common feature in the minds of most leading Korean reforming thinkers in colonial Korea who directly experienced the Western world. It can be claimed that the longer a Korean sojourned in a Western society including Westernised Japan, the more she/he leaned to social evolutionist theory.⁶²

⁶⁰ *YD*, 29 October 1888.

⁶¹ It is unclear exactly when Yun began to adopt social Darwinist views on race and international affairs. However, studying and living in the South undoubtedly hardened Yun's belief in the justification of colonial rule over inferior races for those of superior ethnicity. Yun agonised all his life with an unsolved tension between Christianity and social Darwinism, asking, 'Is it possible that a just God should create our nation weak and another strong to make the former to be wronged by the later?' He answered that 'it will be definitely better for Korea to be under' 'a more enlightened and stronger nation', like 'the English', 'if she is unfit for self-government.' His perspective, of 'a world, ruled by the law of jungle, in which power makes right', was intensified in the late 1930s when he felt that the Japanese imperial reign in Korea became a certain and unshakable necessity. His active pro-Japanese posture in his later years has led him to be made a focus of harsh criticism until now, but his pro-Japanese position at that time was a logical conclusion developed from his persistent social evolutionism: a stronger race has the right to rule over a weaker one which is an indispensable principle. See *YD*, 23-24 December 1889, and 14 October 1892.

⁶² Many political reformers were largely influenced by the Japanese discourses on development and progress in politics, human races, education, economy and scientific technology during their stay in Japan. The news and information on the West were mostly introduced to Korea in the forms of Japanese revision. Some famous Japanese thinkers such as Fukujawa Yukichi (1835-1901) and Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891) had a close relationship to Korean reformers. On Fukujawa Yukichi, see *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, Revised and Translated by Eiichi Kiyooka (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966) and Albert M. Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early*

In his Vanderbilt and Emory days, he had a good relationship to school professors, their family members, students and their relatives, and local church members. This close linkage with the Southerners, however, was totally different from the way in which most Asian immigrants were treated with contempt in the States. During his stay in these schools, he was praised as one of the best international students, getting good marks and being frequently invited for lunch and dinner with the full Southern etiquette. In particular, he highly appreciated the Southern ladies for their kindness and elegance which he considered the Christian ideal and he even regularly corresponded with some of these women.⁶³ The Southerners appeared to treat him with respect, almost to the same level as white students, and even paid more attention to him.

However, the same people took for granted that it was right to segregate African Americans from their white community, regarding Africans as an absolutely inferior race whom no amount of education or civilisation could improve. Yun witnessed institutionalised racist words and actions almost every day. These Southern racist expressions, which Yun heard and carefully recorded in his diary, included: 'he would sooner pull down his church than to admit a colored member to the congregation',⁶⁴ 'negroes are a draw back in a community',⁶⁵ 'he cannot bear to hear a negro preacher',⁶⁶ 'he thinks the Negro is a great menace to America. He said he would die fighting than let a nigger rule over him',⁶⁷ and 'colored people cannot go into Glendale Park.'⁶⁸ Such evidence suggests that there was little or no difference between Southern Christians and Southern unbelievers in their racial prejudice. Many Southern citizens who did not know Yun individually often insulted him in the

Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). On Nakamura Masao, see <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/305.html?c=10>.

⁶³ For instance, see his diary entries for 12 June 1890, 11 August 1890, 27 September 1890, 24 December 1890, 17 June 1891, 22 October 1891, 28 November 1891, 4 January 1892, 18 April 1892, 21 June 1892, 8 October 1892, and the like.

⁶⁴ *YD*, 8-9 December 1889.

⁶⁵ *YD*, 28 February 1892.

⁶⁶ *YD*, 12 March 1892.

⁶⁷ *YD*, 18 April 1892.

⁶⁸ *YD*, 5 May 1890.

street for his Chinese-looking appearance.⁶⁹ That is, ordinary Asians in the South were treated in almost the same way as African Americans. However, the evidence suggests that there were some, at least, in church circles who treated Yun Ch'i-ho, as a man of education and enlightenment, differently; he appears to have been the exceptional object of paternalistic care from his white Southern Christian hosts.

How do we explain this sort of favourable treatment of Yun in a society of institutionalised racial discrimination? One significant factor was that he mostly had a good relationship to the Southern elites who had a higher education and belonged to the middle or upper class. Most likely the other factor was that Yun Ch'i-ho became a symbolic figure for the Protestant cause, an embodiment of the Great Commission in Southern Protestant perspective. Yun was an exceptional figure as a Korean nobleman and the ablest intellectual who had been sent by Southern Methodist missionaries in China to receive a Protestant higher education in the American South. He was expected to become a great Christian leader in his country after the completion of his education in the South.⁷⁰ He spent his all vacations earning living expenses, speaking about the Korea and China missions in the churches of numerous Southern towns, often doing so over three times a week. Even if he felt a sense of shame in begging for money, Yun was the most 'civilised' man from the 'uncivilised' Orient in the eyes of Southern Christians.

At Vanderbilt University on 22-25 October 1891 Yun delivered a message of missionary invitation to Korea in the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance annual conference,⁷¹ with Horace Grant Underwood,⁷² the Protestant pioneer in Korea. Four Southern Presbyterian seminarians were deeply impressed by these two eloquent

⁶⁹ *YD*, 2 November 1888, 20 July 1889, 24 June 1891, 19 June 1892, 2 July 1892 and so on. The only exceptional treatment was given to Japanese nationals. See his diary entry for 7 May 1889.

⁷⁰ See his diary entries for 18 August 1889 and 14 October 1892.

⁷¹ For my analysis of Yun's speech, see pp.94-6 of this thesis. For Yun's own summary, see *YD*, 25 October 1891.

⁷² For Underwood's full address, see H. G. Underwood, 'Address', *Report of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance* (Pittsburgh: Murdoch, Kerr and Co., 1892), 53-4. The same address is in *Horace Grant Underwood Papers*, vol.I, 1885-1892, translated and edited by Mahn-Yol Lee and Sung-Deuk Oak (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2005), 717-24. Hereafter, *HGUP*.

speakers. These four missionary candidates were William Reynolds, William Junkin and Cameron Johnson from Union Seminary, Virginia, and Lewis Tate from McCormick Seminary. Although Johnson later chose to go to Japan, the other three seminarians, with four women co-workers, opened the Korea mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church in 1892. These candidates, while hearing Yun attentively, no doubt dreamed of a number of other Yun Ch'i-ho's—visible evidence of reward for their missionary efforts—in their future mission field.

The post-bellum South, of which Yun Ch'i-ho was an eyewitness for five years from 1888 to 1893, was still very much the same Old South: ladies and gentlemen with honour and dignity were everywhere; evangelical revivalist camp meetings prevailed in rural areas in every summer;⁷³ broad cotton fields were spread; the African Americans were compelled to submit to a system of racial segregation that claimed divine sanction; and the whites as parents, supervisors, and masters were expected to teach, discipline, and guide the blacks to a better and more civilised way of life. However, the defeated South after the war was experiencing a slow change: the African Americans now had their own churches and leaders with education and prudence;⁷⁴ the whites erected monuments of the Civil War for recollecting their Lost Cause;⁷⁵ higher educational institutes were becoming open-minded enough to elect an Asian—Yun Ch'i-ho—as student senior and president of a discussion group;⁷⁶ the white Christians carefully listened to this Asian's addresses in the churches and the schools; and most significantly, the Southern sons and daughters served as missionaries all over the 'heathen and unenlightened' world. This Southern society at the turn of the twentieth century was the new world which Koreans in Honam would soon indirectly experience through the Presbyterian missionaries from the American South.

⁷³ Yun mentioned diverse summer camp meetings. See his diary entries for 22 August 1892 and 5 September 1892.

⁷⁴ *YD*, 13 March 1892 and 3 September 1892.

⁷⁵ *YD*, 16 May 1889.

⁷⁶ *YD*, 8 and 26 November 1892.

Chapter 2. The Shaping of the Southern Presbyterian Tradition

In the first chapter, we noted that crucial to Southern Protestant identity, in both the antebellum and post-bellum periods, were its evangelical characteristics and its hierarchical social order, evident in the institution of racial discrimination. Evangelical Christianity which developed from a confluence of pietist and enlightenment traditions paid particular attention to the human innate capability to better individuals and their societies.¹ This new form of Christianity played a leading role in personal and social reform in the British Isles and the substantial regions of the US. However, as we analysed in the previous chapter, in the American South, the revivalist tradition was firmly linked to social conservatism, and many evangelical rationales were used for the defence of the Southern conservative social order.² Chapter Two delves into the process of the formation of this uniquely Southern Presbyterian tradition. The aim of this chapter is to apply the broad characteristics of Southern evangelical religion, which have been analysed in Chapter One, more specifically to the subject of our special concern, the Southern Presbyterian Church and its foreign missions.

Presbyterians in the American South, regardless of their relatively small membership, had a widespread influence on the leaders of other evangelical denominations. We also saw that Southern Presbyterians engaged in extensive ecumenical cooperation with other denominational leaders for the cause of spreading the evangelical revivals. Southern Presbyterians, though ‘officially confessional Calvinists’, shared some elements in common with non-Calvinists or less strict Calvinists. One obvious common ingredient was their self-identity as Southerners who believed that the Northerners’ attack on slavery threatened the Southern states’ unique religious features, as well as their economic and cultural way of life. However, what did Southern Presbyterians say about the evangelical theology of Southern

¹ Bebbington, ‘Revival and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *Modern Christian Revivals*, 17-59.

² Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 15.

Methodist and Baptist colleagues? Were they sufficiently tolerant and ecumenical to maintain close relationships with these supporters of Arminian or half-Calvinist theology? Were they sufficiently evangelical to justify that label which subsequent historians had applied to them? Was there any difference between their attitudes toward the Southern hierarchical order and those of other Southern evangelicals? What was the place of missions in their life?

Chapter Two, in seeking appropriate answers to these questions, delves into the process of formation of the unique Southern Presbyterian tradition. Attention will be paid to how Southern Presbyterians attempted to harmonise the tensions between the Reformed legacy, the developing Southern evangelical identity, and the emerging ideas of missions. Special reference will also be made to the leaders of the denominational administration and seminaries as they were leading figures in shaping their tradition, and more importantly, had the potential to influence the theological formation and sense of calling of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea.

1. Evangelical Development and the Reformed Legacy: Tension and Accommodation

Revivals and revivalism caused extreme tensions among Presbyterians, both in the North and in the South, from their first appearance in the early eighteenth century until the 1860s. These persistent conflicts drove the national Presbyterian body into recurring schisms: the division between the Old Side and the New Side in the 1740s, and the split between the Old School and the New School in the 1830s.

A chronology of American Presbyterianism indicates that, from the first introduction of Presbyterianism to colonial America onward, two contradictory elements of pietism and dogmatism coexisted in the Presbyterian churches. The first European Calvinist groups who arrived in America at the seventeenth century included English Puritans, Scottish or Scots-Irish Presbyterians, and French Huguenots. Of these, the first two groups contributed most to the formation of American Presbyterianism, by adding their unique religious and cultural characteristics to the life of colonial Presbyterians.

The mainstream group which dominated colonial Presbyterianism was Scots-Irish in origin. As early as the 1660s, these Scots-Irish Presbyterians planted their churches in the Mid-Atlantic region of colonial America. As Scots-Irish Presbyterians joined other New England Presbyterians who had moved to the South in the last years of the seventeenth century, they found that they had grown sufficiently to request pastors from Ulster for their congregations. Most Scots-Irish Presbyterians were descendants of western lowland Scots who had emigrated to Ulster after 1610. Encountering economic hardship in Ulster, and more importantly, placed under increased pressure to conform to the established Church of Ireland by the Test Act of 1704, Ulster Presbyterians emigrated, mostly to the Middle colonies including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and such northern areas of the Old South as Maryland, Virginia and Carolinas. The Scots-Irish—though not in every case—brought to America a firm commitment to a confessionalist tradition of Presbyterianism, along with their skills in agriculture, trade and manufacture.³ By the migration of New England Presbyterians to the Middle colonies, however, a more pietistic Puritan brand of spirituality successfully fed into colonial mainstream Presbyterianism.⁴

A blending of the two heterogeneous components of pietism and confessionalism in colonial American Presbyterianism was already notable in 1706, when the first presbytery was organised by Francis Makemie and other seven pioneering ministers. Francis Makemie (1658-1708), known as the father of American Presbyterianism and the first moderator of the first Presbytery of Philadelphia, and other founders of the presbytery exemplified a harmonious combination of diverse traditions. Though he himself was a confessional Scots-Irish Presbyterian, graduating from the University of Glasgow and even writing a catechism in defence of Calvinist doctrines, Makemie had continuous fellowship with religious leaders in England and New England.⁵ The composition of the charter

³ Randall Herbert Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993), 23-4.

⁴ D. W. Kling, 'Presbyterians and New England', in D. G. Hart and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Dictionary of the Presbyterian & Reformed Tradition in America* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: P&R, 2005), 172-3.

⁵ For more details on Makemie, see Balmer and Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians*, 25, and Hart and Noll, eds., *DPRTA*, 148.

members of the presbytery shows how eagerly these members yearned for accord and union in diversity. Of the eight members, four came from England or New England: John Andrews from England; John Wilson from New England who ministered in Delaware; Jedediah Andrews from New England who graduated from Harvard; and A. Nathaniel Taylor from New England as a Maryland minister. Four others, including Makemie, represented the Scots-Irish lineage: Samuel Davis from Ulster; George McNish from Scotland; and John Hampton from Ulster, though he had been sent by Moravians to the New World.⁶ The primary task of the American Presbyterian early fathers was not to articulate precise doctrinal details which could cause divisions, but to ‘consult the most popular measure for advancing religion and propagating Christianity in our various stations.’⁷ The one original presbytery grew to form a General Synod with three presbyteries by 1716.

The enthusiastic endeavour of the founding members to establish a united church body was challenged by the subscription issue in the 1720s. A key issue was what would define the unique religious identity of American Presbyterians: Would it be defined by their experiential and practical piety or by strict adherence to the Westminster Confession of Faith? The disputes first appeared in the Synod of Philadelphia in 1721 when George Gillespie claimed that subscription to the Westminster standards must be required of all Presbyterian ministers in order to found a stricter and purer Presbyterian Church. In 1727, John Thompson, another strict subscriptionist from the Scots-Irish party, submitted a plan for an even stronger position than that of Gillespie.

Jonathan Dickinson (1688-1747) from New England, in contrast, originally a Congregationalist minister, led the opposing faction against the advocates of subscription. He warned, in his sermon preached at the opening session of the Synod of 1722, of, ‘the extraneous and harmful character of imposing human laws on the Church when it was already the recipient of all necessary endowments from Christ in the Scriptures.’ According to Michael Bauman, Dickinson in his sermon attempted

⁶ Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-Examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949), 31.

⁷ Balmer and Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians*, 24f, and James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville, Ky.: Geneva Press, 1996), 42.

his objection in two ways: 'by showing what constituted a minister an authentic servant of God, and by proving that the Holy Scripture alone was sufficient to the minister's proper equipment for his divinely-appointed task.'⁸ The Adopting Act of 1729, whose first draft had been written by Dickinson, suggested a compromise, requiring ministerial candidates to subscribe to the Westminster standards 'as being in all essential and necessary articles.... and as the confession of our faith.' However, it must be noted that the Act also allowed members to reserve judgment on those articles on which they had scruples, as for example, with the article on the role of the civil magistrate in religious matters. Some historians interpreted this as a sure sign of the victory of the pietist party in Presbyterianism, but others asserted the opposite.⁹ The most significant result of this Act for the evangelical group was that the instant threat of being expelled from the denomination disappeared, and they could now take the initiative in shaping the American Presbyterian future.

A decisive development that gave new impetus to the proponents of experiential evangelical Presbyterianism was the coming of the Great Awakening to American soil. Jonathan Dickinson and Presbyterian ministers from the Tennent family were outstanding in this process of struggle for power. One notable aspect in this stage was that one strand of the Scots-Irish tradition merged with New England's pietistic Presbyterians in promoting the expansion of evangelical religion into their denominational life and onto the frontier. William Tennent, Sr. (1673-1746) and his three famous sons, Gilbert Tennent (1703-1764), William Tennent, Jr. (1705-1777) and John Tennent (1707-1732), were all born in Ulster and emigrated to America in 1718. In the late 1720s, in the midst of the severe controversy among Presbyterians over ministerial subscription, William Tennent, Sr. mapped out a scheme to establish an institution of theological education for the Middle colonies, known derisively to its Old Side opponents as the Log College. It aimed to produce ministers with

⁸ Michael Bauman, 'Jonathan Dickinson and the Subscription Controversy', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 41:3 (1998): 5. For another study on the subscription controversy, see Bryan F. Le Beau, 'Subscription Controversy and Jonathan Dickinson', *JPH* 54 (1976): 317-35.

⁹ Historians who claimed a victory of the New England faction include: Charles Augustus Briggs, *American Presbyterianism. Its Origin and Early History, Etc* (C. Scribner's Sons: New York, 1885), 208-21, and Trinterud, 49-50. Scholars connected with the Old School proposed it as an advantage to subscriptionists. For example, see Charles Hodge, *The Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: PBP, 1851), 62-4.

‘experimental orthodoxy’, the combination of a high grade of evangelical piety and Reformed learning.¹⁰ A number of the Log College graduates lent their support to the College of New Jersey, established in October 1746, which eventually became Princeton University.¹¹

The fact that the first Presbyterian institution for higher education and ministerial training was established and run by pro-revivalists meant that a large proportion of early American Presbyterian pulpits were occupied by more moderate and evangelically-minded ministers. The inauguration of Jonathan Dickinson as the first president of the College of New Jersey indicated how enormous Dickinson’s influence was as a promoter of revivalist Presbyterianism in America. The successive presidential appointments of Aaron Burr (1716-1757), a leading moderate proponent of the First Great Awakening, and then of Jonathan Edwards, symbolised the climax of cooperation between the New Side Presbyterians and other pro-revivalists such as Dutch pietists in the Middle colonies and the New Light Congregationalists of New England.

The New Side group continuously constructed an overture of reconciliation during the period of separation (1741-1758), and finally, the two factions agreed to be reunited, forming the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1758. The initiative was obviously given to the New Side in the time of reunion as, during the schism, the number of the Old Side ministers had decreased from 27 to 23, whereas the New Side pastors had increased from 22 to 72.¹² The united Synod not only agreed to recognise the Great Awakening as God’s work, but also declared its opposition to the excesses of revivalism.¹³ That Gilbert Tennent became the first moderator of the united synod meant the explicit victory of the evangelical group over the traditionalists. As may be discerned in the case of Gilbert Tennent, Presbyterianism in these years was gradually accommodated to the unique American context. Presbyterianism as a historical version of Protestantism encountered new evangelical movements in colonial America, and as a result, was transformed into an indigenised

¹⁰ S. T. Logan, ‘William Tennent, Sr.’, in Hart and Noll, eds., *DPRTA*, 258-60.

¹¹ See http://etcweb.princeton.edu/CampusWWW/Companion/log_college.html.

¹² Trinterud, 150-1.

¹³ Balmer and Fitzmier, 31-2.

and popular religious tradition.

This background is the necessary starting point of any analysis of Southern Presbyterianism in US religious history. From its origin, Presbyterianism in the South belonged to the evangelical pietistic party. After his ordination in 1746, Samuel Davies (1723-1761) was sent to Virginia by the Synod of New York, which was dominated by the New Side party. In Virginia, Davies struggled to obtain a right to worship for his dissenting congregations against Anglican officials. By applying the Toleration Act of 1689 to the American colonies, he succeeded in securing freedom of evangelism and the right to establish nonconformist churches. Organising the Presbytery of Hanover in Virginia, the first and ‘mother’ presbytery in the South in 1755, he became known as the father of Southern Presbyterianism as well as a champion of religious freedom. Davies, who supported a Southern Great Awakening, was also a distinguished minister among the slave population. An intellectual yet also a fiery preacher, he was appointed as the fourth president of the College of New Jersey, in succession to Jonathan Edwards, in 1759. Though he died in 1761 aged only 38, Davies’ legacy, as both an eloquent orator and intellectual leader, was inherited by his successors in Southern Presbyterian ministry.¹⁴

With the inauguration of John Witherspoon (1723-1794) as the sixth president of the College of New Jersey in 1768, after the death of another New Side president Samuel Finley, American Presbyterianism entered a transitional stage in its history. Witherspoon revealed himself as a moderating figure between two factions during his twenty-six years of presidency. Witherspoon, an alumnus of the University of Edinburgh, was noted as an opponent of moderatism in the Scottish Kirk and a firm defender of traditional Reformed orthodoxy. Simultaneously, he was a warm-hearted pastor with a unique Presbyterian piety. By introducing a Scottish form of enlightenment philosophy—Scottish Common Sense Realism¹⁵—to America, and through his polemics for American independence and his signature of the Declaration of Independence, Witherspoon became a real creator of ‘American’ national

¹⁴ L. B. Weeks, ‘Samuel Davies’, in *DPRTA*, 77, and Balmer and Fitzmier, 148f.

¹⁵ For the importance of Scottish Common Sense philosophy in American Presbyterian intellectual world, see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, ‘The Scottish Philosophy and American Theology’, *CH* 24:3 (1955): 257-72., and Mark A. Noll, ‘Common Sense Traditions and American Evangelical Thought’, *American Quarterly* 37:2 (1985): 216-38.

Presbyterianism. The reward for his long services of real mediation was his installation as the first moderator of the General Assembly, which was inaugurated by the four synods of New York & New Jersey, and Philadelphia in the North, and Virginia and Carolinas in the South in 1789.¹⁶ The two synods in the South, which were originally established by the New Side missionaries,¹⁷ left their mark from the first General Assembly.

Southern Presbyterian life in the nineteenth century opened with the spiritual storm of the Second Great Awakening. As already mentioned, a leading figure in the Southern version of the revivals was James McGready (c.1758-1817), who ministered in North Carolina, and then, after being thwarted by North Carolina ministers, in newly cultivated Kentucky in 1796. McGready's camp meetings and his ecumenical cooperation with leaders from other denominations in Kentucky became a typical model for other revival meetings held along the South-western frontiers. The methods McGready and his followers adopted for the success of their movement, such as the tradition of the communion season from Scotland, the anxious bench, exhorters, and radical evangelistic preaching, and their extreme physical results such as jerking, barking, ecstasy, convulsions and shouting, caused serious controversies. As these controversies transgressed the bounds of compromise and negotiation, two new denominations emerged in secession from the original Presbyterian body. First, a group called simply the 'Christians', and then the Cumberland Presbyterians, left their parent body in 1803 and 1810 respectively. Both opposed the high Calvinist doctrines of human incapacity to respond to God and divine election, decisively adopting an Arminian theology of revival with an optimistic idea of human potential.¹⁸

With the secessions of these two radical evangelical groups from mainstream Southern Presbyterians, as time went on, the main beneficiaries of revivalism were the Methodists and Baptists. Though there still was an inclination to a moderate

¹⁶ Trinterud, 306.

¹⁷ Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, I:39.

¹⁸ For the process of secession, see Boles, *The Great Revival*, 143-64. For the Cumberland Confession, see Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 4th ed., vol. I. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1919), 815. cf. 3:771-6.

experiential faith, Presbyterianism in the antebellum South increasingly turned into a conservative ideology, both theologically and culturally. When serious tensions once again heightened between the two factions in the national Presbyterian Church in the early nineteenth century, Southern churches in Presbyterianism did not support the New School members who united with the Connecticut Congregationalists to enhance the evangelistic work on the Northern frontiers. In fact, a substantial proportion of the Northern Presbyterians who agreed to the Plan of Union with Congregationalists in 1801 were expelled by the General Assembly in 1837, and eventually formed a new General Assembly under the same denominational name, the PCUSA. Most of the New School members belonged to the frontier synods in New York and the Western Reserve, except for a small number from other synods.¹⁹

Three explanations can be given of the fact that Presbyterians in the South, despite their pro-revivalist origin, were hardly affected by the New School. First, as already stressed, the radical evangelicals in the Southern churches had already left the mainstream Presbyterian body before the explicit conflicts of the 1830s between the Old School and the New School. Secondly, as early as the 1820s, the concept of ‘our Southern Zion’ emerged, maintaining that the Church in the South was different from the Northern Church. This outlook of ‘simple trust in the Bible caused a reaction against theological debate on matters that were not as clear as the basic evangelical tenets.’²⁰ This tendency to depend on the Bible only, rather than on their doctrinal standards, indeed reflected the influence of other evangelicals, particularly Baptists, on Southern Presbyterians. Unlike evangelical Northern Presbyterians who became the New School, moderate evangelical Presbyterians in the South created a uniquely conservative and sectional expression of religious practice. The third rationale, linking to the second, was that New School Presbyterians in the North increasingly attacked the institution of slavery, so integral to the social system in the South, as a sin. Southern Presbyterians from the 1820s concentrated their attention more on defining their distinctive regional identity than on pursuing their theological

¹⁹ For a more detailed account, see Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience*, especially, Chapter Three.

²⁰ Morton Smith, ‘The Southern Tradition’, in *Reformed Theology in America: A History of Its Modern Development*, ed. David F. Wells (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), 196.

purity. The environment around them led to this course. Thus, for Presbyterians in the South, as moderate evangelicals from their origin, who had gradually accommodated themselves to the unique Southern evangelical environment, the creation of their peculiarly Southern Zion became the most urgent task.

2. 'Our Southern Zion': Southern Conservative Regionalism and Presbyterians

In regard to the rise of Southern religious nationalism, 'Our Southern Zion', after the 1820s, there have been varying opinions among historians. A group of leading historians of Southern religion, such as Samuel S. Hill, Charles Reagan Wilson and Jerald Brauer, have insisted on the existence of Southern religious characteristics significantly different from those exhibited by the rest of the nation. Hill suggested, 'The Christianity of the North has regularly declared its responsibility for the health and direction of the society at large, while the church in the South has not.'²¹ Brauer argued that 'the southern and northern visions' of manifest destiny 'differed so drastically that they appear in history as two different dreams.'²² These writers fall in line with Wilson's opinion that there was a 'cultural nationalism, the longing of a homogeneous people (of the same blood and lineage, and possessing common artifacts, customs, and institutions) for national political existence' in the Antebellum South.²³ In contrast, other scholars have believed in the presence of a cultural common heritage between the North and the South before the Civil War. Edward Pessen has typically written that 'the Old South and North were complementary elements in an American society that was everywhere primarily rural, capitalistic, materialistic, and socially stratified, racially, ethnically, and religiously heterogeneous, and stridently chauvinistic and expansionist.'²⁴

²¹ Samuel S. Hill, *The South and the North in American Religion* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 2.

²² Jerald C. Brauer, 'Regionalism and Religion in America', *CH* 54:3 (1985): 374-5.

²³ Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 3.

²⁴ Edward Pessen, 'How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?', *AHR* 85:5 (1980): 1122. The quotations from Hill, Brauer and Pessen are in Erskine Clarke, 'Southern

The actual differences between the North and the South before the 1860s may have been exaggerated by some historians. Indeed, using solid documentary evidence from the Southern Presbyterian leaders, Erskine Clarke has shown that white Southerners were always sincerely proud of their citizenship of the Republic. He was also convinced that, contrary to Hill's contention, the Southern churches were interested in 'the health and direction of the society at large' 'before the Civil War and soon after the war.' According to Clarke, only when they felt that the national government's policy was a really serious threat to white supremacy in the South, did they decide to leave the Union. For example, a number of Presbyterian theologians in Columbia Theological Seminary, South Carolina, including James H. Thornwell, Benjamin M. Palmer, Charles C. Jones, John Adger, and Thomas Smyth, surprisingly remained as Unionists until Lincoln's election as president in 1860. Clarke considered this commitment to the Union to be one of the reasons why Presbyterians in the South hesitated to separate from their Northern counterparts for about twenty years after the 1840s when other Southern Protestants in the Baptist and Methodist churches had established their independent denominations.²⁵

It seems clear that there has often been an overstatement of the differences between North and South. Southern Presbyterian leaders desired to remain as Unionists even until the eve of the Civil War. However, compromise was not achievable on the race issue as it was at the heart of distinctive Southern identity. More significant is that churches in the South as well as in the North played a leading role in encouraging people on each side to define themselves against each other, and finally in lengthening and deepening conflict leading to the tragedy of war. As early as the 1830s, Presbyterians in the South had reached a substantial consensus in favour of slavery.²⁶ Robert Lewis Dabney, who as late as 1840 considered slavery 'a system, liable to the most enormous abuses', as we discussed in the first chapter, was an exceptional figure.²⁷ That is, for Southern Presbyterians, 'our unique Southern

Nationalism and Columbia Theological Seminary', *AP* 66:2 (1988): 125.

²⁵ Clarke, 'Southern Nationalism and Columbia Theological Seminary', 127-9.

²⁶ Jack P. Maddex, 'Proslavery Millennialism: Social Eschatology in Antebellum Southern Calvinism', *American Quarterly* 31:1 (1979): 49.

²⁷ Carrigan, 47.

Zion' had by the 1830s already become a defined sectional ideal to pursue.

As Carrigan has shown, however, it needs to be remembered that Southern Presbyterians before the Civil War found the ultimate sanction of their proslavery argument from a literal reading of the Bible. They, as Bible-believing evangelicals, maintained that the Old Testament positively sanctioned slavery and that the New Testament did not condemn the institution. In 1851, after abandoning his early antislavery position in 1840, Dabney became convinced of the biblical justification of slavery, and wrote, 'We must go before the nation with the Bible as the test', and 'thus saith the Lord' as the answer.'²⁸ Thornwell also defended slavery, not by depending on the popular proposal of racial superiority/inferiority, but on scriptural support, saying in 1860, 'No Christian man can give any countenance to speculations which trace the negro to any other parent than Adam... Those who defend slavery upon the plea that the African is not of the same stock with ourselves, are aiming a fatal blow to the institution, by bringing it into conflict with the dearest doctrine of the Gospel.'²⁹ The crucial point is his use of the Bible to support monogenesis, an assumption shared with Northern abolitionists. Like other Christian theologians in his time, he did not believe in the polygenesis theory that each race was a different species, and hence Africans were mentally inferior to white Caucasians because it was not supported by the Bible.³⁰ In other words, leading Southern Presbyterian theologians assumed that, by defending slavery, they were protecting an authentic biblical Christianity from the dangerous threat of Northern secular abolitionists who disguised themselves as sincere Christians.

Unlike the explicit tensions caused by the revivalist ethos in Southern Presbyterian history, tenacity for a conservative social order did not throw Southern Presbyterians into violent inner conflicts. There were several Presbyterians in the

²⁸ Robert L. Dabney, 'The Moral Characteristics of Slavery', *Richmond Enquirer* (March-May 1851). Dabney defended slavery in eleven articles in the *Richmond Enquirer* in 1851. Later in 1863, he completed an expanded proslavery argument which would be published under the title of Robert Lewis Dabney, *A Defence of Virginia-and through Her, of the South-in Recent and Pending Contests against the Sectional Party* (New York: E. J. Hale & Son, 1867). See note 8 of Carrigan's article.

²⁹ James Henry Thornwell, 'National Sins: A Fast-Day Sermon: Preached in the Presbyterian Church, Columbia, S.C., Wednesday, 21 November 1860', *SPR* 13 (November 1861): 682f.

³⁰ See Chapter Seven of David N. Livingstone, *Adam's Ancestors: Race, Religion, and the Politics of Human Origins* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

Antebellum South who bravely refused to agree that slavery was approved by God's decree. David Rice (1733-1816), an early leading figure in Presbyterianism in Virginia and Kentucky and co-founder of the prestigious Hampden-Sydney College in 1775, was an early Southern representative of antislavery. Moving to Kentucky in 1783, when he was forced to emigrate from the Southern heartland, Rice was an active member of the Kentucky Abolition Society, and formed with others the Transylvania Presbytery, the parent body of Presbyterianism in the Midwest in 1796. Rice single-handedly opposed the legalisation of slavery in the convention to create a state constitution.³¹ Another advocate of Southern Presbyterian antislavery was Robert Jefferson Breckinridge (1800-1871). Born in Kentucky, Breckinridge studied and worked in the North until aged 47, and then spent the remainder of his career in Kentucky as pastor of the oldest Presbyterian Church in Lexington and founder and professor of Danville Seminary. He was famous as an unusually outspoken opponent of slavery in the South. His support of Abraham Lincoln for president in the election of 1860, and ardent upholding of the Union in wartime made him a most controversial figure among Southern Presbyterians.³² These unusual cases were, however, only found in the Border States such as Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland. Accordingly, for Presbyterians living in the mainstream Southern states, a common agreement on the biblical justification of slavery was an unquestionable cause.

Two intellectual elements which reinforced the proslavery stance among Presbyterians in the antebellum South can be pointed out: one, the Calvinist idea of divine election and the other, proslavery millennialism. The confidence that they were elected uniquely by God for a special purpose contributed to the emergence of a concept of our Southern Zion. From the beginning of the first settlement in Virginia, the idea of the chosen people led into 'a land flowing with milk and honey' existed among English immigrants. Though they were known as a less religious group than the Puritans who wished to establish a 'city on a hill' in New England, Virginians also tended to regard themselves as new Israelites who were called to enter a new

³¹ Andrew E. Murray, *Presbyterians and the Negro: A History* (Philadelphia: PHS, 1966), 15, and L. B. Weeks, "'Father" David Rice', in Hart and Noll, eds., *DPRTA*, 218-9.

³² For more details on Breckinridge, see Vivian Sandlund, 'Robert Breckinridge, Presbyterian Antislavery Conservative', *JPH* 78:2 (Summer 2000): 145-54.

Promised Land of Zion. The two Great Awakenings at a later time provided American Protestants with a strong self-confidence as the chosen people for redeeming the rest of the world. The secular belief that the United States was destined to expand across the North American continent to promote and defend democracy was also warmly welcomed by most American Protestants, especially those in the South.³³ Thornwell was an exemplar who linked the secular role of American nation with a sacred cause, writing in 1851 as follows:

We have always associated the idea of a high and glorious vocation with the planting of this Republic. We have thought that we could trace the finger of God in every stage of its history. We have looked upon it as destined to be a blessing to mankind. Placed between Europe and Asia, in the very center of the earth, with the two great oceans of the world acknowledging its dominion...., it seems to us to be commissioned from the skies as the apostle of civilization, liberty, and Christianity to all the races of man. We cannot relinquish the idea of this lofty mission: WE HAVE BEEN CALLED to it,..... We cannot sympathize with the light and flippant tone in which the question of the value of the Union is too often approached, as if it were a mere question of the value of ordinary politics.³⁴

Thornwell is a good example of how directly the Calvinist doctrine of God's sovereign election was intermixed with the idea of American nationalism. With the Northerners' growing attacks upon the Southern way of life, particularly on the institution of slavery, however, the rise of a doctrine of a Southern Zion, separate from the rest of the United States, was predictable. Southern Presbyterians, in their theocratic mind-set,³⁵ who once had not hesitated in identifying their Republic with a sacred entity, now found that theological heresy was closely related to social

³³ Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 112-4, and Frederick Merk and Lois Bannister Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 229.

³⁴ James Henley Thornwell, 'Critical Notice', *SPR* 4:3 (1851): 426-8.

³⁵ Jack P. Maddex had demonstrated that Southern Presbyterians did not take apolitical stance before the Civil War, but they were committed theocrats, who saw the secular matters in the religious views. The doctrine of the spirituality of the church, which was generally understood as a unique doctrine of the antebellum Southern Presbyterian churches, was just a tool for the rational justification of their separation. For a more detail, see Jack P. Maddex, 'From Theocracy to Spirituality: The Southern Presbyterian Reversal on Church and State', *JPH* 54:4 (1976): 438-57. Holifield also agreed with Maddex, maintaining, 'Their self-described isolation was merely a protective gesture during the slavery controversy.' Holifield, *The Gentlemen Theologians*, 154. Another supporting research is Joe L. Coker, 'The Sinnott Case of 1910: The Changing Views of Southern Presbyterians on Temperance, Prohibition, and the Spirituality of the Church', *JPH* 77:4 (1999): 247-62.

infidelity in the new liberal ideology of the North.³⁶

In the construction of the new Southern religious nationalism, the role of the Old School theologians at Columbia Theological Seminary was decisive. Though there were individual differences between their stances,³⁷ the faculty members of this seminary became strong supporters of the Southern secession from the Union, contrasting the God-blessing South with the allegedly God-cursing North. For instance, Thomas Smyth of Charleston, SC, condemned Northerners as ‘atheists, infidels, communists, free-lovers, rationalists, Bible haters, anti-Christian levers, and anarchists’,³⁸ just as Palmer declared, ‘the abolitionist spirit is undeniably atheistic.’³⁹ Thornwell clearly articulated his idea of a new Southern Zion as ‘the true bearer of the traditions of the republic’, stressing the unique Southern mission to ‘protect the original purity of the republic.’⁴⁰ Namely, for Southern Calvinists in the Presbyterian Church, the true legacy of a God-chosen Redeemer Nation could only be found in the South.

Another intellectual characteristic which contributed to the intensification of Southern identity was proslavery eschatology in Southern Presbyterianism. Maddex, quoting Tuveson and Sandeen,⁴¹ argued that most nineteenth-century American Protestants, both in the North and the South, were progressive millennialists. The difference between these two groups was that Northerners dreamed of a free labour Christian millennialism linked to the antislavery cause, while Southerners adhered to a proslavery millennialism.⁴² As part of this postmillennialism, which was fostered by the great revivals of 1800-05, Southern Presbyterians believed that God

³⁶ Maddex, ‘From Theocracy to Spirituality’, 439.

³⁷ Until the election of Lincoln, Thornwell and John Adger, moderates, were not active to separate. Even Adger remained as Unionist until after the beginning of the war at Fort Sumter. In contrast, Benjamin Palmer and Thomas Smyth were already aggressive against the Union in 1860. See Clarke, 128.

³⁸ Thomas Smyth, ‘The Sin and the Curse: Or, The Union and the True Source of Disunion’ (1860) in *The Complete Works of Thomas Smyth*, 10 vols. (Columbia, 1910) VII:542-3, quoted in *ibid.*, 128.

³⁹ Thompson, I:556.

⁴⁰ Clarke, 131.

⁴¹ Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America’s Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 33f, and Ernest Robert Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 5.

⁴² Maddex, ‘Proslavery Millennialism’, 46-7.

sanctioned ‘slavery as a Christianizing agent to persist and progress through all of human society.’⁴³ Southern Presbyterian leaders, including R. L. Dabney of Virginia and Richard S. Gladney of Mississippi as well as the Columbia Seminary theologians, thought that slavery was an instrument to keep peoples away from sin and to perfect humanity in God’s long-term program. They even argued that slavery would exist until the second coming of Jesus Christ and hence would be a feature of the millennial paradise.⁴⁴ In this broad eschatological perspective, ‘heretical notions of inalienable natural rights and of people’s rights’ from the North’s ‘libertarian radicalism’ would in the end be abandoned.⁴⁵ A North Carolinian planter, James Anderson, imagined that some day future generations of masters and slaves would be sent together to civilise the tropics in fulfilment of God’s great commission.⁴⁶ As an inevitable consequence, therefore, they were confident of victory in the Civil War since they regarded it as a holy war, the climax in an eschatological drama.

After the Confederate Army was defeated, the Southern nation fell, and great causes were lost. Presbyterians in the South, with others, were plunged into a crisis of faith. Southern Presbyterians were required to correct their attitudes to what they had hitherto been convinced was God’s permanent program. They were successful in preserving some key elements of Southern Presbyterianism, which they considered non-negotiable, but little by little they discarded other peripheral ones. The birth of a new civil religion in the Reconstruction era of the South, and the emergence of new theological and missionary movements in the Southern Presbyterian Church resulted from their accommodation to these changed circumstances.

3. Presbyterianism in the Post-bellum South

Most Southern Protestants, as described in the first chapter, refused to agree

⁴³ Ibid., 47.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 49-51.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁴⁶ James Anderson to John Bullock, 26 November 1858, Anderson-Thornwell Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, quoted in *ibid.*, 56.

that the Union's victory over the Confederacy in 1865 was directly linked to a divine sanction of the Northern cause of antislavery. Rather, they paid attention to the spiritual meaning of the lost war. Believing that God in his wisdom had decreed a fiery trial in order to make Southern churches purer and humbler, Southern Protestants accentuated their long-standing idea of a Southern Zion as God's chosen land of promise even more strongly than before.⁴⁷

Southern Presbyterians, like other Protestant neighbours, had their own 'martyrs' who died for their great cause during the war. Thomas J. 'Stonewall' Jackson, the Confederate general, was accidentally shot by pickets on his side on 2 May 1863, and died of complications of pneumonia eight days later. Jackson, a devout Presbyterian deacon, who had been assisted by his friend, Chaplain R. L. Dabney, was celebrated for his aversion to fighting on Sunday. Jackson even said on his death bed, 'It is the Lord's Day; my wish is fulfilled. I have always desired to die on Sunday.'⁴⁸ His 'pious Christian character, service to the church, unwavering commitment to duty, affectionate role as husband and father, as well as his magnificent service to Virginia', which Dabney described in his biography of Jackson, were regarded as exemplars showing how a Southern Presbyterian should live, work and die.⁴⁹ One other loss, probably even greater than that of Jackson, was the death of James H. Thornwell in 1862. The fact that Thornwell died prematurely of overwork and consumption during a 'holy war' meant that Southern Presbyterians lost their most authoritative representative of the antebellum and wartime Church. Thornwell had been recognised as an outstanding leader of the entire American Presbyterian family before the schism, and became the youngest moderator of the Old School Presbyterian Church in 1847 at the age of 35. George Bancroft of Harvard praised Thornwell, 'the most learned of the learned' in 1856.⁵⁰ Daniel

⁴⁷ Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 7-11.

⁴⁸ Hunter McGuire, 'Death of Stonewall Jackson', *Southern Historical Society Papers* XIV (January-December 1886). See http://americancivilwar.com/south/stonewall_jackson_death.html.

⁴⁹ On the front flap of Robert Lewis Dabney, *Life and Campaigns of Stonewall Jackson* (San Antonio, TX: Vision Forum, 1999).

⁵⁰ Benjamin Morgan Palmer, *Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1875), 537.

Webster reported him as ‘the greatest pupil orator he had ever heard.’⁵¹ Henry Ward Beecher recognised him as ‘the most brilliant minister in the Old School Presbyterian Church.’⁵² Thornwell, as professor and president, taught at South Carolina College and then Columbia Theological Seminary, two of the most influential institutions for higher education in South Carolina from 1837 until his death. Above all, as principal spokesman for the newly created Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS) in 1861, Thornwell delivered the ‘Address by the General Assembly to All the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the Earth’ at its first General Assembly in Augusta, Georgia. The ideas expressed in the address became practically the official position of the Church for many years to come. Since his influence crossed denominational boundaries, however, he was in fact one of the most significant figures in the Antebellum and wartime South.⁵³

Through Thornwell’s influence, the new denomination based its theological foundations on the original Westminster standards. It was a declaration that the Southern Presbyterian Church intended to remain as an orthodox and historic Reformed denomination, swimming against the alleged apostatising stream towards modernism of its Northern counterpart. Three reasons which Thornwell had proposed in his address in support of the separation became the theoretical foundation on which this Southern denomination based its existence until 1983. The key concept in this justification was the supposed doctrine of the ‘spirituality of the church.’ First, according to Thornwell, the Old School General Assembly’s decision in Philadelphia which had officially affirmed the Federal Union of Abraham Lincoln was evidence that the church had ‘transcended her sphere and usurped the duties of the State.’ ‘It is the door which they open for the introduction of the worst passions of human nature, into the deliberations of Church Courts.’⁵⁴ The second reason for separation was that the churches needed to be organised along national lines. ‘If it is desirable that each

⁵¹ Paul L. Garber, ‘James Henley Thornwell: Presbyterian Defender of the Old South’, *Union Seminary Review* 54 (February 1943): 99.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ The quotations in this paragraph are cited by Luder G. Whitlock, Jr. in his essay, ‘James Henry Thornwell’, in *Reformed Theology in America*, 237-8.

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, II:30.

nation should contain a separate and an independent Church, the Presbyteries of these Confederate States need no apology for bowing to the decree of Providence.’⁵⁵ Third, Thornwell held that the doctrine of the spirituality of the church must be applied to the institution of slavery, saying that ‘the policy of its existence or non-existence is a question which exclusively belongs to the State. We have no right, as a Church, to enjoy it as a duty, or to condemn it as a sin.’⁵⁶

In the previous section of this chapter, we saw that Jack Maddex and Brooks Holifield have claimed that the principle of the spirituality of the church was not an essential part of Southern Presbyterian doctrines. They have argued instead that Southern Presbyterians, including Thornwell, leaned toward Calvinist theocratic ideas during the whole pre-war period. We might be inclined to agree with Maddex and Holifield on account of the rich evidence they have adduced on the subject.⁵⁷ However, it is obvious that from the inception of the new denomination, the doctrine of the spirituality of the church, along with total assurance of principles such as the authority of the Bible and the God-sanctioned hierarchical social order, became the criterion by which Southern Presbyterian identity was defined. From this point of time, the PCUS started to identify itself clearly as a more conservative and defensive Reformed Church both in theology and practices, refusing to be carried away by any streams of social and cultural change.

This persistence of the Church’s adherents to sectional conservatism was well symbolised in the post-bellum life of Robert Lewis Dabney. In many respects, Dabney deserves to be named as representative of the majority of post-bellum Southern Presbyterians, and as a genuine successor to Thornwell who had represented antebellum Presbyterians in the South. Dabney’s significance as representative of post-bellum Southern Presbyterianism also illuminates the domestic backgrounds of Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea. Beyond any doubt, Dabney was the most influential figure on Southern Presbyterians, including the denomination’s missionaries, until 1940. Indeed, the two professors in systematic

⁵⁵ Ibid., II:31.

⁵⁶ Ibid., II:32.

⁵⁷ See n.35 of this chapter.

theology at Pyongyang Theological Seminary, the only Presbyterian Seminary before Korea's independence from Japan in 1945, were William Davis Reynolds and John Curtis Crane, both of whom were graduates from Union Seminary, Virginia, in 1892 and in 1913 respectively. In addition, Gunghyuk Nam (1882-1950), the first Korean professor at the seminary, held his doctorate from Union Seminary in 1927 and taught students at Pyongyang Seminary until 1938 when the school was closed due to its denial of Shinto worship. This suggests that the influence of Southern Presbyterian theology, especially that of Dabney, was continuous and enormous on the development of early Korean Presbyterian theology.⁵⁸

Dabney was only eight years younger than Thornwell, but, by living thirty-six years after the death of Thornwell, he experienced the whole post-bellum nineteenth century until 1898. One of the reasons why Dabney before the War seemed to be less outstanding in the Southern Presbyterian scene was probably related to his geographical background as a Virginian. He was already a renowned theologian who had been invited by Charles Hodge in 1860 to become a professor at Princeton Seminary. Dabney, like most other Virginians, was a moderate on the issues of slavery and secession.⁵⁹ Theologians and pastors from Columbia Seminary in South Carolina, such as Thornwell, Smyth and Palmer, led a campaign for secession just after the election of Lincoln.⁶⁰ Dabney and other Virginia Union divines, however, counselled caution in this matter.⁶¹ In contrast, in conformity with the fact that the first Southern state which withdrew from the Union in 1860 was South Carolina, most South Carolinian Presbyterians who were influenced by Columbia Seminary theologians went further in support of secession than their Virginia Union Seminary fellows.⁶²

⁵⁸ Linton Academy ed., *Miguk Namjangrohoi Naehan Seongyosa Pyeonram* [Directory of American Southern Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea, 1892-1987] (Daejeon, Korea: Hannam University Press, 2008), 514 and 259. Hereafter, *Pyeonram*. See p.71 of this thesis.

⁵⁹ Douglas Floyd Kelly, 'Robert Lewis Dabney', in *Reformed Theology in America*, 216.

⁶⁰ As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, Columbia Seminary theologians also remained as unionists until the election of Lincoln. See Clarke, 'Southern Nationalism and Columbia Seminary', 125-8.

⁶¹ Thomas Carey Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), 210-34.

⁶² Thornwell was sometimes called 'Calhoun of the Church.' John C. Calhoun (1732-1850), from

One further example may be cited to show that Dabney did not agree with Thornwell's every opinion. Against the strong objections voiced by Columbia Seminary theologians to the proposal to reunite with other Southern Presbyterian denominations, including the Independent Presbyterian Church and the Southern New School Presbyterians (called the United Synod of the South), Dabney, after the death of Thornwell, led these two reunions in 1863 and 1864 respectively. Dabney won a great victory against colleagues of Thornwell such as Palmer and Adger. By being honoured by his election as the tenth moderator of the General Assembly in 1870, Dabney's influence exceeded that of Palmer, the first moderator of the Church in 1861 and Thornwell's closest companion.⁶³

Nevertheless, the differences between Thornwell and Dabney should not be exaggerated. Except for the divergences in their modes of expression regarding Southern Presbyterian values, they had much in common in their commitment to Southern Presbyterian ideals. Dabney held fast to almost every old Southern cause which had been proposed by Thornwell and other Southern Presbyterian leaders. Although originally hesitant to promote secession from the national Presbyterian body, Dabney also, like Thornwell, changed his position just after the outburst of the war on April 1861 to justify the secession and the war, using the same logic of Southern honour and manhood. Dabney located the Southern institution of slavery within a broader framework of hierarchy and social gradations, which he believed to be God-sanctioned, just as Thornwell did. As noted in the previous chapter,⁶⁴ by 1890, in the final stage of his life, Dabney depended more on the idea of white racial supremacy than on biblical teaching to justify the place of African Americans in the Southern society. This transformation may be a typical characteristic of the Southern

South Carolina, was famous as a proponent of protective tariffs, and later, of free trade, states' rights, limited government, and nullification. That is, what Calhoun was to political theory of the secular society in the antebellum South, Thornwell was to the social ethics of the church. See Shelton H. Smith, 'The Church and the Social Order in the Old South as Interpreted by James H. Thornwell', *CH* 7:2 (1938): 115. For the relationship between Calhoun and Thornwell, see Farmer, *The Metaphysical Confederacy*, 62 and 153.

⁶³ Sean Michael Lucas, *Robert Lewis Dabney: A Southern Presbyterian Life* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2005), 136-43.

⁶⁴ See pp.36-7 of this thesis.

post-bellum mindset which Dabney represented.⁶⁵

Regarding Dabney's intellectual world, the same account can be given. Thornwell, Dabney and other Old School Southern theologians shared many theological and philosophical assumptions and methodologies. They adhered to a synthesis of Southern intellectual ideas which merged three different intellectual streams—Scottish 'common sense' moral philosophy, Old School Calvinist Presbyterianism, and the classical republicanism of the early American Republic—into a Southern Presbyterian theology.⁶⁶ Despite these shared values, what distinguished Dabney was his attachment to moderation. In his *The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered*, following the Scottish Enlightenment philosopher Thomas Reid (1710-1796), Dabney supposed that humans can know objective truth through the original powers of the mind: 'If our cognitions have any regular method, then it must be by virtue of some primary principles of cognition which are subjective to the mind. While we claim no 'innate ideas', yet it is evident that the intelligence has some innate norms, which determine the nature of its processes....'⁶⁷ For Dabney, the egalitarianism of the French Revolution, Comte's positivism, Mill and Spencer's utilitarian ethics, and Darwin's evolutionary theory were diverse faces of 'the sensualistic philosophy', and the root of all American troubles. These false philosophies were rooted in radical positivism and empiricism that 'resolves all the powers of the human spirit into the functions of the five senses', and divorces metaphysics from physics. Thus, this sensualistic idea ultimately leads people to 'a gulf without immortality, without a God, without a faith, without a providence, without a hope', in its 'stark materialism' and 'its rigid fatalism.' By adopting a moderate theistic Scottish version of Enlightenment philosophy for his apologetics, Dabney hoped to stop the invasion of atheistic

⁶⁵ Ibid., 105-9 and 218-9.

⁶⁶ Lucas, 219-25. cf. Theodore Dwight Bozeman, 'Science, Nature and Society: A New Approach to James Henley Thornwell', *JPH* 50 (1972): 307-25; idem, *Protestants in an Age of Science*; Holifield, *The Gentleman Theologians*; idem, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); and Smith, *Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology*.

⁶⁷ Dabney, *The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1887), 249.

modernism, mostly articulated in the sensualistic philosophy, to his Southern Zion.⁶⁸

What made Dabney most distinctive as a moderate, and simultaneously made him most influential among his fellow Presbyterians, was his theology. Dabney committed himself to the Old School's orthodox Presbyterian theology throughout his life. However, his loyalty to confessional Presbyterianism was surprisingly moderate and non-speculative. Faithfully following the principle of the Scottish Commissioner, Alexander Henderson (c.1583–1646), who said in his address to the Westminster Assembly in the 1640s, 'Let us avoid all scholastical disputes and unnecessary distinctions', Dabney attempted to seek 'doctrinal moderation.' He stressed the moderate attributes of the Westminster Confession in relation to the controversial articles: 'They avoid every excess and every extreme statement. They refrained with a wise moderation from committing the Church of God on either side of those 'isms' which agitated and perplexed the professors of the Reformed Theology.'⁶⁹ Dabney loved the fact that the Westminster Confession of Faith did not define in great detail the disputable questions such as the Being and Providence of God, supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism, mediate and immediate imputation, and the eschatological positions of postmillennialism and premillennialism.⁷⁰

Dabney, above all, regarded himself as a biblical and exegetical theologian. This corresponds with his persistent denial of all kinds of pointed theological disputes. Dabney criticised Charles Hodge for his excessive efforts at systemisation: 'a few of the more acute and forward of the Calvinistic divines were tempted, by their love of system and symmetry of statement and over-confidence in their own logic..... But the difference with Dr. Hodge seems to have been this: his love of systematizing enticed him to adopt the extreme point of his great teacher, Turretin.'⁷¹ Dabney even denied the necessity of deriving a divine purpose of condemnation and reprobation from the divine decree of election. He did not go beyond the boundary of

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1, and Lucas, 166-8.

⁶⁹ Dabney, 'The Doctrinal Contents of the Confession of Faith', in *Memorial Volume of the Westminster Assembly, 1647-1897* (Richmond: PCP, 1897), 95.

⁷⁰ Kelly, 219.

⁷¹ Dabney, *Discussions, Evangelical and Theological* (Richmond: PCP, 1890-1892), 1:165-6.

biblical assertions in theological issues as well as in the matter of slavery.⁷²

All this evidence suggests that Dabney sought to define his Presbyterianism in contradistinction to hyper-Calvinism. This conclusion is significant as his ecclesiastical descendants in Southern Presbyterianism, including theologians, local pastors, missionaries, and lay leaders, willingly followed his lead. Southern Presbyterian theology after Dabney has been characterised as a moderate, evangelical, and non-scholastic version of theology. Moreover, as observed in Chapter One, evangelical Christianity with its revivalist energy and pietist impetus dominated church life in the Southern states from the beginning of European settlement. Therefore, the more dogmatically strict Calvinist theology developed in Scotland, the Netherlands, and parts of Germany, did not take deep root in the soil either of the American South or of other parts of the world where Southern Presbyterian missionaries worked, including Honam, Korea. When Dabney hoped for a united Southern Presbyterian Church through the merger with the United Synod 'New School' Church, notwithstanding severe objections from Columbia Seminary theologians as Thornwell's successors, as Lucas has analysed, his vision was evidently 'less about the church and more about the South.'⁷³ This helps to explain why the influence of Thornwell's high church Presbyterianism on post-bellum Southern Presbyterian mission theory gradually diminished.⁷⁴

The last, and most significant task for Dabney in the post-bellum South was to maintain classical republicanism. Only in the South was its original form allegedly kept from pollution by evil influences. Dabney never made extreme statements in the sphere of theology, but he was an indefatigable fighter for conservative values in politics and public ideologies. It was on the ideological battlefield that Dabney acted the part of a prophet for most Southern Protestants across a wide denominational spectrum. He believed that the Old Southern Republican creed was still needed for the rising New South. It comprised 'moral rectitude, natural social and racial hierarchy, plantation economy, and a religious reverence for the Confederate past.'

⁷² Dabney, *Syllabus and Notes of the Course of Systematic and Polemic Theology Taught in Union Theological Seminary, Virginia* (Richmond: PCP, 1871), 342, 529, 532-3, 559, and 609.

⁷³ Lucas, 143.

⁷⁴ See pp.82-4 of this thesis.

These were exemplified in ‘localism, decentralised government, liberty, and free trade.’⁷⁵ For Dabney, the most important space in which people could learn social life was the Christian household. In the Christian family and household, led by the white male master and father, there was an ‘equitable distribution of different duties and rights among the classes naturally differing in condition, and subordination of some to others, and of all to the law.’ In this commonwealth of ‘Bible Republicanism’, the ideal Southern woman must assume her sphere, defined as ‘the fireside, the nursery, and the sanctuary of home.’ Contrasting this Bible Republicanism of the South with the Northern ‘anti-biblical theories of rights’, which held that ‘every person under the social contract has the same rights and responsibilities’, Dabney concluded that the theory of equal rights leading to both abolitionism and feminism was ultimately a disaster and spelt anarchy for the whole nation.⁷⁶

Lucas has argued that Dabney was ‘a representative Southerner, Presbyterian, and professional minister, one who embodied the hopes and aspirations of many of his peers’, rather than ‘a unique figure.’ Dabney indeed represented ‘a sense of the mind of an entire generation’ in the late nineteenth-century South who viewed ‘the word “Yankee” as a profanity.’⁷⁷ It has generally been agreed that Dabney’s influence began to decrease in his last years, especially after his departure to Texas to become professor at the University of Texas in 1884, and then at the newly-established Austin Seminary in 1894. He lived on the western frontier away from the Southern heartland, and the proponents of the New South now considered Dabney the man against whom they must protest. After his death in 1898 and right up to 1940, when Union Seminary professor John Newton Thomas decided to stop using Dabney’s *Systematic Theology* as a textbook, however, Dabney still remained as a living and official voice of both the seminary and the denomination. His successors in his chair at Union Seminary—Thomas E. Pack, C. R. Vaughan, G. B. Strickler, and Thomas Carey Johnson—faithfully maintained Dabney’s legacy of moderate evangelical Calvinist

⁷⁵ Lucas, 224.

⁷⁶ Dabney, ‘Anti-Biblical Theories of Rights’, in *Discussions*, 3:498-501, 503, 517, 520; ‘Women’s Rights Women’, in *Discussions*, IV:495-6; and ‘A Mother’s Crowning Glory’, in *Discussions*, V:373-84. Lucas, 178-82.

⁷⁷ Lucas, 225-6.

theology, Scottish epistemological philosophy, and Southern conservatism.⁷⁸

Dabney's moderate Calvinist tone ensured that his textbook was used even at Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville. At least until 1940, Dabney's legacy was vitally alive in the PCUS as the main body of Southern Presbyterianism. The fact that the Presbyterian Church in America (the PCA) seceded from the PCUS in 1973 to keep the Old Southern Presbyterian cause alive, means that Dabney is still influential among many Southern Presbyterians.⁷⁹

Dabney's masterpiece was never translated into Korean for use at Pyongyang Seminary, the only official Presbyterian theological school in Korea before Independence in 1945. However, the two permanent professors of Systematic Theology there, William Reynolds (1923-37) and John Curtis Crane (1937-8), both graduates of Virginia's Union Seminary, contributed to the transmission of Dabney's theological legacy to Korean Presbyterians, a process that continued at least until the closure of the seminary in 1938. Like those who succeeded Dabney at Union Seminary, these two missionary professors in Korea remained committed to his theology. The main textbook used for the teaching of Christian doctrine at Pyongyang Seminary during this period was an extended revision of *Sindohak (Study of Theology)*, written by Chia Yu Ming (Jia Yuming, 1880-1964),⁸⁰ a Chinese theologian, in three volumes. In writing his book, Ming had consulted substantially the theological work of Augustus Hopkins Strong (1836-1921), an American Baptist theologian, and that of A. A. Hodge (1823-1886), son of Charles Hodge. However, Reynolds expanded these volumes to six volumes by adding his own material.⁸¹ It is likely that these additions reflected the influence of Dabney on Reynolds. The only textbook of systematic theology Reynolds used in his seminary years was that written by Dabney, which was regarded as the official standard of the PCUS until 1940, when Dabney's textbook was removed from the classrooms of Union

⁷⁸ For a detailed analysis of these professors' theological ideas, see Smith, *Studies in Southern Presbyterian Theology*, 268-323.

⁷⁹ Lucas, 226-31.

⁸⁰ For more details of Chia Yu Ming, see <http://www.bdconline.net/en/stories/j/jia-yuming.php>.

⁸¹ See Chibeom Ahn, 'Ga Okmyeongeui Sinhaksasangi Pyeongyangsinhakgyoe Michin Yeonghyang Yeongu' [A Study of the Influence of Chia Yu Ming's Theological Thoughts on Pyongyang Theological Seminary], Ph.D. thesis, Anyang University, 2012.

Seminary.⁸² Hence, the official doctrinal position of the Pyongyang Seminary and the Korean Presbyterian Church itself was indebted to these classic sources of the American Reformed tradition. Dabney's theological dominance over his missionary posterity in Korea may help to explain why Southern Presbyterian missionaries were better able to maintain their inner uniformity and coherence than were other missions in the Korea mission field. In the following section on missions of the denomination, however, we will analyse some major shifts in ideas of social order which would take place among the proponents of Southern Presbyterian foreign missions.

4. Southern Presbyterian Missions: Origins and Characteristics

The rise of the missionary movement in American history has been intimately connected with the growth of evangelical revivalism and social reform. New School Presbyterians in the period from the 1830s to the 1860s, accepting a significant stress on the emotional and experiential ingredients of revivalist faith, emphasised the potentiality of humans to accept the Christian message and to change their society, to a much greater extent than traditional Reformed theology. It is apparent that an enhanced emphasis on human capacity was a factor in the growth of social reform and the missionary movement from both sides of the Atlantic.

The missionary movement among Southern Presbyterians, however, was not a direct result of the proliferation of a New School ethos throughout the South. The centre of the New School was mostly the Northern states, particularly upstate New York and the Midwest. Some Southern Presbyterians, mainly from the Southern Appalachian frontiers of East Tennessee, joined this newly created pro-revival group. The absolute majority in the Southern Presbyterian churches, however, still remained committed to the Old School. The two Southern camps reunited in 1864, in the midst of the Civil War, in order to establish a Southern united front against Yankee antislavery Presbyterians.⁸³ However, it must be noted that, as early as 1861, the inaugural year of the new Southern Old School General Assembly, three years before

⁸² Thompson, III:470.

⁸³ For a more details of the reunion, see Thompson, II:116-36.

the reunion, this church strongly affirmed that it would become a mission-oriented church:

Finally, General Assembly desires distinctly deliberately to inscribe on our church's banner as she now first unfurls it to the world, in immediate connection with the Headship of her Lord, His last command; 'Go ye into the world and preach the gospel to every creature'; regarding this as the great end of her organization, and obedience to it as the indispensable condition of her Lord's promised presence, and as one great comprehensive object.... The claims of this cause ought therefore to be kept constantly before the minds of our people and pressed upon their consciences...⁸⁴

This means that the majority of the Southern Presbyterians had manifested an interest in foreign missions even before the infusion of the New School's evangelistic vigour to the united Southern body. In addition to their commitment to missions from their origin, for more than a century, foreign missions caught the imagination of Southern Presbyterians more than any other benevolent cause. It was actually accepted as 'the glory of the church.'⁸⁵ Considering these facts, a series of questions direct the research objectives of the last section of Chapter Two. Which factors in the Southern social and religious context helped the rise of this new trend among Southern Calvinists? In what ways were these factors linked to the denominational mission policies, and how did these policies change over time? What was the place of missions in Southern Presbyterian life: were they a revolutionary force by which socially and theologically conservative features of the Southern Presbyterian Church were re-oriented in a different direction, or were they an effective means by which the Church could flaunt its unchanging sectional identity and disseminate its values to the outer world?

Answering these questions will help us to analyse the process of change in missiological ideas among Southern Presbyterians who directed their efforts to evangelising Honam, Korea and other parts of the world.

⁸⁴ *Minutes of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America*, 1861, 15-7, quoted in *ibid.*, 22-3.

⁸⁵ Thompson, III:426.

A. The Missionary Origins of the Southern Presbyterian Church

Historians of American Protestant missions exhibit a consensus that the domestic and international activities of mission have a close link to the idea of American exceptionalism. They have discerned various biblical metaphors in diverse American literature of both a religious and a secular character. Religious expressions such as ‘the Adamic or Christlike innocence of the Americans’, ‘national destiny’, ‘errand to the wilderness’, and ‘city upon a hill’ explain how the founding ancestors of colonial America identified themselves. This typical conviction among many Americans helped them regard themselves as ‘Christ’s chosen, sent, and special messengers to save and renovate the world.’⁸⁶ Among these early leaders who were framed by religious perspectives were those who settled in the Southern colony. Alexander Whitaker, an Anglican minister who was called the ‘Apostle to Virginia’, wrote in 1613 that they were establishing the kingdom of God in the New World.⁸⁷ This initiative of divine destiny was fortified by a series of revivals which swept New England, the western frontiers and the South in the 1730s and 1740s and again at the dawn of the nineteenth century. The revivals brought new emphases into American Protestant theology and practices, such as the necessity of the new birth, conviction of sin, repentance, and personal confession of faith in Christ.⁸⁸ These new elements of transatlantic evangelicalism were manifested and strengthened through the awakenings among Christians in Western Christendom, and through the missions among Native Americans and among slaves. What later missionaries expected to see from the ‘heathens’ in foreign lands, among whom they worked, were much the same signs as those that had characterised the evangelical revivals in America.

The colonial American environment at the time of the First Great Awakening

⁸⁶ George Huntston Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought: The Biblical Experience of the Desert in the History of Christianity and the Paradise Theme in the Theological Idea of the University* (New York: Harper, 1962), 84-7, and Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 5-9.

⁸⁷ Alexander Whitaker, *Good News from Virginia Sent to the Counsell and Company of Virginia, Resident in England* (1613) at <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown-browse?id=J1024>. Harry Culverwell Porter, ‘Alexander Whitaker: Cambridge Apostle to Virginia’, *William and Mary Quarterly* 14 (July 1957): 317-43.

⁸⁸ For the significance of conversion in American religious history, see Jerald C. Brauer, ‘Conversion: From Puritanism to Revivalism’, *The Journal of Religion* 58:3 (1978): 227-43.

did not fulfil all the sufficient conditions to initiate a foreign missionary movement. American Christians' sense of compulsion to evangelise the 'heathens' grew instead out of the revival fires of the Second Great Awakening, and the news that British evangelicals had begun to undertake their own movement to reach them. This led to the birth of the first American foreign mission society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1810. The ABCFM had significant implications that led in due course to the emergence of the Southern Presbyterian Church's missionary engagement.

The way in which the ABCFM was related to Southern Presbyterian missions can be traced to the Presbyterians' early participation in this organisation. The Presbyterian schism in 1837 was above all a division between revivalists and traditionalists. In many ways, however, it also contained the roots of sectional cleavage between the North and the South. New School Presbyterians who supported revivalism were open to cooperation with other denominations for the sake of more effective evangelistic efforts. Presbyterians in New York and Ohio had indeed built an evangelical united front with Connecticut Congregationalists as early as the Plan of Union in 1801. As already mentioned, New School Presbyterians did not find secure ground on Southern soil since the New School proposed abolitionist ideas as well as theological modifications of orthodox Calvinism. Slavery was almost unknown among the small number of New School adherents in the South, mostly in East Tennessee.⁸⁹ Among the products from the sentiments which united revivalist Calvinists in the North before the schism of 1837 were diverse voluntary societies, one of the earliest of which was the ABCFM. Naturally, many more mission-oriented New School Presbyterians than Old School brethren engaged in foreign missionary enterprise through the ABCFM. In 1831, however, the Pittsburgh Synod had formed a separate Presbyterian missionary agency, the Western Foreign Missionary Society, which would soon become the Presbyterian Foreign Missionary Society for the entire denomination in 1837. In the course of the controversies leading to the schism of that year, the Old School supported their new missionary body, whereas the New School continued to cooperate with Congregationalists. New School Presbyterians continued

⁸⁹ Harold M. Parker, *The United Synod of the South: The Southern New School Presbyterian Church*

to affiliate to the ABCFM until 1869 when the Northern Presbyterians reunited.⁹⁰

The role of Southern Presbyterians in the inception of this new denominational mission society was outstanding. When the Pittsburgh Synod suggested a ‘conceptual change’ in missionary thinking in recognition that ‘world mission is not an optional activity that can be delegated to any voluntary society’, but ‘an indispensable part of the church’, the one who supported this vision foremost was John Holt Rice (1777-1831), founder of Union Seminary in Virginia:

The Presbyterian Church is a missionary society, the object of which is to aid in the conversion of the world, and every member of the Church is a member for life of said society, and bound, in maintenance of his Christian character, to do all in his power for the accomplishment of the object.⁹¹

The first two missionaries who responded to a call of the Western Foreign Missionary Society in 1832 were Virginians, John B. Pinney and Joseph W. Barr, who offered for service in Liberia. Rice could not overcome the spirit of time and space in which he lived, however. Although he wrote that ‘I am most fully convinced that slavery is the greatest evil in our country, except whiskey; and it is my ardent prayer that we may be delivered from it’, he also insisted that ‘there is nothing in the New Testament which obliges them to take hold of this subject directly.’⁹² Thus, for the Presbyterians who initiated a separate Southern Presbyterian Church in 1861, the harmony of mission and slavery was not problematic as it had already been supported by their predecessors in the Old School Southern Presbyterian culture.

B. Southern Presbyterian Mission Policies, 1837-1940: A Historical Evaluation

(New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), Chapter One.

⁹⁰ G. Thompson Brown, *Presbyterians in World Mission*, Revised Edition (Decatur, GA: CTS Press, 1995), 33-6.

⁹¹ H. McKennie Goodpasture, ‘150 Years in Global Mission’, in *1987 Mission Yearbook for Prayer and Study*, (New York: PCUSA, 1987), 6., quoted in Brown, 35.

⁹² John H. Rice to William Maxwell, 24 February 1827, in William Maxwell, *A Memoir of the Rev. John H. Rice* (Philadelphia, 1835), 306-8., quoted in Goen, 163.

The Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS) from its inception in 1861 declared that mission was ‘the glory of the church.’ Presbyterians in the South, however, had already conducted missionary efforts among slaves from the earliest years of the nineteenth century. This missionary activity was officially categorised as part of home mission. Nevertheless, on the ground that this evangelistic enterprise crossed the boundaries of ethnicity and culture, Southern Presbyterians were inclined to draw some guiding lessons for their future missionary work in foreign lands from their experiences among African Americans.

Two issues regarding Southern Presbyterian missions to African Americans can be pointed out: One is that, predictably enough, Southern Presbyterian missions among slaves were intimately associated with their belief in the biblical sanction of social order, the institution of slavery. After the schism of the Old/New School in 1837-8, Southern Presbyterians, mostly the Old School, redoubled their missionary endeavours directed at slaves as they were concerned with the possibility that the Northern tide of abolitionism would be influential on slaves. In response to the Georgia Presbytery’s request that other presbyteries join it in petitioning the General Assembly to take special interest in the evangelisation of slaves in 1844, the Presbytery of Harmony, South Carolina, argued:

It is inexpedient to employ any foreign agency in providing for the religious instruction of the negroes in our midst.... God in wise providence has placed this class of persons in the bosom of the Southern church; it is the duty of the church to provide for their religious instruction.... and hence too a native ministry alone is adequate to the task of employing every facility for imparting the instruction needed. Ministers and missionaries from other places may contribute much of personal labor in the good work; but we believe it is dangerous to accept such an arrangement....⁹³

The Southern Presbyterian conviction that African Americans in the South must be instructed only by Southern missionaries who shared the Southern worldview, was reinforced by the separation in 1844-5 of the two Southern evangelical denominations—Baptists and Methodists—from their Northern brethren.

A second facet of the Southern Presbyterian missions to African Americans,

⁹³ Thompson, I:436.

as a paradoxical and affirmative element, needs to be noted, however. The leading Southern Presbyterian minister Charles Colcock Jones expected that African Americans who had been instructed in Christian doctrine would exhibit fewer tendencies toward rebellion than those who had been left as ‘heathens.’⁹⁴ Simultaneously, Southern Presbyterian missionaries had confidence that the mentality and souls of African Americans could be transformed through the teaching of the gospel message. It was derived from their belief that slaves were the same human beings, created in the image of the Trinity, just as were missionaries themselves. In this respect, they were totally different from the proponents of polygenism who insisted that each race was of a different lineage, and that Africans were mentally inferior to Caucasians. Polygenism was used to justify some slaveholders’ ill treatment of slaves after the idea was introduced into American mainstream scientific and religious thought through the works of Samuel George Morton and Louis Agassiz. In addition to Jones, the leading Southern Presbyterian ministers and missionaries who worked among African Americans, such as Thomas Smyth, John B. Adger, and John L. Girardeau, actively defended the unity and monogenic origin of all human races at the risk of being vilified as abolitionists by some Southern planters.⁹⁵ By 1854, many of the Southern Presbyterian churches had become used to ‘the accommodation of the people of colour so that they might enjoy the privilege of the sanctuary in common with the whites’, though of course they had separate seating. In some churches, some African Americans had leadership positions, ‘assistants’ or ‘watchmen’, for which they were chosen by their own people, though they were still not allowed to exercise authority over whites. Two more innovative, but exceptional cases were those of Harrison W. Ellis who sailed to Liberia as a missionary, and of Hiram R. Revels who organised an African American Presbyterian church in the 1850s.⁹⁶

However, the mission principles which were outstanding in the Southern Presbyterian missions to African Americans show that Southern Presbyterian

⁹⁴ Charles Colcock Jones, *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States* (Philadelphia: PBP, n.d.), 72.

⁹⁵ Livingstone, *Adam’s Ancestors*, 169-200.

⁹⁶ Thompson, I:437-43.

missions in their early stage before 1861 was captured by the spirit of the time, exhibiting strong racial prejudices against the people of colour in their neighbourhood. Even the most pioneering white missionaries, who believed in the biblical truth of monogenesis, did not regard it as contradictory to their conviction of the divine sanction of white racial superiority. Nonetheless, the missionaries, unlike many other Southerners, emphasised the essential unity of humanity and viewed 'heathens' simply as sinful creatures who had been lost as a result of sin, just as all white people were.⁹⁷ The missionaries were probably the only white group who believed that Africans had the capability to lead their own congregations, to support their own leaders, and to propagate the gospel message to their own people. In short, Southern Presbyterian missionaries who had cross-cultural experiences among people of colour before 1861 were much more likely than their Southern contemporaries to claim the biblical truth of a common humanity, even though they did not dare to implement a full community of equality.⁹⁸

As described in previous sections, the Southern Presbyterian Church as a separate denomination was initiated in Augusta, Georgia on 4 December 1861. Its most influential theologian, Henley James Thornwell, and most prominent minister, Benjamin Morgan Palmer, were elected respectively as presenter of the proposed address and as first moderator of the first General Assembly. These two figures were well-known as representative divines who embodied the spirit of the new ecclesiastical body, but one other figure, John Leighton Wilson, needs to be added to

⁹⁷ This language of the unity of the human race on biblical grounds was used by William Carey in his *Enquiry* as early as in 1792. 'Can we as men, or as Christians, hear that a great part of our fellow creatures, whose souls are as immortal as ours, and who are as capable as ourselves, of adorning the gospel and contributing by their preaching, writings, or practices to the glory of our Redeemer's name, and the good of his church, are enveloped in ignorance and barbarism?' William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens....* (Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792), 69f. For the relationship between the English evangelical missions and the enlightenment idea of humanity and civilisation, see Brian Stanley, 'Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought, 1792-1857', in Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 169-97.

⁹⁸ For African American religious experience before 1830, see Silvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). For post-bellum African American Protestants, see William E. Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 73-9 and 125.

the list of the founding fathers who exemplified the features of the denomination for the next century or more. The birth of the Southern Presbyterian Church as a missional entity was absolutely indebted to him. At the first General Assembly, Wilson was unanimously elected as executive secretary of the Committee of Foreign Missions. Wilson had been an ABCFM missionary to West Africa from 1834. Before sailing to Africa, working among slaves in South Carolina, he had been petitioned by them to go to Africa for missionary activity. His domestic experience among African Americans sensitized him to the predicament of Africans in the foreign mission field. In Liberia and then to the north of the mouth of the Congo River, in 1850, he found evidence of the African slave traffic by Portuguese or Spanish ships, and wrote in detail an account to London. The Prime Minister Lord Palmerston sent British war vessels to West Africa, which finally resulted in the end of slave trade in that area.⁹⁹ This episode which happened in the life of a white missionary from the South became a historical precedent for the Southern Presbyterians' future engagement in social reform in foreign lands, especially in Africa.¹⁰⁰

After about twenty years in West Africa, he was invited to become one of the secretaries of the New York PCUSA Board of Foreign Missions in 1853. However, in 1860, when he found that there was no hope of maintaining the union, in spite of his position as an ardent abolitionist, he returned to his home in Columbia, South Carolina. His dual and contradictory identity as a Southerner and simultaneously an abolitionist may have been replicated by other Southern Presbyterian missionaries at the time of the Civil War and after the war. Wilson had already been involved in social reform in Africa, and had a close relationship to Northern Presbyterians, including Charles Hodge, in his previous mission service and administrative position in New York.¹⁰¹ It is no surprise that, under his leadership and influence until 1884, many Southern Presbyterian missionaries, as well as his successors as executive secretary, became devoted pan-evangelical activists in diverse mission fields and in

⁹⁹ Henry Alexander White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders: 1683-1911* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2000), 397-400.

¹⁰⁰ See pp.87-89 of this thesis.

¹⁰¹ White, 401. See also G. Thompson Brown, 'Overseas Mission Program and Policies of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., 1861-1983', *AP* 65:2 (1987): 157-8.

the office of the Foreign Missions Committee. They devoted their attention to combating social evils and to participating in ecumenical organisations in cooperation with other denominational mission leaders.

During the period 1861-1940 in which Southern Presbyterians were most active in foreign missionary efforts, there were several significant controversies over the mission policies and practices of the church. Among these, five issues caused special tension between Southern Presbyterians. The first was over the relations of the church to voluntary societies. These controversies were similar to those which affected Scotland in previous generations,¹⁰² and they also surfaced among Old School American Presbyterians between 1838 and 1860. As in Scotland, the controversies turned on larger questions of ecclesiology: ‘Exactly what was the nature and mission of the church?’ and ‘if various tasks such as evangelism and ministries of mercy were eventually assumed by the voluntary societies, would this mean that the church would ultimately be left with very few functions, perhaps only worship and the administration of the sacraments?’ The two camps in the Old School were divided along geographical lines between North and South, and the main disputants from both sides were Hodge and Thornwell. Thornwell was surer of the divine origin of the church polity than Hodge. He wrote: ‘one party amongst us holds that Christ gave us the materials and principles of church-government, and has left us to shape them pretty much as we please. However the other holds that God gave us *a Church*, a constitution, laws, Presbyterys [*sic*], Assemblies, Presbyters, and all the functionaries necessary to a complete organization of his kingdom upon the earth and to its effective operation.’¹⁰³ Because of Thornwell’s extreme assurance of the divine right of Presbyterian polity, in the final debate before the General Assembly of 1860, Hodge called Thornwell’s view ‘hyper-hyper-hyper High Church Presbyterianism’,

¹⁰² For the historical place of voluntarism in the broader Protestant missionary movement, see David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991), 327-34; and for the controversies in the Scottish churches which was caused by the influx of the English societies’ mission theory to Scotland, see Andrew Walls, ‘Missions: Origins’, in Nigel M. de S. Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 568-72.

¹⁰³ John B. Adger and John L. Girardeau, *The Collected Writings of James Henly Thornwell*, 4 vols. (Richmond: PCP, 1871-1881), 4:218. Also see Whitlock, Jr., ‘James Henry Thornwell’, in *Reformed Theology in America*, 240.

and Thornwell replied that Hodge's principle was 'no, *no*, NO Presbyterianism, no, *no*, NO Churchism!'¹⁰⁴ The fact that a large majority of the General Assembly upheld Hodge's principle meant that Hodge and his system of administering missions through a separate mission board eventually won the battle which had continued for the preceding twenty years. The Northern Church continued 'the policy of conducting the Church's benevolent work through the agency of incorporated Boards',¹⁰⁵ which, according to Thornwell, 'had become too large (over one hundred members in size) and too independent of the Assembly.'¹⁰⁶

The first Southern Presbyterian General Assembly in 1861, on the other hand, predictably adopted the new structure of the 'executive committee', which 'was a mere instrumentality through which the Assembly itself acts and not agencies standing in place of the Assembly and acting for it.'¹⁰⁷ An evaluation of whether Southern Presbyterians' 'executive committee' structure produced a real difference from their Northern counterparts' 'board' system is complicated. According to Samuel Chester, executive secretary of the foreign missions of this church, 1893-1912, the two systems of board and committee, after undergoing a process of evolution, came to be practically the same: 'In the final outcome the difference between the Board and the Executive Committee came to be that in the election of Secretaries the Board elected them to be confirmed by the Assembly, while the Executive Committee nominated them to be elected by the Assembly. In recent years the entire administrative machinery of both churches has been readjusted..... the differences between them on this point, so far as any matter of principle is concerned, has come to be even more, if possible, only a matter of names.'¹⁰⁸ Chester's reflection on the difference between the two systems was written in 1928 in remembrance of his previous career as the executive secretary of the foreign missions. It suggests that, by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century,

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, I:515.

¹⁰⁵ Samuel H. Chester, *Behind the Scenes: An Administrative History of the Foreign Work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Austin, TX: Press of von Boeckman-Jones, 1928), 11.

¹⁰⁶ Brown, 'Overseas Mission Program and Policies', 157.

¹⁰⁷ Chester, 11.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-3.

the PCUS had realised the effectiveness of the board system, while maintaining Thornwell's principle of the church itself as the main bearer of the gospel. As many new functions of the church were added with time, by 1947, the General Assembly had twenty-one executive and permanent committees which took executive charge of the church's divergent business. An ad interim committee to the 1947 General Assembly, after a careful and comprehensive study of churches' committees, published a booklet of 107 pages. This was with little revision adopted in the 1949 General Assembly. One of the key transitions through the adoption of report was the change of name: from Executive Committees to Boards. This did not mean that the church had eventually refused Thornwell's principle, but merely that it had abandoned an old-fashioned and sectional prejudice against the specific term. Thompson has evaluated this transformation: 'Irrational prejudice against the word 'Board' continued long after the practical differences between Northern Boards and Southern Executive Committees had become erased.... The Southern Assembly adopted the generally accepted nomenclature.'¹⁰⁹ As the General Assembly articulated, the change of name aimed to bring 'greater economy, foresight, and effectiveness' to the church's benevolent work. With time Thornwell's legacy of isolationism gradually became more moderate.

The second issue over foreign missions related to the formation of presbyteries of the Southern Church abroad. Despite its strong pronouncement on foreign missions in 1861, the church's foreign mission activity did not begin until 1866, five years after the initiation of the General Assembly. The delay was because the church had no competence to undertake missionary enterprise abroad during the war and in the early period of the Reconstruction. The first foreign missionary was Elias B. Inslee, appointed to China, who had already been a missionary in China sent from the New York board in 1856. During the war, he had severed his relationship to the Northern Church and continued missionary work at his own expense. From 1868, several missionaries were sent to reinforce the China mission. The second foreign mission field was Campinas, Brazil, in which the first two missionaries arrived in 1869. After several years of missionary work in China and Brazil, presbyteries were

¹⁰⁹ Thompson, III:373-4.

organized in each field—Brazil in 1871 and China in 1874—by the authorisation of the PCUS General Assembly. These presbyteries were at first considered as the extension of the Southern Presbyterian Church abroad. However, the missionaries in China and Brazil, after serious discussions, requested the General Assembly to permit them to dissolve the organised presbyteries. The 1876 General Assembly granted this request, adopting a policy statement:

We ought not to seek to propagate our own distinctive Presbyterian body in various parts of the world, but rather to disseminate simply the principles and doctrines that we hold. . . . No heathen land can be thoroughly evangelized except through the agency of its own people. The foreign missionary, with the blessing of God, may set the ball in motion, and for a time shape its course. But it is for men raised upon the soil to continue and extend the work.¹¹⁰

This revolutionary statement at first glance does not harmonise with the dominant ideas in the post-bellum Southern Presbyterian Church, especially those of the leaders, such as Robert Lewis Dabney. As discussed in the previous section, Dabney and his many colleagues believed that churches in the South were the only bastion which could keep it and other parts of the world from the influence of contemporary secular thought and infidelity. However, it was missionaries themselves who initiated the requests for the dissolution of home church presbyteries abroad. Matthew Hale Houston of China and his fellow missionaries took the view, unusual among Southern Presbyterians, that the ‘Southern Church’ was not the only body of Christ, but it was just one of many parts forming one body. In 1887, Matthew Houston became the successor to Wilson in the foreign mission committee. The first missionary manual, which was produced under the leadership of Houston, strongly insisted that ‘it was inexpedient for missionaries to become voting members of the church courts in mission lands.’ A later version was revised to allow that missionaries could become voting members ‘under exceptional circumstances’, and in some fields such as Brazil and China, it became normal for missionaries to become voting members since they assumed their role as guides of the development of the new indigenous churches.¹¹¹ Nonetheless, the pioneering mission policies of

¹¹⁰ Thompson, II:302.

¹¹¹ Ibid., III:125.

the Southern Presbyterian Church contributed to the native churches' becoming self-governing and self-supporting churches. Just as with Thornwell's influence over administrative nomenclature, Dabney's influence in ecclesiology also steadily dwindled at home, and faster in the mission field, even though his textbook continued to shape the theological formation of Southern Presbyterian ministers and missionaries until 1940. Overseas mission experience was a significant factor in the moderation of Southern Presbyterian isolationism.

The continuing Southern Presbyterian retreat from sectionalism was reinforced by rapprochement with Northern Presbyterians in foreign lands as well as at home. This was the third issue of controversy. Increasingly overcoming its antagonism against the North, the 1876 General Assembly, after two years of severe dispute, resolved to join the new ecumenical body, the World Presbyterian Alliance.¹¹² Six years later, the Assembly sent a telegram expressing regret for any previous statement which had offended the Northern Church, and the next year, fraternal relationship between two denominations was restored.¹¹³ A more effective cooperative relationship was implemented in foreign lands, whose chief coordinator was again Matthew Hale Houston. During his term as executive secretary of foreign missions from 1885 to 1893, he directed various schemes of cooperation with other denominational missions. The Japan mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church joined other missions in attempting to establish a united Church of Christ in Japan. The 1887 General Assembly approved an independent Brazilian synod with four presbyteries, which were organised jointly by Northern and Southern Presbyterian missionaries.¹¹⁴ The most successful example of cooperative mission was, however, the birth of the Korea mission. As already mentioned, the first PCUS missionaries to Korea were recruited by a PCUSA missionary, Horace Grant Underwood, and the financial support for the commencement of the mission was also from the

¹¹² The World Presbyterian Alliance, officially named 'the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System', was founded in London in 1875. This organisation and the International Congregational Council, which had first met in 1891, merged in 1970 to form the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. (Presbyterian and Congregational). See <http://warc.ch/where/history.html>.

¹¹³ Brown, 159.

¹¹⁴ Thompson, III:125.

Underwood family. American Presbyterians in Korea displayed little tension between Northern and Southern brethren. Southern missionaries in foreign lands had closer connections with the Northerners than did any Southern Presbyterian group in the United States.¹¹⁵

We have already observed that the doctrine of the spirituality of the church was used to justify Southern Presbyterians' schism from their Northern brethren. This principle was still an official doctrine of the post-bellum Southern Presbyterian Church, and many denominational leaders actually opposed their church joining any social reform movement on the ground of this unique doctrine. A similar controversy happened when its missionaries in China and in the Belgian Congo became stalwart champions of human rights there. Hampden DuBose, who lived in China from 1872, aroused public opinion against the opium traffic among missionaries and Chinese people. He then organised the National Anti-Opium League in 1896, retaining its presidency for fifteen years until his death. President Theodore Roosevelt was involved in the movement and then, in 1906, eventually the British Parliament passed legalisation to close the Indo-China opium trade.¹¹⁶

A more absorbing case of Southern Presbyterians' engagement in protesting against the abuse of human rights came from the Congo.¹¹⁷ The Southern Presbyterian Church opened its Congo mission in Leubo in 1890, sending two evangelists, one white, Samuel Lapsley, and one black, William Sheppard. After Lapsley's death a year later, Sheppard, and William Morrison, who joined the mission in 1898, witnessed and heard of the inhumane treatment toward native workers on the rubber plantations of the Belgian King Leopold. The Basonge or 'Zappo Zaps',¹¹⁸ a Congolese tribe, who had been employed by an agent of King

¹¹⁵ Brown, 158.

¹¹⁶ Thompson, III:130-1.

¹¹⁷ One of the best introductions to the American (Southern) Presbyterian Congo mission (APCM) and its human rights campaign has been written by Robert Benedetto, in his edited documentary sourcebook, *Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa: A Documentary Account of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the Human Rights Struggle in the Congo, 1890-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1-53. For the general missionary campaign, see Ruth M. Slade, *English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908)* (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1959), 103-7, 254-9, and 367-77 and Kevin Grant, *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slavery in Africa, 1884-1926* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 39-78.

¹¹⁸ According to Slade, the Zappo Zaps were 'cannibal' soldiers who were also called 'the Basonge, a

Leopold to implement the government's policies of compulsory labour and taxation, raided the village of Chinyama, near to Ibanche, a station of the American Presbyterian Congo mission in 1899.¹¹⁹ Sheppard, in charge of investigating the affair, witnessed dead bodies, some hung from trees, and some missing their head and limbs. He even heard from the chief of the Zappo Zaps that they had killed between 80 and 90 people, and then ate them.¹²⁰ Morrison and other missionaries publicised these brutal atrocities through addresses, letters, articles, and publications in Belgium, England and the US.¹²¹ The 1900 General Assembly adopted a resolution to support its missionaries' engagement in the activity of social reform. In 1908, when Sheppard and Morrison were charged for libelling the Belgium government and were put on trial, the General Assembly and Samuel Chester, then executive secretary of foreign missions, urged the State Department to act for the missionaries. Both missionaries were finally acquitted and the reforms in the Congo were gradually implemented.¹²²

It should be noted that the PCUS initially maintained a policy of non-involvement in political affairs in their mission fields as well as at home. Indeed, the first response of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions, when it received the report of the Congo mission, was to advise its missionary personnel 'to avoid anything that might give any colour to a charge of doing or saying things inconsistent with its purely spiritual and non-political character.'¹²³ However, against expectation, the resolutions of the General Assembly in support of its missionaries were quickly adopted in the same year. These decisions resulted from a series of serious debates in which some ministers protested against the General Assembly's actions, insisting that

recently formed, warlike group.' They had been given a privileged position as allies and agents of the State, but had remained practically uncontrolled by the European officials.' Slade, 254 and n.1.

¹¹⁹ For the full account of the accident, see William Morrison's address before the Boston Peace Congress in October 1904, 'Treatment of the Native People by the Government of the Congo Independent State', in T. C. Vinson, *William McCutchan Morrison: Twenty Years in Central Africa* (Richmond: PCP, 1921), 179-91 and Benedetto, 206-13.

¹²⁰ Sheppard's full sketch of what he saw in the Zappa Zap camp is in his journal entry for 13-14 September 1899. It is currently printed in Benedetto, 121-4.

¹²¹ One of the articles published is found in *New York Times* (5 January 1900).

¹²² Brown, 160-2.

¹²³ S. H. Chester to Brethren, 9 January 1900, in Benedetto, 127.

these resolutions contradicted the historic doctrine of the spirituality of the church. Southern Presbyterians, who remained silent on political and social issues in their homeland, did not stay quiet in foreign lands. The unique Southern Presbyterian doctrine of the spirituality of the church appeared not to be applicable to some of the foreign mission fields.¹²⁴

In addition, the Congo case presents an innovative example of reciprocal cooperation between black and white missionaries, as shown in the relationship of Sheppard and Morrison. In fact, some historians have argued that from its inception, the Congo mission was an integrated mission. African American missionaries received the same salary as did white co-workers and had the same opportunity to express their opinions under the same mission policies. These examples indicate that African American Presbyterians in the Congo were in a far better condition than their colleagues suffering under the subordination of whites in the contemporary American South.¹²⁵

However, these racial relations should not be overstated. Benedetto, for example, points out that ‘beneath this veneer of what appeared to be integrated mission lay the troubling substrata of racism.’ According to his arguments, the Southern Presbyterian Church was unwilling to send out African Americans to Africa without white volunteers who were placed in charge of the control of the mission. This became official policy under Samuel Chester, who stated that, ‘in view of the many delicate and complicated matters connected with our relations to the Congo Free State, and difficult business arrangements that have to be provided for, it is also necessary to have a certain portion of white men connected with the Mission.’¹²⁶ In accordance with this policy that African Americans could not be the highest authority of the mission, Sheppard was subjected to Lapsley’s authority, and after Lapsley’s early death, DeWitt Snyder and then Morrison ran the mission. Indeed, after 1910, the Executive Committee resolved that only white missionaries would be sent to

¹²⁴ Thompson, III:131-6

¹²⁵ James H. Smylie, ‘Sheppard and Morrison: African Mission and Justice’, in James H. Smylie, Dean K. Thompson, and Cary Patrick, eds., *Go Therefore: 150 Years of Presbyterians in Global Mission* (Atlanta: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1987), 41-2, and Stanley Shaloff, *Reform in Leopold’s Congo* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1970), 49.

¹²⁶ Samuel H. Chester, ‘Foreign Mission Committee Notes’, *TM* (November 1898): 490.

Africa partly because of the sexual misconduct of some of its African American personnel and partly owing to the restrictive policies of the Belgian colonial government which denied visas to African Americans. As a result, the Congo mission gradually became a white mission, and from 1941 to 1958, all members were white.¹²⁷ On balance, although obviously not ideal from today's perspective, it is apparent that this Southern Presbyterian experience in a foreign land was a dynamic force by which the policies of both the Belgian Congo and the PCUS changed. The Assembly's actions were in sharp contrast with Dabney's severe opposition to any idea of human rights as a godless product of the Enlightenment, and Thornwell's standard doctrine of the apolitical church. Overseas missions stimulated Southern Presbyterians at home to reconsider their conceived antagonism to human rights and social justice.

The fifth controversy was related to the Southern Presbyterian missionaries' association with people and organisations of modernist tendency in the 1920s. Since the fundamentalist-modernist controversy within the Southern Presbyterian Church was less vehement than that in the Northern Church,¹²⁸ the extent of tension among its missionaries in the foreign field was also relatively weak. In China, however, there were two exceptional instances. The first concerned Pearl Buck, whose early career was in the Southern Presbyterian mission. Pearl Buck was born to a Southern Presbyterian China missionary couple in 1892. Her father, Absalom Sydenstricker, from West Virginia, along with his wife Caroline Stulting, worked in Hangchow, the first Southern Presbyterian mission station in China, from 1880. Though still categorised as a conservative evangelical throughout his life, Absalom Sydenstricker came to be relatively open-minded to Chinese culture and academic tradition, after about twenty years in China, so that he allowed his daughter to be educated by Mr Kung, 'a dignified Chinese gentleman.' This was 'quite a liberal practice' in comparison with the fact that 'the children of more orthodox missionaries were generally protected from the Chinese influence inside the missionary compound and

¹²⁷ Benedetto, 31-4.

¹²⁸ For detailed accounts of the controversies among Northern Presbyterians, see Bradley J. Longfield, *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). For the debates over missions, see Chapter Eight.

knew the Chinese mostly as servants.’¹²⁹ Sydenstricker, according to his daughter, by the turn of the twentieth century, had even ‘arrived somehow at a proposition that Christianity was historically indebted to Oriental religions, that Jesus may have visited Nepal when he was young man and knew well the teachings of Confucius and Gautama, and that Asian civilisation had contributed, through its religions, to human’s movement toward God.’¹³⁰ However, he did not bring his liberal views of Asian religions before the public eye so that he could avoid any charge against him in missionary circles.

Pearl was appointed to China as an educational missionary in 1914, after her graduation from Randolph-Macon Woman’s College. Her marriage to John Lossing Buck, a Northern Presbyterian agricultural missionary, led her to move from the Southern to the Northern Presbyterian mission in 1917. Her encounter with the farmers, whom she idealised as the authentic symbols of people closest to nature, in a small rural town of northern Anhwei province, their new mission field, was a decisive moment that led her to cut off her missionary past. A series of her writings in the 1920s and 1930s stirred missionary communities both in China and the US, which resulted in her forced resignation as a missionary of the Northern Presbyterian board in 1933.¹³¹ In one of her most renowned essays, declaring herself as Chinese, she warned American Christians ‘to throw off arrogance and come to us brothers and fellowmen’, along with ‘a new, invigorated, and liberalised religion.’¹³² The cases of Pearl Buck and her parents suggest that experience in the mission field could be intense enough to transform completely the whole life of Southern Presbyterian missionaries, who were by upbringing culturally and doctrinally conservative. Pearl Buck’s transformation was an extreme example, but a moderate change of attitudes to indigenous cultures, as in the life of the Sydenstrickers, may not have been exceptional, even if it was not always made public.

¹²⁹ Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 103.

¹³⁰ Pearl S. Buck, *The Fighting Angel: Portrait of a Soul* (New York: John Day, 1936), 65. Also see Xi, 104.

¹³¹ Xi, 107-23.

¹³² Buck, ‘Is there a Case for Foreign Missions?’ *Harper’s Monthly* (January 1933): 155.

The second affair exercised a more far-reaching influence on the life of missions and Chinese churches. In 1921, two branches of the Southern Presbyterian China mission, the North Kiangsu mission and the Mid-China mission, were forced to decide whether they should cooperate with two Chinese Christian organisations, the National Christian Council and Nanjing Seminary. These two organisations were suspected of modernism. Egbert W. Smith, executive secretary of foreign missions from 1912 to 1932, investigated charges that some Southern Presbyterian missionaries had liberal views of the authority of the Bible. He reported to the General Assembly that no missionary of the church had unsound theological perspectives but recommended that the investigation of these two Chinese organisations should be continued. Both Southern Presbyterian missions in China reportedly refused to join the National Christian Council, but in relation to Nanjing Seminary, opinions were divided. The North Kiangsu mission, which was dominated by a majority of conservatives, decided to sever the relationship with the seminary, but the more moderate Mid-China mission continued the cooperation.¹³³ More interesting was that the conflicts in China bore a close parallel to those in the US. Sharp divisions between fundamentalists, moderates, and modernists broke out in missions and Chinese churches. Many Southern Presbyterians proved their theological conservatism by forming the Bible Union of China, which aimed to ‘make an open stand in defense of the faith once for all delivered to the saints.’¹³⁴ The particular targets of Hugh W. White and Nelson Bell, M.D.,¹³⁵ from the North Kiangsu mission, were two leading Southern Presbyterians who had key positions in the ecumenical organisations. P. Frank Price, vice president of the National Christian Council and professor at Nanjing Seminary, and Donald W. Richardson, one of three Southern Presbyterian professors at Nanjing Seminary, both from the Mid-China mission, claimed that the prevalence of modernism in China was very much

¹³³ Brown, 163.

¹³⁴ Thompson, III:317. The establishment of this organisation was decided by eighteen China missionaries, among whom fifteen were Southern Presbyterians.

¹³⁵ Lemuel Nelson Bell (1894–1973) became the father-in-law of evangelist Billy Graham in 1943. He was also known for his suggestion to his son-in-law the idea of *Christianity Today*, founded in 1956. See Billy Graham, *Just As I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 288.

exaggerated.¹³⁶

The reasons why two branches in the same denominational mission had different attitudes to co-operational ministries in their each situation were explained by a correspondent: the North Kiangsu mission was involved in extensive evangelistic work in a largely unoccupied rural field, whereas the Mid-China mission worked in large cities where the territory was divided with many other missions. The latter context required much co-operation, especially in educational ministry. Thus, the two branches did not differ in doctrine, but in the practical policies which geography and economic conditions required.¹³⁷ Interestingly, the General Assembly and the Executive Committee, in 1924, permitted the Mid-China mission to continue to associate with Nanjing Seminary, while allowing the North Kiangsu mission to sever the connection.¹³⁸ The latter subsequently joined the North China Theological Seminary, newly formed for conservative theological education in Shandong province in 1919, and some missionaries from that mission also became academic staff of this new seminary.¹³⁹ The presence of inner tensions between the PCUS missionaries was clear. The issue was, however, about different degrees of theological conservatism. Except for the rare case of Pearl Buck at the peak of her career when she was no longer a member of the Southern Presbyterian family, most Southern Presbyterian missionaries always maintained their commitment to their old doctrines.

When considering comprehensively the development in the mission policies of the PCUS, between 1838 and 1940, the most notable change was the church's removal from its sectional isolation. This process of exodus was accomplished gradually on a denominational basis, but it was the church's experience of foreign mission that stimulated and accelerated the evolution. The PCUS, recognising a new

¹³⁶ Thompson, III:319-20.

¹³⁷ W. H. Hudson in *Presbyterian Standard* (3 January 1923): 5, quoted in Thompson, III:319.

¹³⁸ Thompson, III:322.

¹³⁹ Kevin Xiyi Yao, 'The North China Theological Seminary: Evangelical Theological Education in China in the Early 1900s', in Ogbu Kalu, ed., *Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Process and Local Identities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 190. For a comprehensive study of the fundamentalist movement among Western missionaries and indigenous Protestants in China, see idem, *The Fundamentalist Movement among the Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2003).

era in its missionary work, held its first Congress of World Missions in 1931. The Report of Commission I of the congress indeed emphasised that ‘it is not enough to preach what is usually called the spiritual message for the non-Christian world. If we are going to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified, we must preach and practice these great social teachings which he taught and which he translated so perfectly into a life.’¹⁴⁰ Nonetheless, this church and its mission still remained doctrinally very conservative until the 1940s, opposing modernist views of theology, and placing great emphasis on direct evangelism and preaching of the gospel as a primary aim, with medical and educational work occupying an auxiliary role.¹⁴¹ These reports, composed on the basis of a century of mission involvement, were a blueprint for the future mission. In this manifesto, the PCUS effectively announced that they would no longer be a distinctively Southern Church, but a holistic and pan-evangelical mission Church. Its missionaries had showed solid cooperation with other missions, social engagement, and amicable racial relations in their fields since the last decade of the nineteenth century. They went overseas with a secure and unquestioned identity as Southerners and Presbyterians. The people and their cultures in the mission fields they encountered, however, gradually transformed them, consciously or unconsciously. They brought their transformed identities—changed attitudes to culture, humanity, social order, and gender relations—to their homeland, and eventually, these changed identities contributed to the transformation of their home churches and the members in them. In the chapters which follow, we will see in what ways these historical features of the Southern Presbyterian foreign missions were applied to the Korea mission field.

C. The Beginnings of the Southern Presbyterian Korea Mission

As already mentioned,¹⁴² the origins of the SPKM can be traced to the

¹⁴⁰ Report of Commission I in *Our Church Faces Foreign Missions: A Comprehensive Study by the Southern Presbyterian Church of Her Own Foreign Mission Problems and Responsibilities* (Nashville: Executive Committee of Foreign Missions, PCUS, n.d.), 37-8.

¹⁴¹ Report of Commission II, in *ibid.*, 101.

¹⁴² See pp.40 and 44-5 (n.72) of the thesis.

addresses delivered by Horace G. Underwood and Yun Ch'i-ho in the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance held in Nashville, Tennessee on September 1891. Underwood was on his first furlough in his fatherland after his six-year pioneering work in Korea, mostly focusing on recruiting missionary candidates to Korea. Yun had just settled in Oxford, Georgia, as a new student at Emory College (later University) after graduation from Vanderbilt University on 17 June 1891.¹⁴³ Underwood and Yun employed the same method of public address in order to persuade audiences in the convention to consider Korea as their future mission field. Both had as the purpose of their address the expansion of Protestant mission activities in Korea, but the perspectives and tones of arguments given by the two speakers were slightly different from each other. On 23 October, Underwood, as the transmitter of the gospel and as an energetic activist, without any hesitation, pressed participants to devote themselves to the Great Commission: 'every man in our theological seminaries, if he is true to his God, if he is true to his Savior, must be a foreign missionary. Every one of them must go to the foreign field.' He repeatedly stressed the urgency of world evangelisation, using typical phrases which appeared frequently in missionary meetings such as 'a dying world', 'utter darkness', and 'calling to give to them the message of Christ Jesus.'¹⁴⁴ Underwood's address was filled with the confidence and passion which came from his own positive and passionate character as well as his pride in what his people achieved.

In contrast, Yun approached these audiences with more caution and modesty in his speech delivered two days later. He first affirmed the main argument that Underwood had raised in his preceding address: 'Gentlemen: You have been told that there are twelve perishing millions in Corea; that they hunger and thirst for the gospel; that they beg you to "come over and help" them. Each of those statements has a great deal [*sic*] truth in it. I shall not contradict any.' However, he then encouraged the participants to pay attention to certain elements which were

¹⁴³ In the most articles and books describing this event, both in Korean and in English, the authors have written that Yun was a Vanderbilt student at the time when he participated at the 1891 Nashville Convention. However, according to his diary entries, he had already graduated from Vanderbilt on June of the same year, and moved to Oxford, Georgia. See *YD*, 17 June 1891, 4 July 1891, and 10 and 20 September 1891.

¹⁴⁴ *HGUP*, I:717-8 and 720.

‘untouched’ or ignored by Underwood. First of all, contrary to Underwood’s stress on ‘perishing Koreans’, Yun emphasised Korea’s destiny to become a living country, in which missionaries’ good work ‘will not perish with dying men but live from generation to generation.’ Secondly, he did not overstate the Korean people’s desire for the gospel, saying, ‘They don’t hunger and thirst after the gospel any more than children hunger and thirst after the medicine their mother may give for their benefit. You may feel discouraged to hear me say this. However, gentlemen, go there prepared for the worst and find the people readier accepting the gospel than be disappointed in your sanguine expectations.’ Finally, Yun urged theology students in the conference to follow the divine call to mission to Korea, rather than to respond his entreaty:

I don’t like using the phrase ‘Come over and help us.’ It has become a sort of a missionary chestnut in many instances....No one shall hereafter look back to this fair land from that field regretting that I persuaded him for the undertaking. I don’t believe in a missionary of human persuasion [*sic*]: I don’t therefore ask or persuade anybody. If, however, you are convinced that Corea is embraced in our common Savior’s order of march.....if you realize the fact that.....your work which may be a brick in the temple of God here will be a corner-stone of the church of Christ in Corea....if the Spirit of God tells you go there because of the great need and few laborers - if these are appeals, if these are calls, let them appeal to you and let them call you to the field.¹⁴⁵

The divergences of tone and emphasis between the addresses of the two speakers perhaps reflected the difference in viewpoints between the supplier and the recipient of Christian message as well as each person’s individual character. Yun was a student who had been sent by American missionaries in China from a ‘heathen’, ‘poor’, and ‘passing’ country to their supposedly ‘civilised’, ‘Christian’, ‘rich’, and ‘living’ nation to learn its so-called ‘superior Christian religion and civilisation.’ Yun applied to Korea Bishop Reginald Heber’s famous line, ‘where every prospect pleases but only man is vile’.¹⁴⁶ He evidently thought that he was indebted to the

¹⁴⁵ *YD*, 25 October 1891.

¹⁴⁶ Almost certainly, Yun quoted this from Reginald Heber’s famous missionary hymn, ‘From Greenland’s Icy Mountains.’ Reginald Heber (1783-1826), rector at Hodnet, Shropshire, England and bishop of Calcutta, India since 1823, wrote this lyric in 1819. There were six different versions of this hymn, but the version of which Yun was aware, was probably the one set to a tune by Lowell Mason

bearers of the highest advanced religion and modernity from America, ‘where civilization is nearer to perfection than anywhere else.’¹⁴⁷

Just after Yun’s short speech, Robert E. Speer, chair of the session, asked how many present intended going to Korea. Yun recorded that only two men stood up, ‘Bro.’s Adams and Tate.’¹⁴⁸ These two, James E. Adams (1867-1929) and Lewis B. Tate (1862-1929), of McCormick Theological Seminary, sailed to Korea, Adams in 1895 affiliated to the NPKM, and Tate in 1892 in affiliation with the SPKM respectively. However, there were two more seminary students who were moved by the addresses and decided to go to Korea. These two missionary candidates, William D. Reynolds (1867-1951) and Cameron Johnson, were attending Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, the Southern Presbyterian institution. Initially Tate, and subsequently these Union Seminary missionary candidates with their classmate William M. Junkin (1865-1908), each applied to the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions for Korea. The committee refused these proposals for the same reason that it had ‘neither men, means, nor mind to open a new mission in an unknown country like Korea.’¹⁴⁹ However, these four volunteers continuously asked the committee to reconsider its decision by initiating a campaign for the Korea mission. Two unexpected and fortuitous events helped this Protestant missionary work to be started in Korea: the cessation of the PCUS missionary work in Greece due to the Greek government’s intervention, and a financial contribution from the Underwood family, represented by Horace G. Underwood and his brother John Underwood.

Underwood’s initial influence on the Southern Presbyterian pioneers was, however, far more extensive than has been generally acknowledged until now. The first contact of Underwood with Southern Presbyterians was through his visit to

(1792-1872) under the title of *Missionary Hymn* in Savannah, Georgia in 1823. The description of ‘vile man’ in Yun’s address was originally applied to Ceylon by Heber, but Yun borrowed this to apply it to Korea. The second verse of the hymn is as follows: ‘What though the spicy breezes blow soft o’er Ceylon’s isle; Though every prospect pleases, and only man is vile?; In vain with lavish kindness the gifts of God are strewn; The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone.’ See <http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/f/t/fromgrim.htm>. This hymn has been included in most Korean hymnals, but this second verse referring to Ceylon has been omitted.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ W. D. Reynolds, ‘How the Mission Was Begun.’ Paper Prepared for the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Mission’s Founding, 1917, quoted in Brown, *MK*, 21.

McCormick Seminary on September 1891 to deliver his address. There is evidence in Underwood's papers that his meeting with Tate there predated by one month Tate's participation as McCormick's elected delegate at the Nashville convention. That is, before rising to his feet in response to Yun's speech, Tate had already decided to become a Korea missionary.¹⁵⁰ After his meeting with Reynolds and Johnson in Nashville, Underwood was invited by Johnson to Union Seminary, Virginia to speak on Korea, and there he discovered Junkin's interest in Korea, in addition to that of Reynolds and Johnson.¹⁵¹ Even after his visit to Union, Underwood continued to introduce Korea and mission work there in many influential churches in Virginia and North Carolina, and persuaded the leaders of the churches to support the opening of the SPKM. He stayed in Virginia for his wife's medical treatment during his visits to the Southern states.¹⁵² When the Southern Presbyterian Executive Committee of Foreign Missions hesitated before their final decision to open the Korea mission on February 1892, the Northern Presbyterian mission board even joined in requesting the Southern Presbyterians to start a work in Korea. This engagement of the Northern board in Southern Presbyterian foreign enterprise was the result of Underwood's successful pressure on Frank F. Ellinwood (1826-1908), the New York Board's corresponding secretary.¹⁵³

On 7 September 1892, after the committee had given its approval to the Korea mission at its February meeting, seven pioneering Korea missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church gathered in St. Louis for farewell services. Four female missionaries, Miss Mattie Tate (younger sister of L. B. Tate); Mrs Patsy Bolling Reynolds; Mrs Mary Leyburn Junkin; and Miss Linnie Davis, were added to the band of male pioneers, Reynolds, Junkin, and Tate. Among initial applicants for Korea, only Cameron Johnson did not join the pioneers as he eventually chose Japan as his mission field.¹⁵⁴ These seven pioneers constituted the beginning of the SPKM.

¹⁵⁰ Underwood succeeded in recruiting four McCormick alumni for missions to Korea by 1892, and Tate was included among them. See Underwood to Ellinwood, 29 September 1891; 2 October 1891; 15 October 1891, in *HGUP*, I:638-9, 641, and 644.

¹⁵¹ Lewis B. Tate, 'Opening of the Mission', *KMF* (November 1921): 224-5.

¹⁵² Underwood to Ellinwood, 4 March 1892, in *HGUP*, I:647.

¹⁵³ Underwood to Ellinwood, 5 April 1892, in *HGUP*, I:650.

¹⁵⁴ Brown, 21-3, and Nisbet, *Day In and Day Out In Korea*, 17-9.

In the first part of the study, I have analysed the domestic background of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea at the turn of the twentieth century, focusing on the origins of the influences which led them to commit themselves to the ‘Great Commission’ in Korea. For Presbyterians in the antebellum South, their experiences of ecumenical cooperation in evangelical revivals and evangelistic endeavours to their neighbouring people—whites, Native Americans, and black slaves—were significant factors in the weakening of their standard high-Calvinist identity characterised by ‘zeal for theological systems, doctrinal correctness, organizational control, and cultural influence.’¹⁵⁵ Thornwell and his colleagues’ hyper-Calvinist influence on the denomination was also substantially diminished in the New South by Dabney, who preferred to define post-bellum Southern Presbyterianism as a moderate and non-scholastic version of Calvinism. Along with this gradual transformation in theological identity, Southern Presbyterians’ separate and sectional cultural identity based on the hierarchical and racial social order also gradually broadened when they were involved in inter-regional, interdenominational, and cross-cultural pan-evangelical missionary movements. This identity change had already happened in the US itself as a result of the impact of the evangelical awakenings on the American South, making the tradition substantially ‘evangelicalised’ and ‘revivalised’ even before the commencement of the Honam mission. The second part of my thesis discovers in what ways this process of a broadening group identity was accelerated by pan-evangelical foreign missionary experience in the context of Homan, Korea, thus facilitating the eventual formation of an indigenous Honam Presbyterianism. I will examine this evolving process by discussing four key themes—encounters, transmissions, receptions, and transformations—common to much mission history.

¹⁵⁵ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 170.

PART II. TRANSFORMED IDENTITIES: FROM SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANISM TO HONAM PRESBYTERIANISM

Chapter 3. Encounters: The Beginning of Convergence of Two Cultural Traditions in Honam

After the pioneering missionary commissioners of the PCUS arrived in Korea in 1892, they soon encountered people who were influenced and shaped by what is now often referred to as ‘Honam culture.’ Just as Southern culture in America cannot be easily described in a clear definition, the issue of exactly what Honam culture means has also been a complicated subject of discussion in Korea. Identifying how far and in what ways Honam culture may have differed from that of other regions in Korea, however, is essential for the aim of this research. If there were unique features which distinguished Honam in cultural tradition from other regions, we can then ask and answer the question of how far and why Honam people’s responses to Southern Presbyterian mission enterprise were dissimilar from those of the residents in the other regions of Korea. The divergences, in any degree, can be regarded as indicators which show the distinctiveness of Honam Protestantism. In the following sections of Chapter Three, I will analyse in what ways the people of Honam—unconsciously or consciously—tried to identify themselves, and how the bearers of these two cultures responded to their first encounters.

1. The First Encounters, 1892-1895: The Allocation of Honam to the SPKM

Among the seven pioneers, Linnie Davis had the honour of being the first Southern Presbyterian missionary to step on Korean soil. She arrived at the port of Jemulpo (now Incheon), a harbour city in the west of Seoul, on 18 October 1892, sixteen days before the arrival of the rest of the pioneers. The fellow missionaries

could not accompany Davis due to Mr Junkin's illness in Denver.¹ The next day Davis was warmly welcomed by Horace Allen of the NPKM, the first Protestant missionary to Korea, at his home in Seoul. Later, the remaining co-workers were also received by a welcome committee of the NPKM in Seoul, led by Samuel A. Moffett who had already met them in the port of Jemulpo (Incheon).² These Southern Presbyterian pioneers were located in the northern section of the capital city under the vital guidance of the Northern Presbyterian associates. Afterwards, they bought a residential property inside the West Gate from the former German ambassador to live together and make it into the mission station for the first three preparatory years. This residence was named 'Dixie' by the international population in Seoul as it was occupied by American Southerners.³

The initial welcome given by the Northern Presbyterians to the Southern newcomers was the extension of a friendly relationship that Underwood first had built with Southern Presbyterians in America, and was the first step in a long-standing, close and peaceful relationship between the two American Presbyterian missions in Korea. Underwood's most enduring contribution was, however, as Reynolds pointed out, that he laid the groundwork of long-standing ecumenical cooperation between the two American Presbyterian missions in Korea.⁴ Just after the Southerners' arrival in Seoul on January 1893, the three Presbyterian missions in Korea, including the Australian mission which had arrived in 1891, met to organise their first official cooperative work, the establishment of 'the Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government.' The council had 'advisory power only' in missionary matters. 'Full ecclesiastical authority' had to be deferred until 'but one native Presbyterian Church in Korea' could be organised.⁵ Remarkably, Reynolds was elected as the first moderator, which may have been the result of the desire of Northern Presbyterians to throw more weight behind their Southern

¹ William M. Junkin, 'Korea', *TM* (March 1893): 116.

² Cameron Johnson, 'Korea', *TM* (January 1893): 30.

³ Brown, 24, and Nisbet, *Day In and Day Out In Korea*, 19-20.

⁴ William D. Reynolds, 'Genesis of the Southern Presbyterian Mission', *KMF* (January 1914): 16-7.

⁵ William M. Baird, 'Union of Presbyterian Missions in Korea', *MRW* 16:7 (July 1893): 531-2.

brethren who had just begun a new work.⁶ This news of the dynamic ecumenical relationship in a distant mission field even changed the ecclesiastical situation of the homeland. On March 1893, delegates of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church met ‘with the authorization of the two General Assemblies’ to reach an agreement for comprehensive cooperation in missionary matters. They even concurred in desiring the establishment of a single Presbyterian Church of Korea.⁷ This evidence suggests that experience in the foreign mission field contributed to lessen the tension between two provincial denominations which had been antagonistic to each other for a long time. Of course, the 1891 Nashville Convention, being in itself an evangelical and ecumenical missionary assembly, suggests that the historic antagonism was already diminishing in the homeland before the mission to Korea began. The divisions between American Presbyterians paled into insignificance in the Korean context, which would eventually lead to the birth of a single Korean Presbytery in 1907⁸ and a single General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1912,⁹ including the churches planted by the four Presbyterian missions. In comparison with the Methodists who founded a single united Korean Methodist Church as late as 1930, the non-sectarian sentiment of Presbyterian missionaries in Korea was outstanding.¹⁰

One other significant decision made in the 1893 council meeting in Seoul was that the two unoccupied south-western provinces of Korea—Jeolla and Chungcheong—were assigned to the Southern Presbyterians. As these two provinces of Jeolla and Chungcheong were too vast to be managed by one small mission, three years later, the majority of the Chungcheong province was transferred to the Ella

⁶ Charles Allen Clark, *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea* (Seoul: Korean Religious Book and Tract Society, 1918), 7.

⁷ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., 1892*, 532, quoted in Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 200-1.

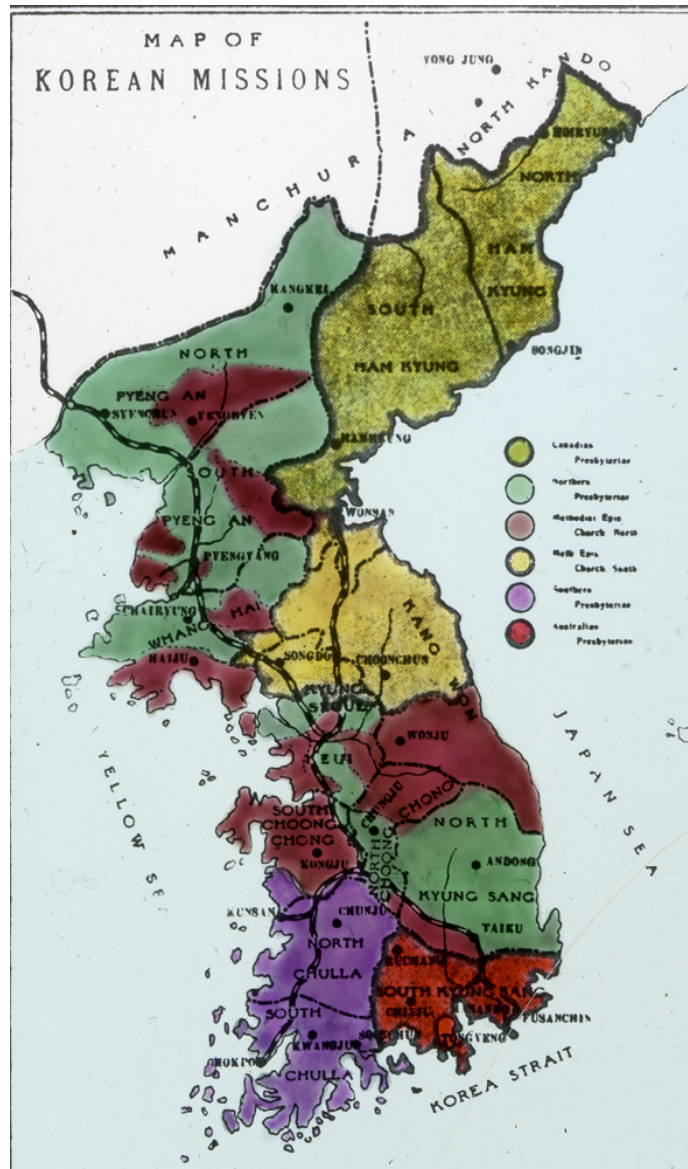
⁸ William D. Reynolds, ‘The Presbytery of Korea’, *KMF* 3:11 (November 1907): 162-4.

⁹ Kue Shik Kim, ‘The Erection of the First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea’, *KMF* 8:8 (August 1912): 323-5.

¹⁰ In the United States, the reunion of the PCUSA and the PCUS did not occur until 1983, whereas, Methodists in the North and the South were unified in 1939.

Thing Memorial mission (Baptist)¹¹ and the Northern Methodist mission.

Map 1. Comity (Territorial Division) among the Six Protestant Missions in Korea¹²



¹¹ The Ella Thing Memorial mission sent its first six missionaries to Korea from 1895 onwards. This mission was initiated by Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston, over which A. J. Gordon was pastor. After first several years in Seoul, they moved to Chungcheong province, whose far-southern part shortly became the mission field of the SPKM. However the Ella Thing Memorial mission closed its mission in Korea in 1900 due to the inadequacy of funds, and its work turned over to native converts under the supervision of Malcolm C. Fenwick (1863–1935), a Canadian independent Baptist missionary who worked in Wonsan, three hundred miles away. See Paik, 194-5. cf. F. W. Steadman, 'Korea—Her People and Mission', *BMM* 81:10 (October 1901) and idem, 'Our Work in Korea', *BMM* 85:10 (October 1905).

¹² This map is reproduced from Rhodes, i.

Hence, the entire region of Honam, consisting of the whole province of Jeolla and the far southern part of Chungcheong, became exclusive Southern Presbyterian territory. Reynolds, in his article written as the report of the second annual meeting of the mission in 1894, drew parallels between his Southern homeland and his new home of Honam: ‘These are accounted the most fertile and populous portions of the country, and correspond in latitude, etc., with Virginia and North Carolina. The climate is delightful and bracing, and fruits and vegetables abound. . . . The people seem friendly and ready to talk. French priests live among them safely—Why not a Presbyterian Missionary?’¹³

In later years, two Southern Presbyterian missionary historians, G. Thompson Brown and Anabel Major Nisbet, in their respective histories of the mission comprehensively introduced the common reactions of the early missionaries to this allocation of the Honam mission field. Brown served Honam between 1952 and 1973, putting all his energy into theological education at Honam Theological Seminary. He discovered through his careful research that the earliest missionaries geographically had identified Korea’s Honam with the American South: ‘Since the new missionaries were from the South, it seemed logical to assign them to the untouched Dixie Korea.’¹⁴ In contrast, Nisbet, who came to Honam in 1907 and died on duty as an educational missionary in 1920, found the spiritual image of the holy city of Zion in Honam: ‘The land consists of fertile rice plains, although you are never out of sight of the mountains. . . . and truly ‘Zion stands with hills surrounded’, for while some might disdain to call these hills mountains, in many places there are steep mountain passes, and everywhere there are ranges of hills.’¹⁵ For her, even the customs and tradition of Honam and the character of the Honam people reminded her, not simply of biblical descriptions of the land of Israel, but also of those of her native place and its people:

¹³ Reynolds, ‘Korea’ *TM* (May 1894): 194.

¹⁴ Brown, 26.

¹⁵ Nisbet, 20.

There is a marked difference between the Koreans in the North and in the South. I am a Southern woman, even now my heart turns back to Dixie, and that is perhaps one reason I am so loyal to the Southern Koreans; for many of his faults and weaknesses remind me of ye olde tyme Southern gentleman, of antebellum days. He has all the hospitality of our famed Southland. He will crowd out his own to take in the stranger....They are like the old-time Southerner in their generosity. I have never known a Korean not to divide anything you gave him to eat. I have given a child a stick of American candy, a wonderful treat, but he always broke it into pieces and divided it with the crowd. It is true they will always rob Peter to pay Paul. They will borrow of me to make a handsome present to my next door neighbor....They are the most affectionate, lovable, generous, provoking, credulous, shrewd, gullible people in the world. The Northern people are much more frugal and independent than are their Southern neighbors.¹⁶

2. Formed Identities: History, Tradition, and the Culture of Honam

A. Brief Introduction to Honam's History and Geography

Geographical boundary indicators between nations and regions generally include seas, rivers, lakes, deserts and mountain ranges. In Korea, mountain ranges and rivers have typically been the borders between regions. Their regional divisions in today's Korean administrative map follow the earlier regional partitions which were set up during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). These divisions were made along the natural boundary markers such as mountains and rivers, and actually reflected subtle or substantial provincial distinctions at that time. Thus, regional differences along these lines, which are represented by the accent of spoken language and customs of local people, have been progressively intensified over the last 600 years.¹⁷

The Korean Peninsula, located between China and Japan, has its only terrestrial border in the north along the two rivers of Amnok (or Yalu) and Duman (or Tumen), which separate the peninsula from Manchuria and the far-east region of

¹⁶ Ibid., 79-81.

¹⁷ Yongwoo Kwon, et al., *The Geography of Korea* (Suwon, Korea: National Geographical Information Institution, 2010), 25.

Russia. The west, east, and south coasts of the peninsula are faced by the Yellow Sea, the East Sea (Sea of Japan), and the Korea Strait, respectively. The territory of Korea encompassed most of Manchuria until the tenth century when the Kingdom of Balhae (698-926) was finally conquered by the people of Georan (or Khitan),¹⁸ leading to the loss of the vast northern land of the Korean Peninsula. It was in 1432 that the northern border of Korea was delimited by the rivers of Amnok and Duman, the present North Korea's northern frontier.

Since this confirmation of national borderlines in the early Joseon period, the administrative division of the Korean Peninsula into three macro-regions has been accepted for a long time: North, Central, and South. The North region traditionally referred to the two provinces of Pyeongan in the northwest and Hamgyeong in the northeast, centred in cities such as Pyongyang, Nampo, Hamheung, Wonsan, and Cheongjin. Nowadays, North Korea encompasses all the areas north of the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) including Hwanghae province and the northern parts of Gangwon and Gyeonggi provinces in addition to these two traditional northern provinces as its territory. The Central region contained the Gyeonggi province to the west, in which Seoul was located, the Gangwon province to the east, and Chungcheong province to the south. In the South there are the provinces of Jeolla to the southwest and Gyeongsang to the southeast. Jeju or Quelpaert Island was originally a part of Jeolla province until 1946 when the island became a special autonomous province. Gyeongsang province has another name 'Yeongnam', which means 'south of the mountain pass.' It illustrates the mountains' significant role in creating difference between regions in Korean history. Jeolla province has also been known as 'Honam', literally meaning 'south of the lake.' This lake has been identified as either the Byeokgolje, Korea's first artificial reservoir alleged to have been built in 330, or the River Geum, the third longest river in South Korea. Honam has been Korea's major granary, benefitting from the fertile lands, generally called

¹⁸ The Khitan people (or Khitai, Kitan, Kidan, Georan) were a nomadic Mongolic people, originally resided in Mongolia and Manchuria from the 4th century. Their Lian Dynasty conquered a vast area of northern China in the 10th century, even conquering a Korean Kingdom in Manchuria (Balhae) and then northern part of the Korean Peninsula being bordered on Goryeo Dynasty to the south. A useful description of the Khitan people and their kingdoms in English is in Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 43-153.

the Honam Plain, in the basins of the River Geum and the River Yeongsan and in the coastal lowlands.¹⁹ It also has been famous for its very irregular coastline with numerous small bays and peninsulas and more than four hundred small islands. The existence of these islands later led missionaries and native Protestants to mount evangelisation programs for the people of these isolated islands.

Koreans are believed to be one ethnic family, the descendants of several Mongoloid ethnic tribes who migrated to Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula from Central Asia and Siberia. The language used in Korea is also common to the people in all regions, which has been a key factor in building their national identity. There are several local dialects, including one in Honam, which have a unique accent distinguished from the standard language used in the Capital region. However, the differences are not too great for Koreans in each region to be unable to understand one another. As the Korean people originated from Central Asia, so their language has been classified in the Altaic language family including the Mongolic, the Tungus-Manchu, and the Turkic languages.²⁰

The chronology of Korean history is generally divided into seven periods based on the existence of major Korean dynasties. The first is the period of Gojoseon and Samhan, extending from the middle of the first millennium BC to the early second century BC. Gojoseon was located in Manchuria and the northern part of Korea, while Samhan comprised three small tribal federations in the south. It was succeeded by the Three Kingdoms period of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla (early first century BC-668); the Nambukguk period of Unified Silla (668-936) in the south and Balhae (698-926) in the north; the Later Three Kingdoms period of Hugoguryeo (Later Goguryeo, 901-936), Hubaekje (Later Baekje, 892-936), and Silla; the Goryeo period (936-1392) which succeeded Hugoguryeo and unified the later three kingdoms; the Joseon Dynasty and the succeeding Korean Empire period (1392-1910); Japanese colonial Korea (1910-1945); and the divided two Koreas (1945 onwards). Among these historic states, Mahan, Baekje, Unified Silla, Goryeo, Joseon, colonial Korea and the Republic of Korea, have all left their historical heritage on

¹⁹ *The Geography of Korea*, 25-8.

²⁰ *The Geography of Korea*, 31-3.

Honam soil.

Before the Three Kingdoms fully occupied the entire peninsula, there were three loose federations of tribes in the southern part of the peninsula from the first to the third centuries. In these federations, named Samhan (Three Hans of Mahan, Byeonhan, and Jinhan), the elites ruled subordinate lineages and agricultural villages, but the centralised hierarchies had not yet been established. Mahan, the strongest federation among the three Hans, was located in what is now called Honam until it was conquered by Baekje in 369.²¹ The existence of Mahan was significant in that it was the first political power with a highly advanced and independent civilisation on Honam soil. Simultaneously, the fact that Mahan was conquered by the outside power of Baekje meant that an indigenous political authority in the south-western region of Korea was for the first time ousted by an outside force. It was the beginning of the historical experience for Honam and its people of being defeated and pushed to the periphery of power, which would be a repetitive pattern in Honam history.

The kingdom of Baekje, the second dynasty located in Honam, is known to have been established by the descendants of a tribe who migrated south from the northern part of the peninsula in 18 BC. All three kingdoms established solid royal and bureaucratic authorities, particularly by adopting the Chinese political, educational, cultural, and religious system, including Confucianism and Buddhism, by the fourth century. However, Baekje constructed a more colourful, prosperous, and peaceful civilisation than did its two rivals by building a solid triangle structure of cultural exchange between China, Korea, and Japan. In particular, Buddhism in Baekje, which had first been embraced in 384, was flourishing, making it much less belligerent than that of Goguryeo and much more sophisticated than that of Silla. Baekje fell in 660 to the allied armies of Silla and Tang China, which attacked it from both sides. The collapse of Baekje demoted the people of Honam to a subordinate position in the new monarchy, Unified Silla, based on Yeongnam and its capital, Gyeongju. The people in Baekje's former land, however, were still the leading promoters of international maritime trading and exchange in the succeeding kingdoms of Unified

²¹ 'Mahan', in Keith Pratt and Richard Rutt, eds., *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*

Silla and Goryeo. A military leader, Jang Bogo (787-846), controlled the commerce and navigation in the Yellow Sea between south-western Korea and China's Shandong peninsula for several decades.²² A further step to recover Baekje was made by a peasant leader, Gyeon Hwon (867?-936), who finally founded Hubaekje locating its capital in Wansanju (now Jeonju) in 892. In 935, he submitted to Wang Geon (877-943), founder of the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392), but once again, as in the case of Jang Bogo, this episode contributed to leaving a solid impression among Koreans that Honam has been always prone to defiance against central governments.²³

Goryeo, whose capital was located in Songdo (now Gaeseong) between today's Seoul and Pyongyang, considered itself the successor of Goguryeo. Political leaders in the new kingdom were mostly from the northern region or were aristocrats of Silla who had supported Wang Geon's campaign against Gyeon Hwon. *Hunyo-sipjo* (the Ten Injunctions) was the ground rule for Goryeo, systematising what the new kingdom should uphold and avoid. Its eighth statement included a straightforward commandment which excluded the people in Honam from holding significant public offices. Whatever the historical truth about this document was,²⁴ it is clear that the Honam people's past record of resistance against ruling order naturally inclined the central government to keep Honam in check.

After the establishment of Joseon and the transfer of its capital to Hanyang (now Seoul) in 1392, there was little chance for the people of Honam to take a prominent part in the kingdom's history. Some exceptions came from the complicated factional conflicts related to Confucianism. The founders of Joseon, from its outset, took Confucianism, particularly Zhu Xi's brand of neo-Confucianism, as the dynasty's ideological foundation instead of Buddhism which had been honoured in the previous kingdoms. Differences in interpretation of the filial

(Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999), 275, and 'Samhan', 401.

²² 'Chang Pogo', in *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*, 40.

²³ 'Kyon Hwon', in *ibid*, 256-7, and 'Three Kingdoms, Later' in *ibid*, 471.

²⁴ There have been long controversies on who its real writer was, and why and when it was written. Many scholars do not agree that it was directly produced by Wang Geon, the first king of Goryeo, for diverse reasons. See Remco E. Breuker, 'Forging the Truth: Creative Deception and National Identity in Medieval Korea', *East Asian History* 35 (June 2008): 1-73.

obligations to parents and state and in social rites produced diverse political factions. These factions, in many cases, had their footing and source in specific regions as well as in ideology. Twelve bloody literati purges, called *Sahwa*,²⁵ happened at court between 1453 and 1722. Of these twelve events, two (Gimyo Sahwa in 1519 and Gichuk Oksa in 1589) involved scholars in Honam. These events in the middle period of the Joseon Dynasty kept Honam literati from occupying public offices in the central political arena for a long time. They simultaneously contributed to make the attitude of *Sarim* (country scholars)²⁶ in Honam more uncompromising.²⁷ Paradoxically, this stubborn attitude of provincial Confucian tradition was expressed through the Honam people's active engagement in the Righteous Army movements in the national crises for saving their country and kings, even though the kings had intentionally secluded the people in Honam.

The history of Honam shows that the Honam soil was rich enough to nurture a crop of talented people and wealth. This richness sometimes caused diverse types of tension with the central governments or other regions. However, Honam continuously played a leading role as Korea's centre of agricultural production, the manufacturer of best-quality artefacts, a commercial and maritime hub, and as a leading site of provincial academia in many dynasties in Korean history.

B. Assessments of Ideal Portraits of Honam Culture

Now we need to see whether these features of the historical tradition of Honam, which have been surveyed in the previous paragraphs, were in fact unique to Honam. It is often alleged that, as a small peninsula state, Korea has kept its own single and homogenous culture from the admixture of outside influences. People speaking Korean have long been limited to those residents in the peninsula and a

²⁵ For more on *Sahwa*, see Edward Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

²⁶ For more on *Sarim*, see Woo-Sung Lee, 'Confucian Politics in Choson Period and the Existence of *Sallim*', *Korea Journal* 23:4 (1983): 39-46.

²⁷ Haejun Lee, 'Honamjiyeokeui Yeoksawa Munhwa [History and Culture in Honam]', in Hyeop Choi, ed., *Honamsahwoieui Ihae* [Understanding Honam Society] (Seoul: Pulbit, 1996), 79-81.

number of immigrants to China, Japan, Russia, the US, and others. Accordingly, Korea's unity in geography, people, culture, language, and economic base has always been more stressed than its diversity, being in some occasions misused in history by politicians for the sake of easier control. In consequence, researchers have struggled to reach an agreed definition of the characteristic culture of Honam.

Based on the historical development of Honam society as described above, several experts on Honam culture and history in locally-based institutions have presented their portraits of Honam culture as an entity distinguishable from that of other regions of Korea. These descriptions are winning some acceptance, though they are not without dispute among scholars. What has been frequently emphasised in these ideas is that Honam people have four exceptional characteristics which may be categorised as follows: a collective wound from political alienation in history, a tradition of political righteousness and loyalty, a high quality of art, and a disposition characterised by a contradictory combination of craftiness and simplicity.²⁸

'Injured' Honam

This portrayal is based on the argument that Honam has historically been a land of alienation, exclusion, and exile. Conventional scholarship has maintained that the province's longstanding sense of exclusion was the result of historic events such as the collapse of the Honam-based Baekje dynasty (18-660) and the planned policy of the early Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) and the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910). It is argued that the mental sorrow and bitterness from these historical experiences created Honam's distinctive culture of resistance and defiance, and that simultaneously the highest level of arts and literature was achieved by the intellectuals and artists in exile. According to Jungho Kim, the first proponent of the so-called 'theory of exile culture', Jeonnam (Jeollanam-Do, the southern half of Honam) was used as the place of exile and seclusion for intellectual criminals out of office since it was located furthest from Seoul. He has provided evidence that more

²⁸ I owe much of the discussion in this section to Mi-Sun Park, 'Honammunhwaronedaehan Jaenoneuiwa Jeonmang' [Reconsideration and Prospection of Honam Culturalism], *Honammunhwa Yeongu* [Studies in Honam Culture] 31 (December 2002): 215-46.

than a quarter of all criminals in exile in the Joseon dynasty were sent to Jeonnam. This historic wound created in the Honam people a mentality of criticism and resistance to the central government. At the same time, the dominant stimulus by cultural frontrunners in exile contributed to Honam's cultural advancement in poetry, painting, and literature.²⁹ The people of Honam have tended to be confident of this theory as a verified truth.

There are several convincing arguments against this proposal, however. For instance, it has been pointed out that Honam's experience of discrimination at the hands of central authority has a comparatively recent origin. Dongsu Kim has proposed a new perspective by arguing that the marginalisation of Honam began only in the Japanese colonial era and was reinforced by the military governments in the 1960-80s.³⁰ Another scholar, Gwangsus Kim, has supported this by arguing that the bitterness of the higher and educated classes due to their exclusion from central power was never shared by the mass of Honam people since conflicts related to career ambitions were exceptional matters among the ruling classes in the old hierarchical societies. He even suggested that Honam's spirit of resistance was historically not far more intense than other regions of Korea.³¹

'Righteous' Honam

Honam has been named 'the home of righteousness' which has resolutely fought for the nation against foreign invasions and for justice without any compromise.³² This highlighting of 'righteous' Honam is closely linked to the perspective of Honam as the land of discrimination. In this context, Honam's consistent loyalty to its homeland and kings contrasts with the governments' unjust treatment of the people of Honam. That is, Honam was almost always faithful to its

²⁹ Jung-ho Kim, 'Yubaewa Eunduni Namgin Munhwa' [Legacy of Exile and Seclusion] in *Jeonnameui Jeontongmunhwa* [Tradition and Culture of Jeonnam]. vol. I. (Gwangju: Jeollanamdo, 1983), 1-4.

³⁰ Dongsu Kim, 'Honamsowoironeui Heowa Sil', [Truth and Falsehood of the Theory of Honam Alienation] in *Honameui Yeoksawa Munhwa Jaryojip* [Lectures on Honam's History and Culture] (Gwangju: Jeonnam University Museum, 1996).

³¹ Gwangsus Kim, *Jibang Jeongchihakeui Tamsaek* [Inquiry into Local Politics—Politics of Honam] (Gwangju: Jeonnam University Press, 1997), 54-8.

³² Park, 225.

country even when ill-treated. For instance, Honam people resisted more fiercely against foreign enemies such as the Khitans, Mongols and Japanese than did any other regions' residents. They voluntarily organised the Righteous Armies³³ when the national armies were in need of assistance or could not afford to be dispatched to far corners of the country. In recent years, Honam has been the main field in which the movements of Donghak³⁴ and the Righteous Armies have arisen. Honam people played significant roles in the expansion of the March First Movement in 1919 and the Gwangju Student Movement in 1929, two of the most important independence movements during the Japanese colonial period. Even the latter originated from Gwangju, the capital city of Jeonnam province, and then expanded to the whole country.³⁵

As expressed in the two local government publications cited above, Honam's spirit of loyalty has been remembered and celebrated by the locals as the pride of the region. However, this has also been criticised as an overstated self-identity, just as with the similar case of regionalism in the American South. Traditions of righteousness and loyalty have been used in history by almost every regional group in order to stir up a sense of belonging. In fact, a scholar based in Yeongnam, the south-eastern part of Korea, often known as being in competition with Honam, has presented a proposal advancing the exactly same interpretation of his home culture as follows:

³³ The Righteous Armies, sometimes called irregular armies or militias, have appeared several times in Korean history. The first righteous armies emerged during the Khitan invasions of Korea and the Mongol invasions of Korea. They subsequently rose up during the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592–1598), the first and second Manchu invasions, and during the Japanese occupation and preceding events. During the Japanese invasion into Korea at the turn of the twentieth century, a mountainous district of Honam was a centre for the operations of the Righteous Armies. See http://world.kbs.co.kr/english/korea/korea_history_con82.htm.

³⁴ The Donghak Peasant Revolution (or Movement), was an anti-feudal and anti-foreign uprising in 1894 in Honam, which was the catalyst for the First Sino-Japanese War. The revolution was named after Donghak ('the Eastern Learning'), a Korean indigenous religion, founded in 1860 by Choe Je-u. In 1892, the small groups of the Donghak movement were united into a single Peasant Guerrilla Army or Donghak Peasants' Army. The peasants worked in the fields during the day, but during the night, they armed themselves and raided government offices and killed rich landlords, traders, and foreigners. See http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Donghak_Peasant_Revolution.

³⁵ Sangsik Lee and Jongil Oh, *Euihyang* [Home of Righteousness] (Gwangju: Gwangju Office of Education, 1997), 1-3, and *Gwangjueui Jarang* [Pride of Gwangju] (Gwangju: Gwangju City Hall, 2001), 129-81.

Choe Je-u, the founder of Donghak, came from Gyeongju.³⁶ Donghak was a religious movement formed in the unique Korean thought, which functioned as the ideological motive of the Donghak Peasant War, as the impetus of the March First Movement, and greatly influenced politics, economy, and culture in the course of Korea's modernisation. Yeongnam has also a vast stream of the anti-Japanese Righteous Armies and the independent movements throughout the last days of the Korean Empire and the Japanese Imperial era.³⁷

This example shows that scholars are often not free from regionalist interpretations of their own cultures. Accordingly, though there is rich historical evidence of Honam's culture of political righteousness, it still questionable whether it is an exclusive inheritance to Honam.

'Artistic' Honam

This notion asserts that Honam has a distinctive artistic culture which is higher in quality and more substantial in quantity than that of other regions. It is true that Honam has generally been recognised for its rich heritage of savoury food, traditional music, fine art, porcelain, and literature. The cultural assets in Honam, including both tangible artefacts and intangible traditions, are as many as those in the capital area including Seoul and Yeongnam centred on Gyeongju. Seoul and Gyeongju were respectively the capitals of the Joseon dynasty for about 500 years and of the kingdom of Silla for a thousand years. It is little wonder that these old capital cities hold many historic sites and property. Honam as a frontier state, however, has never housed a capital of any longstanding dynasty in Korean history.³⁸ One of the footholds which helped Honam become the home of a refined artistic culture was the natural environment of Honam which was able to provide rich food from grain fields, rivers, mud flats, and seacoasts. A number of waterways

³⁶ Gyeongju is a coastal city in the far south-eastern corner of Korea and the second largest city of Gyeongsangbuk-Do, home of a number of archaeological and historic sites. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom, Silla (57 BC–668) and Unified Silla (668-935) which ruled most of the Korean Peninsula between the 7th and 9th centuries.

³⁷ Taekgyu Kim, 'Yeongnammunhwaewui Ihaereul Wihan Myeotgaji Sigak' [Some Perspectives to Understand Yeongnam Culture], *Hanguk Munhwainryuhak* [Korean Cultural Anthropology] 21 (1989): 238.

³⁸ Hyeop Choi, 'Gwangju Jeonnameui Munhwayusangwa Jamjaeryuk [Potentiality of Cultural Properties in Gwangju and Jeonnam]', in *Honamsahwoieui Ihae*, 95-7.

connecting the rivers and sea to lands gave Homan more opportunities of cultural and commercial interchange with China and Japan. This cultural openness enabled Honam people to become more open to outside influences and the cultural scenery of Honam to be more colourful and abundant. On the other hand, Honam's resistant, sometimes defensive disposition, allegedly originated from foreigners' frequent raids on Honam through the same waterways.³⁹

The rich environment of rural Honam society was actually the feature with which Presbyterian missionaries from the rural American South most readily identified themselves. Just as American Southerners formed their idealised sectional identities and traditions on the basis of Southern nationalism, Honam people also tended to give special meaning to fragments of their historical tradition in order to emphasise the favourable particularity of Honam culture. As already noted in the previous discussion of loyalty, however, the answer to the question whether the superiority of Honam art has been acknowledged by people from other regions as much as it has been praised by locals is negative.

Stereotypical Honam

Stereotypical accounts of Honam people are based on the belief that people in a specific region hold a distinctive corporate personality. Various attempts to define the collective character of Honam people have been made in Korean history, among which three are worth mentioning here: first, Junghwan Lee, in his *Taekriji*, made a negative assessment of the inhabitants in Honam, claiming that 'they act craftily only and they are easily given to evil ways.'⁴⁰ A similar evaluation appeared in one guidebook, *Imgwanjeongyo*, saying that 'the custom of Honam was so cunning and pretending to be faithful and polite from old times that people in Honam must be

³⁹ Lee, 73-5.

⁴⁰ Junghwan Lee, *Taekriji* (Seoul: Eulyumunhwasa, 1998), 132. *Taekriji* [A Geographical Guide] was a geographical guide to Korea written by Junghwan Lee, a practical philosopher, in 1751, the Joseon Dynasty period. It is a human geographical book which treated the geography of Korea generally and then approached with themes to each region of Korea. It is a historically significant book as it covered comprehensively all the aspects of history, economy, community, and transportation as well as geography itself.

enlightened by a pure mind and civilised education.’⁴¹ However, a totally opposite report was also given in the medieval guide, *Dongguk Yeojiseungram*, to the effect that in Homan ‘there are many virtuous people and they also innocent and modest.’⁴² The above-mentioned three inconsistent judgments should make us sceptical about the supposed existence of a standardised character for the people in a particular region. These alleged features of Honam people in the three books probably reflected the common impressions of the times when the books were written, or individual authors’ prejudices about the people of Honam.

Defining the culture and people of Honam in the above four categories has been considered to be acceptable by the parties immediately interested, namely, Honam inhabitants, especially when the theories highlight the bright side of what is ascribed to Honam. As already noted in our discussions of each portrait, however, the estimations of Honam in these four ideal descriptions have been criticised by scholars who have judged insider perspectives as lacking in objectivity, rationality, and depth of comprehensive analysis.⁴³ In fact, Honam people’s understanding of their home has been inherited from their predecessors’ memories of historical events. The people of Honam produced several self-images of themselves and their culture from these memories. It is likely that these memories have been inflated, and have sometimes been distorted in ways advantageous to their self-image. As already exemplified, Honam is not the only region that claims the honour of being the originator and inheritor of traditions such as resistance to injustice, loyalty to nation and kings, and richness of art and literature.

What is needed is to avoid both sides of regionalism, that is, both extravagance in extolling the virtues in the traditions of Honam by the locals and the intentional devaluation of Honam’s cultural legacy from an outsider’s perspective. It is not necessary to deny every self-conscious value of Honam culture which has been

⁴¹ Jeongbok Ahn, *Imgwanjeongyo* (Seoul: Eulyumunhwasa, 1974), 46. Ahn, a practical philosopher, wrote this guidebook for government officials to learn the information essential for their administration in 1738.

⁴² Hyeop Choi, ‘Honammunhwaroneui Mosaek [In Search of the Cultural Theory of Honam]’, in *Honamsahwieui Ihae*, 22-5. *Dongguk Yeojiseungram* [East Nation’s Geographical Guide] was published in fifty volumes in 1481 and then an expanded edition of fifty-five volumes appeared in 1530.

⁴³ See Park, 235-8.

developed from historical events that happened in Honam. If we avoid the claim that these values exceptionally belonged to Honam, we can easily accept the following features of Honam history and culture as beyond dispute: the Honam region has been isolated and discriminated; Honam has produced a number of stout-hearted patriots during national crises; it has inherited a rich artistic tradition of which it can be proud; and the people of Honam in the vast reaches of the Honam plains have culturally and commercially interchanged with foreigners through waterways for a long time, enabling people in Honam to be open to new trends from a wider world. Southern Presbyterian pioneers encountered from 1892 onwards a people in Honam whose identity was expressed through a complex amalgam of independence and hospitality. Missionaries were forced to come to terms with Honam's longstanding spirit of anti-foreign patriotic resistance which the peasant soldiers of the Donghak and the Righteous Armies would soon ignite. Yet there was another tradition of openness to welcome people from outside to their communities, which missionaries obviously favoured more.

3. The Political Context of Korea in 1892-5: The Donghak Revolution and the Sino-Japanese War

The period from 1892 to 1895 was the preparatory phase for the official founding of mission stations in Honam. This short interlude in Korean history saw momentous events which would sway the destiny of the passing Hermit Kingdom. The Donghak Peasant Revolution broke out on March 1894, and this led to the First Sino-Japanese War in July, as a result of which the Japanese stepped forward to secure their dominance over Korea. As mentioned in the previous section, Donghak itself as a new movement of religious thought had a dual implication: it was a resistance to religious and military invasion by external powers and the country's time-honoured established social order, and at the same time was open to external religious ideals, especially cosmopolitanism and the consciousness of equality.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ '1. Treat all persons at home as God. Do filial duty to your parents with your all strength, respect your husbands wholly, and love your children and daughter-in-law. Regard your servants as your own

Accordingly, most of the sympathizers with Donghak belonged to the lower class of the Korean population, and hence it can be suggested that many of them, if they were not actively antagonistic to foreign influences, were likely to be ready to accept Catholicism or Protestantism as well.

There is little doubt that these missionary novices from the American South were interested in public events occurring in their mission field, in particular in the events related to Honam. For instance, William Junkin in an article in 1893 commented on a Donghak-related event when he stayed in Seoul. He was told that placards were twice posted on the gates of Methodist and Presbyterian missionary compounds, saying that Christians must either recant or be killed. He also heard that ‘the Tong Hak people had assembled and were marching on Seoul.’ Actually, leaders of Donghak came to King’s gate in Seoul to ‘bow with their faces in the dust’, and to ‘pray the King to hear their petition recognizing their religion, and requesting that the King send all foreigners away.’ When their petition was finally refused, they assembled to form a peasant army. The Western powers sent for gunships to protect their people in Korea and the king also sent his soldiers to the South to suppress the Donghak armies. This crisis did not result in an actual battle, but the tensions between the Donghak soldiers and the Government and foreign powers were still strained until the Revolution in March 1894. The biggest concern among the single-minded missionary novices from the American South in Seoul was over the impact of these disturbances on their evangelistic efforts, as expressed by Junkin: ‘The unfortunate part of it is that the trouble has been in the provinces we wish to occupy, and into which we had planned trips for the spring. Neither Korean Christians nor foreigners thought it wise for us to go upon the heels of this anti-foreign trouble.’⁴⁵ In sum, Junkin and his Southern Presbyterian fellows paid attention solely to Donghak’s anti-foreign features and the negative result of delay of missionary

children, love even animals, and do not cut young trees. When your parents are angry, do not provoke their mind further. Do not strike your children, and do not let them cry. Since even little children bear divinity, striking them is like striking God—and striking children severely may cause their death. Do not make loud noises. Make an effort to realize harmony. If you practice reverence for God and filial piety, God will be pleased and bless you. Therefore, serve God with all your heart and strength.’
‘Ch’oe Sihyōng: On Practicing Truth at Home’ in Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 321-2.

⁴⁵ Junkin, ‘From Korea’, *CO* (July 19 1893).

activities which it seemed likely to cause. Thus, for the missionary Southerners at the opening stage of their mission, there was no space for empathy with the oppressed peasants.

However, after making contact with Donghak adherents through his visits to Honam, Junkin wrote another article on Donghak. This article was the first of several detailed studies pursued by Westerners into Donghak as a social movement as well as a religion,⁴⁶ and it was the only detailed record left by a Southern Presbyterian. The source of his information on Donghak was 'a Japanese friend', whose name and relationship with Junkin were not identified to readers. However, his summarised description of Donghak was sufficiently informative to enable Western readers to see its historical origin and background and its religious and social characteristics at a glance. Above all, his account of these historical events was substantially accurate and his attitude to Donghak and its adherents differed considerably from the one expressed in his previous article. Junkin explained Donghak as a new religion formed from 'a combination of the true Oriental religions' of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism and as a contradistinction to Catholicism which was called 'Western Learning.'⁴⁷ He understood Donghak as a form of monotheism with an emphasis on simple rituals, the practice of miracles and healings, and a sole concern with this present world. Junkin, as an evangelical missionary, necessarily stressed the superiority of Christianity as the true religion in comparison with what he regarded as the false and this-worldly religion attempted by feeble man.⁴⁸

Junkin's interest in Donghak extended to his analysis of the socio-political situation which caused the evolution of a pure religious movement into an armed revolution. Junkin was aware of the fact that the key reason for the Donghak Peasant Revolution was 'a state of the oppression of the people by officials which was

⁴⁶ Detailed records about Donghak left by Westerners before 1945 are as follows: William M. Junkin, 'The Tong Hak', *KR* (February 1895): 56-61; William J. MacKenzie, 'Seven Months among the Tong Haks', *KR* (June 1895): 201-8; Isabella B. Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors: A Narrative of Travel with an Account of the Recent Vicissitude and Present Condition of the Country* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1898), 179-81; Hulbert, 'The Religion of the Heavenly Way', *KRV* 6:2 (November and December 1906); William E. Griffis, *The Hermit Nation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 473-84; and 'The Si-chun and Chun-do Churches', *Korea Magazine* (April 1919).

⁴⁷ Junkin, 'The Tong Hak', 57. Donghak literally means 'Eastern Learning.'

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 58-9.

becoming more and more intolerable.’ He obviously felt some pity for the troubled Korean people, saying, ‘Had the Tong Hak remained a religious body with principles in harmony with good government, it would have had a right to exist.’ He then gave a classic statement of American ideals regarding the liberty of conscience: ‘Every man has a right to his belief, and the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own consciences.’⁴⁹ What he wished to see in his mission field in the near future was good government to permit the people to believe in their own way, and the planting of a church which would remain a strictly religious body with no interest in arousing conflict with the government. This was Junkin’s idea of church-state relations inherited from his own regional and denominational tradition, and his view represented the majority of the transmitters of American Southern Presbyterianism in Korean field.

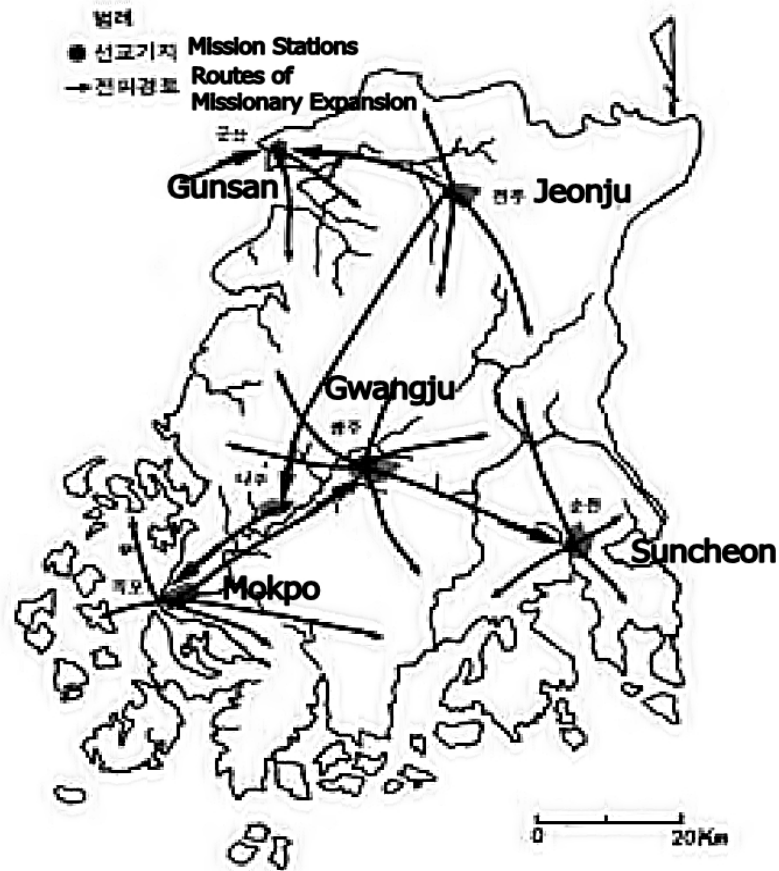
4. The First Evangelistic Itinerations

From the beginning, the Southern Presbyterian pioneers were much more interested in saving Korean souls than in paying attention to international affairs and Korea’s political context—a balance of priorities which reflected the strongly evangelistic but politically conservative character of Christianity in the American South. Accordingly, itinerant evangelistic trips were taken as the most effective way to be familiar with the customs and language. The first of the kind was Reynolds’ eleven-day trip to Chungcheong province, accompanied by Samuel A. Moffett, a Northerner, on 27 December 1892, which again displayed close co-operation between the two missions. Chungcheong belonged to Reynolds’ mission’s field at the time of itinerancy and his aim of the trip was to ‘spy out the land for the future possible occupation by our Southern Mission.’ He thus wrote down in detail what he saw and his experiences in his first trip to the South, for example, the use of a pony as a mode of transport, the architecture of walls and gates, house structure, royal tombs, religious symbols of pile stones or street shrines, burial customs, the curiosity

⁴⁹ Ibid., 59.

of villagers to foreigners, and picturesque sights along the roads.⁵⁰

Map 2. SPKM Stations in Honam⁵¹



- Mission Stations: Jeonju (1893), Gunsan (1896), Mokpo (1898), Gwangju (1904), Suncheon (1913)

Similar exploratory trips followed—Junkin and Tate’s trip to Jeonju, the capital city of Jeonbuk province, on September 1893;⁵² Tate’s second trip to Jeonju in November 1893; Tate and his sister’s trip to Jeonju on March 1894;⁵³ and a six-week trip of exploration to four major Honam cities (Gunsan, Jeonju, Mokpo, and

⁵⁰ Reynolds, ‘A Mid-Winter Journey in Chosen’, *CO* (26 April 1893).

⁵¹ This map is reproduced from Hyun-Sook Song, ‘Honamjibang Gidokgyo Seongyogiji Hyeongseongwa Hwakjange Gwanhan Yeongu’ [The Formation and Geographical Expansion of Mission], *Christianity and History in Korea* 19 (August 2003): 239.

⁵² Junkin, ‘Beginning Work in Korea’, *CO* (3 January 1894): 6.

⁵³ Tate, ‘A Visit to Chyung-Ju’, *TM* (September 1894): 384-5.

Suncheon) on March 1894 by Reynolds and A. Damer Drew.⁵⁴ The reports of these journeys were not only full of experiences, some of them strange or unpleasant, but also recorded some instances of favourable reception by the inhabitants which brought rewarding hope. The case of Mattie Tate, as recorded by her brother, Lewis, deserves special mention here:

My sister had with her a native Christian woman whose whole thought seems to be how to help others and preach the gospel. I venture to say that, according to ability and means, there is not one in a thousand of our American Christians who will surpass this old Korean woman in unselfish devotion to our Saviour.....this was my third trip, it was the first time a foreign lady had been in that place, and hence, curiosity was high, the women coming in a constant stream..... Soon there were some of the women who were constant comers, having bought and read some of the books, and professed to be interested. As this was the first work among the women there, we could not tell whether the results were permanent or not.....returned to Seoul and my sister had that part of the work all upon herself.⁵⁵

Mattie Tate's trip was significant in that her trip was the first undertaken by a foreign woman on Honam soil. Lewis Tate's account shows that the female missionaries' use of the curiosity of Korean women could be an effective method of evangelism since traditional Confucian social order dictated that a Korean woman could not be approached by a male evangelist. In addition, by paying attention to the extraordinary commitment of an ordinary Korean female believer, Lewis Tate unconsciously anticipated the future of Honam Protestant communities, in which women would be key players in Honam church growth.

Another instance of favourable reception was given from Reynolds and Drew's journey to Jeonju on March 1894. They visited an old man's home to treat his wife in a most pitiable condition with sores. He was a former official who had recently been baptised into the Catholic Church. Just before their leaving Jeonju, the old man brought them an enclosed note expressing his appreciation. Later Drew showed it to Junkin and his Korean language teacher, and they made a literal

⁵⁴ Reynolds, 'By Land and Sea. One Thousand Miles in Cho Sen', *CO* (15 August 1894): 6 and (22 August 1894): 6. A. Damer Drew (1859-1926) was the first medical missionary of the SPKM who arrived in 1893.

⁵⁵ Tate, 384.

translation as follows:

To Reynolds, the doctrine teacher, great man; and Drew, the medicine teacher, great man: Before them I beg leave to speak. May the heavenly King's grace clothe you! Since your great sacred majesties having come here and made yourselves known to this little pigmy (a very great sinner), dwelling many thousand miles in the beyond, thank you, and the grace of the heavenly King be on you! Also there being with this great sinner a hopelessly sick person waiting for death, but since you have given holy medicine, and also taught this doctrine, thus looking in tenderest pity upon us, may grace thank you! Desiring to sow abroad this world saving doctrine you came so far, and the sick person lives, therefore one thousand- times, ten thousand times, I hope you may journey in peace! The sinner, CHAY YOUNG CHIL, Presents it. Present year, 2nd Month 30th day. CHUN-JIU CITY, KOREA.⁵⁶

This interesting story of a missionary encounter with a Honam native could be interpreted as a signal moment with several implications for the impending Protestant expansion in Honam: first, the indigenous people of Honam were capable of calling missionaries great men, regarding them as teachers in medicine and doctrine; second, this episode foreshadowed the fact that medical mission would soon occupy a special niche in Southern Presbyterian missionary practice; third, this was a rare example of a positive relationship between pre-existing Catholics and newly initiating Protestants; and fourth, this was the first of many favourable testimonials which would later be written by thousands of Honam converts.⁵⁷

A native Korean played a crucial role in the opening of the first SPKM station and the planting of the first Protestant church in Honam, Seomoon Presbyterian Church in Jeonju. On June 1893, the Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Seoul sent Hae-Won Chung, Reynolds' language teacher, down to Jeonju to find and buy a suitable site for the future mission work. Chung purchased a thatched-roof house as his family's home and as the meeting house for a church in Eunsong village, a small suburban area, located just outside of the West Gate. Since the law prohibited foreigners from living inside the city wall at that time, Chung's selection of Eunsong as a mission base was the result of careful investigation. During his stay in Jeonju, Chung secured some five or six seekers who studied the 'Jesus Doctrines' and

⁵⁶ A. D. Drew, 'A Grateful Korean's Letter', *TM* (December 1894): 547.

⁵⁷ More examples, showing that this favourable reaction was typical rather than just an isolated episode, will be given in Chapter Five.

attended regular worship services, among whom were a village school teacher and a former Catholic. On September of the same year, when Junkin and Tate came down to Jeonju to see what Chung was doing in Jeonju and to attempt some evangelistic work based on Chung's meeting house, Chung also helped the missionaries share the Christian message with more inquirers. As prospects seemed to be bright, on his visit in March 1894, Tate hoped to baptise three of them on his return.⁵⁸

However, the Donghak War broke out in the spring of 1894 and changed the mission's prospects in Jeonju. After the Donghak 'rebels' captured Jeonju, a battle between the peasant armies and the government troops occurred, and eventually roughly half the city was in ruins. The Tates were forced to leave the city by the order of the American legation in Seoul. After two weeks, the government armies retook Jeonju. When Reynolds and Tate returned to Jeonju after the war on February 1895, they found that the people had 'lost all interest in the foreigner and the foreign doctrine.' Nobody came to the meeting house and scarcely any tracts were sold. Even among the six applicants for baptism, the brightest three, who had given such hope to Tate, all in the end proved either to have left the city in the war or to be false believers. One man, who had been considered the most promising applicant, attended every Sunday service walking from a far distance. Unlike the rest of the shallow applicants, 'he shone a bright, particular star.' Yet, after several weeks, he asked for ten dollars, the recompense 'for his regular attendance and profession of Christianity.' Reynolds named him a 'rice-Christian.' What caused the missionaries the deepest disappointment was when Chung and his family deserted the mission in the vortex of war. Reynolds criticised him as 'a man of keener business than religious instincts', saying, 'he.....represented Christianity as 'profitable for this life' in such a way that the men who gathered about him to 'study the doctrine' were attracted by the prospect of employment by the foreigner, or by the hope of getting money and help in some way.'⁵⁹

The question of what the real reason was for Chung and his family leaving Jeonju is still unsolved. It was possibly owing to Chung's interpretation of

⁵⁸ Reynolds, 'Our Korean Work. Chun-Ju Before and After the War', *CO* (9 October 1895): 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Christianity as primarily a means of improved well-being in this life, or to Mrs Chung's homesickness for Seoul, which was what Reynolds believed. However, a modern Korean historian has interpreted the missionaries' despair about Chung in a different way: 'Tate was disappointed at Chung's leaving, but he did not put blame on the mission's insufficient support for Chung who was responsible to make a living for his family. Tate's disappointment was caused by the dissimilarity of the sense of economy between Korean helpers and American missionaries. Chung entirely dedicated himself to the expansion of the work, and hence he had no other alternatives to take money.'⁶⁰ This was the first of similar cases of tensions between native Christians and foreign missionaries. The cultural divergences between the two groups and lack of communication across the cultural divide were the origins of possible conflict.⁶¹

Reynolds, at least, admitted that the foundations of the work in Jeonju had been laid by Chung. More importantly, he reached the positive conclusion that 'these three years of study of language, people and customs are all on our side, and we are 'on the Lord's side', so success is assured. After all, taking a broad, all-round view, 'after the war' is better than 'before the war' in Chun-Ju.'⁶² Yet, this was not the same optimistic outlook which he had originally expressed. In his previous report written after his six-week exploratory trip with Drew in 1894, he had justified his hope in their emerging missionary enterprise on two grounds: first, he wrote that this was 'a region unsurpassed in loveliness, a climate superior to that of Virginia, and people intelligent and genial', and second, that 'Confucianism [being] in decay, and Buddhism in disrepute, the people 'worship they know not what.'—*everything* but the true God.'⁶³ This was the starting point from which the representatives of

⁶⁰ The Committee for Compilation of the Centennial History, *Jeonju Seomoongyohoi Baeknyeonsa* [The Centennial History of Chonju Seomoon Presbyterian Church, 1893-1993] (Jeonju: Seomoon Presbyterian Church, 1999), 93.

⁶¹ More diverse aspects of tension will be examined in Chapter Five.

⁶² Reynolds, 6.

⁶³ Reynolds, 'By Land and Sea. One Thousand Miles in Cho Sen', *CO* (22 August 1894): 6. Reynold's evaluation expressed in the phrase 'Confucianism in decay, and Buddhism in disrepute' was commonly shared by most of the earliest Western observers of Korean religions. See William E. Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within: Chapters on Corean History, Manners and Religion with Hendrik Hamel's Narrative of Captivity and Travels in Corea, Annotated* (Philadelphia: PBP, 1885), 161; Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 64f; Horace G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea* (New York:

Southern Presbyterian culture endeavoured to identify themselves with the region, climate, and people of Honam.

This set of narratives survives from the first encounters between Honam Koreans and American Southerners. The following chapters will analyse the procedures and results of these encounters in more detail. More examples of mutual cooperation, tension, respect, and transformation between two groups will be analysed in terms of the three categories of transmissions, receptions, and transformations.

Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 77; and Lillias H. Underwood, *Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots* (New York: American Tract Society, 1904), 9-10.

Chapter 4. Transmissions: Southern Presbyterians in Honam, Korea

1. Messengers: A Profile of Southern Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea

Scholars of American missionaries in Korea at the turn of the twentieth century have reached a general agreement that American Protestant missionaries, regardless of their denominational and geographical backgrounds, can be broadly considered evangelical in their theologies, practices, and attitudes.¹ Another unique feature of American Protestant missionary activity in Korea was that an absolute majority of these evangelical missionaries came from two main Protestant bodies, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, both from the North and the South. Other major Protestant bodies in the US such as Baptists, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, and Episcopalians did not regard Korea as an important mission field. A handful of local Baptist churches in New England sent a small number of missionaries to Korea from 1895,² but it was not until just after the Korean War that Southern Baptists officially initiated their missionary service in Korea. For the above-mentioned other three American mainline denominations which devoted considerable missionary endeavours to Korea's neighbouring country of Japan,³ Korea still remained a permanent 'Hermit Kingdom.' Even the diverse interdenominational faith mission organisations which significantly contributed to

¹ Deok-Joo Rhie and Yee-Jei Cho, eds., *Hanguk Grisdoindeului Sinanggobaek* [Confessions of Korean Christians] (Seoul: Handeul, 1997), 52-5; Deok-Joo Rhie, 'Chogi Naehan Seongyosadeuleui Sinanggwa Sinhak' [Faith and Theology of Early Korea Missionaries], *CHK* 6 (February 1997): 55-6; Dae Young Ryu, 'The Origin and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *CH* 77:2 (June 2008): 371-98; and Jaekeun Lee, 'McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of Korean Evangelical Protestantism 1888-1939' (MTh by Research Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2009), 40-102.

² See n.11 (p.102) in Chapter Three of this thesis.

³ See 'Table 1. Start of Work by Christian Mission Organization in Japan, 1859-1992' in Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 14-5. Before Protestant missionary enterprises commenced work in Korea in 1884, thirty-one denominational or interdenominational mission groups were already working in Japan. Most of them, including the American Episcopal, Dutch Reformed, American Baptist missions, and the (Congregational) American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have never made missionary endeavours in Korea.

the formation of fundamentalist Protestantism in China appeared to care nothing for Korea. In fact, about 70% of all the Protestant missionaries who arrived in Korea between 1884 and 1910 came from the US, and 86% of the entire body of Protestant missionaries, including Americans, Canadians, and Australians, were Presbyterians and Methodists.⁴ This means that a project to identify the distinctive characteristics of American Protestant missionaries in Korea ought to be relatively easier than one concerned with missionary communities in China or Japan in which more heterogeneous missionary groups co-existed in tension as well as in harmony.

Six Protestant missionary bodies—PCUSA (Northern Presbyterian), PCUS (Southern Presbyterian), MEC (Northern Methodist), MECS (Southern Methodist), PCC (Canadian Presbyterian), and PCVA (Australian Presbyterian)—established together an ecumenical missionary organisation in Korea in 1905, named the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea. They were content to be called ‘evangelicals’. The only Western mission society which was working in Korea at the time but not a member of the council was the Anglican mission, representing the High Church tradition of the Church of England.⁵ With the notable exception of the Anglican mission,⁶ every Protestant missionary organisation in Korea, including

⁴ See the two tables in Ryu, 373-4.

⁵ George Heber Jones, a Methodist, claimed that the Anglican mission was also ‘in sympathy with the aim and objects of the General Council.’ George Heber Jones, *The Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910), 45. However, Jones’ comment on the Anglican mission’s sympathetic attitude to the Protestant ecumenical cooperation in Korea was probably overestimated, reflecting his hopes. See the following footnote.

⁶ The Church of England mission commenced missionary endeavours in Korea in 1889. Bishop Charles Corfe, who had been originally a missionary to China, came to Korea along with another missionary, Eli B. Landis (American). Seven single male missionaries followed by 1891. From the beginning, this mission was characterised by its constituents’ highly intellectual backgrounds. Most of them graduated from Cambridge or Oxford. The main supporters of the mission were the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Hospital Naval Fund, and the Association of Prayer and Work for Korea. In 1897, T. N. Trollope claimed that ‘the Mission is here as the duly accredited representative of the national ‘Church of England’ and not as the representative primarily of any Society or section of that Church.’ (T. N. Trollope, ‘To the Editor of THE INDEPENDENT’, *Independent* (Seoul), 19 August 1897.) However, it was in practice SPG-funded and directed, despite Trollope’s anti-voluntarist rhetoric. As the mission in practice represented mainly the ritualistic High Church Anglo-Catholic tradition of this denomination rather than the evangelical Low Church tradition, its relationship with Protestant mission agencies in Korea was ambiguous, standing somewhere between the Protestant missions and the Roman Catholic missions. Actually, the SPG, an enterprise of the Church of England, only participated fully in pan-Protestant mission organisation after 1918. See Paik, 184f; Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 9-10 and 319-20; and Steven Maughan, ‘An Archbishop for Greater Britain: Bishop Montgomery, Missionary Imperialism and the SPG, 1897-

SPKM, at the turn of the twentieth century was self-consciously evangelical, and this shared evangelical identity was the basis of Protestant ecumenism in Korea. The SPKM and the other five missions declared as early as 1905 that they were ready to abandon the spirit of denominationalism and sectionalism as follows:

The acknowledged end in view is the establishment of a national Christian evangelical Church which shall know nothing of the names which have historically grown up to accentuate and perpetuate the lines of divergence in doctrine because of the greater or less emphasis placed upon special phases of truth. It is not conceivable that either Arminius or Calvin would have allowed their names to figure in denominational nomenclature if they could have prevented it. In the evolution of the Church it may have been temporarily necessary but the tendency of this day is to throw these polemical terms into the background and to take common ground against a common foe.⁷

These negotiations for union, which were supported by the majority of missionaries and almost every Korea Protestant,⁸ were eventually suspended in 1910 because each mission was experiencing success in its own denominational mission enterprise.⁹ However, it must again be acknowledged that Southern Presbyterians did not wish to establish a Korean replica of their separate home church.

The foreign missions boards or executive committees of these denominations adopted their own criteria for recruiting missionary candidates to the foreign fields. The ideal qualifications for foreign missionary appointment in the American mainline denominations were proposed by Arthur J. Brown of the Northern Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1907:

It has recently been said that it is now easier to secure an appointment in the diplomatic service of the country than in the foreign mission service of the Protestant boards....It is a mistake to suppose that any nice and apparently pious youth can become a foreign missionary....The boards do not send the pale enthusiast or the romantic young lady to the foreign field, but the sturdy, practical, energetic man of affairs, the woman of poise and sense and character.¹⁰

1915', in Daniel O'Connor, ed., *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000* (London: Continuum, 2000), 368-9.

⁷ 'Missionary Union in Korea', *KRv* (September 1905): 342-3.

⁸ 'Hanahi Doil Geok' [Becoming One], *Geurisdosinmun* [Christian News] (16 August 1906).

⁹ Paik, 382.

¹⁰ Arthur J. Brown, *The Foreign Missionary* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1907), 67.

Brown went to indicate the required qualifications in the eleven categories of 'health', 'age', 'education', 'executive ability and force of character', 'common sense', 'steadiness of purpose', 'temperament', 'doctrinal views', 'marriage', 'freedom from financial obligations', and 'Christian character and experience.' Each item on his list of qualifications can be summarised as follows:

Health: As 'foreign missionaries often live and work in such trying climates, amid such unsanitary surroundings, exposed to such malignant diseases and under such nervous strain', 'sound constitution and vigorous health' were necessary; *Age:* 'The boards do not like to accept any one over thirty-three', since 'after thirty, one's ability to acquire a free, colloquial use of a foreign tongue rapidly diminishes, and after thirty-five it usually ceases altogether'; *Education:* 'Graduation from both college and professional school is ordinarily required in men and at least a high school training in women'; *Executive Ability and Force of Character:* As 'the missionary's functions are rather those of a superintendent', 'he must be a leader and organizer'; *Common Sense:* 'The foreign missionary must deal with' 'the direction of native helpers, the expenditure of considerable sums of money, the superintendence of building operations, the settlement of the questions that are constantly arising among the native Christians, the adjustment of himself and others to all sorts of persons and conditions, these and other matters that might be mentioned cannot be prudently committed to unbalanced men, however pious or healthy or intellectual'; *Steadiness of Purpose:* 'Missionary employment is expected to be for life and no one should apply who is not willing to consecrate himself irrevocably to it, who cannot make light of hardships and endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ'; *Temperament:* 'Ability to work harmoniously with others is a prime qualification', and 'a cheerful spirit is as essential as ability to work with others'; *Doctrinal Views:* 'The candidate who holds opinions of doctrine or polity that is not in accord with those of the Church with which he would be associated as a missionary falls under this general head of incompatibility'; *Marriage:* 'No Protestant board advocates the celibacy of missionaries. All appoint married men; but almost all have certain forms of work that can better be done, for a time at least, by single men....If, after a few years on the field, he wishes to marry, the board will have pleasure in sending his

fiancée to him, provided, of course, she is found to possess the necessary qualifications for missionary life'; *Freedom from Financial Obligations*: 'If one is seriously in debt, or if he has relatives dependent upon him for support, it is doubtful whether he should apply'; and *Christian Character and Experience*: 'No matter how healthy or able or well educated, the successful candidate must have a sound, well developed Christian character. The boards, therefore, place great stress on the candidate's spiritual experience and his motives for seeking missionary service. The missionary should be above everything else a spiritual guide.'¹¹

Unquestionably, not every Northern Presbyterian commissioner who had been selected on the basis of these rigorous qualifications satisfied what the board expected its appointees to achieve in the mission fields. However, Brown was proud of the result that 'foreign missionaries are fast becoming a picked class, far above the average in intelligence, character, and devotion.'¹² As will be discussed in the following paragraphs, it is clear that the qualifications that the Southern Presbyterian Executive Committee of Foreign Missions required from its candidates were no different from those of the Northern board.

A sociological study of American missionaries in China shows that Brown's account of the principles of missionary recruitment in the Northern Presbyterian Church could be applied almost equally to other mainline denominations' requirements for missionary appointees. Valentine H. Rabe has claimed that American missionaries at the turn of the twentieth century were typically from small towns rather than from major cities or rural areas, came from the Midwest rather than New England, and originated from the middle-class families rather than the wealthy folks. At that time, only 1% of the American male population were college graduates, but most missionaries earned bachelor degrees from small denominational colleges and then their masters from seminaries or medical schools. Thus, 'the typical Protestant missionary was neither a religious fanatic nor an other-worldly misfit. He was distinguished from the stay-at-home of his generation primarily by a more

¹¹ Ibid., 67-84.

¹² Ibid., 68.

imperative sense of duty.’¹³

Michael Parker’s monumental study of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) for Foreign Missions between 1886 and 1926 has suggested that Rabe’s argument was generally applicable to most of the young American missionary candidates from diverse denominations and regions. According to his statistics, by 1900, about a half of all American Protestant missionaries were student volunteers, and by 1906, the twentieth anniversary of the SVM, about one-third of all American and European Protestant missionaries had volunteered through SVM-related meetings all over the world.¹⁴ The absolute majority of volunteers were in their twenties.¹⁵ More volunteer students came from the Midwest of the US and the Canadian provinces around the Great Lakes than from the north-eastern regions including New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. The overwhelming majority were attending small Christian colleges and seminaries. Most appeared to be reared in devout Christian families, and many of them had dramatic spiritual experiences. Some volunteers decided to become missionaries in their early age driven by missionary speakers, missionary books, friends with earnest zeal for missions, deaths in their family, or humanitarian causes. The motives which brought these student volunteers to the mission fields were an amalgam of biblical values for saving souls and the Victorian ideals represented by ‘personal heroism, lofty humanitarianism, self-sacrifice, and Christian dedication.’ As ‘a religiously passionate but anxious and introspective group of people’, these enthusiastic SVM missionaries from the middle-class homes desired to embody an ideal missionary paragon expressed by ‘the abandonment of worldly ambition, the shame of poverty, the fear of being declassed, and the guilt of appearing to escape the rigors of the business world for the missionary life.’¹⁶

Similarly, Southern Presbyterian workers came mainly from families with

¹³ Rabe, ‘Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Logistics to 1920’, 75-6; Martha Huntley, *To Start A Work: The Foundations of Protestant Mission in Korea (1884-1919)* (Seoul: Publishing House, PCK, 1987), 423; and Parker, *Kingdom of Character*, 18-20.

¹⁴ Parker, 17.

¹⁵ ‘18- to 25-year-olds constituted 64.7%, 26- to 30-year-olds equated 25.2%, and those over 30 years of age constituted only 7.2% of the movement.’ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-21.

middle-class backgrounds; studied in small local Presbyterian or other Protestant colleges; attended seminaries or medical schools located in their own or neighbouring states for further studies to be prepared as foreign missionaries. The only significant discrepancy was that they did not come from the Midwest, but from the South, in which the traditional principles of social order rooted in the established patterns of racial differentiation were still essential. The following analysis of Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries' connection with the SVM will help readers build an image of the typical Southern Presbyterian missionary to Honam.

The list in Table 1¹⁷ shows how enormous was the influence of the SVM on the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea at the turn of the twentieth century. From 1892, the year of the beginning of the mission, to 1913, the final year when a detailed list of student volunteers was officially reported, the total number of Southern Presbyterian missionaries arriving in Korea was ninety-six, of whom forty were workers who had volunteered in the SVM meetings (41.66%). When considering male missionaries only during the same period, this proportion rises to 62.5%. Of the first eight male missionaries who arrived before 1900 and pioneered the mission, seven were recruited from the SVM. As already mentioned, the SPKM was initiated by three seminary students who took part in the 1891 Nashville Convention of the Inter-Seminary Alliance, the seminary branch of the SVM. The common impression that the SVM was influential mainly among Northern denominations is not without some historical foundation, but is arguably misleading. There is solid evidence that large numbers of missionary candidates from Southern evangelical denominations participated in this sweeping national missionary

¹⁷ This Table 1 and the following Table 2 are based on the following four sources: 'Appendix A. List of Sailed Volunteers (1906-1909)', *Students and the Present Missionary Crisis: Addresses Delivered before the Sixth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Rochester, New York, December 29, 1909 to January 2, 1910* (New York: SVM, 1910), 513-32, and for the list between 1910 and 1913, *The American and Canadian Students in Relation to the World-Wide Expansion of Christianity* (New York: SVM, 1914), 31-6. As the SVM published the list of the sailed volunteers in 1910 for the first time in its quadrennial international conventions, the statistics before 1906 are incomplete. Sung-Deuk Oak created his own unfinished list of the SVM missionaries to Korea between 1892 and 1905 in *Sources of Korean Christianity, 1832-1945* (Seoul: IKCH, 2004), by consulting two materials, *Reports of the Convention of the SVM, 1891, 1906 & 1910* and *Denominational List of Volunteers*, Volume I in Day Missions Library, Yale Divinity School. In addition to these three sources, I also consulted *Pyeonram*. The statistics are incomplete as it is hard to identify exactly which institutions the Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea between 1894 and 1904 were attending when they volunteered for world missions.

movement. The number of Southern Presbyterian student volunteers in the Korea mission field is only one part of such evidence.¹⁸

Table 1. List of Male Southern Presbyterian Student Volunteer Missionaries to Korea, 1892-1913

| Arrival in Korea | Name | Birth & Death | Resignation | Institutions* |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|-------------|---|
| 1892 (3/3)** | Junkin, William McCleery | 1865-1908 | 1908 | Washington and Lee U / <i>Union TS</i> |
| | Reynolds, William Davis | 1867-1951 | 1937 | Hampden-Sydney C / <i>Union TS</i> |
| | Tate, Lewis Boyd | 1862-1929 | 1929 | Westminster C / <i>McCormick TS</i> |
| 1894 (1/1) | Drew, Alessandro Damer | 1859-1926 | 1901 | Hampden-Sydney C / U of Pennsylvania / U of Virginia MS |
| 1895 (1/1) | Bell, Eugene | 1868-1925 | 1925 | Central U of Kentucky / Kentucky TS / Union TS |
| 1896 (1/1) | Harrison, William Butler | 1866-1928 | 1928 | Central U of Kentucky / Louisville MC / Union TS |
| 1898 (1/1) | Owen, Clement Carrington | 1867-1909 | 1909 | Hampden-Sydney C / U of Edinburgh / Union TS / U of Virginia MS |
| 1902 (2/2) | Alexander, Alexander John | 1875-1929 | 1903 | Princeton U / Columbia U MS |
| | McCutchen, Luther Oliver | 1875-1960 | 1946 | Davidson C / Union TS / Columbia TS |
| 1903 (1/1) | Preston, John Fairman | 1875-1975 | 1946 | King C / Furman U / Princeton TS / Union TS |
| 1904 (1/3) | Daniel, Thomas Henry | 1879-1984 | 1917 | U of Virginia / U of Virginia MS |
| 1907 (2/3) | Knox, Robert | 1880-1959 | 1952 | Austin C / <i>Princeton U</i> / Princeton TS |
| | McCallie, Henry Douglas | 1881-1946 | 1930 | <i>U of Virginia</i> / Princeton TS |
| 1908 (3/3) | Birdman, Ferdinand Henry | 1872-? | 1909 | <i>St. Louis U MS</i> |
| | Venable, William Anderson | 1886-1947 | 1917 | <i>Austin C</i> |
| | Wilson, Robert Manton | 1880-1963 | 1948 | Arkansas C / <i>Washington U MS</i> / Bible Teachers' Trs |
| 1909 (2/2) | Clark, William Monroe | 1881-1965 | 1952 | Southwestern Presbyterian U / <i>Princeton U</i> / Princeton TS |
| | Coit, Robert Thornwell | 1878-1932 | 1932 | <i>Davidson C</i> / Kentucky TS |
| 1910 (2/2) | Patterson, Jacob Bruce | 1876-1933 | 1926 | <i>Oregon Agricultural C</i> / Washington U MS |
| | Talmage, John Van Neste | 1884-1964 | 1957 | <i>Tulane U</i> |
| 1911 (1/3) | Newland, LeRoy Tate | 1885-1969 | 1942 | <i>Davidson C</i> / Kentucky TS |
| 1912 (4/11 ¹⁹) | Eversole, Finley Monwell | 1879-1967 | 1930 | <i>Hampden-Sydney C</i> / Union TS |
| | MacEachern, John | 1884-1957 | 1929 | <i>Davidson C</i> / Union TS |
| | Parker, William Peticolas | 1888-1958 | 1937 | <i>Davidson C</i> |
| | Pratt, Charles Henry | 1881-1950 | 1918 | King C / Princeton U / <i>Union TS</i> |
| 1913 (1/1) | Crane, John Curtis | 1888-1964 | 1957 | U of Mississippi / <i>Southwestern Presbyterian U</i> / Colorado U / Union TS |

*U: University, C: College, TS: Theological Seminary, MS: Medical School, Trs: Missionary and Bible Training School. ***Bold italics*** stand for the institution at which each missionary volunteered for foreign missions.

** Number of Student Volunteers among Southern Presbyterian male missionaries in each year.

¹⁸ Parker also proves that the SVM was influential among Southerners, by saying that 'by 1904, 397 volunteers came from Virginia, 381 from Tennessee, and 133 from Texas.' See *ibid.*, 18 and 200, n.53.

¹⁹ Twenty-five new missionaries—eleven men and fourteen female—were added in a year of 1912. This sudden peak was indebted to the Forward Movement, in which the churches and missionary individuals in the Southern Presbyterian churches were connected systematically for foreign missions projects. John Fairman Preston (1875-1975) and Charles H. Pratt toured the Southern Presbyterian churches to recruit missionary candidates and financial support under the auspices of the Laymen's Missionary Movement. By the eager effort of Preston, a Korea missionary, thirty-three new candidates for Korea were recruited, of whom twenty-five were sent to Korea in 1912. This was followed by the foundation of the Suncheon mission station in 1913. See Brown, *MK*, 92-5.

The academic careers of Southern Presbyterians before their appointment to become Korea missionaries also demonstrates that they underwent much the same characteristic academic process as did a typical SVM missionary. Most male student volunteers attended small Christian colleges in their regions such as Hampden-Sydney in Virginia, Davidson in North Carolina, Westminster in Texas, and Austin in Texas. Then they went to the Southern Presbyterian seminaries such as Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, Kentucky Theological Seminary, or Columbia Theological Seminary, or to medical schools such as University of Virginia Medical School. Some graduated from Northern institutions such as Princeton University, Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey, McCormick Theological Seminary in Illinois, Washington University Medical School in Missouri, or Columbia University Medical School in New York. This fact meant that some Southern Presbyterians' base of residence and influence had already been extended to some Midwestern regions and the Mid-Atlantic states. In addition, it indicated that the new generation of Southern Presbyterians were already broad-minded enough to cross their denominational and geographical boundaries for their academic and professional careers. These facts were significant since they wished to keep their identities as Southern Presbyterians and succeeded in maintaining it to a certain extent, but at the same time they wanted to bear 'the twin evangels of the Christian gospel and the Victorian ideology encapsulated in the word character'²⁰ in their mind as SVM advocates. In other words, the distinctive characteristics of Southern Presbyterians were substantially blurred even before they began foreign mission work, in spite of their continuing emotional allegiance to Southern identity.

A similar picture emerges from an analysis of female student volunteers who served in the Honam mission field. They had, of course, no chance of being ordained as pastoral missionaries, and hence, they tended instead to search for an alternative route to become foreign missionaries through the several Bible and missionary training schools. Agnes Scott College, the alma mater of two Southern Presbyterian SVM missionaries, Cornelia Beckveiith Rankin and Lily Ora Lathrop, was a model school for Southern Protestant female higher education. Located in Decatur, Georgia,

²⁰ Parker, the last page of 'Introduction.'

this college was founded as Decatur Female Presbyterian Seminary in 1889, and changed its name to Agnes Scott Institute in 1890 and then to Agnes Scott College in 1906 to become a liberal arts woman's college. That is, Agnes Scott was a female version of Hampden-Sydney as a centre for Southern Presbyterian higher liberal education with a theological department which would be later relocated as the independent Union Theological Seminary to Richmond, Virginia in 1898.²¹

Table 2. List of Female Southern Presbyterian Student Volunteer Missionaries to Korea, 1892-1913

| Arrival In Korea | Name | Birth & Death | Resignation | Institutions* |
|------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---|
| 1899 (1/1)** | Straeffer, Frederica Elizabeth | 1868-1899 | 1908 | [Not Known] |
| 1907 (4/8) | Bell, Julia Dysart | 1872-1952 | 1941 | <u>Moody Trs</u> |
| | Graham, Ellen Ibernina | 1869-1930 | 1930 | <u>Normal and Industrial C</u> |
| | McCallie, Emily Cordell | 1873-1931 | 1930 | Missouri Valley C / <u>Scarritt Trs</u> |
| | Rankin, Cornelia Beckveith | 1879-1911 | 1911 | <u>Agnes Scott C</u> |
| 1908 (2/3) | Buckland, Sadie Mapham | 1865-1936 | 1936 | <u>Mount Holyoke C</u> |
| | Martin, Julia A. | 1869-1944 | 1940 | <u>Holton U</u> |
| 1909 (2/6) | McQueen, Mary Anna | 1883-1964 | 1951 | <u>Southern Presbyterian C</u> |
| | Venable, Virginia Flournoy Jones | 1884-1970 | 1917 | <u>Bible Teachers' Trs</u> |
| 1912 (5/14) | Dupuy, Lavalette | 1883-1964 | 1948 | <u>Winthrop Normal and Industrial C</u> |
| | Lathrop, Lilly Ora | 1879-1963 | 1931 | <u>Agnes Scott C</u> |
| | McMurphy, Ada Marietta | 1883-1970 | 1958 | Chicago U / Columbia U / <u>Methodist Trs (Nashville)</u> |
| | Parker, Harriett Dillaway Fitch | 1887-? | 1937 | <u>Western C</u> |
| | Shepping, Elizabeth Johanna | 1880-1934 | 1934 | <u>Bible Teachers' Trs</u> / Teachers' C / St. Mark Hospital Nursing School |

*U: University, C: College, TS: Theological Seminary, MS: Medical School, Trs: Missionary and Bible Training School. ***Bold italics*** stand for the institution at which each missionary volunteered for foreign missions.

** Number of Student Volunteers among Southern Presbyterian female missionaries of each year.

Southern female volunteers, however, did not remain in their home towns to receive the necessary education for foreign missions. As shown in the above Table 2, the institutions that these Southern women were attending at the time of their resolutions to volunteer included Scarritt Bible and Training School in Kansas City, Missouri, Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, and Bible Teachers' Training School in New York. These women moved to the North to be trained, and their removal from the South could indeed be seen as an innovative step which gradually eroded the boundary line set between Southern- and Northern Protestants, though many of them were possibly unconscious of this.

²¹ Walter Edward McNair, *Lest We Forget: An Account of Agnes Scott College* (Decatur, GA: Agnes Scott College, 1983), 1-3.

In sum, the SVM, as the most influential ecumenical force within the missionary movement, enormously contributed to the decision of many young Southern Presbyterians to become missionaries to Korea. Many Southern Presbyterians studied in Northern schools, and some of them volunteered for mission to Korea when they were in these institutions. Along with the fact that Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea enthusiastically adopted the same missionary methods as the Northern Presbyterians, which will be analysed in the following section, this relationship of Southern Presbyterians to the SVM clearly proves that they were substantially prepared to abandon their separate sectional identity even before the beginning of their mission work in the foreign field.

2. Commonalities: The Nevius Method and Missionary Conservatism

The most marked feature of the SPKM's mission policies was its close adherence to the Nevius method. John Livingston Nevius (1828-1893), a Northern Presbyterian missionary to Shandong province, China from 1853 to his death, first published a brief introduction to his missionary methods,²² which he had applied to his Shandong mission field, in *The Chinese Recorder* of Shanghai in 1880. In 1885, he again expounded his developed mission principles for the journal, and then his suggestions were reprinted in a book under the title of *The Methods of Mission Work* in Shanghai in 1886. The same book was later reprinted by his Mission Board in 1899.²³ Designating his method the 'New' system or plan, Nevius characterized the

²² It is doubtful that the method originated with Nevius. He was strongly influenced by observing the missionary principles of the Welsh Baptist in China, Timothy Richard (1845-1919). Similar ideas of a three-self church had already been promoted by Henry Venn of the (English) Church Missionary Society and Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. See Everett N. Hunt, Jr., 'John Livingston Nevius 1829-1893: Pioneer of Three-Self Principles in Asia', in Gerald H. Anderson and others, eds., *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1994), 190. Also see R. Pierce Beaver, 'Rufus Anderson 1796-1880: To Evangelize, Not Civilize', in *ibid.*, 553, claiming, 'John L. Nevius, in devising his 'method', was obviously influenced by Rufus Anderson.' However, it is hard to trace how far and in what ways the concepts of Venn and Anderson were influential on the formation of the Nevius principles.

²³ John L. Nevius, 'Mission Work in Central Shantung', *CR* 11 (October 1880): 357-64; 'Principles

‘Old’ method as a system ‘depending largely on paid native agency.’ The latter was also described in the following terms: ‘it strives by the use of foreign funds to foster and stimulate the growth of the native churches in the first stage of their development; it then expects gradually to discontinue the use of such funds; and it uses as far as practicable, the more advanced and intelligent of the native church members in the capacity of paid colporteurs, Bible agents, evangelists, or heads of stations (local churches).’²⁴ Though recognising the fact that this old method seemed to be natural and reasonable to missionaries, home societies, and even native Christians, Nevius criticised this system as having the following serious faults: first, it injures the local church by stirring up envy, jealousy, and satisfaction; second, it always harms the new convert who receives the salary, especially those untrained, and sometimes when they are dropped from employment, they can become the enemies of Christianity; third, it excites a mercenary spirit represented by rice Christians; fourth, it makes it difficult to judge between the true and the false whatever they are preachers or lay church members; fifth, it stops the voluntary work of unpaid workers; and sixth, it lowers the whole mission enterprise in the eyes of all the non-Christian community and they take it for granted that the average Christian is in it for financial advantage.²⁵

As is well-known to scholars of Chinese and Korean Christianity, Nevius’ suggestions were not well accepted by his colleagues in China from the beginning even to his death, and were seriously criticised by some of them in later years.²⁶ However, his ideas appealed to the young Northern Presbyterian missionary pioneers in Korea who had just started their activities with no preceding missionary plan in 1884. Nevius was invited to introduce his method to this small missionary band for

and Methods Applicable to Station Work, Letter I, II’, *CR* 16 (November & December 1885): 421-4 & 461-7; *The Methods of Mission Work* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1886); and *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches* (New York: Foreign Mission Library, 1899).

²⁴ Nevius, *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*, 7-8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-6 and Charles Allen Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1930), 18-9.

²⁶ Calvin W. Mateer’s *Review of the Nevius Methods* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1900) was a case in point. Mateer published this book, seven years after Nevius’ death, ‘vigorously attacking the Principles and denying that there had been any such good results attained in Shantung as people at a distance had been given to understand.’ Clark, 36-53.

only two weeks in June 1890. In spite of his short stay in Korea, however, Korea missionaries appeared to have gained full confidence in the validity of his principles so that the Nevius method was established as a rule which must be strictly enforced.

The two key principles of the Nevius plan as indigenised in the Korean context were self-support and the Bible class system. The principle of self-support had been acknowledged in all the mission fields in Protestant history, but Korea has been recognised as the field in which the standard was applied most vigorously and fully. It was required to be applied even to the most destitute regions. The concrete application of the self-support principle to the local fields was expressed in three particulars: local pastors must be supported by local funding; church buildings had to be built with local resources of time, labour, tithes, and offerings; and the Bible and tracts ought to be bought by locals with their own money. The achievement of this first primary principle depended on the second rule—a well-developed Bible class system. Enthusiastic local leaders, both men and women, imbued with the spirit of voluntarism were to be trained in these Bible classes, and these trained leaders became future leaders of the self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing churches.²⁷

The Nevius method was officially adopted as a central principle of missiology by Northern Presbyterians in Korea as shown in the fact that in 1891 ‘they passed a rule that every new missionary, upon arrival, should be handed a copy of the Nevius book, and be required, at the end of his first year, along with his examination on the language, to show that he also had come to understand the Principles.’²⁸ As already mentioned, the Southern Presbyterian pioneers lived with their Northern brethren in Seoul for three preparatory years from 1892 to 1895, and maintained a close and amicable relationship with the latter as partners and colleagues in almost all missionary enterprises. For Southerners in Seoul, the Northern missionaries as senior colleagues were advisors and guides they had to listen to and follow for many decisions. In the process of adoption of mission methods, as one of the most significant early resolutions, Northern Presbyterians also

²⁷ Brown, *MK*, 17.

²⁸ Clark, 74.

became role models for Southern counterparts. Naturally, the young Southerners almost immediately admitted the absolute validity and efficiency of the Nevius method, following the example of their Northern fellows.

Reynolds, as the initial and chief architect of the SPKM, from the beginning suggested his own application of the method to local Protestant communities with an even tighter standard than the original Nevius proposal. In 1896, when the SPKM had just commenced its work in Honam, in an article on the native ministry, Reynolds proposed his opinions about ‘how to make preachers out of the material God gives you’ with three ‘don’ts’ and four ‘do’s.’ Reynolds’ three ‘don’ts’ were as follows:

1. Don’t let him know for a long time that you have an idea of training him for the ministry. Steer by the two points, ‘not a novice’, and ‘let these also first to be proved’, and you will not run upon sunken rocks.... Dr. Nevius’ first principle is a sound one: ‘The extension of the church must depend mainly on the godly lives and voluntary activities of its members.’
2. Don’t employ him as a preacher or evangelist on foreign pays [*sic*], if you can help it.... Don’t lend countenance to an erroneous but very common impression by following the ‘Paid Agent System.’ Read and re-read Dr. Nevius’ six strong objections.
3. 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 whom he is to live and labor. Missionaries often deplore the chasm in modes of thinking and living between them and the natives. Don’t cleave chasms where as yet none exist.²⁹

Reynolds was fascinated with the Nevius principle which he had obviously learned from his Northern associates during his residence in Seoul, as proved in the fact that he repeatedly referred to it in his article. His confidence in the principle that foreign money should not be given to natives was reinforced from his own experience related to ‘rice Christians’ in Jeonju, which we examined in Chapter Three.³⁰ He gave a clear example of the harmful effect of this practice for his readers in the second clause of ‘don’ts’, saying: ‘A Korean from the country remarked to me not long since that in his neighborhood there were some twenty-five people studying

²⁹ Reynolds, ‘The Native Ministry’, *KR* 3 (May 1896): 200-1.

³⁰ Reynolds, ‘Our Korean Work. Chun-Ju Before and After the War’, *CO* (9 October 1895): 6. See pp.123-4 of this thesis.

the doctrine, and the man who had studied best was getting \$5.00 per month for it. How often have you been asked: If I study the doctrine, how much will I get for it?’³¹

In the following paragraphs, Reynolds outlined four positive points on how to train native ministers ‘in the early stages of Mission Work’, in which ‘there is no immediate prospect of a Theological Seminary in Korea.’

1. Seek to lift him to a high plane of spiritual experience. Let him strive above all else to be a ‘Holy Ghost man.’ What Korea—what the world needs, is to see, living object-lessons in vital personal religion.....2. Ground him thoroughly in the Word and in the cardinal facts and truths of Christianity.....3. Train the young pastor-to-be to ‘endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.’ If his charge is unable to furnish full support, let him be ready and willing to work and help support himself. Inculcate right and true ideas of the dignity of labor, the pricelessness of independence—the rottenness of character resulting from ‘sponging’ and living upon relatives or friends. 4. As Korean Christians advance in culture and modern civilization, raise the standard of education of the native ministry. Seek to keep his education sufficiently in advance of the average education of his people to secure respect and prestige but not enough ahead to excite envy or a feeling of separation.³²

Reynolds concluded his essay with the clear-cut remark: ‘A Korean ministry for a Korean Church should be our motto; no namby-pamby, half-foreignized mercenary ministry for an invertebrate mass of jelly-fish Christians! But a self-sacrificing, self-reliant, self-respecting Korean pastorate over a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating Korean Church, rooted in the soil and growing from its own roots.’³³ In other words, the place of the Nevius plan in the mind of Reynolds as the leading missionary of the SPKM was so solid that other methods, whatever they were, had no chance even of being tested on Korean soil.

Following Nevius’ spirit single-mindedly, Presbyterian Southerners in Honam paid close attention to the organisation of Bible classes in local churches and mission stations. Bible classes were the potential seedbed for the future leaders of the local churches. The first short-term Bible school was held in Jeonju in 1899 for several weeks. Fourteen selected men participated in the classes run by Reynolds and Junkin.

³¹ Reynolds, ‘The Native Ministry’, 200.

³² Ibid., 201.

³³ Ibid.

The focus of study was the Bible, but some basic classes on biblical theology, the life of Christ, and the geography of the Holy Land were added. Every Sunday afternoon an assignment to preach the gospel in the streets was made. They had to take oral and written tests for what they were taught at the classes. This early system of leadership training was developed to a uniform policy in 1904 consisting of the four-stage 'Bible Training Class System', the (Four Days) Country Church Bible Class, the (Ten Days) Station Bible Class, the (One Month) Mission Bible Institute, and the (Three Months) Bible School.³⁴

The Country Church Bible Class was an extension from the local churches' Sunday Bible studies or regular Bible meetings. When the conditions were right, for example, when farming work was not urgent and competitive teachers were available, a Bible class was held in a local church for a four-day or one-week period. The morning and part of the afternoon were allotted to studying, but there was a worship service at night, sometimes in the style of moderate revival meetings. The chief beneficiaries and simultaneously contributors to these Bible classes were the country women as itinerants who played major roles in extending the Christian message into the interior rural areas. The Station Bible Class was held for ten days once a year in each station where missionaries resided. Baptised Christians or catechumens attended the classes at their own expense. The classes for men and women were always held on different dates. The third type of Bible training system was called the One Month Mission Bible Institute. It took place in different locations for a month each autumn for the picked native Christians from the whole area of the mission. The laymen trained in the Institute were destined to become the leaders of local communities, and in some cases, the candidates would go to the Theological Seminary in Pyongyang. A four-year curriculum was prepared to cover three weeks or one month of teaching each year. For women who were not allowed to go to Pyongyang for further theological studies, the Three Months Bible School was the only and the highest educational opportunity, and thus they were prepared in the school to serve Christian communities as the Bible women. This Bible class system, entirely based on the Nevius principle, was the standard educational scheme for

³⁴ Brown, 51, and Nisbet, 98.

fostering the ministers and lay leaders of the Protestant churches in Honam for the next thirty-six years until the mission closed in 1940.³⁵ In fact, most Presbyterian missionary workers in Korea—whether Americans or other nationals, women or men, and Northerners or Southerners—commonly considered the principles of the Nevius plan and the Bible class system the primary secret of the Korean Church's outstanding growth.³⁶

However, not every Presbyterian in Korea was pleased with the planting of the Nevius method on Korean soil. The first criticism of the Nevius method as applied to the Korean context came from L. George Paik (1895-1985), the renowned Korean Presbyterian historian, in 1927.³⁷ Paik appreciated Presbyterian missionaries' caution and care in employment and the training of Korean leaders and their motives in the policy. However, he felt that the policy had an extreme application leading to bad results:

The whole policy seems to us not to have been based upon far-sighted vision. Self-respect and self-reliance are most to be looked for among educated leaders, and these Korean leaders were to be successors to the service that missionaries themselves had rendered to the Korean church. The intellectual training and cultural character of Korean minister should have been elevated to a high plane in order to avoid an invidious comparison and wide chasm between him and the foreign missionary. It is strange, moreover, that the missionaries should have minimized the intellectual standard of the Korean minister. Why should it be necessary that the missionary should have college and theological training, while his successor, the Korean minister, should be educated just a little above his parishioners? As we have already shown, Christianity took its root among the lower and unlearned classes of the people. The intellectual caliber of the minister, which was raised just above this class, could not be high. The rising younger generation went to Japan and other countries for education in arts and science while the Christian ministry in the Korean church was composed of men of the past generation without a modern education. Thus the Korean ministry, instead of securing the 'respect and prestige' of the people, received exactly the opposite.³⁸

Chae-Jun Kim (1901-1987), another Presbyterian critic and one of the initiators of Korean liberal theology from the 1930s onwards, condemned American

³⁵ Brown, *MK*, 52.

³⁶ Clark, 244.

³⁷ This originally appeared in his doctoral thesis submitted to Yale University in 1927, and then first published as an English edition in Korea in 1929.

³⁸ Paik, 216-7.

Presbyterian missionaries and their theology and policies for the Korean Church for their ‘short-sighted theological education’, ‘fundamentalist theology’, and ‘doctrine first ideology.’ He was particularly critical of missionaries in that they ‘were subjects and the believers of the Peninsula were objects.’ Even though the Nevius method sought to develop ‘a Korean ministry for a Korean Church’, as claimed by Reynolds, Kim believed that the plan in reality did not contribute to the creation of an autonomous Native Church at all, but rather one totally subordinate to the transmitters’ teaching and supervision.³⁹ In other words, he criticised the Nevius method for its failure to encourage the church in ‘self-theologizing’—sometimes called the ‘fourth self.’⁴⁰

Dissatisfaction with the Nevius principles in Korean context was not confined to Korean observers. William Scott (1886-1979), a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, acknowledged the positive aspects which this method brought to the Korean Church in his succinct summarization:

The Nevius Method undoubtedly produced remarkable results in the initial stages of the Christian mission in Korea. Its emphasis on missionary itinerating helped to avoid over concentration in the cities, set an example to Korean converts and led to a nation-wide dissemination of the Word. The emphasis on personal witness for Christ made every convert an evangelist and contributed to the rapid growth in numbers. Self-support and self-control in the local church built a self-respect and a sense of dignity as partners in an enterprise which, while basically Korean, also had ecumenical significance. The required training in biblical knowledge and constitutional church government made the Christian community the most literate and best organized section of the population, with a keen sense of law and order. Most important of all, the emphasis on moral rectitude, enforced by strict church discipline, produced an ethical standard that was generally acknowledged as excellent and worthy of emulation.⁴¹

³⁹ Chae-Jun Kim, ‘*Kim Chae-Jun Jeonjip* [The Complete Works of Kim Chae-Jun] vol.V. (Seoul: Hanshin University Press, 1992), 3-5 and idem, ‘Prospectus for the Establishment of Chosun Theological Seminary (1939)’, in the Editorial Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, *Hanguk Gidokgyo Baeknyeonsa* [A Centennial History of Korean Christianity] (Seoul: PCRK, 1992), 326.

⁴⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 450-7.

⁴¹ William Scott, *Canadians in Korea: Brief historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea* (1975), 52. Information of publisher is not known.

He, nonetheless, also acutely identified the side-effects from the principle's over-emphases:

It is probably true that the system tended to over-emphasize its main principles and led to certain weaknesses. The over-emphasis on self-government produced a church hierarchy that was often motivated by pride of office. The over-emphasis on church organization and worship tended to make the Christian community a community apart, with little interest in social affairs. The over-emphasis on self-support meant that all their resources were needed to keep the church organization going, with little thought or financial means left for social welfare. The over-emphasis on bible study placed too great stress on a superficial knowledge of scripture, tended to make this the norm of Christian excellence, and too severely narrowed the basis of scriptural interpretation. But these and other weaknesses are found also in the older established churches of Christendom.⁴²

We may identify here the logical relationship between the addiction of the majority of Presbyterian workers in Korea, including Southern Presbyterians in Honam, to the Nevius system and their theologically conservative position. Re-affirming the conservative emphasis that is positioned at the heart of the Nevius plan, Charles A. Clark, the chronicler of the Nevius scheme in Korea, commented, 'it seems to be a fact...that around the world the Bible-centered churches are crowded with worshippers and multitudes of people in them are getting 'changed', or, as the conservatives say, 'converted, regenerated', while the so-called 'liberal' churches are not getting those results.... 'Liberal' methods are often better than the older methods, but they will never get results till they go back for the Bible content which must be the heart of the Christian message if it is to change men.'⁴³ The above-mentioned two Korean critics, like William Scott, were claimed as promoters of 'liberal' trends in Korean Presbyterianism in the 1930s onwards. However, the criticisms made by Scott and the two Koreans were a well-balanced and perceptive evaluation of strengths and weaknesses in the perspective of holistic Christianity, and not necessarily linked to a liberal theological perspective. Yet, it is historically true that

⁴² Ibid., 53.

⁴³ Clark, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work Illustrated in Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1937), 275-6.

Scott and the Canadian Presbyterian mission as a whole, and some of its related Korean personnel were generally supportive of a more liberal theological stance.⁴⁴

Southern Presbyterians proved their devotion to theological conservatism in the controversies over the Japanese Shinto shrine ceremonies as well as in their allegiance to the Nevius theory. The Shinto shrine issue first came to the surface in the early 1930s. At the time, most of the Korean Church and missions, notwithstanding denominational divisions, stood against the Japanese imperial government's enforcement to bow to the shrine. They regarded the ceremonies in question not as patriotic, but as religious. However, after 1935, when mission-run schools were threatened with closure unless students in the schools attended the ceremonies, missionaries on the field were divided on the issue. Some missionaries, such as the Catholics, took at face value the statement of the Japanese authorities that the shrine service was simply a political performance. Other missions, including the Methodists, entrusted the final decision on the matter to the Korean Church. The majority of the NPKM took an uncompromising position against the Japanese coercion. However, there was a minority in the mission who insisted that the schools must be kept open. The SPKM, however, reached a forthright conclusion in 1935 that bowing at a Shinto shrine was idolatry in contrast with true religion.⁴⁵ C. Darby Fulton, executive secretary of the foreign missions committee of the Southern Presbyterian Church, visited Korea in February 1937 to deal with this matter and whole-heartedly agreed with the mission's stand: 'The mission was unanimously of the mind that we could not participate in the shrine ceremonies without compromising vital Christian principles....something so elementary as to be a simple question between monotheism and polytheism.'⁴⁶

As examined in the previous section of this chapter, Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Honam had all the characteristics which are frequently described as evangelical. The mission principles which Nevius proposed and his young disciples

⁴⁴ See Harvie M. Conn, 'Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church II, Liberal Theology in the Korean Church—to 1945: An Historical Outline', *Westminster Theological Journal* 29:2 (1 May 1967): 136-78.

⁴⁵ Brown, *MK*, 148-57.

⁴⁶ C. Darby Fulton, *Star in the East* (Richmond: PCP, 1938), 210.

interpreted and applied in the Korean context were pan-evangelical in that this system stalwartly emphasised Bible study, extensive evangelism, an identifiable concrete experience of conversion, and the confession of Jesus Christ as personal saviour for the native converts. For Southern Presbyterians in Honam who had no hesitation in identifying themselves as conservative evangelicals, just as had Northern Presbyterians in Pyongyang, therefore, the missionary principles of the Nevius scheme were a perfect fit. However, as explained in the case of Robert L. Dabney at home,⁴⁷ the conservatism held by Honam missionaries in the form of the Nevius method, was much closer to that of the interdenominational fundamentalist movement which would explicitly rise in the English-speaking countries and their mission fields in the 1920-30s,⁴⁸ than to the scholastic Old School Reformed tradition. The topic of the succeeding section will be the diversity among the Honam missionaries despite their substantial homogeneity in sociocultural background at home and in their mission strategy in the field.

3. Diversities: Men and Women, Evangelists, Educators, and Doctors

The total number of Southern Presbyterian missionaries who arrived in Korea between 1892 and 1987 was 438, excluding student visitors in the short-term internship programs.⁴⁹ Of this total, 188 worked before 1939-40, which means that nearly half (exactly 42.92%) of all the Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries were active in the time period this thesis defines. Of the total of 438 members of the missionary personnel, according to *Pyeonram*, the number of workers for whom we have the most essential information such as place and date of birth was 396.

⁴⁷ See pp.70-1 of this thesis.

⁴⁸ The most authoritative monograph of this topic is George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁴⁹ See Jong Soon Cha, 'Miguk Namjangrogyo Hangukseongyosa Yeongu (1)', [A Study of American Southern Presbyterian Missionaries in Korea (1)], *Sinhakihae* [Understanding of Theology] 35 (2008): 97 and 98 n.1. Another source records that the total number of missionaries affiliated to the PCUS until 1987 was about 540 including short-term visitors. See *Pyeonram*, Foreword. I computed the number of the entire PCUS missionary force in Korea from 1892 to 1987 at 438 from both documentary sources.

Pyeonram has also exhibited several charts, classifying them by profession in the field, gender, mission station she or he belonged to, place of birth and growth, and the duration of missionary activity. An overwhelming majority of missionaries, 343 of 396 (86.6%), were born in the United States (340) or Canada (3). A small number of exceptions among second-generation workers were born in the mission fields such as Korea and China (39). Some missionaries were born in Europe, Oceania, and Africa (14).⁵⁰

Most of the 340 US-born missionaries came from the Southern or border states, except for an extremely small number of Northerners from Minnesota or Wisconsin (4, 2.4%) and of Westerners from California (2, 0.6%). It is noticeable that there was not a single missionary from the six states in New England or from New York state, and that there were only two natives of the Western states right up to 1987.⁵¹ Almost every member (more than 95%) of the SPKM was from the American South as the term was defined by the Confederacy in the time of the Civil War, which brings the homogenous character of the mission into relief. Here the Linton Institute's analysis of the relationship between the length of service of the missionaries and their adoption of Korean names is revealing. Of the 396 Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea where clear information on their place of birth was given to researchers, 211 (53%) adopted Korean names out of concern for closer contact with and accessibility to Honam natives. The average working period of the missionaries with Korean names was 20.8 years, but those who did not adopt Korean names stayed only 10.8 years on the average in Korea. This suggests that the more eagerly a missionary individual attempted to form relationships with the indigenous people and adjust her/himself to the Korean culture, the longer she/he could engage in missionary activity as a successful worker with a close bond with people in Honam.⁵² Indeed, just as the most influential Northern Presbyterian missionary leaders to Korea such as Horace G. Underwood, Samuel A. Moffett, or Graham Lee adopted Korean names such as Won Duwoo, Mapo Samyeol, or Yi Gilham in their

⁵⁰ *Pyeonram*, 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 6.

daily lives, the most beloved Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Honam also preferred to use Korean names, as in the cases of William D. Reynolds (Yi Nulseo), William M. Junkin (Jeon Wiryeom), and Lewis B. Tate (Choi Euideok), William Linton (Indon), and Elizabeth Shepping (Seo Seopyeong), and Florence E. Root (Yoo Wharey).

In regard to the missionaries' working areas of expertise, some inferences can be drawn from the statistics in *Pyeonram*. This shows that Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Honam during the ninety-five years from 1892 to 1987 consisted of 30.2% evangelists, 33.1% educators, and 25.3% medical doctors and nurses. The editors of *Pyeonram* have interpreted this almost even distribution among the Honam missionary force of the three groups of expertise as the result of a full application of the widespread policy of a triangulation of evangelism, education, and medicine to the SPKM. They have argued that the typical pattern of missionary activity, which sought to prompt the evangelisation of indigenous people and to root the Christian culture into the mission field through educational and medical facilities, was similarly reflected in the Southern Presbyterian mission policy in Honam.⁵³

It is true that a triangular policy of missionary enterprise was applied to the Honam mission field as shown in the proportions of missionaries of different professions. It is also true that the goal of evangelisation and Christian civilisation through evangelism, medicine, and education was deeply rooted in the mind of Presbyterian Southerners. However, these approximately even percentages among the missionary groups in *Pyeonram* do not support the argument that equal weight was in fact given to the three categories of missionary enterprise in Honam. The figures in this directory, instead, suggest that many missionaries functioned as medical practitioners as well as evangelists; some missionary pastors were simultaneously teachers in mission schools; and a small number of missionaries also taught students in schools while treating patients in the clinics. As examined in the previous section, by adopting the Nevius plan as its official mission method, in addition to their inherited ecclesiastical tradition of 'the spirituality of the church', the SPKM in Honam effectively declared that the priority in all its missionary

⁵³ Ibid., 59.

activities should be given to saving souls by evangelism rather than to transforming Honam's heathen civilisation to a Christian one.⁵⁴

Regarding the question of whether a doctor-missionary was primarily a doctor, or mainly an evangelist, Protestant missions in Korea, as in other fields, faced a continuing controversy from the beginning.⁵⁵ In fact, the tensions between pastoral missionaries as leading decision-makers in the missions and medical practitioners sometimes came to the surface. For example, the 1911 report of the medical committee of the Methodist Episcopal Korea Mission, South, stated, 'the medical workers on the field are in a very small minority and have to deal with problems and bear responsibilities which are generally recognized but not fully and adequately appreciated by non-medical members of the mission....A comparative study of the different phases of our mission policy would seem to indicate a tendency on the side of our non-medical co-laborers to minimize the part played by medical work in the ingathering of a church for Christ from out of a heathen people.'⁵⁶ Northern Presbyterians were also in a deep conflict over the establishment of a large-scale hospital in Seoul. Arthur J. Brown, secretary of the PCUSA foreign mission board, pointed out the attitude of the majority of the non-medical workers in the mission as follows:

At first, indeed the development of hospitals was retarded by the misgivings of the evangelistic missionaries, who while recognizing the physical woes caused by ignorance, filth, and superstition, regarded hospitals merely as a means to open doors of opportunity for preaching the Gospel, and when the receptiveness of the people made them unnecessary for this purpose, the majority of the Mission favored their continuance on only a small scale. We will remember our conference with a group of missionaries in 1901, in which there was a strong opposition to putting a special gift of \$10,000 in Seoul on the ground that so expensive a plant was not required even in the metropolis of the country.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ For a full discussion of the early Presbyterian mission policy in Korea, see Sung-Deuk Oak, 'Hanguk Jangrogyoeui Chogi Seongyojeongchaek' [Early Presbyterian Mission Policy in Korea, 1884-1903], *CHK* 9 (September 1998): 117-88. Oak's main argument is that early Presbyterian missions in Korea chose 'the theory of the indigenous and three-self church' as their official mission policies which was initiated and developed by Rufus Anderson, Henry Venn, John Nevius and John Ross, instead of 'the theory of Christian civilization' represented by James S. Dennis.

⁵⁵ Huntley, 347-58.

⁵⁶ *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Mission South, Korea Mission, 1911*, 57.

⁵⁷ Arthur J. Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., with Some Account of Countries, People and the Policies and Problems of*

However, not all medical labours in the Methodist and Presbyterian Korea missions faced a conflict with the priority of evangelism in the mission. Some early medical missionaries viewed themselves as preachers with medical expertise, placing evangelism first. In 1896, J. Hunter Wells (1866-1938), a Northern Presbyterian physician, put in writing, ‘we are not here so much as medical missionaries as we are missionaries medical. No patient comes but that he or she gets a religious pamphlet and is spoken to as to the reason we are here...for the sake of glorious gospel.’⁵⁸ William B. Scranton (1856-1922) and William B. McGill (1859-1918) of the Northern Methodist mission, Robert A. Hardie (1865-1949), a Southern Methodist, and Robert G. Grierson (1868-1965), a Canadian Presbyterian, were all medical missionaries who did as much evangelising activities as they did healing work.

Documentary evidence in diverse sources suggests that, in Honam, Southern Presbyterian medical practitioners seemed to be in little discord with evangelistic missionaries. The pioneering missionary doctors in the Honam mission field saw themselves as the healers of souls even more than as curers of bodies. As described in the previous chapter, A. Damer Drew, the first medical missionary of the SPKM, accompanied Reynolds in their six-week explanatory trip in 1894, visiting four major cities in which later mission stations would be found. Since Gunsan, the first Honam city they reached after the departure from Seoul, drew Drew’s attention, he decided to stay and work in this second mission station of the mission founded in 1896. Drew and William Junkin, an ordained pastor, were welcomed by the people in Gunsan and the station, despite having the smallest population of all the five stations, was soon reported as an example of a successful beginning of mission work. In fact, G. Thompson Brown has attributed the initial success of the Gunsan mission station to Drew: ‘Kunsan station was opened at the “point of a lancet.” At perhaps no other station did the evangelistic work and the medical work go on, hand in hand, in such a remarkable manner. This was undoubtedly a prime factor in the initial wave of success that accompanied the preaching of the gospel, for, as we have seen, the first

Modern Missions (New York: Fleming Revell, 1936), 439, quoted in Huntley, 356.

⁵⁸ J. Hunter Wells, *KR* 3 (June 1896): 240, quoted in Huntley, 347-8.

baptism here was a full year earlier than those in Chunju.’⁵⁹ Samuel Chester of the PCUS foreign missions executive committee praised Drew in his visit to Korea in 1897 as ‘a big man whose heart was bigger than his body and who gave himself unremittingly to ministration of mercy among the people.’⁶⁰ Identifying himself as an evangelist as well as a doctor, Drew extensively itinerated to the many small villages healing the sick, preaching the gospel, and distributing tracts until he was urged to retire from the work for his broken health in 1901.⁶¹

Clement C. Owen (1867-1909)⁶² illustrates even more clearly the evangelistic orientation of the early medical work. The second male medical missionary of the mission who arrived in Honam in November 1898, Owen was committed to the principle of subordinating medical service to evangelistic work in the mission. For Owen, as an ordained pastor as well as a medical doctor, priority should always be given to saving Honam’s lost souls rather than to anything else. In his report in October 1899 about a dispensary, the first Western-style standing clinic in Mokpo founded in November 1898, Owen exposed his clear intention in running it: ‘spreading the gospel message.’

The dispensary, recently opened here on a small scale, has already been the means of serving some of Korea’s suffering ones: and we trust it will become a greater blessing, touching many lives for God. Texts are posted to catch the eyes of the waiting patients, and leaflets are offered to those who can read. Often the reader will read aloud, and then the message may enter both at ear-gate and eye-gate. On each wooden check which is given to the patients as they come, the sick one may read, ‘God is love.’⁶³

⁵⁹ Brown, *MK*, 46.

⁶⁰ Samuel H. Chester, ‘Our Mission Work in Korea’, *TM* (March 1898), 109, quoted in Brown, 46.

⁶¹ Brown, 47.

⁶² For a biographical study of Owen, see Jong Soon Cha, ‘Clement C. Owen: Gwangjueui Cheot Sungyoja’, [Clement C. Owen: The First Martyr in Gwangju] *Sinhakihae* [Understanding of Theology] 12 (1994): 166-213.

⁶³ Clement C. Owen, ‘Dispensary Work at Mokpo’, *TM* (October 1899): 459. A question of what proportion of these patients would have been literate is hard to answer since there is no concrete statistics of it. However, because of traditional stress on learning and education of the Confucian society and relatively easy spelling system of Hangeul (Korean alphabet), the majority of Korean male population were literate in Hangeul—many of whom also understood Chinese characters—even before the introduction of Western educational system. However, for women who were heavily discriminated, there was little opportunity to learn how to read and write. Some hints of this situation in late nineteenth-century Korea can be read in Chapter 26 of Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 335-42.

Owen's passion for evangelism led to his idea of giving his patients scripture tracts with their medicines:

To each case I give a tract with their number on it and require them to bring it with them each time. With each dose of medicine I give a Scripture text⁶⁴ on the little medicine bag. May the Holy Spirit use His own Sword. Will you not ask that these words of our Lord may be given with much prayer even though it be with much weakness. Ask that these precious words given out may be winged with prayer and with power divine....How unspeakably sad are these deaths where they are dying without God. Oh that we may learn to weep over lost souls as our Master did!⁶⁵

Owen's evangelistic orientation was reinforced through his marriage to Georgiana Whiting (1869-1952), a Northern Presbyterian missionary doctor, in December 1900. Their marriage is another example of the harmonious association between the two missions: Rev. William F. Bull (1876-1941) of the SPKM officiated at the wedding held in Horace G. Underwood's house in Seoul.⁶⁶ However, more significant was the fact that this newly wedded couple decided to focus their work more on church planting and itinerant evangelism than on medical treatment. Owen and his wife stopped medical work in Mokpo and then moved to Gwangju to become pioneering evangelists of the new mission station there. They primarily engaged in direct evangelism such as preaching in worship services and in the streets, teachings in the Bible studies, and extensive itinerant trips to countryside villages,⁶⁷ until Owen

⁶⁴ It is not known about which scriptural texts were selected to appear on bags. Owen mentioned the phrase, 'God is love.' (1 John 4:8, 16). These texts in 1 John could have been drawn from the 1898 new Korean version of 1 John, which was translated by the Board of Official Translators under the supervision of the Permanent Executive Bible Committee. This Committee and Board were organised in 1893 in order to replace the 1887 NT version of John Ross, Scottish Presbyterian missionary in Manchuria. New Testament of the Authorized Version was published in 1906, and the entire Bible including Old Testament was released in 1910. William Reynolds joined the Board in 1895 until 1938 to become the longest-serving member of the Board. See Dae Young Ryu, Sung-Deuk Oak, and Mahn-Yol Lee, *Daehanseongseogonghoisa II* [A History of the Korean Bible Society II] (Seoul: KBS, 1994), 34-54.

⁶⁵ Rev. (Dr.) C. C. Owen to My Dear Little Sister (11 March 1899).

⁶⁶ *TM* (January 1901): 42.

⁶⁷ See Mrs. C. C. Owen to My Dear Cousin Frances (10 August 1901); C. C. Owen to Dear Little Sister (2 December 1901); *Personal Report of C. C. Owen in the 14th Annual Meeting of the SPKM* (September 1905), 71-2; *Personal Report of C. C. Owen in the 15th Annual Meeting of the SPKM* (June 1906), 33; C. C. Owen, 'Uprising of a Church', *TM* (September 1905): 452; Georgiana Whiting Owen, 'An Incident in Korea: Visit of 'Very Much Wanted' and 'Little Child' to Quangu Hospital',

died prematurely from overwork during his itinerancy in April 1909.⁶⁸

It seems that subsequent Southern Presbyterian medical missionaries gave substantial support to the pattern established by Drew and Owen as a tradition in the Honam mission. After his arrival in Mokpo as Owen's successor in August 1904, Joseph Wynne Nolan (1880-?) took charge of running a dispensary in the Mokpo mission station. However, like Owen, he also preached the gospel to the patients in the waiting rooms and then cured them.⁶⁹ Nolan moved to a new role as the first medical missionary in Gwangju in November 1905 since Owen and his wife wished to engage only in evangelistic work there. Nolan employed Owen's method of 'a Scripture text on the little medicine bag' and soon came to believe that both the text and the treatment were effective in leading the people of Honam to conversions.⁷⁰

A similar preference of Southern Presbyterian medical workers for evangelistic missionary activity was found in the life of Wylie Hamilton Forsythe (1873-1918). After his arrival in Honam in September 1904 and language study for several months, Forsythe made a call on a patient in Songjidong, Gimje near Jeonju in March 1905 and was heavily wounded by unidentified armed men there. He was attacked by them in his sleep at night and lost consciousness from heavy loss of blood. Although he recovered, this news was reported to the US legation in Seoul, which put bounties on the heads of the attackers. However, on his way back to Jeonju, Forsythe expressed his wish to forgive all the assailants and for their souls to be saved.⁷¹ A sequela after this accident and deteriorating health finally steered him to take an early furlough in 1906 and early retirement from the mission in 1912. However, throughout his short-term missionary service, Forsythe was renowned

TM (October 1905): 458-9; Rev. C. C. Owen, M. D. 'Work in Hingyang, Korea', *TM* (January 1908): 24-5; and Mrs. C. C. Owen, 'Burning of the Fetishes', *TM* (March 1908): 133-5, etc.

⁶⁸ J. Fairman Preston, 'Rev. Clement Carrington Owen, M. D.', *TM* (August 1909): 414-5. His last words were reported, 'Oh, if they would only give me a little rest.' See Preston, 'Korea', *TM* (June 1909): 320.

⁶⁹ The Editor, 'Mokpo, Korea, Items', *TM* (August 1905): 404-5, and J. W. Nolan, 'Korea: Experiences at Chunju', *TM* (October 1905): 496.

⁷⁰ J. W. Nolan, 'Kwangju, Korea', *TM* (May 1906): 206-7. Korean patients have been likely to regard the text as, in some sense, a sort of talisman that is thought to have magical and medical powers. However, no textual evidence that Honam patients venerated this bag has been found yet.

⁷¹ Mattie S. Tate to Mrs. Forsythe (3 April 1905).

among colleagues and Korean Christians alike for his enthusiasm for the conversion of Honam people.⁷² In 1987, Huntley summarised in a clear sentence how the missionary doctors of the SPKM were over-stressed: ‘Of the 23 medical doctors appointed as ‘regular service’ (continuing terms) missionaries by the Southern Presbyterians during the past century, only one so far, Dr. Robert M. Wilson, has managed to serve in Korea until his retirement. The percentage is similar in all the missions. Dr. Wilson explained that he was able to endure so long since he eagerly learned to escape stress by going hunting.’⁷³

The primary aim of the mission schools established in the Southern Presbyterian mission stations was to educate children from Christian homes. It was believed that priority must be given to evangelism since education for the believers’ children was not possible without obtaining a certain number of Protestant converted families. A recurring watchword was ‘Evangelize the heathen and educate the Christians.’ From its foundation, the mission attempted to maintain the principle that Christian students must occupy at least 60% of the student body. This policy required early missionaries to wait for some time to found schools until a sufficient Protestant constituency with their children had been gathered in the churches.⁷⁴

Commission III of the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference was given the task of examining the work of ‘Education in relation to the Christianisation of national life.’ The Commission Report from its investigation of the over two hundred questionnaire replies from missionaries all over the world listed the main purposes of mission education in three categories: the *evangelistic*, the *edificatory*, and the *leavening*.⁷⁵ When taking into account Southern Presbyterian policy in Honam in the

⁷² See The Editor, ‘Editorial’, *TM* (August 1905): 376; W. H. Forsythe, ‘Mission and Missionaries’, *TM* (May 1906): 202; Mrs. C. C. Owen, ‘The Leper and the Good Samaritan’, *TM* (August 1909): 408-9; The Editor, ‘Korea: Station Sketches’, *TM* (May 1910): 246-9; George T. B. Davis, ‘Progress of the Million Movement: A Visitor’s Impressions’, *TM* (August 1910): 397-9; Notes from Quarterly Report, ‘From April to June at Mokpo’, *TM* (November 1910): 558; and The Editor, ‘Korea Mission’, *TM* (May 1911): 240-1.

⁷³ Huntley, 357. Also see Brown, *MK*, 68-71, 101-6, and 125-9.

⁷⁴ Brown, 66.

⁷⁵ Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 167 and 176-7. There was an additional and fourth motive, ‘the philanthropic desire to promote the general welfare of the people.’ However, this ‘emphatically liberal views of some of its American members’ were ‘rare in Protestant missionary

light of the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, its educational principles seem to be located between the first category and the second one, but closer to the second type. As already mentioned, Southern Presbyterian mission schools focused more on the edificatory functions to train indigenous leaders for establishing a three-self church, than on the evangelistic roles to preach the gospel directly to the non-Christian pupils in the schools. The vision of education as a strategy for an autonomous and indigenous church was promoted most resolutely by missionaries in China.⁷⁶ Considered Korea's cultural similarities to China, it seems probable that missionaries in Korea chose to have a shared approach to the values of educational mission with China missionaries.⁷⁷

The first school for boys was opened in 1901 in Jeonju, while a school for girls was established in the following year. By 1904, three other mission stations held their respective schools for boys and girls in their areas. In 1909, the first missionary to be given exclusive charge of education, William A. Venable (1886-1947), arrived to administer a mission school more professionally. However, due to the lack of educational experts in the mission stations, most mission schools were inevitably run by evangelistic missionaries. Schools for girls were often in charge of missionary wives. From 1910, three of the four stations started academies beyond the grade of the primary school, and this educational system focusing on primary and secondary schools was maintained until all these schools were closed by the mission in 1939-40 in the course of the conflict with the Japanese colonial authorities over Shinto veneration.⁷⁸

However, a desire to found a high-level educational institute was prominent among missionaries from the second decade of the twentieth century. This hope originated from the explosive growth of churches in the years after 1910. As the impact of the Pyongyang revivals extended to the churches in Honam, new converts

circle in 1910'.

⁷⁶ The evangelistic purpose of education was stronger in China, as proved in the battles in the 1920s over the 'Restore Educational Rights' campaign. See details in Ka-che Yip, 'China and Christianity: Perspectives on Missions, Nationalism and the State in the Republican Period, 1912-1949', in Brian Stanley, ed., *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 132-43.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 182-6.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 67-8.

were added to local congregations. The more members of the churches increased, the more pastors and lay leaders were needed in the churches, and hence the more native teachers and medical experts were required in the schools and hospitals. Owing primarily to lack of finance, the plan to establish a college in Honam exclusively by the SPKM was not in fact accomplished until the organisation of Daejeon Presbyterian College (now Hannam University) in 1956 after the Korean War (1950-1953).⁷⁹

However, the tension of the mission with the government's educational authorities over the 1915 educational ordinances and the related anxiety of missionaries to keep Christian instruction in the mission-run schools could be another reason why the mission delayed so long in opening a higher educational institution. In April 1915, the Japanese educational authorities announced a series of educational ordinances mainly to restrict the free instruction in the private schools and to standardise the curriculum by the employment of licensed teachers. The key issues related to mission schools were that all kind of religious practices and teachings should be removed from the programme of study. The government allowed the missions ten years to conform to its ordinances for their schools or otherwise the permits would be forfeited.⁸⁰ Unlike the Methodist schools which chose to follow the governmental rules, Southern Presbyterians, with other Presbyterian colleagues, resisted the Japanese authorities. This was the beginning of tension with the Japanese colonial government which resulted in the ultimate closure of the Southern Presbyterian schools in the later Shinto controversy. As analysed in the previous section, Southern Presbyterian missionaries, including educational workers, consistently attached greater importance to the evangelisation of the Honam people through evangelism than to the Westernisation of Honam society through the education. This attitude evident in the 1910s was still apparent as late as the 1930s.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Hyeon-Gang Song, 'Minamjangrogyoeui Hangukseongyowa Hannamdaehakeui Seollip', [Mission to Korea of the American Southern Presbyterian Church and the Foundation of Hannam University] *Gidokgyo Munhwa Yeongu* 12 [Studies in Christian Culture] (2007): 41-50.

⁸⁰ This rule was relaxed by the educational authorities for a time in the 1920s, but it was again strengthened in the 1930s.

⁸¹ John C. Crane, 'The Evolution and Execution of A School', *MS* (March 1917): 203, and Florence R. Root to Dear Friends (7 September 1937). Also see Brown, 99-101 and 148-57.

Female missionaries, both missionary wives and single women, accounted for 269 of 438 (61.41%) of Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries between 1892 and 1987. In the early period between 1892 and 1940, the percentage of women missionaries was higher: 63.30% with 119 workers. A certain continuity of the female proportion in the SPKM—between 55.55% at a minimum and 73.22% at a maximum—is evident throughout the period the mission existed in Korea. These statistics show that the female missionary activities in Honam reflected the global trend in international Protestant missions in which women composed at least 60% of the entire mission force from the 1890s.⁸² According to Jane Hunter’s authoritative study of American female missionaries in China, the women missionaries’ chief contributions were unique in style and substance. In style, their approach to other people was ‘intimate and personal rather than directive’, and depended more on ‘blessed influence rather than on direct authority’ to win acceptance. In substance, their duty was to associate their evangelical mission through the preaching of the gospel truth with their domestic responsibility through the transplantation of moral character, embodied in the American Christian home. This gospel of ‘gentility’, to use Hunter’s term, was one of the constituents which were commended by American missionaries including those from the SVM in general and female volunteers in particular.⁸³

Table 3. Proportion of Newly Appointed Missionaries Classified By Gender, 1892-1987⁸⁴

| Period of Time | Total Number | Number of <i>Men</i> | Number of <i>Women</i> | percentage of <i>Men</i> | percentage of <i>Women</i> |
|--|--------------|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1892-1900 | 18 | 8 | 10 | 44.45% | 55.55% |
| 1901-1910 | 43 | 17 | 26 | 39.53% | 60.47% |
| 1911-1920 | 55 | 23 | 32 | 41.81% | 58.19% |
| 1921-1930 | 56 | 15 | 41 | 26.78% | 73.22% |
| 1931-1940 | 16 | 6 | 10 | 37.50% | 62.50% |
| <i>Early Period (1892-1940)</i> | 188 | 69 | 119 | 36.70% | 63.30% |
| 1941-1950 | 22 | 9 | 13 | 40.90% | 59.10% |
| 1951-1960 | 63 | 28 | 35 | 44.40% | 55.60% |
| 1961-1970 | 70 | 25 | 45 | 35.71% | 64.29% |
| 1971-1980 | 67 | 27 | 40 | 40.30% | 59.70% |

⁸² Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), xiii.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, xiv & xv.

⁸⁴ This table is created from the full list of missionaries in *Pyeonram*, 136-57.

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1981-1987 | 28 | 11 | 17 | 39.29% | 60.71% |
| <i>Later Period (1941-1987)</i> | <i>250</i> | <i>100</i> | <i>150</i> | <i>40%</i> | <i>60%</i> |
| <i>Whole Period</i> | <i>438</i> | <i>169</i> | <i>269</i> | <i>38.59%</i> | <i>61.41%</i> |

In Korea, a country under the firm influence of Confucian conservatism like China, women missionaries, including those from the American South, believed that Christianity, as a religion of gentility, was the means to elevate the status of women and to recover their full human dignity as supposedly experienced in the West.⁸⁵ Most Protestant missionaries indeed believed that their evangelistic, medical, and educational activities to local women were the only ways in which the secluded Korean women could be led to ‘reveal new vistas’ for them, to ‘push back their narrow horizons’, and to ‘revise their image of who they were, what they were capable of, what their worth was.’ Female missionaries believed that ‘figuratively and literally, thousands of Korean women received new names, new identities, and new hope through the Christian Church.’⁸⁶ Female missionaries wished to win recognition in this point from their male fellows, their supporters in the homeland, and Korean natives.

Despite the fact that female workers always outnumbered their counterparts in the SPKM, it is obvious that they were not given equal status with their male colleagues. They could not become chief leaders of the mission, and married female missionaries could not even vote in the mission. Single women could have the vote, which was somewhat innovative in the perspective of women who did not have the right to vote in the States until 1920.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, in Protestant missions in Korea, including the SPKM, even single female missionaries with voting rights received from 10 to 50% lower salaries than their single male counterparts. Single men’s salaries were also increased by about 30% when they married. Thus, single women were ‘the cheapest missionaries.’⁸⁸ Nevertheless, missionary women were able to

⁸⁵ For example, see Mattie B. Ingold, M.D., Journal Entries for 1 March 1898 and for 1 April 1898.

⁸⁶ Huntley, 246.

⁸⁷ Huntley, ‘Presbyterian Women’s Work and Rights in the Korean Mission’, *AP* 65:1 (Spring 1987): 46-7.

⁸⁸ This quoted phrase is in *TM* (November 1868): 117, and Huntley, ‘Presbyterian Women’s Work and Rights in the Korean Mission’, 37. Analyses of the trends in Protestant missions as a whole can be found in *The Relative Place of Women in The Church in the United States: Tentative Report of the*

achieve more than the average American woman could do at home. Many vigorous women in the States at the turn of the twentieth century chose foreign mission fields as the vehicles for their unemployed energy and talents.⁸⁹ It was likewise true for Southern Presbyterian women in Korea.

In the early stages of Southern Presbyterian missionary endeavours the majority of the local church members had been men, but by 1927, the proportion of women among Honam church members had reached 60%.⁹⁰ This success among the women was chiefly indebted to female missionaries, especially single women, and Korean Bible women.⁹¹ Male missionaries were not permitted to approach Korean women, according to Confucian custom, and married female missionaries had not much time to devote to indigenous women as they were bound up with housework and childcare. Typically, a female missionary, being accompanied by her Korean helper, regularly visited churches in small villages to stay and teach local women in the Bible classes for four or five days. These classes, in which the most basic Christian instruction was offered to local women of Honam, were developed in 1922 for the Korean Woman's Auxiliary in Gwangju by Elizabeth Shepping.⁹² In addition to the Auxiliary, Shepping contributed to expand the spheres of Protestant female activities into diverse areas by organising the Nurses Association of Korea and the Korean Women's Christian Temperance Association, and the Neel Bible School for women. These Honam women, trained by the female missionaries, were called 'assault troops' by missionaries and Korean Christians since they frequently became the first evangelists to enter into many villages where the Christian gospel had never

Joint Committee Appointed by the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federation Of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, and the Federated Council of The Churches of Christ in America, to Study the Place of Women's Organized Work in the Church (New York: 1927), 46; R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 178, and Hunter, 85.

⁸⁹ Barbara Welter, 'She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth Century America', *AQ* 30 (Winter 1978): 632, and Hunter, xvi.

⁹⁰ Brown, 118.

⁹¹ See Christine Sungjin Chang, 'Hidden But Real: the Vital Contribution of Bible Women to the Rapid Growth of Korean Protestantism, 1892-1945', *Women's Historical Review* 17:4 (2008): 575-95.

⁹² For more on Shepping, see pp.223-9 of this thesis.

been heard before.⁹³

Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Honam did not seem to deviate significantly from the standard pattern of the contemporary evangelical foreign labourers evident in other American denominations. After arriving in Korea in 1892, they faithfully followed the more experienced Presbyterian partners from the American North in a close relationship of cooperation. These young gospel-bearers had already diluted their Southern cultural isolation through their initial contacts with Northerners in various missionary conferences at home. These relationships then strengthened through shared evangelistic experience in the mission field. Many aspects of their theological conservatism were shared with the Northern Presbyterians, especially in north-western Korea, in the theoretical and practical framework of the Nevius policy, which was characterised by the establishment of the indigenous churches through the three-self principles and evangelisation rather than civilisation. Southern Presbyterians had already moderated their cultural sectionalism as a result of cross-cultural contacts with Northerners in America and in Korea before and after 1892. The following two chapters are concerned with the second phase of cross-cultural encounters. They will examine in what ways the mutual encounters between American Southerners and Honam Koreans helped contribute to each group's cross-cultural reciprocal understanding. The theme of Chapter Five will be the responses of Honam's indigenous people to Southern Presbyterians, their message, and their ways of life.

⁹³ Brown, 118-22.

Chapter 5. Receptions: The Responses of Honam People to Christianity

1. Indigenous Initiatives: Explanations of Christian Conversion among Honam People

Various answers to the question of what are the key factors in conversion to evangelical Christianity and Protestant church growth in Korea have been given. Those writings from an explicitly evangelical Christian perspective, including those of missionary writers, have tended to appeal to such themes as divine providence, the practice of prayer and fasting, and the frequency of Bible study and revival meetings.¹ For scholars taking a more academically critical stance, explanations dependent on socio-historical factors rather than divine agency as an explanatory category have been prominent. These have included the aftermath of a century of Catholic presence and persecution of it, the early introduction of Protestantism by local evangelists before the arrival of missionaries, the royal and governmental permission of Protestant missionary activities from the outset, the Korean desire for rapid modernisation, the adoption of the Nevius method, the relatively loose connection of Western missionaries with Western imperialism, and Christianity's self-presentation as an anti-Japanese nationalist movement in Korea. Similarly, cultural factors, such as a strong sympathetic relationship between Neo-Confucianism and the theological conservatism of the early missionaries, the influence of shamanism on Korean Christian practices, and the homogenous character of Korean culture, language and ethnicity, have also been listed in explaining conversion and church growth in Korea.²

¹ Brown, *MK*, x-xi, and 224-6.

² Harold S. Hong, 'Social, Political, and Psychological Aspects of Church Growth', in Bong Rin Ro and Marlin L. Nelson, eds, *Korean Church Growth Explosion* (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1983), 171-81; Brown, 'Why Has Christianity Grown Faster in Korea Than in China?', 77-88; and Daniel J. Adams, 'Church Growth in Korea: A Paradigm Shift from Ecclesiology to Nationalism', in Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young, eds., *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 13-9.

One of the most frequently suggested reasons for the exceptional rate of church growth in Korea is the outstanding evangelistic zeal of Korean converts. This notable zeal of indigenous converts in Korea has been accepted as a descriptive category by both evangelical and some secular scholars. Testimonies to the Korean Protestant passion to share the gospel and the Korean desire to establish self-propagating churches, even before the official introduction of Protestantism to Korea, are found in a number of official and personal records of Protestant missions, mostly written from a missionary perspective. After consulting a wide variety of primary materials recorded by her missionary predecessors, Martha L. W. Huntley, a Southern Presbyterian educator in Honam between 1965 and 1986, has suggested that Korean indigenous leaders played central roles in the growth of Korean Protestantism, though her statements might seem somewhat overstated to some readers:

.....it was the Koreans who taught their young missionary teachers. Even before the first Protestant missionary arrived, there was a church in Korea in the sense of a century of Catholic witness and martyrdom, in individual Korean believers who had accepted the faith in Manchuria and Japan, and in the Holy Spirit long at work. While the missionaries were catalysts and in some cases enablers, the Koreans were the primary agents of evangelism. Koreans participated in all aspects of the work, laboring beside the missionaries in writing the Bible, compiling hymnals, translating textbooks, teaching classes, caring for the ill, building church buildings, preaching the Word and making the rules. As in the cases of women missionaries, Korean church leaders were underpaid and underacknowledged, but they were valued and very real partners in the mission enterprise.³

Harry A. Rhodes (1875-1965) of the NPKM proposed that among the ‘many answers...given as to why the growth of the Korean Church has been phenomenal’, ‘the chief reason is because the church has always been strongly evangelistic.’⁴

Charles D. Stokes (1915-1997), in his study of the history of two American Methodist missions between 1885 and 1930, also saw a promising sign of Methodist church growth in the 1890s in the voluntary efforts of Korean Methodists to evangelise their own people and in their ethnic character as ‘gifted talkers.’⁵ In 1904,

³ Huntley, *To Start a Work*, xi-xii.

⁴ Rhodes, 390.

⁵ Charles D. Stokes, ‘History of Methodist Missions in Korea, 1885-1930’ (Ph.D. thesis, Yale

George Heber Jones (1867-1919) of the Methodist Episcopal mission (North) wrote that ‘he (the Korean convert) may be only an ignorant, untutored, uncouth farmer, but he knows and possesses something his neighbors have not, and he presses it home on them. There is an impulse within him to work for Christ.’ In Jones’ eyes, the Korean convert was a man who ‘would not keep silent if could, and could not if he would.’⁶ From the beginning, all Korean Protestant denominations including the Presbyterian and Methodist churches required candidates in baptismal examinations to show evidence of having led one other person to faith. However, Korean Christians frequently exceeded this minimum requirement because of ‘the Korean passion for souls.’⁷

As is well-known to researchers, the first decision made at the first single Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1907 was to send Gi-Pung Yi, one of the first seven ordained Korean pastors, to Jeju Island, about sixty miles off the southern coast of Korean mainland, as a missionary. More missionaries were sent to other mission fields such as Shandong province in China, Japan, Siberia, California, and Mexico from 1909 onwards.⁸ In brief, it was the Koreans who in turn set an example of evangelism and passion to share the gospel to missionary teachers soon after being converted and taught how to preach the gospel by the first generation of missionaries. The case in Honam, as Huntley has shown, was no different from this general trend of the expansion of Protestantism in other regions of Korea. Hence, Korean Protestants rather than American missionaries were the primary agents of Protestant expansion in Honam.

One of the most striking examples of the conversion of a Honam-born Korean to Protestantism is found in the dramatic life of Yi Su-Jong (Sujeong Lee, 1842-1886). Yi, whose Japanese name was Rijutei, was born in Okgwa, a village in the southern Jeolla province (Honam), of a noble and scholarly family.⁹ After his

University, 1947), 109-10.

⁶ George Heber Jones, ‘Successes and Opportunities in Korea’, in *The Asiatic Fields: Addresses Delivered Before the Eastern Missionary Convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa., October 13-15, 1903* (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1904), 73.

⁷ Jones, ‘The Korean Passion for Souls’, *KMF* 5 (January 1909): 10.

⁸ Paik, 390, and Rhodes, 392-4.

⁹ Sujin Kim, *Honamgidokgyo Baeknyeonsa: Jeonbukpyeon* [One hundred Years of History of Honam

public career as a court annalist in Seoul, he visited Japan as a member of the special envoy of the Korean government following the 1882 military riot. Since one of his uncles had been killed for his Catholic beliefs while Yi was a young man, and his friend in the government had informed him of scientific agriculture in Japan, it is likely that he had already some knowledge of Christianity and Western science before going to Japan. Just after arriving in Japan, he met Tsuda Sen (1837-1908), a Japanese Christian agriculturalist, discussed the topic of Christianity, and was given a Chinese New Testament. By participating in worship services and studying the Bible with Japanese Christians in Tokyo, he became convinced of the Christian gospel and was eventually baptised by George W. Knox of the Northern Presbyterian Japan mission and Yasukawa, a Japanese pastor, on April 1883.¹⁰ Yi became the first baptised Korean Protestant,¹¹ except for four Koreans who had been baptised by John MacIntyre, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, in Manchuria in 1879. Yi's evangelistic efforts resulted in the conversion of several Korean students in Japan and the establishment of the first Korean church in Japan in the end of 1883. Henry Loomis (1839-1920), representative of the American Bible Society in Japan, was extremely excited by Yi's conversion, writing: 'His history and the future promise of usefulness is one of the most remarkable events of modern missions. It seems almost too good to be true.'¹² Just after Loomis sent Yi's written petition,¹³ in which Yi asked the churches in America to send their missionaries to Korea, to E. W. Gilman, corresponding secretary of the American Bible Society, on December 1883, Yi was called 'a Macedonian from Korea.'¹⁴ As a highly learned scholar with expertise in Chinese classical prose, poetry, and calligraphy, he then launched out on his work of Bible translation into Korean, using the Bibles in Chinese and Japanese as guides for

Christianity: Jeonbuk Region] (Seoul: Qumran, 1998), 14.

¹⁰ George W. Knox, 'Affairs in Corea', *FM* (June 1883): 17.

¹¹ 'Corea, The Hermit Nation', *MR* (November 1883): 417f; Henry Loomis, 'The First Korean Protestant in Japan', *KMF* (July 1937): 139-41, and Henry Loomis to E. W. Gilman (30 May 1883) in Sung Deuk Oak and Mahn Yol Yi, eds., *Documents of the History of Korean Bible Society I* (Seoul: KBS, 2004), 301-7.

¹² Henry Loomis to E. W. Gilman (30 May 1883).

¹³ His special petition was later published in 'The Gospel for Corea', *ICW* (26 January 1884): 46 and 'Rijutei to the Christians of America, greeting', *MR* (March 1884): 145-6.

¹⁴ 'A Macedonian from Corea', *FM* (June 1883).

the American Bible Society.¹⁵ His Korean translation of the Gospel of Mark was published in Japan on February 1885 just before the arrivals in Japan of the first Korea Protestant pastoral missionaries. As a result, the Protestant pioneers to Korea—Horace G. Underwood and Henry Appenzeller—unprecedentedly entered their mission field with a portion of scripture in the native language already in their hands.¹⁶

Evidence that early Korean Protestants in Honam did not lag behind their fellow believers in other parts of Korea in their passion for the evangelisation of their neighbours is found in diverse missionary records. Eugene Bell (1868-1925), one of the chief leaders of the two SPKM stations of Mokpo and Gwangju between 1893 and 1925, described the character of the first Protestant converts in Mokpo in 1900 as follows:

The most gratifying feature of the work, however, is their evident sincerity and earnestness, as shown in their preaching to others and in self-denying efforts to raise funds for their own church building. Many of them go out two and two on Sunday afternoons and preach at the neighboring towns and villages....They are already talking of their plans for their own church building, and their offerings for this purpose amount to a considerable little sum. We are trying to train them from the start to support and prosecute the work, and to teach them that they are responsible for their neighbors receiving and hearing the gospel.¹⁷

In October 1902, Bell again suggested that the key factor in making possible the abundant harvests in the Honam mission field was the quality of Honam Christians: ‘a faithful body of consecrated Christians’, who were ‘self-denying and self-sacrificing with their scanty means’, ‘but...also very faithful in their personal

¹⁵ When Roomis showed Yi the Korean Bible translated by John Ross in Manchuria, brother-in-law of John MacIntyre, Yi ‘seemed greatly disappointed and said most decidedly it would be no use.’ ‘In the first place Mr. Ross did not have a competent assistant, and then it was published without a proof reader who understood the language and there were many errors in the type.’ Loomis to E. W. Gilman (30 May 1883).

¹⁶ Paik, 77-80, and IKCH, *Hanguk Gidokgyoeui Yeoksa* [A History of Korean Christianity], vol. I. (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1989), 157-66. On his return home on May 1886, Yi was allegedly killed by the reactionary government or died of an illness. See Paik, 78. For other arguments of Yi’s later years, see Mahn Yol Yi, *Hanguk Gidokgyo Suyongsa Yeongu* [A Study of Korean Receptive History of Christianity] (Seoul: Duresidae, 1998), 95-141, especially, 133-41.

¹⁷ Eugene Bell, ‘First Fruits at Mokpo’, *TM* (October 1900): 468.

efforts to reach the unsaved.¹⁸ The quality of Honam Protestants, as described by Bell, was identified by several cases of a ‘Macedonian call’ issued spontaneously by a group of Korean Protestants, mostly from the remote countryside, appealing for spiritual leaders to be sent from mission stations and churches in the towns who would come and provide teaching and guidance.

One such example of a ‘Macedonian call’ comes from the Gwangju area. In 1904, the SPKM reached an agreement to open a new mission station in Gwangju, a newly emerging centre in southern Honam at that time and by now the biggest city in Honam. Annie Shannon Preston (1879-1983) in Mokpo, in a personal letter to her mother, described an appeal for teaching from a group of Gwangju residents.

Men came down here to get books, from a place where one of the missionaries or native helpers had been. It seems one man had heard something about it and had gone some distance to a place where there was a native evangelist, and, learning a little of the truth, went back and taught his neighbors. They realize how little they know and came down to the missionaries to learn something more and beg for a teacher to be sent them.¹⁹

When the opening worship service of the Gwangju station was held on Christmas Day in 1904, there were already four preaching points and seventy-two communicant members. In the following five years the number of preaching points increased to seventy-seven and the communicants rose to about 1,500 in the Gwangju station, which was administered by only two pastoral missionaries, Bell and Owen. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Owen was simultaneously a medical doctor and an ordained pastor. In Gwangju, however, he concentrated on evangelistic activities, making very frequent itinerations to the rural Protestant communities without pastors until his death from excessive labour in spring of 1909.²⁰ Owen had to respond to many similar requests from ‘Macedonians’ in other parts of Honam to visit them: ‘Next Chahung [*sic*] county was visited. The desire to visit this place was first awakened by the request of two men who came and asked for teaching. Later five others came, repeating the request, and ‘insisted upon my

¹⁸ Bell, ‘The Situation in Korea’, *TM* (October 1902): 463-4.

¹⁹ Mrs. J. F. Preston to Her Mother (26 April 1904). J. F. Preston Papers, PHS, Philadelphia.

²⁰ Brown, 60-2.

accompanying them.²¹ A Korean documentary source also gives a range of evidence of the initiatives of Honam locals in establishing Christian meetings first and then inviting missionaries to become supervisors. One of them reads as follows: ‘Daepori Church in Hwasun was established. The congregation was founded by Gyeongrae Lee, who had first believed and had preached the gospel....Missionary Owen and helper Gyeongsu Bae worked hard.’²²

An extraordinary account of a group of Korean converts appears in Owen’s record in 1905. Owen, accompanied by Thomas Henry Daniel (1879-1964), a medical missionary based in Gunsan, sailed to Jindo (Jin Island) for evangelistic work. They were the first missionaries to reach the island, but there the missionaries met ‘two professing Christians’ and ‘a man of high family and splendid education, who had been exiled a year ago by the king for progressive views.’ The latter was already ‘an intelligent believer, owned a Chinese Bible and hymn book, and had reached several other exiles with the gospel, several of whom had formerly held high offices in the capital.’²³

These examples confirm that the Christian message was delivered to the Honam people through diverse routes, though in almost every case indigenous agency was crucial. Huntley’s statement, ‘while the missionaries were catalysts and in some cases enablers, the Koreans were the primary agents of evangelism’,²⁴ was precisely true of the history of Protestant expansion in Honam.

From the above accounts illustrated by American and Korean writers, we can deduce that the attitude of Honam people to the Christian gospel appeared more receptive than hostile. To find out to what extent the people in Honam were receptive to the Protestant message, some statistics of population and church constituents and comparisons with other regions occupied by other missions need to be surveyed. In dealing with these data, significant historical, socio-political, and cultural factors for explaining the receptivity and conversion of indigenous people to missionary

²¹ Clement C. Owen, ‘Uprising of a Church.’ *TM* (September 1905): 452.

²² Jaemyeong Cha, ed., *Joseon Yesugyojangrohoi Sagi, Sanggwon* [History of the Korean Presbyterian Church I] (Seoul: Joseon Gidokgyo Changmunsa, 1928), 99-100.

²³ Clement C. Owen, ‘Reports of Hard Work—Reinforcement Needed’, *TM* (October 1905): 499-500.

²⁴ Huntley, xii.

Christianity will be identified.

A. Damer Drew, the first PCUS medical missionary, obtained a governmental census of population sorted by provinces in 1894. His original intention in obtaining these statistics from the government was to see how many people lived in the area his mission would occupy. However, for the modern researcher, this is helpful data to be used in making comparisons with other missions' enterprises, in particular, with the NPKM.

Table 4. Korean Population Classified by Administrative Districts, 1894

| Provinces (Do) | Magisterial Cities (<i>Gun</i>) | Sub-Districts (<i>Myeon</i>) | Compounds ²⁵ (<i>Gaok</i>) | Subjects to Military Enrolment | Population (estimated minimum) |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Hamgyeong-Do | 24 | 233 | 103,200 | 87,170 | 516,000 |
| Pyeongan-Do | 42 | 440 | 293,400 | 174,538 | 1,467,000 |
| Hwanghae-Do | 23 | 295 | 138,000 | 153,800 | 690,000 |
| Gangwon-Do | 26 | 202 | 93,000 | 44,000 | 465,000 |
| Gyeonggi-Do | 36 | 409 | 136,600 | 106,573 | 683,000 |
| Chungcheong-Do | 54 | 552 | 244,080 | 139,201 | 1,220,400 |
| Jeolla-Do | 56 | 740 | 290,550 | 206,140 | 1,452,750 |
| Gyeongsang-Do | 71 | 990 | 421,500 | 310,440 | 2,107,500 |
| Totals | 332 | 3,861 | 1,720,330 | 1,221,862 | 8,601,650 |
| SPKM Mission Field to 1893 | 110 | 1,292 | 534,630 | 345,341 | 2,672,900 |
| SPKM Mission Field from 1893 | 56 | 740 | 290,550 | 206,140 | 1,452,750 |

A modern scientific census of national population was not conducted in Korea until 1910.²⁶ Hence, the total estimated population of Korea in Drew's data (Table 4 above)—8,601,650—was inferred from the total number of all compounds in Korea, since the method used in a national census by the Korean government in 1894 was to compute the number of compounds, and to assume that each compound was occupied by an average of five residents.²⁷ According to this table, the two

²⁵ According to Drew, a compound indicates what Americans call a *lot*. 'It is larger or smaller area of ground', which, 'may contain a single house, but usually several, in which may live two or three or even four generations of the same family, with all their servants.' In very rare cases, 'one hundred persons are contained in a single compound.' A. Damer Drew, 'The Provinces in Korea, Chung-Chong and Cholla', *TM* (October 1894): 436.

²⁶ J. Robert Moose, 'Are the Koreans Increasing in Numbers?', *KRV* 6 (February 1906): 41.

²⁷ The Editor, 'Our Field in Korea', *TM* (October 1894): 433-4. More accurate censuses after 1910 read that a total population of Korea was 19,519,927 in 1925 (*The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1927*, 638, quoted in Paik, 9) and 20,262,958 in 1931 (Rhodes, 29). Thus, the approximate population of Korea in the 1890s was probably less than 12,000,000. See Rhodes, 28-9.

provinces initially assigned to Southern Presbyterians in 1893 contained about 30% of the population of Korea with their inhabitants numbering 2,672,900. However, as already stated,²⁸ the mission operated only among the 1,452,750 people of Jeolla-Do (Honam)—16.9% of the total Korean population—, due to their relative lack of human resources supported from home, until 1904 when the mission resumed its smaller-scale missionary effort to the people in the far-southern area of Chungcheong-Do.²⁹

Table 5. Statistics of Korean Protestant Adherents³⁰ in Reference to the Six Federated Missions³¹

| | | 1898 | 1906 | 1916 ³² | 1927 | 1936 |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| Presbyterian | American Northern (NP) | 7,500 / (60.1%) | 44,587 / (54.6%) | 107,858 | 103,164 (135,295) ³³ | 228,075 |
| | <i>American Southern (SP)</i> | <i>100 / (0.8%)</i> | <i>8,410 / (10.3%)</i> | <i>22,750</i> | <i>26,195</i> | <i>40,560</i> |
| | Canadian (CP) | 60 / (0.5%) | 3,164 / (3.9%) | 10,000 (estimated) | 18,495 | 29,910 |
| | Australian (AP) | Not Known | 792 / (1.0%) | 11,003 | 12,701 | 20,942 |
| Methodist | American Northern (NM) | 4,000 / (32.1%) | 18,107 / (22.2%) | 43,419 | 41,920 | 57,485 ³⁴ |
| | American Southern (SM) | 305 / (2.4%) | 2,921 / (3.6%) | 9,860 | 17,185 | |
| Total of Six Missions / (percentage of All Korean Protestants) | | 11,965 / (96.0%) | 77,981 / (95.5%) | 204,890 | 219,660 | 376,972 |
| Others (Anglican, Baptist, and Salvation Army, etc) | | 500 / (4.0%) | 3,703 / (4.5%) | Not Known | Not Known | Not Known |
| Total Protestants in Korea | | 12,465 | 81,684 | Not Known | Not Known | Not Known |

²⁸ See pp.101-2 of this thesis.

²⁹ Brown, 26 and 66.

³⁰ Adherents include communicants, catechumens, and beginners (new converts).

³¹ This table was produced by combining and revising a chart for 1898-1910 in Oak, *Sources of Korean Christianity*, 499, with two sets of statistics for 1927 and 1936 in the Korean edition (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1994) of Clark, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work Illustrated in Korea*, 372-3.

³² The statistics for 1916 were collected and compiled from several tables and information in Rhodes, 547, Stokes, Appendix F (x-xv), and Brown, 88.

³³ A different figure of 135,295 appears in the table in Rhodes, 547.

³⁴ The two Methodist missions in Korea began to have a dialogue about unification in 1924, and eventually a single Methodist mission was born in 1930 when the first General Conference of the Korean Methodist Church was held on December 1930. See J. S. Ryang, 'The Aim of Methodist Union in Korea', *KMF* 23 (July 1927): 152; Bishop Herbert Welch, 'Methodism in Korea', *KMF* 26 (December 1930): 247; and Bishop James C. Baker, 'The Korean Methodist Church', *CA* (January 1931): 80.

Figure 1. Rates of Growth of Adherents in Reference to the Six Federated Missions, 1899-1936

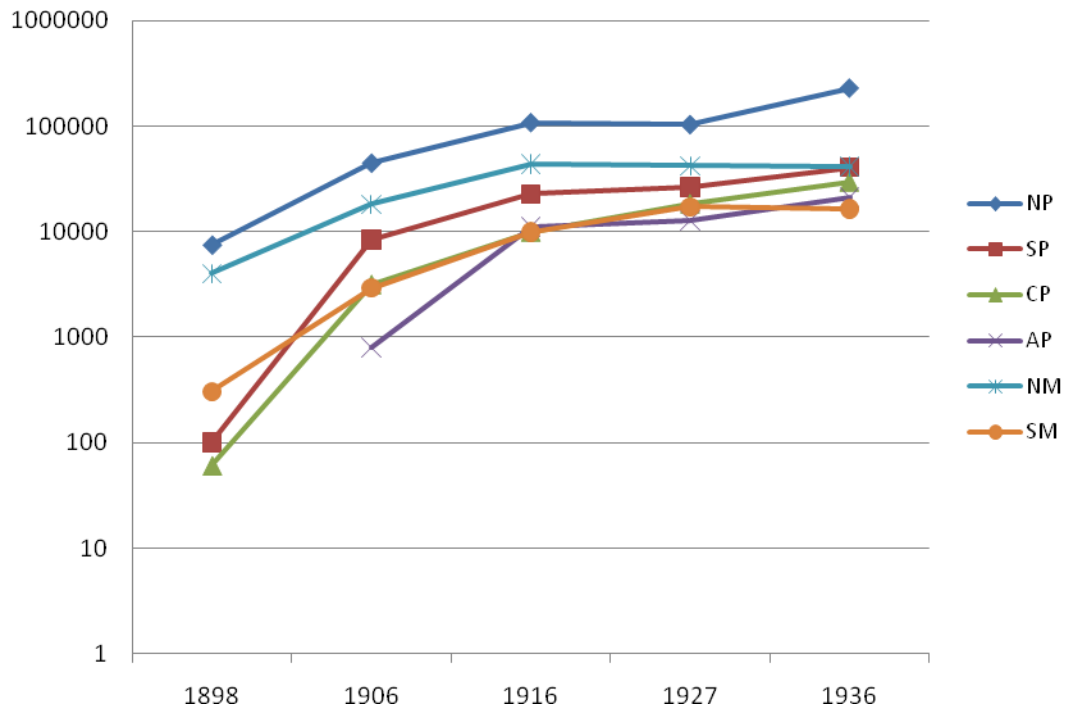


Table 5 presents comparative statistics of church growth among the six participating Protestant missions in the Federal Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea. It suggests various conclusions regarding the relative importance of Honam in the broader framework of Korean Protestantism. First, the dominance of the Korea mission field by the six Presbyterian and Methodist missions was overwhelming from the outset. There was no significant change in the established denominational pattern of Protestantism in Korea until the Pentecostal and charismatic movements, led by Yonggi Cho and his colleagues, came to ascendancy in the 1970s.³⁵ The proportion of Protestant believers affiliated to the six missions never fell below 95% until 1936. In addition, with the exception of the 10% who were influenced by Canadian and Australian Presbyterians, about 90% of Korean Protestants learned Christianity from American Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries. As Dae Young

³⁵ For more detailed accounts of Pentecostalism in Korea, see Myung Soo Park, 'David Yonggi Cho and International Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements', *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 12:1 (1 October 2003): 107-28, and Allan Anderson, 'Pentecostalism in East Asia: Indigenous Oriental Christianity?', *Pneuma* 22:1 (1 March 2000): 115-32.

Ryu has asserted, this was undoubtedly one of the reasons why evangelical religious beliefs, along with American middle-class values especially related to the SVM, spread with little resistance among Korean Protestants in general.³⁶ As already suggested in the previous chapter, what Southern Presbyterian labourers reflected in their life, work, and message in Honam was also the Southern variety of the middle-class values of American evangelical Christianity.

Second, Table 5 and Figure 1 suggest that the period between 1901 and 1910 was the time of ‘the great advance.’³⁷ Every mission in Korea experienced an enormous addition of new believers to their churches: the total number of Protestants increased from 26,643 to 214,960. In this period, the SPKM also obtained more than 20,000 new adherents in their churches, which had only 600 members in 1901. However, the next decade until 1920 was entitled ‘against the tide’ by Brown, since this period was one in which all missions in Korea struggled to advance and obtain success in their missionary efforts. Brown records the total of baptised members added to the churches in the Southern Presbyterian districts each year from 1910 to 1919: 2,010 in 1910; 1,900 in 1911; 1,381 in 1912; 1,095 in 1913; 845 in 1914; 826 in 1915; 714 in 1916; 792 in 1917; 526 in 1918; and 368 in 1919. From the high point in 1910, there was a continuous decline in the number added to the churches.³⁸

Southern Presbyterian missionaries believed that this depression in the 1910s resulted from the spiritual and moral crisis of the time. An official document of the SPKM cited ‘new and grosser forms of temptation, licentiousness, intemperance and unbelief’ as the main causes for this stagnation.³⁹ Such explicitly evangelical language reflected the missionary sense of crisis that, with the new stage on the Korean political scene—the annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910—secular forms of Western civilisation, represented by humanism, commercialism, atheism, and agnosticism, were increasingly attracting Koreans who wished to find new contact points with the West, replacing the missionary influences. Alfred W. Wasson, a Southern Methodist missionary, also characterised the 1910s as the ‘nine lean

³⁶ Ryu, 373-8.

³⁷ ‘The Great Advance’ is the subtitle for Chapter Four of G. T. Brown’s *Mission to Korea*.

³⁸ Brown, 87-90.

years',⁴⁰ as did Brown. However, his interpretation of the leanness of church growth in the 1910s was grounded on his analysis of the changing socio-political context: 'The church was no longer looked upon by outsiders as a possible instrument for saving the life of the nation. Nor was it a place of refuge. On the contrary, under the new regime, the people in the church seemed to be having more trouble than the people out of it.' To sum up, mission Christianity in the 1910s failed to appeal to Koreans seeking refuge for personal and national salvation and wellbeing in one of the most turbulent times in Korean history. In contrast to this trend in the 1910s, an unexpected resurgence of church growth after the 1919 Independence Movement, as suggested in Brown's data, heralded the emergence of a form of indigenised Protestant Christianity which succeeded in transcending the limitations of mission Christianity.⁴¹

The third observation derived from Table 5 and Figure 1 is that Northern Presbyterians' initial commanding lead in winning Korean converts continued to the end of the first stage of missionary enterprise at Korean independence in 1945. Until 1936, as shown in the table, at least 50% of all Korean Protestant converts came from the NPKM districts. This Northern Presbyterian dominance was above all indebted to the rapid increases of converts and churches in Pyongyang and adjacent regions of north-western Korea. According to the 1898 data, of 7,500 Korean converts in the regions assigned to the NPKM, as many as 5,950 (79.3%) lived in the north-western region of Korea.⁴² The record of the first single Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1907 also gives evidence displaying the significance of Pyongyang and neighbouring stations. In 1907, there were 405 mission-run primary schools with 8,615 pupils all over the country, of which 256 schools (63.2%) with 6,271 boys and girls (72.7%) were concentrated in the north-western region.⁴³ This tendency for the Pyongyang region to dominate the Protestant presence in Korea,

³⁹ *Annual Report of the Southern Presbyterian Mission for the Year 1911*.

⁴⁰ Alfred W. Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1934), 96.

⁴¹ In 1920 the number of additions increased to 516 and in 1921 to 1,266. Brown, 115.

⁴² *Annual Report of Pyeng Yang Station of Korea Mission for the Year 1897-1898*, (October 1898), 31.

⁴³ *Joseonyesugyojangrohoi Jeilhoi Nohoirok 1907* [Record of the First Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church, 1907], 42.

which was first apparent in the 1890s, was reinforced by a series of revivals that began in the 1900s and continued until the communist regime of North Korea prohibited all kinds of religious practice in 1948. As suggested in the previous sections, the unusual receptivity of Korean north-westerners to Protestantism may have been due to the inherited social-economical character of the working classes in the region which traditionally attached greater importance to commerce than agriculture. This commerce-centred system of life provided a more fertile ground in which diverse cross-cultural and international interchanges with the bearers of foreign cultures and thoughts were possible. This may also explain why they were less tightly bound to the hierarchical worldview of rigorous Confucianists who regarded Christianity as an inferior system of ethics and resisted its entry to their regional communities.⁴⁴

Fourth, it is clear that the ratio of Honam Protestants to the total Protestant community in Korea before the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945 was lower than the proportion of Honam inhabitants to the total population of Korea. In Drew's 1894 chart of Korean population, the people in Honam made up 16.9% of the entire Korean inhabitants, but Table 5 above indicates that Protestants in Honam never accounted for more than 10% of the total Protestants of the nation. This might appear to suggest that Protestantism was not as attractive to the people of Honam as it was to the locals in some other regions, in particular, to residents in those mission districts occupied by Northern Presbyterians. However, once again, attention needs to be paid to the annual statistics given by the Pyongyang mission station in October 1898. The 5,950 local believers in the Pyongyang and adjoining stations at that date accounted for 79.3% of the total of 7,500 members in the Northern Presbyterian fields, which means that the remaining 1,550 adherents (20.7%) were the sum of converts from the three Northern Presbyterian mission districts centred in Seoul, Daegu, and Busan. The overwhelming proportion of the Protestant population located in north-western Korea was maintained constantly until the end of the Japanese occupation. Hence, it can be claimed that, in comparison with the residents in other regions of Korea other than the North-west, the people of Honam

⁴⁴ Ryu, *Chogi Migukseongyosa Yeongu* [Early American Missionaries in Korea (1884-1910):

demonstrated slightly greater openness to Protestantism, taking second place only to the Pyongyang region in their receptivity to the gospel.

Fifth, in view of the readiness of Southern Presbyterian Honam missionaries to learn almost everything from their Northern brethren in the north-western stations, the Southerners' adoption of the Pyongyang missionaries' methods may have been one reason for the relatively plentiful harvest from the Honam field. The dissimilarities of political, social, cultural, and economic context between the two regions at the turn of twentieth century may have been responsible for the differential response to the Protestant message. However, Honam's runner-up position behind the North-west owed much to its missionaries' faithful imitation of the evangelism-centred policies of the leaders, such as Samuel A. Moffett and other McCormick Theological Seminary alumni, in Pyongyang and adjacent areas.⁴⁵ This policy, outlined in the Nevius method, was in accord with the conservative majority of Presbyterian Westerners in Korea, but Southern Presbyterians as the inheritors of the doctrine of the 'spirituality of the church' were more committed to the Nevius method.⁴⁶

A final deduction from Table 5 and Figure 1 is that the solid hierarchical structure of Honam society as one of the centres of Confucian academia and communal life effectively prevented the people in the region, especially those of the aristocratic class, from mass conversion to Protestantism. Of course, there were some cases in Honam, where male leaders in small villages, many of whom were impoverished ousted nobles or those of middle class, played a leading role in introducing Protestantism to their local residents and eventually became religious leaders in the communities.⁴⁷ However, such examples of communal conversion in Honam were not as frequent and large-scale as happened in the North-west. Thus, the

Understanding Missionaries from Their Middle-Class Background] (Seoul: IKCH, 2001), 256-7.

⁴⁵ Lee, 'McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of Korean Evangelical Presbyterianism, 1888-1939', 91-7.

⁴⁶ See pp.28-9 and 64 of the thesis.

⁴⁷ Hyeon-Gang Song, 'Hanmal Gidokgyo Suyongjudocheungeui Jonjaewa Geu Seonggyeok, Jungnamu Jiyeokeul Jungsimeuro', [The Characteristics of Leading Advocates of Christianity in Central and Southern Region in Late Joseon Korea] in *CHK* 25 (September 2006): 5-31. For a more detailed discussion on this topic, see pp.188-91 of this thesis.

question of how Honam society as one of the most long-established Confucian regions in Korea became the province which experienced the second-most rapid growth of the churches needs to be answered more carefully.

The following section will pursue answers to this question, while focusing on diverse aspects of conversion to Christianity by Honam locals in terms of the indicators of religion, gender and social class.

2. Diversities: Religion, Gender, and Social Class

In China, ‘missionary Christianity’ was considered ‘a version of Christianity...unashamedly wrapped in Western cultural and political values’ by diverse groups of Chinese people including anti-imperial nationalists, atheistic communists, and even Chinese independent Christians.⁴⁸ The peak of the anti-Christian movements in China was between 1895 and 1927, during which indigenous Christians were killed and missionaries forced to retreat to Western enclaves in the treaty ports, but antagonism to Western religions had a far-longer history.⁴⁹ This Chinese identification of mission Christianity as the ‘cultural equivalent of Western imperialism’ sometimes led them to show their undisguised antagonistic actions to Westerners, including missionaries. This was quite different from the situation of Korea in the same period, in which such mass feelings of hatred toward all Christian-related groups and individuals were not manifested as publicly and collectively as in China, except for a very limited number of individual examples of negative reactions.⁵⁰ James R. Graham II (1863-1943), a Southern Presbyterian evangelist in Tsingkiangpu, Jiangsu province of China from 1899 to 1940, did not win a single

⁴⁸ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 145.

⁴⁹ For more about the anti-Christian nationalist reaction in China, see *Ibid.*, 14-6 and 136-46, and Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism, and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1980).

⁵⁰ One of the most famous assaults on missionaries in Korea was the accident in which Samuel A. Moffett’s jaw was struck by the stoning of Yi Gi-Pung in Pyongyang in 1893. See Sa-Rye Yi, *Missionary and Martyr: The Life and Faith of Rev. Yi Gi-Pung (1868-1942)* (Seoul: KIATS Press, 2008), 24 and 36-7.

indigenous convert during the first several years of his missionary work. He frequently wrote to his home country that he was insulted by spitting on him; was called a ‘foreign devil’; struck by a stone, stick, bamboo pole, club, and fist; and even fell in a faint.⁵¹

These negative attitudes to foreign Christian workers and their efforts were not limited to evangelistic activities which aimed at direct conversions of Chinese people to Christian faith. Even medical missionaries in China had to experience extreme hostility from the local people since their Western medical treatment confronted the traditional medical system which was a source of Chinese cultural pride for over 3,000 years.⁵² In Korea, though the country had a similar medical system which reflected Chinese influence, medical missionaries encountered sharply contrasting responses from Koreans who often sought and welcomed medical help.⁵³ Hence, as Crane has described, unlike early medical workers in China, none of the first five Korea Southern Presbyterian medical missionaries served for a long period of time, not because of Korean hostility, but because of their health problems.⁵⁴ This generally positive response of Honam people to the Protestant message, however, needs to be analysed in a more detail in relation to diverse patterns of indigenous responses and conversion in the context of the complicated encounters between Protestantism and Honam’s customs. This will be explored from the perspectives of the Honam people in terms of religious tradition, gender and class.

The three Korean religious traditions—shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism—were, according to Hulbert⁵⁵, intermingled in the minds of the people. The adherents of a specific religion tended to suffer from intentional discrimination whenever a new kingdom was established and it chose one as a

⁵¹ Stephen Fortosis and Mary Graham Reid, *Boxers to Bandits: The Extraordinary Story of Jimmy and Sophie Graham, Pioneer Missionaries in China, 1889-1940* (Charlotte, NC: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 2006), 9-10, 30-3, and 49.

⁵² Sophie Montgomery Crane, *A Legacy Remembered: A Century of Medical Missions* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1998), 12-3 and 94.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 94 and 111.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 94-5.

⁵⁵ See Hulbert’s discussion on Korean religion in the following pages.

national religion rather than others. However, the common people, including those in Honam, did not consider these three religions mutually exclusive.⁵⁶ In other words, nineteenth-century Korea had three elements within a complex religious mixture rather than three distinct religions. Homer B. Hulbert (1863-1949), an American Methodist educator in Korea, in his insightful analysis on Korean religions, claimed as follows:

The reader must ever bear in mind that in every Korean mind there is a jumble of the whole; that there is no antagonism between the different cults, however they may logically refute each other, but that they have all been shaken down together through the centuries until they form a sort of religious composite, from which each man selects his favourite ingredients without ever ignoring the rest...As a general thing, we may say that the all-round Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophises and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble. Now, if you want to know what a man's religion is, you must watch him when he is in trouble.⁵⁷

Hulbert concluded that 'the underlying religion of the Korean, the foundation upon which all else is mere superstructure, is his original spirit-worship. In this term are included animism, shamanism, fetishism and nature-worship generally.'⁵⁸ The religious practice of the Honam people was not essentially different from that of populations in other regions. Difference in practice was rather caused by the common divergences between the beliefs of men and women in spiritual beings. Hulbert, as one of the most logical and acute Western investigators in Korean religions,⁵⁹ observed that women kept their religious faith much more than men and mentioned it in several passages: 'Here it is easy to exaggerate, for there are thousands, of Koreans who pay no attention whatever to any kind of a deity or power....There are very many Koreans, however, who not only believe in the existence of such spirits, but are anxious to propitiate them. It is safe to say that an overwhelming majority of

⁵⁶ Brown, *MK*, 7.

⁵⁷ Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 403-4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 404.

⁵⁹ In addition to Chapter 30 in *The Passing of Korea*, Hulbert's other studies in Korean religions include: 'The Geomancecer', *KR* 3 (1896): 387-91; 'Korean Survivals', *TKBRAS* 1 (1900): 25-50; 'Korean Folk-Tales', *TKBRAS* 2:2 (1901): 45-79; 'The Korean Mudang and Pansu', *KRv* 3 (1903): 4-9; 'The Religion of Heavenly Way', *KRv* 6 (1906): 459-65; and 'National Examination in Korea', *TKBRAS* 14 (1923): 9-32.

these are women, whose comparative lack of education makes them highly susceptible to superstition;’ ‘His [a Korean gentleman’s] wife, however, holds the opposite opinion, and, unknown to her lord, smuggles in a *mudang*, or *pansu*,⁶⁰ to exorcise the demon of disease’; and ‘Most Korean gentlemen will scoff at the idea that the spirits have any control over human destiny, but they put nothing in the way of their wives’ adhesion to the lower cult.’⁶¹

Their adherence to shamanism, supported by indigenised rites of Buddhism and Confucianism, was a dominant form of life as a whole, especially for women. This has been proved by the existence and role of female shamans in Korean custom. The female shamans or exorcists, called *mudang*, were treated with contempt as the lowest social class, but in practice exercised enormous influence over ordinary people. A *mudang* was asked generally by women to practise *gut*, a shamanistic service ‘to drive out the spirit of disease’, ‘to communicate with the dead’, ‘to ask the spirit messenger to lead the dead men to the realm of the blessed’, ‘to deal with the Great Spirit of Smallpox’, and ‘to ask the dragon spirit and the spirits of the men who have drowned to make the sea calm and the voyage successful.’⁶² These shamans’ activities were common to almost every village in Korea, but the fishing inhabitants in the islands scattered around Honam’s rugged coastline were particularly seized with fear of the spirits in the sea. The *mudang* in the rural or fishing villages functioned as medical practitioner as well as spiritual mediator. Thus, when missionaries’ work remedied both the spiritual and the physical disorders of the villagers, Protestantism as represented by evangelists, educators, and doctors often replaced shamanism epitomised by *mudang*, or contested with it in spiritual protection against disease.

Henry D. McCallie (1881-1946), Southern Presbyterian missionary in charge of the island work since 1909, reported a case as follows:

In most Korean villages there is a cleared space with shade trees and a number of large stones where sacrifice is offered to the Spirits.....Last summer a gentleman

⁶⁰ *Mudang* is female, and *pansu* designates male shaman or exorcist.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 406.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 413-22.

came into Mokpo from one of the islands bringing a sick wife, and while she was receiving treatment, he became interested in Christianity and was daily instructed by members of our local congregation. I visited him in his home a short while back and found him earnest and zealous in his new faith and I look for a group in his village before long. This is only one of many instances where the medical work opens the way for the evangelistic.⁶³

McCallie's report shows a common pattern behind those who were converted to Protestantism from traditional religious backgrounds: Honam inhabitants transferred their allegiance to a more powerful and effective religion which gained a victory over a weaker and helpless belief.

Following active evangelistic efforts by the earliest female converts and female missionaries directed to people of their own sex, the rate of women in church membership grew rapidly, reaching at least 60% in the 1920s⁶⁴ and maintaining this rate continuously thereafter. Female conversions to Christianity and the succeeding participation in the church activities were the most fundamental changes of social life in Honam since women soon found that the Protestant message could be a revolutionarily life-changing instrument in a society of established gender discrimination.

A striking example can be given in the conversion episode of Mrs Yu (or Sunghee Kim), one of the first seven baptised Protestants in Honam in 1896-7. Her experience of conversion could be viewed as typical of many female new believers in Honam. Mrs Yu had not been able to have her own name in her whole life until she met missionaries, being called simply the daughter, wife, or mother of a man, like many other Korean women at that time. She had lost her parents early in life, and then married a rich and much older husband at the age of 16. However, she was not respected by her husband and other family members including parents-in-law since she gave birth to two daughters with no son. For Korean women, especially those in more conservative regions like Honam, having a son was the most important duty for them to perform since only sons could hold a Confucian memorial ceremony to

⁶³ Henry D. McCallie, 'Work in Mokpo and the Islands', *KMF* (January 1909): 10, and 'Mokpo and the Islands', *TM* (March 1910): 122-3.

⁶⁴ Brown, 118.

ensure the repose of their ancestors. While being treated with contempt as a wife with no son, Mrs Yu met the female missionary Mattie Tate who had just arrived in Jeonju. She listened to the Christian gospel from Tate that the Heavenly Father would become her father and she would meet her real mother in heaven if she became a Christian. She willingly and immediately accepted this evangelical message. For some time, she lied to her husband lest he should learn of her conversion, but soon she dared to say to him that she had begun to learn the teaching of Jesus. She even refused to prepare the seasonal offerings of ancestral veneration. This disclosure caused her husband and his family members to beat her. She was threatened that her ears would be seared with a hot iron and with a kitchen knife if she did not forsake the new religion. However, her firm assurance in the Christian gospel made her ready to die in case of need, and eventually her husband reluctantly allowed his wife and children to attend church meetings and mission schools.⁶⁵

Mrs Yu presented another challenge to Confucian traditions after her conversion by giving names to herself and her daughters. She named herself 'Sunghee' (Kim), meaning 'holy joy.' After learning from Mark 5:21-4 and 35-43 that the life of Jairus' little daughter was so precious in Jesus' and her father's sight, she also named her first little girl 'Daebo' (big treasure), and her younger daughter 'Sobo' (little treasure) respectively. Anabel Nisbet praised Mrs Yu and her conversion as follows: 'Mrs. Yu stands as a type of the Christian woman who endures, never able to visit or preach much, but witnessing for Christ in her home, and rearing her children to rise and call her blessed. In the last day, many such an oriental woman [*sic*] will hear the "Well done", of the Master.'⁶⁶

From this conversion account written from a single-minded missionary perspective, it is evident that Mrs Yu was presented as a symbolic representative of those reclaimed from barbarous, uncivilised, or even wicked customs through conversion to Christianity. Nisbet plainly showed her wish to prove that Christianity was a civilised religion with the power to set women free from oriental religions' restraints on women. Many examples of giving names to women after conversion are

⁶⁵ *Jeonju Seomoongyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 95. The original source of this account of Mrs Yu is Nisbet, 29f, quoted in Virginia Somerville, *Being of Church in Chunju* (unpublished manuscript), 4.

⁶⁶ *Jeonju Seomoongyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 94-5 and Nisbet, 30-1.

found throughout mission history. Missionaries and even indigenous converts typically interpreted these as the most significant contributions of Christianity to the people in all kinds of oppression and discrimination. In the light of Mrs Yu's response after conversion and her lifelong commitment to Christian faith, despite the absence of her own voice, it is fair to deduce that Yu's concept of Christianity as a religion of transformation was not largely dissimilar to that of Nisbet. Through conversion to Christianity, she believed that she had found her self-worth as a human created in God's image in the Christian gospel and discovered a new freedom of self-expression. An important aspect of this conversion was that Mrs Yu did not find this new sense of human dignity from any secular idea of Western enlightenment, but rather from the biblical message directly delivered by missionaries.

A Korean elite woman from Honam gives a retrospective account of her own conversion in a way that is both similar to, but also somewhat different from the instance of Mrs Yu. She tells how she found the message of gender equality in missionary teachings. Louise Yim (Yim Youngsin, 1899-1977) was born as the fifth child of twelve and the second daughter of five in Geumsan (Kum-San), near Jeonju, in the northern part of Honam. Her father was a large landowner of noble birth, and also one of the most educated men in the village. As in almost every other traditional family in Honam, the subjugation of women to their fathers, husbands, and sons in turn was thought to be essential for keeping the time-honoured social order. Yim, in her memoir under the title of *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, defined her life as a 'forty year fight to gain his [father's] respect and acknowledgment that a woman could succeed in a man's world and that a girl child was not to be thought less than a boy child.'⁶⁷ Even the title of the first chapter of the book was 'My Father Wanted a Son', in which she vividly described how she felt when she was secretly listening to her father talking to her brothers and was detected by her father:

What are you doing here, girl?' he asked. 'I ... I was listening to you.' He pointed a scornful finger at me. 'Girls are not permitted the privileges of boys. Go to your mother and stay with her.' I cried, but my father ignored me and turned back to my brothers, who always called me the Korean equivalent of 'Tomboy.' As I left,

⁶⁷ Louise Yim, *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, with the Editorial Assistance of Emanuel H. Demby (New York: A.A. Wyn, 1951), 15.

I sobbed that my father did not love me. He paid no attention to me. The incident made a deep impression on me. I was heart-broken and furious....But all I really wanted was my father's love. I wanted him to treat me the way he treated my brothers. What happened that day moved me along the difficult path my life was to take and what I did in the years that followed belonged partly to my determination that started then to make my father respect me as much as he did any of his sons.⁶⁸

Like Mrs Yu, who found her self-esteem as a child of God in the concept of God the father, Yim also discovered the privilege of being treated as of equal status with men in the gospel message. The message was brought to her by ‘a strange lady in Kum-San from far, faraway Yang Kook [America]’.⁶⁹ The American female missionary’s short message had an instant effect on Yim’s heart:

Then something drew me closer and closer to her. The more I listened, the more I began to understand. It was as if the words were not coming from her lips, but from the air itself. They were like magic. I was becoming drunk with all that was being said and carried away into a heaven of emotions. He died on the cross for you and me. It was wonderful. A great Person whom I had never known had given His life for me, a little Korean girl who could not read or write. How different this God was from our own! He wanted nothing but love—no sacrifices, no feasts for the dead, nothing but devotion. I shivered with excitement. I ran out of the little house and I wanted to sing and shout. I felt a great love enveloping me.⁷⁰

This kind of ‘instant conversion’ story does not seem to be uncommon among early Honam female Protestant converts since they had never been regarded as equal to males in the Confucian society that took gender discrimination for granted. ‘A little Korean girl who could not read or write’ later started to learn literacy from a male village teacher to become ‘like the Yang Kook lady’ with a special permission from her father who also became a Protestant Christian.⁷¹ In 1918, she attended Gijeon Girls’ (Secondary) School (Junkin Memorial School) in Jeonju; was imprisoned for her participation in the March First Independence Movement in 1919; studied abroad in Japan and America; and eventually became one of the most

⁶⁸ Ibid., 24.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 24-5.

⁷¹ Ibid., 26

renowned female educators and politicians in Korea before her death in 1977. Her longings to 'be respected as much as the sons' and to become 'like the Yang Kook lady' were accomplished when she became the founder and president of one of Korea's prestigious universities (Chungang University) in 1932; was appointed as general secretary of the YWCA in Korea in 1933; was elected a member of the National Assembly in 1946; and was awarded three honorary doctorates from universities in Japan and the US.

Yim's initial response to Christianity was not markedly different from Mrs Yu. Both found the message of equality and human dignity in the Christian gospel which stressed Jesus' death for all sinners regardless of their class, gender, race, and social and economic status. However, unlike Mrs Yu, Yim's ultimate motive in accepting Christianity was to be 'like the Yang Kook lady' whom Yim regarded as the model of women's social success and achievement. Yim's succeeding career, especially displayed in her moves to Seoul, Japan, and America to study there, shows that she used education as a means to overcome the customary limitations on women and rise in social status in Korea. After her graduation from secondary school in Jeonju in 1918, Yim moved to live in Seoul and then continued to live there, except for periods in Japan and America. During her stay in Seoul, she became affiliated to the Methodist Church rather than the Presbyterian Church. This is a crucial point in the evolution of her career since becoming Methodist in Seoul rather than remaining as Presbyterian was considered more likely to encourage a deeper friendship with other Korean Protestant elites in the spheres of politics, education, and economy. In fact, regardless of gender, Korean leading Christian figures who engaged more in nationalistic social and educational movements tended to be Methodists rather than Presbyterians, as there was a differentiation of mission policy between the two camps.⁷² In the 1940s, like many other Korean political, educational, and religious leaders including Yun Ch'i-ho, Yim, though relatively passive, also engaged in collaboration with the Japanese colonial administration in Korea, by encouraging

⁷² See two articles of Sung-Deuk Oak on mission policies of Northern Presbyterians and of Northern Methodists in Korea, 'Hanguk Jangrogyoeui Chogi Seongyojeonchaek (1884-1903)', [Early Presbyterian Mission Policy in Korea], *CHK* 9 (September 1998): 117-88 and 'Chogi Hanguk Bukgamrigyoeui Seongyosinhakgwa Jeonchaek', [Mission Theology and Policy of the Early Northern Methodist Mission in Korea], *CHK* 11 (July 1999): 7-40.

Korean women to support the Japanese holy war against British and American troops. Like Yun Ch'i-ho and other members of the Korean elite in the 1940s, Yim also appeared to believe that collaboration with Japanese imperialists might bring a new stage of evolved civilisation to Korea in the name of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.⁷³ That is, Yim, who had initially been converted to the conservative and pietistic version of Southern Protestantism in Honam, was increasingly converted to the Methodist brand of civilising Christianity in Seoul, which attracted a very small minority of Honam female Christians.

The above-mentioned two examples of female responses exhibit some of the various aspects of the indigenous experience of conversion in Honam. Other cases show the conflicting encounters between missionary Christianity and the indigenous worldview, as displayed in Mrs Owen's article on 'Burning of the fetishes',⁷⁴ which were widespread in the process of Protestant expansion to all the corners of Honam. As Hulbert noted, the shamanistic worldview lay behind all kinds of Korean religious rituals.⁷⁵ For many Koreans, observance of the two important rituals, namely, regular Confucian ancestral veneration and worship of the household gods, was therefore viewed as the best way to be blessed with prosperity and health. As in the case of Mrs Yu, refusing an ancestral ceremony (for men and women) or failing to give birth to a son who would hold the ceremony (for women) was considered the most deadly and unforgivable sin. Thus, it is understandable that Honam women who were converted to Christianity faced fatal threats from their husbands and even their mothers-in-law who were sometimes much more conventional than men.⁷⁶

Another aspect of tension between the two worldviews was related to the status of women in the traditional society of Honam. Protestant women had an opportunity to be called by their own names, to participate in social activities through the churches, and to have a newly created relationship to men, particularly to those at

⁷³ For a more detailed account on the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, see Mark R. Peattie, 'The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945', in Peter Duss, ed. *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol.6. The Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 217-70.

⁷⁴ Mrs. C. C. Owen, 'Burning of the Fetishes', *TM* (March 1908): 133-5.

⁷⁵ Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 403-4.

⁷⁶ Huntley, 245.

home. In ancestral rites, women were required to prepare all necessary items including many kinds of food according to extremely complex and delicate rules, but were not permitted to attend the rituals. However, women were welcomed to Christian worship services and church practices. Though they could not be ordained or preach in the churches due to the conservative doctrine on the status of women within the Southern Presbyterian tradition, these church-related roles such as Bible women and deaconesses were in reality the only possibility for women, in particular those in countryside, to involve themselves in the society outside their homes. Female converts in the churches were given their own names since they could not be baptised without names which needed to be recorded in the church register. This sort of initial transformation might be thought a very limited concession to women's rights from today's perspective, but in the circumstance of the turn of the twentieth-century Honam, it was the beginning of a real revolution overthrowing firmly established gender roles and customs.⁷⁷

However, an examination from a different perspective is also possible. One of the reasons for the initial withholding of opportunities for leadership from Honam's Protestant women was the nature of female roles in unofficial religions of the day such as shamanism and Buddhism. Christine Sungjin Chang, in her study of Korean Bible women in early Korean Protestant history, has claimed that the vital contribution of Bible women to church growth in Korea was in direct succession to active female engagement in the traditional religious practices. That is, the flourishing of Protestantism in Korea may not have been because it was the only instrument that could set women free from the oppression of traditions and customs, but rather the introduction of Protestantism to women and their active participation in it should be seen as a continuation of their traditional roles as the chief practitioners of all kinds of religious activities. Accordingly, Chang does not regard Korean women converted to Christianity as passive imitators of mission Christianity, but as proactive and creative successors of leadership in Korean religious traditions.⁷⁸ This interpretation is supported by Walls and Stanley's arguments of the relationship

⁷⁷ Mattie Wilcox Noble, *Victorious Lives of Early Christians in Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1927), 104-5.

⁷⁸ Chang, 'Hidden But Real,' 575-95.

between Christian missions and conversion that conversion does not happen within a cultural vacuum, but occurs in the creative continuity of inculturation.⁷⁹

While many older women worked as Bible women and deaconesses, many young female students in the mission schools even extended their changed status to use it in playing key roles in the nation-wide independence movements from 1915 onwards. At Jeonju's Gijeon Girls' School in 1915, Louise Yim and her friends organised the Gugukgyeolsadae (Association for Saving the Country) to have daily prayer for the nation and to deface with ink the face of Japanese emperor in the picture hung on wall. In 1919, fourteen members of a new association, whose leader was Yim, shouted *Daejan Dokrip Mansei* ('Long Live Independent Korea') in the streets of Jeonju as a local response to the nationwide March First Independence Movement. In the Gwangju Student Independence Movement in 1929, a dozen Gijeon students led the movement in shouting *Mansei*.⁸⁰ There were similar social engagements in Mokpo and other major cities in Honam which were commenced by young female students, who closely associated patriotism with Christian faith.

The pattern in Mokpo was unique in that two major non-Korean groups in the city, the Japanese rulers and the American missionaries, both attempted for their own respective reasons to check the participation of these young female Christian patriots in the anti-colonial uprisings. Mokpo was the biggest harbour city in Honam, with trade links to all other Korean ports and to some Chinese and Japanese ports. Reynolds and Drew, during their extended exploratory trip in April 1894, met a couple of believers in the city who had already become Protestants during their stay in Seoul by listening to Underwood's preaching. Three years later, in March 1897, after some trial and error in the selection and establishment of mission stations, Changyeon Byun, Korean teacher and helper of Eugene Bell, was sent to prepare for the founding of the station. He gained fifty members for the first Protestant church in Yangdong, Mokpo, of which seven were baptised a year later. In November 1898, the two missionary families of Bell and Owen settled down in Mokpo in charge of the

⁷⁹ Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 28, and Brian Stanley, 'Conversion to Christianity: the Colonization of the Mind?', *International Review of Mission* XCII:366 (July 2003): 315-31.

⁸⁰ Deok-Joo Rhie, *Jeonju Bibimbapgwa Seongja Iyagi* [Jeonju Bibimbap and the Stories of the Saints] (Seoul: Jinheung, 2007), 52-3.

mission station which would consist of churches, a hospital (French Memorial Hospital), and two secondary schools (Yeongheung School for Boys and Jeongmyeong School for Girls).⁸¹ Students of these two schools, just as did those of schools in Jeonju, were also the leading figures of the demonstration in Mokpo in 1919.

When the 1919 March First Independence Movement spread out over the country, it finally reached Mokpo on 21 March.⁸² This demonstration was led by many members of Yangdong Church,⁸³ and was supported by a dozen students from Jeongmyeong Girls' School, along with some school teachers. Teachers and students made their own version of the *Taegeukgi* (the Korean national flag), which was banned by the Japanese colonial government. They delivered these to homes of church members and composed their own declaration of independence. In the morning of the day of action, students and teachers from two mission schools and church members marched along the street waving the flags and shouting *Mansei*. The police crushed the demonstrators with bloodshed, and about 200 demonstrators were imprisoned, of whom twenty were church members and a larger number were students and teachers from two mission schools. The succeeding nationalistic riots rose sporadically throughout the year.⁸⁴

Originally, pupils of Jeongmyung School had planned the demonstration in secrecy in order to hide it from missionary teachers in the school. However, this plan was discovered by Annabel M. Nisbet, the headmistress of the school and she attempted to dissuade them from going to the uprising verbally and by force. In the course of the ensuing fracas, Nisbet fell down the stairs, which was allegedly the cause of her death in February next year. However, many Korean Christians believed that Nisbet had stopped the students from taking part in the protest out of concern for

⁸¹ Sujin Kim, *Yangdongjeilgyohoi Baeknyeonsa 1897-1997* [One Hundred Years History of Yangdong First Church] (Seoul: Qumran, 1997), 92-121, and 'Mokpo', *Korean Mission Yearbook* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1928), 104-6.

⁸² Some records read that this happened on 8 April. See *Mokposisa, Inpyeonrok* [A History of Mokpo City, Biographical List] (Mokpo: Mokpo City Hall, 1988), 318. However other sources, including *Jeollanamdososa* [A History of Southern Jeolla Province] (Gwangju: Jeonam Provincial Office, 1974), 840 and *Yangdongjeilgyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 192, support the date, 21 March.

⁸³ *Yangdongjeilgyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 192.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 193-5.

their safety rather than because she held a pro-Japanese position. She requested to be buried in the Korean cemetery, and her students contended with one another to have the privilege of carrying her body to the cemetery. This was unusual since Koreans tended to believe that carrying foreigners' dead bodies would cause bad luck.⁸⁵ Somewhat contrary to her own intention, Nisbet had been posthumously co-opted to the Korean nationalist cause.

These accounts of female converts—ordinary church members, lay leaders, Bible women, school teachers, and students—display that they found various opportunities in the Christian gospel for them to be liberated from the Confucian ethics of restraint and subjugation. Some of them, especially those educated in the mission schools, understood the Christian gospel as more than a message for the individual sinner's salvation. They added an interpretation of Christianity as the impetus to the redemption of an oppressed nation and its people in their developing understanding of the Christian message. Some Honam Protestants thus learned more from the Bible itself than from what their foreign teachers actually taught.

In addition to a pattern of conversion related to power encounter and women, another notable pattern was the existence of a pioneering male advocate of Protestantism in the village. Hyeon-Gang Song has highlighted the significance of a pioneering Protestant male advocate's role in leading a group of the locals to Christian faith such as the one exemplified in McCallie's report. Song's research into the characteristics of leading supporters of Christianity in the southern region of late Joseon Korea has shown that the disintegration of the traditional Confucian societal structure was closely linked to the spread of Christianity among the people of Honam.⁸⁶ He has argued that there were significant male figures in the rural villages who played a leading role in responding to Christianity and that these leaders had common characteristics in their social and economic backgrounds and in their pattern of leadership. According to his investigation, more than sixty of the over one hundred

⁸⁵ Deok-Joo Rhie, *Yesusarangeul Silcheonhan Mokpo Suncheon Iyagi* [The Stories of Christians in Mokpo and Suncheon Who Lived Up To The Love of Jesus] (Seoul: Jinheung), 35f, and Mrs. H. D. McCallie, 'In Memoriam: Annabel Major Nisbet', *KMF* (April 1920): 81-2.

⁸⁶ Song, 'Hanmal Gidokgyo Suyongjudocheungeui Jonjaewa Geu Seonggyeok, Jungnambu Jiyeokeul Jungsimeuro', 14-31.

churches established before 1910 in the southern regions of Korea have recently published their own churches' written histories. The authors have identified the leading representatives of a specific class who were actively engaged in the process of acceptance of Protestantism and in church planting. The leaders of about forty of these sixty churches (66.6%) were rural nobles who took the lead in accepting a new breed of religion, Protestantism. The founders of the other twenty local churches were not nobles, but they came from the middle class who were economically rich enough to fund the planting of their own churches.⁸⁷

These impoverished and politically ousted nobles possessed no great academic accomplishments, unlike many from the upper class who used the advantages of birth and education to high-ranking office. The nobility (*yangban*) as a class were generally not favourable to Western influences and were even antagonistic to Western religions as these foreign stimuli could be threats to their longstanding vested rights.⁸⁸ These ruined rural nobles, however, had a close relationship with peasants during their long stay among the common farmers, earning respect from them by becoming advisors and guides in varied local matters. These disempowered nobles in opposition did not stick to the old Confucian class system, but tended to seek an alternative to reform the corrupt tradition-bound Joseon society. In this quest, some of them chose Catholicism, some accepted Donghak, and finally some became the devotees of the newest form of religion, Protestantism.⁸⁹ It does not seem that there was a different pattern between those who opted for Protestantism and those who chose Catholicism.⁹⁰ There was no divergence between the Catholic missions and the missionary bodies of diverse Protestant denominations in that both were regarded as entirely alien by Korean natives. Both strictly prohibited their converts from participating in any kind of idolatry, including ancestor veneration, which was

⁸⁷ Ibid., 19.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 20-2.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 22-5.

⁹⁰ It can be expected that Protestantism, which was represented by the USA and Britain, drew more attention from those who were interested in modernisation than Catholicism represented by France. It was the case that the enlightened intellectuals in Seoul gravitated more to Protestantism. However, in the rural areas including Honam, evangelistic zeal was more emphasised than enthusiasm for modernisation, even though the common people in Honam did not exclude entirely the hope for technological advancement when they accepted Protestantism.

the strongest barrier against Christian penetration into Honam Korean minds.⁹¹ The founding leaders of Donghak were also the disaffected rural nobility in political opposition, and many peasants became religious and military followers of the nobles and their teachings. This pattern in leadership and adherents was similar to those of both Christian groups. Those who opted for one of these three new religious beliefs commonly dreamed of the redemption of their own souls and desired a better and reformed society in which they and their children could live in peace. However, as Donghak's official slogan showed, its antagonism targeted foreigners and Korean recipients of their religions as well as the corrupted officials in their localities. Thus, in the newly competitive market of ideas in Honam, Donghak attracted those who were most strongly committed to traditional Korean values.⁹²

According to Song, these leading figures in promoting Protestantism encouraged the country villagers to become Protestants and then engage in church-related activities. As they were acknowledged as the wisest group of people in the communities, their admonitions to the uneducated peasants often brought immediate results in the villagers' mass conversion. These leaders were active in establishing schools for children and youths as well as churches. They played key roles in leading worship services and administrative positions in the churches, and they, as the most educated group in the villages, became the teachers in the churches. Naturally the mass of people in the districts understood the Protestant message at a lower level than that which these church leaders explained. In other words, the depth of interpretation of Protestantism in the early Korean Church in Honam was normally limited to the intellectual level of these leading Protestant advocates.⁹³

This function of the rural nobility in leading conversion to Protestantism in Honam can be interesting to researchers into receptive patterns of Protestantism in other geographical areas. There is a notable parallel with the role of samurai in post-

⁹¹ It was not until 8 December 1939 that the SCPF (The Sacred Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith) of the Roman Catholic Church issued a decree that Catholics in the Japanese ruling areas including Korea were allowed to participate in ancestral veneration ceremonies. See 'Ancestor Worship', in Scott W. Sunquist, ed., *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 21.

⁹² Bok-Ryong Shin, *Donghak Sasanggwa Gaponongminhyeokmyeong* [Donghak Thought and the 1894 Peasant Revolution] (Seoul: Sunin, 2006), 371-80.

⁹³ Song, 24-5.

Meiji Restoration Japan. Honam's rural nobles and Japan's samurai followed a similar pattern given that both became leading recipients of Protestantism in the reform era after the loss of their traditional leadership roles in feudal societies. 30% of the early Japanese Protestants came from the samurai class which occupied only 5% of the whole Japanese population. After losing their political force in the newly emerged era of modernisation, the samurai formed initial groups of Protestants, called 'bands' in Kumamoto, Yokohama, and Sapporo. These samurai Protestants most of all defined themselves as lay Christian educators, and this movement provided an alternative to missionary-initiated Christianity with its denominational distinctiveness. Indeed, the majority of Japanese Protestant leaders including the renowned Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930)⁹⁴ and three out of the four Japanese delegates at the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference were from samurai families.⁹⁵ Hence, as an upper middle-class urban movement, Christianity in Japan was initiated and expanded by leaders who were identified as samurai, students, and intellectuals. This is one of the reasons why Japanese Christians were attracted to the values of American liberal Protestantism with its emphases on social reform and modernisation rather than evangelism.⁹⁶ In this regard, the characteristics of the leading converts in the Japanese context were dissimilar to those of Honam converts who were more famed for their evangelistic zeal.

The fact that the key male leaders of Honam's Protestant churches were mostly from the impoverished noble class or middle-class has been emphasised. However, an outstanding case from Geumsan, the birthplace of Louise Yim, indicates

⁹⁴ Uchimura Kanzo, the founder of the Japanese Non-church Movement, was the eldest son of a low-ranking samurai in Tokyo. After graduating two schools in Tokyo, he went to Sapporo Agricultural College in Hokkaido and then became Christian there through the instruction of the senior class students. As the centre of the Sapporo band, this school produced Christian leaders such as Kanzo and Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933). See Kanzo Uchimura, *The Diary of A Japanese Convert* (New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1895), 11 and 19-28, and Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 9 and 15-21.

⁹⁵ Except Chiba Yugoro, an adopted son into a family of high rank, other three delegates were from samurai families. Harada Tasuku (1843-1890) was a member of the Kumamoto band; Honda Yoitsu (1848-1912) came from the Yokohama band; and Ibuka Kajinosuke (1854-1940) was also affiliated to the Yokohama band. Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 111-18.

⁹⁶ See *Ibid.*, 111f; Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. II: 1500-1900 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2005), 513-4; and Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 16-7.

that this general trend of church leaders was not applicable in every church in Honam. Jaik Lee (Yi Cha-Ik, 1879-1958), after becoming an orphan at the age of twelve, left his home in Namhae, Yeongnam, the south-eastern region of Korea, to find some means of living, and eventually found his permanent residence in Geumsan. At first he had to do everything for survival, but he was later hired as a domestic servant in the house of Deoksam Jo, a wealthy middle-class merchant. Since Lee was so diligent in his responsibility, he soon obtained the trust of his master. At the age of twenty-one, Jaik was able to marry a daughter of a wealthy farmer in the same village, who was pleased to give his daughter in marriage to such a trustworthy man, even though Jaik had no kith or kin in Geumsan.

In 1902, however, a still more life-changing event came from his meeting with Lewis Tate of Jeonju mission station who made regular evangelistic itinerant visits to the village of Patjeongi in Geumsan. Jaik, along with his wife, accepted Tate's evangelical message of Jesus Christ as a saviour who died for them. However, the conversion of this young couple caused fury among the cousins of Mrs Lee's household since her family traditionally adhered to Buddhism as displayed in the fact that her grandmother was a Bhikkuni (Buddhist nun) at the time. Jaik and a couple of his friends as the first Protestant converts in the village held a small Christian meeting for two years while being oppressed by other villagers still antagonistic to Christianity. The major turning point away from this obstacle to Christian progress in Patjeongi was the self-declaration of Deoksam Jo as a Christian in late 1904. Since Jo was respected as an influential man in this agrarian society, his decision to become a Christian was enough to cause much agitation among the village dwellers. In particular, Jo had no hesitation in acknowledging the spiritual authority of Jaik Lee, his ex-servant. Owing to the remarkable cooperation between two leading figures of such varying class and status, a church was built in 1905 and more than two hundred people were added to the church within two years. Later Jo also became an elder of the church, and in 1915, Lee became an ordained pastor. Jaik was honoured as moderator of the Korean Presbyterian Church as many as three times in 1924, 1947, and 1948, the first and the last person to have this honour in Korean Presbyterian

history.⁹⁷

This episode in the early history of Patjeongi Church (now Geumsan Church) demonstrates both general and specific developments concerning the issue of class in the early Protestant history in Honam. Like other Protestant communities in Honam, the earliest believers in Geumsan had to encounter antagonism from longstanding religious and cultural customs. The established religion was a strong barrier to evangelistic progress, but Christianity seemed to be sufficiently attractive for some to be ready for any persecution. When an influential village leader, Deoksam Jo, became a Christian, many villagers followed his example. However, Geumsan Church also supplies one of the most telling instances in Honam's church history in which the socially revolutionary aspect of the Christian message—all are one in Christ Jesus—allowed two people from different classes, who had been once a master and a servant, an extraordinary opportunity to serve each other in the principle of Christian equality.

As our discussions up till now suggest, the majority membership of the early Honam Church consisted of women rather than men, and commoners rather than aristocrats. We have also seen that the majority of church leaders were esteemed men, socially and intellectually. They came from the middle class or were descendants of nobles whose ancestors had been impoverished or ousted from power for some reason. For many aristocrats who still took social discrimination for granted, however, churches in which women and men from the mixed classes flocked together in a place were considered a hotbed of all kinds of vice. Nobles with learning in Honam still rejected, disregarded, or assumed a wait-and-see attitude toward the rise of Protestantism, just as they had earlier stood against Catholicism. For this reason, after the beginning of missionary work in 1895 in Jeonju, ten more years elapsed before the mission won the first noble converts in the city.

Missionaries in Jeonju who gradually realised that an indirect approach through the dissemination of Christian books would be much more effective than direct evangelism to these educated nobility set up a small bookshelf in the corner of

⁹⁷ Mrs. L. B. Tate, *MS* (October 1915): 739; Insu Hahn, *Honamgyohoi Hyeongseonginmul I* [Builders of the Honam Church I] (Seoul: Pietas Publishing House, 2000), 97-125, and Rhie, *Jeonju Bibimbapgwa Seongja Iyagi*, 97-102.

a drapery near the mission station in 1903. Books by Western scholars translated into classical Chinese and Christian tracts in Korean were displayed for those who were interested. This strategy soon saw some fruit when two aristocrats visited the church through alleys. These two men had served the country as high-ranking officials for ten years. Succeeding appearances of learned men from the upper class were promoted by ‘the Forsythe Incident’ in March 1905.⁹⁸ Forsythe was fatally attacked by armed men in his sleep during the night after his medical treatment of a wounded aristocrat from the eminent Lee family of Jeonju. However, Forsythe expressed his wish to forgive the attackers, which ensued ‘an overflow’ of nobles, commoners, and even Japanese soldiers to the church ‘because they thought it was good for their bodies.’⁹⁹ One of the converts from the Lee family, Bohan Lee, nicknamed Yi Geoduri, became a street evangelist famous for his enthusiasm to deliver the Christian message to anyone he met.¹⁰⁰ The presence of people from the upper class backgrounds in the churches ceased to appear strange after this event since the Korea–Japan Protectorate Treaty of 1905 and the Korea–Japan Annexation Treaty of 1910 created an unsettled state of mind among Koreans of all sorts. Some noblemen who needed something to depend on for protection and comfort also found it in the Protestant message. As Junkin found diverse motivations among the educated aristocratic converts, saying ‘they thought it was good for their bodies’, some Protestants from the upper class exposed their ability to combine their Christian faith with nationalistic hopes more easily than did those from other classes. This was the beginning of the differentiation of Honam Protestantism into at least three different divisions—pietistic, nationalistic, and deviational—which will be analysed in the following section.

3. Divisions: Varieties of Protestant Christianity in Honam

Protestants in Honam normally revered missionaries as teachers of great

⁹⁸ See pp.153-4 of this thesis.

⁹⁹ William M. Junkin, ‘Chunju City Work’, *KMF* (December 1905): 23, and Rhie, *Jeonju Bibimbapgwa Seongja Iyagi*, 73-5.

learning. Since Koreans traditionally admired teachers as much as they did kings and fathers, the majority of the local church affiliates did not seem to feel uncomfortable in believing and following most of what the missionary teachers instructed. However, it was not true that the indigenous people of Honam received intact the Christian message the missionaries taught. Over time, diverse aspects of development in the Honam people's understandings of the Christian gospel appeared, causing tensions to some extent between Honam Koreans and missionaries, and between Korean groups who took different approaches to the essence and function of Christianity in the Korean context. It cannot be claimed that the scope and size of these conflicts in Honam was as large as in China, or as substantial as in Seoul, but the gaps actually existed. The analysis that follows divides the different approaches and responses of indigenous Honam people to Southern Presbyterian missionaries and their Christianity into three broad categories: pietistic, nationalistic, and deviational. However, it must be acknowledged that these three types were not totally exclusive from one another, for some features from a category were frequently shared by others.

The majority of Honam Protestants closely followed the pietistic characteristics of evangelical Christianity which Southern Presbyterians brought to transplant in Honam soil. Southern Presbyterians in Honam did not try to teach the indigenous Protestant adherents how to deal with the complex relationships between Christian faith and national progress, Christian belief and social justice, the Christian worldview and the beliefs of Korean religions, Christian ethics and human rights, or Christian eschatology and the independence of Korea. As the bearers of the Southern Presbyterian doctrine of the spirituality of the church, they believed that involvement in temporal matters outside the church as the ark of salvation must be avoided. They simply focused on the salvation of individual souls, represented by the evangelical emphasis that anyone believing in Jesus Christ, who died on the cross and resurrected from the death for sinners, is justified by the faith through divine grace. The fact that they were saved had to be proved through their unremitting efforts to persuade their neighbours and family members to accept the invitation to share in their new lives in Christ. Early Protestant converts in Honam made their missionary

¹⁰⁰ Rhie, 76-9. 'Geoduri' means 'to bring in the sheaves.'

teachers happy by showing even greater enthusiasm for evangelism than missionaries expected. Most leading figures who contributed to this expansion of Protestantism among the people of Honam were women and men, relatively less-educated, underprivileged, and simple-hearted. The revivals and the related Bible studies were the causes of the intensification of a type of pietistic religion among Honam's Presbyterians, but they were simultaneously the effect of a pietistic missionary tradition which was concerned more with individual holiness than with social engagement in causes such as the independence movement or social enlightenment.¹⁰¹

An absolute majority of lay people, both women and men, were included in this group of pietistic Christians, but most indigenous pastors could also be classified as pietistic evangelicals even in cases where some of them expressed a strong hope for their country's improvement and independence. In other words, they primarily laid foremost emphasis on the spiritual salvation, and believed that the prosperity, progress, and independence of the country and people could be possible only when the saved souls with Christian education became the majority of the population. For example, in many sermons and periodical articles by Honam pastors, one of the most frequent major topics was the necessity of new birth in Christ Jesus for all Koreans. Gi-Pung Yi, one of the first seven ordained Korean pastors, assumed in his sermon under the title of 'A Living Hope' with the text in the First Epistle of Peter 1:3-4¹⁰² that 'the fountain of hope is the abundant mercy of God, the Father of Christ'; 'the clear evidence of our hope is the resurrection of Christ from the dead'; and 'the beginning of a living hope is our regeneration.' A paragraph in the third section of the sermon, on the theme of regeneration, can be considered typical of the evangelical explanation offered by Honam pastors to the ordinary believers in the churches:

¹⁰¹ For discussion of the Mokpo Revival as the most renowned revival in Honam, see Section Three of Chapter Six.

¹⁰² There is no information exactly when this sermon was preached, but the first written draft of this sermon was published in 1955 as the part of *Seongyo Chilsipjunyeon Ginyeom Seolgyojip, Jung* [The Memorial Collection of Sermons for the 70th Anniversary of the Presbyterian Missions II] (Seoul: Department of Education, PCK, 1955), 68-71, and again appeared in his biography written by his daughter in 2008.

The beginning of a living hope is our regeneration. The living hope means we put our hope in the future. The mercy of God and the power of Christ work in our hearts, regenerate us, and make us new persons. Our appearance is unchanged, and unbelievers call us hypocrites, but, in fact, I am radically changed. My view of life, my idea, and my purpose are all changed. Furthermore, I truly feel and rejoice in the fact that I am a child of God, that God is my father, and that Christ is my Savior. Though I am a sinner, I entered eternal salvation. How can we have the last without having the first, and how can we achieve anything without the beginning? Our secure salvation begins with regeneration....Regeneration is not done by our power, but by the power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰³

A sermon of Jaik Lee under the title of ‘Regeneration’ published in 1945 is an example of a delicately crafted sermon that was shaped in order to teach a basic Protestant doctrine of regeneration.¹⁰⁴ He divided the sermon into two parts with the subtitles of ‘Period of Regeneration’ and ‘Maturity of Regeneration’, and then these two each had three sub-divisions. His message can be outlined as follows:

Regeneration is to desert the likeness of the devil and to recover the image of God; it is done not by human power, not by gold, but by the work of the cross and our belief; the matters of regeneration are water and Spirit, which signify the blood of Jesus and the Holy Spirit who makes our hearts new; regeneration is necessary to become mature by reading the Scripture and residing in Christ; the behaviour of regeneration is nine fruits of the Holy Spirit; the duty of regeneration is to spread the free grace of it for the people all over the world to be regenerated; the period of regeneration is unlimited as it is an everlasting life.¹⁰⁵

Though not taking further institutional education in theology after his graduation from Pyongyang Theological Seminary in 1915, Jaik, with an innate talent for leadership and intelligence, soon became one of the most respected leaders, as proved by his election to be moderator of his denomination three times. He was so revered by both missionaries and Korean locals that he was called ‘Timothy of Rev Tate’; Tate loved Jaik like a son.¹⁰⁶ Leroy T. Newland of Gwangju and Mokpo, once praised Jaik as ‘a wonder as a moderator’ because of his ability to preside over

¹⁰³ Yi, *Missionary and Martyr*, 225.

¹⁰⁴ This was originally published in *Gidokgongbo* [Christian Public News] (4 October 1945).

¹⁰⁵ Han, *Honamgyohoi Hyeongseonginmul I*, 318-21.

¹⁰⁶ *Personal Record of Mattie Ingold Tate, 1929*, quoted in *Ibid.*, 105.

meetings. This was possible as he had a thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical legislation, in faithful imitation of Tate, his spiritual father, who greatly contributed to the establishment of the constitutional order of the early Korean Presbyterian Church.¹⁰⁷ In view of their close relationship, it was natural that Jaik could deliver such a well-arranged evangelical sermon on the doctrine of regeneration. The theological tone of argument in Lee's published sermon was little different from that of Gi-Pung Yi in that both were conversion-focused evangelical preaching.

'The New Birth', an editorial of Injeon Kim (Kim In-Chun, 1876-1923) printed in *Dongnipsinmun (The Independent)*¹⁰⁸ on 7 January 1920, represents a distinctive example of Honam Protestant writing as its main argument combined the pietistic understanding of Protestant Christianity with a nationalistic perspective. Injeon's suggestion was as follows: The resurrection and prosperity of the country must begin with the individual and collective repentances of Korean people; if they repent, they can welcome a new nation and a new era for them; that is, individual confession of sins and penitence can be followed by the collective atonement and purifications of the Korean nation, which will be the hope of everlastingly free redemption for a newly reborn nation and age.¹⁰⁹

His argument here can be easily understood in the light of the unique background of his life and career. He accepted Protestant belief at the age of twenty-seven from his father who had already become a Christian ahead of his son, without direct influence from missionaries. Even before becoming a Christian, Injeon devoted himself to the patriotic movement through education as he taught teenagers in school at his home at his own expense. However, he found a new hope for the poor and colonised in his new Christian faith that led him to study theology in Pyongyang to become a pastor. After being ordained, he assumed pastoral charge of

¹⁰⁷ *Personal Record of N. T. Newland on the 13th General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church, 1924*, quoted in, *Ibid.*, 109.

¹⁰⁸ There have been publications of three different newspapers named *The Independent* in Korean history. The first and the most known was issued by Philip Jaisohn and Yun Ch'i-ho in Korean and in English between April 1896 and December 1899. The second one was published as the official organ of the Korean Government in Shanghai, China from October 1919 to November 1925. The last paper, an online media, has started to be issued from 1998 until now by Hyesik Shin as a conservative media against Daejung Kim, then President of Korea and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000.

¹⁰⁹ Han, 292-3.

Seomoon Church in Jeonju, but his ministry in Jeonju was also characterised by frequent visits to the Confucian academies to discuss with scholars there about Confucianism and Christianity. He was highly respected by the church members among whom he ministered, but he could not remain as a local pastor since the 1919 March First Movement in Jeonju awakened his latent instincts as an independence campaigner. Indeed, Injeon Kim was also one of the most influential men who inspired and encouraged Louise Yim to participate in the anti-Japanese patriotic movement through education and to study further.¹¹⁰ He resigned from Seomoon Church and left Korea for Shanghai to join the fight for Korea's independence, which was directed by the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea there.¹¹¹ Kim soon played active roles in the provisional government as a member of the Assembly, vice-minister of education, and speaker of the Assembly until his sudden death in May 1923. Hence, his editorial in *The Independent*, issued by the Shanghai Provisional Administration, can be assumed to have been written just after his arrival in Shanghai. In his editorial, Injeon clearly expressed his concept of enlightening or civilising Christianity as a means of national development and liberation, but he was also evangelical in view of his claim that this achievement was only possible through the individual confession of sins and conversion.

Such an amalgam of pietistic Christianity and national enrichment and strength was not uncommon to most Korean Protestants, but a more sophisticated theoretical understanding of national regeneration was limited to a small number of intellectual leaders in colonial Korea, as clearly shown in our analyses of Yun Ch'i-ho and Louise Yim. For such leaders, Honam appeared to be too static, marginal, and outmoded for their dreams to come true. This is the reason why almost every leading figure from Honam in Protestant education, publication, media, and social movement sooner or later moved to Seoul or overseas to study and then cooperate with other leaders from different regions and denominations. Pilsoo Kim (Kim Pil-Soo, 1872-1948) was also one of these.

Kim was renowned as the first Korean moderator of the Presbyterian Church

¹¹⁰ Yim, *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, 57-62.

¹¹¹ Han, 9-20.

elected in the fourth general assembly in 1915, but he was a many-faceted leader of Korean Protestantism, not just of Presbyterianism. Born of a rich, noble, and educated family in Anseong, south of Seoul, Pilsoo was already a capable scholar in classical Chinese literature and philosophy before his baptism in 1899. He is thought to have moved down to Jeonju to become a language teacher for Mattie Samuel Tate in 1898.¹¹² In a very short period of time, he came to prominence as an influential lay leader by teaching in Sinheung School for Boys in Jeonju and undertaking regular evangelistic itinerations with William B. Harrison or William Junkin. In 1904, along with two others, Sikmyeong Yun (Yun Sik Myung) and Jungjin Choi (Chay Choon Jin), he was recommended by missionaries to study theology in Pyongyang. It was the first official recommendation of an indigenous Christian for ministerial training made by the SPKM in Honam.¹¹³ However, he already seemed to be popular among Korean Protestants and missionaries even before his beginning theological studies. In 1903, when the Korean YMCA was founded in Seoul in October 1903, he was one of only two Korean initiators of the founding committee consisting of twelve members. The following six years after being ordained as pastor in 1908 represented his church-focused ministry as the pastor of several churches in Honam, including senior pastorates of two leading churches. However, Kim showed his ability in ecclesiastical literature by writing almost every official document of the presbytery. He was honoured to be elected the first moderator of the Presbytery of Jeolla in 1911 ahead of all influential missionaries. When the first General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church was organised in 1912, he served as deputy-clerk, as clerk in 1913 and 1914, and then finally as the first Korean moderator in 1915, taking precedence over all other Korean senior Christians.¹¹⁴

Between 1915 and 1922, Pilsoo was persuaded by the Seoul-based Presbyterian leaders to relocate in Seoul to become the chief editor of *Gidoksinbo*

¹¹² Nisbet, *Day In and Day Out in Korea*, 84.

¹¹³ Of the pastors mostly worked in Honam, Yi Gi-Pung was first ordained in 1907, two years earlier than these three men ordained in 1909. However Gi-Pung originally came from Pyongyang and then was sent to Jeju Island as a missionary, a mission field allocated to Southern Presbyterians and Honam's Korean Protestants. Thus, when the Presbytery of Jeolla, covering Honam, was first established in 1911, Gi-Pung was transferred to the Presbytery of Jeolla.

¹¹⁴ Han, 21-32.

(*The Christian Messenger*), a newly launched Presbyterian-Methodist ecumenical newspaper. These leading figures adopted a more holistic approach to Christianity than those who were concentrating more on evangelism in the provinces.

Interestingly, William Reynolds, the most influential senior missionary of the SPKM, strongly supported Kim's transfer to Seoul since he believed that Kim's talent must be used for a broader audience in Korea.¹¹⁵ This support needs to be interpreted in the light of Reynolds' rich inter-denominational and inter-mission experience as an executive member of several ecumenical committees, a member of academic staff at Pyongyang Theological Seminary, and a member of the Bible translation committee. As someone who, like himself, had multi-faceted talents to be used in a wider realm of Korean Christianity, Reynolds felt that Kim must be shifted to Seoul so that he was able to contribute more. These recommendations and participations in ecumenical cooperation by these two most influential leaders of the SPKM and Honam Christianity were a continuation of the earliest attitudes of the SPKM to support inter-missions and inter-denominational activities.

After moving to Seoul in 1915, Kim stayed there until his retirement in 1937, serving as editor-in-chief of *Gidoksinbo* (1915-1921), executive member of the YMCA (1922-1925), editor-in-chief of *Cheongnyeon (The Youth)*, the monthly magazine of the YMCA, and editor of the Christian Literature Society (1924-1937), mainly engaging himself in translating Christian books in English, Japanese, and Chinese into Korean. Kim's full publications list has not yet been compiled since some of his writings are hard to trace.¹¹⁶ However, what is suggested through some of his articles in his Seoul period is that Pilsoo Kim had become a Protestant activist who advocated the reforms of individuals, nations, and societies through a holistic understanding of Christian teaching, and as such was not able to remain within the limited boundaries of the conversion-centred pietistic Christianity of Honam. Like a few other Protestants from Honam, such as Louise Yim and Injeon Kim, who acknowledged Christianity as a religion of social and national reform, an impetus of independence movements, and a theoretical basis for promoting medical, educational,

¹¹⁵ *Record of the Sixth Meeting of Jeolla Presbytery*, February 1916, quoted in Han, 33.

¹¹⁶ Han, 32-47.

and scientific development, Pilsoo Kim represents a minority strand within Honam Christianity.

The above-mentioned second stream of Honam Christianity, although not the mainstream, was sometimes supported by or at least tacitly permitted by some missionaries since the theoretical foundation of this sort of nationalistic Christian social movement was not assumed to be directly opposed to evangelical Christianity itself or to the dominant position of the missionary group. However, the third strand of Protestantism in Honam, which can be regarded as a more self-determining or deviant form of Honam Christianity, was severely criticised by missionaries and some Korean leaders as a faction or sect. One of the first and the most striking cases was the episode of ‘the Free Church’¹¹⁷ of Jungjin Choi (1870-1940).

As stated above, Jungjin Choi was one of the first three ordained pastors of Honam in 1909. After the failure of the Donghak and its associated patriotic armies in which he had actively been engaged, he was converted to Protestantism together with his two younger brothers in 1899. It was Lewis Tate who led them to Christian faith. Due to his enterprising spirit in all matters, Jungjin was chosen as a helper of Tate, and then recommended by Tate to study theology in Pyongyang. However, in January 1910, only four months after his ordination with his two colleagues, Pilsoo Kim and Sikmyeong Yun, he submitted a written proposal with five demands to the committee meeting for the churches in northern part of Honam, notifying that he would not attend the meeting. The outline of his proposal was as follows: 1. Do not require of the laypeople too strict regulations; 2. Allocate the extended regions of Buan, Gochang, and Mujang to be his mission field; 3. Found a secondary school in the district allocated to him; 4. Let every church choose two people on a regular basis to be responsible for the relief of the poor; and 5. Provide him a house to live with his family.¹¹⁸

This proposal seems to reflect Choi’s enduring antipathy to his missionary supervisors even though no additional record clearly expressing his ill feeling has

¹¹⁷ Missionary authors called this ‘the/an Independent Church’ (Nisbet/Brown), but English equivalent to used Korean word is ‘the Free Church.’

¹¹⁸ *Jeonbukdaerihoirok* [Record of the Committee Meeting for the Churches in Jeonbuk] (5 January 1910), quoted in *Jeonju Seomoongyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 182-4.

been located. A special committee to deal with this issue was formed, in which Reynolds, Pilsoo Kim, and Heungseo Choi¹¹⁹ were included. After reviewing the proposal, Kim on behalf of the committee produced a written reply, displaying their firm refusal of all Choi's five demands. In addition, the committee passed a resolution to have an additional meeting to discuss this issue in terms of five charges against Choi—ingratitude, pledge-breaking, dispute, indiscretion, and protest. In response to this resolution and charges, Jungjin Choi again submitted a protest on 10 January 1910, in which he responded to all five charges against him and expressed his anger at the way the case had been handled. He signed himself 'Jungjin Choi, pastor of the Korean Free Church' at the end of the document.¹²⁰ His exit from the Presbyterian Church and subsequent establishment of the Free Church among the congregations in his district resulted in the departure of approximately 3,000 adherents from ten churches to join Choi's faction. Later in 1914, he was reconciled with the members of presbytery and then agreed for his ministry to be supervised by Tate once again. In less than a year, however, he joined the Congregational Church, a Japanese denomination in Korea, eventually losing most of his followers who disliked this church's firm Japanese character.¹²¹

As might be expected, missionaries exhibited negative feelings towards Choi and his conduct, as clearly shown in the statements of Anabel Nisbet, who was in Jeonju at that time, as follows: 'He also possessed unlimited ambition and a desire for self-aggrandizement, and like Lucifer, he fell....Here he decided to establish an independent church, admitting to membership men who drank and who had two wives, a letting down of the standards of our church that would be most acceptable to some who would like the name of Christian but are not willing to pay the cost....So the tares grew beside the wheat but we are not discouraged for the Master taught us that it would be so.'¹²²

¹¹⁹ Three elected members represented missionaries, Korean pastors, and Korean laymen respectively. Heungseo Choi was an elder of a church.

¹²⁰ For full text of this document, see Rhie and Cho, eds., *Hanguk Grisdoindeului Sinanggobaek* [Confessions of Korean Christians], 82-5.

¹²¹ *Jeonju Seomoongyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 188-90.

¹²² Nisbet, 84f. The records of the committee members—Lewis Tate, William Reynolds, and Luther McCutchen—on this scandal have not been found.

An interesting aspect in the course of handling this affair was the responses from Jungjin's Korean fellows. Pilsoo Kim who contributed most directly to the management of such a difficult issue was one of Jungjin's closest colleagues as they lived and worked together in Jeonju, and studied together in Pyongyang and became ordained pastors together in the same day. However, Kim led the charges against his friend rather than backing him. He seemed to feel that his friend's request was excessive in view of the impoverished condition of the early Honam churches, despite his sympathy with his friend's demands. Supporting evidence of this interpretation is found in the fact that both of Jungjin's brothers, Gwangjin and Daejin, were not supportive of their older brother, but of the committee. Gwangjin Choi, one of the lay leaders at Seomoon Church when his brother was being reviewed, did not follow his brother, and instead became an elder of this Presbyterian church in 1915.¹²³ Daejin Choi, the youngest brother, who would be ordained as pastor in 1912, also supported the committee and did his best to persuade his oldest brother to return to the former church.¹²⁴ In the end, Jungjin's protest against missionaries failed since he did not have solid backing from his fellow nationals.

There is no evidence of additional episodes of Koreans engaging in direct theological or ecclesiological confrontation with Southern Presbyterians in Honam. However, it was the first of a series of similar anti-missionary actions by indigenous Protestants which would occur in other regions of Korea, notably in 1918, 1923, 1928, 1933, and 1935.¹²⁵

As analysed above, most Protestants in Honam accepted with little question the evangelical message in the form transmitted by Southern Presbyterians. In particular, women, elderly people, those with less education, and people from the countryside devoted themselves mostly to evangelism, personal piety, and service within churches. These ordinary Christians played principal roles in maintaining pietistic evangelicalism in Honam. More educated converts, including students of

¹²³ *Jeonju Seomoongyohoi Baeknyeonsa*, 187.

¹²⁴ Han, 80.

¹²⁵ For a general survey of indigenous Christian movements in Korea, see *Hanguk Gidokgyoeui Yeoksa* [A History of the Korean Church], vol.II. (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1990), 192-202.

secondary mission-run schools and males with higher learning, were not the dominating part of the Honam's church life, but they inspired Christians in Honam with an awareness of national reform and independence. Many of them left Honam for Seoul or abroad, temporarily or permanently, to take further education or to expand their experiences of participation in diverse Christian social and national engagements. However, the contours of their Christian faith did not significantly transgress the boundaries of evangelical Christianity. Rather, they sought to combine evangelicalism with a sturdy nationalist and anti-Japanese sentiment. For them, Christianity did not only mean salvation of individual souls for heaven after death, but also connoted personal and collective responsibility to change this world according to biblical standards. This second strand of understanding of Christianity only involved a limited number of indigenous Protestant converts and never won the support of the majority of Protestant adherents in Honam. Despite the existence of these three variations of Protestantism in Honam, it is important to acknowledge that all three were to a greater or less extent indigenised forms of Christianity, shaped by the encounters of two different people and cultures.

On the one hand, the successful implantation of Southern Presbyterianism in Honam and its positive reception among the people owed much to the distinctive appeal of the Christian message to Honam people, especially those from the lower class and women marginalised by the hierarchical caste system of Confucianism. Early indigenous converts had little doubt in believing that the missionaries' absolute emphasis on the sovereign God who rules over all affairs in whole world was superior to the traditional cosmology in which the ancestral souls of all those who died and the spirits contained in all things affected the fortunes and destinies of the people in this world. On the other hand, as already discussed, the cross-cultural translation of the Christian gospel by the bearers of a specific culture to the people in a different and uniquely coloured culture can never be a simplistic word-to-word replacement. Rather, it requires a complex 'transformation' or 'redefinition' of meanings occasioned by the new contexts in which the words of the gospel are now employed.¹²⁶ In this regard, the fact that the majority of Honam people converted to

¹²⁶ Joel Robbins, on the basis of his study of rapid cultural change among the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea precipitated by encounters with Christianity in the 1960-70s, has used the term 'adoption.' He

the pietistic strand of Christianity suggests that at least some elements of Southern Presbyterian missionary Christianity were in congruence with Honam's indigenous worldview to a substantial extent. Some parallels between the two cultures, such as the social conservatism found in both Southern Presbyterianism and Honam's Confucianism,¹²⁷ or the active religious roles played by women—in the Southern States as deaconesses and in Korea as female shamans in—¹²⁸ or the apolitical attitude of inhabitants of marginalised agricultural societies, can be suggested in explanation of why a pietistic evangelical form of religion with the pronounced evangelistic, emotional, experiential, activist, and popular characteristics of Southern evangelical Presbyterianism was accepted with seemingly little deviation by the people of Honam. Building on the themes of this chapter, the subject of the following chapter will be the process of transformation and indigenisation from Southern Presbyterianism to Honam Presbyterianism.

notes that 'a common argument among anthropologists' is that 'traditional religion survives very much intact beneath a veneer of Christianity or some other world religion' (87). In addition, outlining three models of cultural change—assimilation, transformation or transformative reproduction, and adoption—he identifies what happened to the Urapmin as 'adoption,' as they, on their own terms, 'took on something new without prejudging what happens to what was there before' (10f). Joel Robbins, *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and Moral Torment in a Papua New Guinea Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).

¹²⁷ James Huntley Grayson, *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea: A Study of Emplantation of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 139. Grayson refers to all early missionaries' theological conservatism, but, as investigated in the first part of the thesis, Southern Presbyterianism was the most conservative strand of all these.

¹²⁸ Youngsook Kim Harvey, 'The Korean Shaman and the Deaconess: Sisters in Different Guises' in Laurel Kendall and Griffin Dix, eds., *Religion and Ritual in Korean Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 149-70.

Chapter 6. Identification and Indigenisation: The Emergence of Honam Presbyterianism

1. *Mixed Identities: Trials and Errors of Missionary Identification*

In December 1923, Sangjae Lee (Yi Sang-Jae, 1850-1927), one of the most respected Christian educators and the president of YMCA Korea, delivered an address to missionary newcomers under the title of ‘What I would do if I were a young missionary in Korea’:

The first thing to do is to forget that you are Americans...As Christians we are one. Our Heavenly Kingdom is above any earthly boundaries. Let us, therefore, not allow pride of nationality to be a hindrance to us in performing the work of the Kingdom...My first advice to young missionaries is to emulate the older missionaries who have caught this vision of service. America is powerful and large, while Korea is small and weak. Our common membership in the Kingdom of Heaven is the only common basis on which we can meet; because it is natural for the powerful to look down on the weak, and for the weak to feel that they are looked down upon...Consult the oldest missionaries; try to understand the Bible and to understand the Korean people. Put the Kingdom of Heaven first.¹

Another renowned statement from an indigenous leader appeared at a conference, attended by sixty-two representatives comprising thirty-one missionaries and thirty-one Koreans, which was held in December 1925 during John Mott’s visit to Korea in order to lessen the tension between Korean Christians and Western missionaries. Seokjin Han (Han Sok-chin, 1868-1939), one of the first seven ordained Korean Presbyterian pastors who studied for the ministry under Samuel A. Moffett from 1891, insisted before the assembled veteran missionaries as follows:

In order to do the most effective mission work, missionaries should not stay too long in a country. When the foundation of the church was laid, they should transfer the work to the native workers and should leave for another field to start a new work. If they stay long in a field, they regard churches

¹ Sang-Jae Yi, ‘What I Would Do If I Were A Young Missionary in Korea’, *KMF* (December 1923): 258 and ‘If I Were A Young Missionary in Korea’ *MRW* (April 1924): 276.

and schools as theirs and want to exercise their influence with the sense of superiority. This is against the true spirit of the gospel and an obstacle to the development of the church.²

When Moffett stood up to dispute with him, Han reaffirmed, ‘Rev. Moffett, even you, if you do not leave soon, you will do more harm than good!’³

Alfred Wasson, a Southern Methodist observer of the conference, evaluated this conference and its meaning as follows:

The early missionaries and the first Korean converts were in intimate personal contact. They were bound together by strong personal affection and mutual dependence. With the later missionaries the situation has changed. Preconceived ideas gained from reading out-of-date descriptions of Korean conditions, the self-contained activities of the larger missionary community, and the greater complexity of the work are barriers to a mutual understanding....The wish expressed was that the missionaries become more Koreanized, following the example of Paul, who became all things to all men.⁴

The main cause of tensions between Korean Christians and Western missionaries in the 1920s, during the high tide of independent nationalist movements, was Korean Christians’ firm desire to control their ecclesiastical dealings by themselves. In addition, as Wasson described, the lack of mutual identification and respect, mainly between Western missionaries and younger and more educated generations of Koreans, also bred discord. The sociologist Elizabeth Underwood, in her book on American Presbyterian missionaries’ identities and identification in Korea until 1934, defines the term ‘identification’ in the missionary context as ‘an active acceptance and overt adoption of the host people and culture as one’s own; in other words, a separation of national identity from religious identity, but also acculturation or adaption to a new cultural identity.’⁵ She admits that the ideal of identification in this definition, adapted from the apostle Paul’s desire to be ‘all things to all men’ (1 Corinthians 9:22), has rarely been realised in mission history. At

² Pilgeun Chae, *Hangukgidokgyoeui Gaecheokja HanSeokjingwa Geueui Sidae* [Pioneer of Korean Christianity: Han Seokjin and His Times] (Seoul: Korean Literature Society, 1971), 229-30.

³ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁴ Alfred Washington Wasson, ‘Observations on the Mott Conference’, *KMF* (February 1926): 32.

⁵ Elizabeth Underwood, *Challenged Identities: North American Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1934* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 2004), 20.

the turn of the twentieth century, the biggest barrier of Western missionaries in identifying with the host people was their presupposition of superiority to other people, especially the people they were sent to. This preconception was justified by the Western world's high achievements in science, medicine, and technology. In fact, not every missionary overcame this presumed belief in their racial and cultural superiority, and even many missionaries who were not racists and eager to treat Koreans equally with Westerners did not reach the complete ideal of identification.⁶

However, as expressed by both Lee and Wasson, despite recurrent failures, the earliest missionaries were appreciated for their success in earning Koreans' trust and forming reciprocal respect through the intimate personal contacts with them. Some older pioneer missionaries presented their advice to newly recruited workers in journal articles or by personal conversation. A typical example was Samuel Moffett's article in *Counsel to New Missionaries from Older Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church*, a collection of essays contributed by established PCUSA missionaries all over the world covering all kinds of topics concerning missionary life. In his paper, written in his thirteenth year of missionary service, Moffett insisted that the main focus of Christian missions was the evangelisation of the people and an essential part of evangelisation should be the process of identification. He emphasised the spiritual equality of all people before the biblical message with no discrimination based on race, nationality, gender, or class: 'these people can and do reach the same heights of spiritual attainment and enter into the same appreciation of spiritual truth which we do.'⁷

He even argued that some elements in oriental culture were much closer to scriptural ideas than some strange customs peculiar to Western civilisation which were frequently misunderstood as Christian components by indigenous people. As one of the most stalwart proponents of the Nevius principles, he made an attempt to distinguish scriptural Christianity from Western civilisation.⁸ For Moffett,

⁶ Ibid., 89-91.

⁷ Moffett, 'Prerequisites and Principles of Evangelization', in *Counsel to New Missionaries from Older Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA, 1905), 65.

⁸ Ibid., 68-9.

missionaries' 'primary duty' in relation to the indigenous people must be 'the close contact with them, the sympathetic entrance into their inner life, their ways of thinking, their weakness, prejudices and preferences, their trials, sorrows and spiritual struggles.'⁹ Moffett even made a request that missionary newcomers needed to be cautious about becoming absorbed in the study of indigenous history, culture, language, literature, and religion since he thought that these intellectual methods of access paradoxically could become a hindrance to 'a living, real, close, sympathetic touch with individuals.'¹⁰

However, only a small number of Presbyterian missionaries were suspicious of an academic approach to the host people and culture. For other pioneer missionaries, including Horace G. Underwood, instead, more intellectual forms of identification were effective ways to understand indigenous people and to obtain satisfactory results in their work. As already stated in the introduction of this thesis, these scholarly missionaries' enthusiastic desire to know Korea and Korean people motivated them to produce a substantial amount of research on Korea-related subjects, forming the basis of current international Korean studies. Yet, these individual studies always needed a significant input from intelligent Korean co-workers. This intellectual exchange with educated Koreans and in-depth study of Korea contributed to the substantial reduction or removal of missionaries' preconception of Korea as an inferior oriental nation. However, both groups of missionaries shared the common idea that language learning for all new missionary workers—the 'experience of immersing themselves in the Korean language'¹¹—was essential if they were to become more closely identified with Koreans, not through a language class taught by missionary teachers, but through personal tutoring from Korean Christians or even living among them in their homes for a while.¹²

There is ample evidence that the Southern Presbyterian pioneers also made an eager effort to identify themselves with Honam Koreans, often expressing their affection for Koreans and reporting the trust that Koreans had placed in them.

⁹ Ibid., 64.

¹⁰ Ibid., 64 and 73.

¹¹ Underwood, 95.

Undeniably, there are also accounts of their despair, depression, and sometimes disgust arising from diverse encounters with Koreans. Landing at a Korean harbour in 1897, Mattie Ingold (1867-1962), a female missionary doctor, was shocked by Koreans' 'hopeless pitiful looking.' It made her tears drop, helped her give thanks to God for her not being born as Korean, and let her decide to devote herself to the Korean people's spiritual and physical well-being.¹³ This sort of first impression and 'patronizing nature of the commitment to Korea', which sometimes has been regarded as a paternalistic form of racism,¹⁴ was common to almost every missionary newcomer and other all varieties of Western visitors to Korea.¹⁵ However, in many cases, the desire to introduce Koreans to the message of Christian salvation impelled missionaries to take firm steps to make contact with Koreans whom other groups of Westerners in Korea would not get near.

In 1895, Eugene Bell and his wife Lottie initially settled down in a Western-style house surrounded by other missionary homes in Seoul, before their permanent move to Honam. They reported that their house and neighbouring surroundings were so comfortable and familiar that they could nearly forget that they were in Korea. These even made everything Korean outside the mission compound seem strange and alien to their eyes. However, Eugene Bell, fired with evangelistic fervour, expressed his eager wish to start language lessons for a 'real active mission work', which gave him 'greater joy and pleasure in this than all else combined.'¹⁶ After her first meeting with Korean village women, Lottie also longed to talk to them in fluent Korean, though she still felt 'creepy' and in 'need of a bath.'¹⁷ Unlike married couples, single female missionaries, including Linnie Davis, one of the seven pioneers of the SPKM, attempted 'risky' ventures to leave the missionary settlement to live among Korean neighbours in a Korean house. Lottie Bell, disappointed by the limitations imposed

¹² Ibid., 99.

¹³ Mattie Ingold's diary entry for 16 September 1897, quoted in *ibid.*, 100.

¹⁴ Lena E. Hall, *Dictionary of Multicultural Psychology: Issues, Terms, and Concepts* (London: Sage, 2005), 133.

¹⁵ Underwood, 100.

¹⁶ Eugene Bell to His Father, 13 April 1895, quoted in *ibid.*, 105.

¹⁷ Lottie Bell to Children (Her Sibling), 25 April 1895, quoted in *ibid.*, 105-6.

by her marital status, displayed her envy of Davis' closer contact with Korean women and more frequent opportunities of identification.¹⁸ She missed the direct contact with Korean women and children in a Buddhist temple in Seoul in which a few female missionaries spent some time for the summer.¹⁹ She even said that 'if Seoul was to be our permanent station, I should want to move away from everybody else, into a new neighborhood, as Miss Davis and Miss Doty did.'²⁰ These advocates of closer identification with Koreans sometimes complained about some fellow workers hesitating to make close contact with Koreans owing to their lack of evangelistic passion, fear of infection, or introvert personality.²¹

Despite such intense desire for close personal contact with Koreans in the earliest period of mission history, however, diverse factors in the progress of missionary enterprise led to a tightening of restrictions on the missionaries' identification with indigenous people. The more receptive Koreans became to the Christian gospel, the more missionaries were sent by the home churches to meet the various requests in the Korean field. The more missionaries engaged in varied types of activities, including medicine, education for Koreans and for missionary children, evangelism, and administration of mission institutions, the bigger became the secure missionary compounds in which missionary homes, churches, hospitals, schools were built. Language classes for the missionary novices provided by the senior missionaries in the classrooms replaced one-to-one lessons with a private Korean teacher. As the infrastructure of public transportation and communication developed rapidly in the early twentieth century, missionaries did not need to stay nights with Korean co-workers in Korean homes and inns. As the Korean Presbyterian Church grew in its capacity for self-propagation from the establishment of its first presbytery in 1907 onwards, indirect missionary work, such as supervision, direction, and coordination, replaced the direct preaching to Koreans in the churches and streets

¹⁸ Lottie Bell to Florence, 4 June 1895, quoted in *ibid.*, 106-9.

¹⁹ Missionaries in Seoul in the earliest period of Protestant mission activity often went to Buddhist temples in Bukhan Mountain to avoid summer heat or to find a quiet and cool space for personal study. See Oak, 'Mooreui Bokeumjueui Seongyosinhak' [Moore's Evangelical Mission Theology], *CHK* 19 (August 2003): 38-9.

²⁰ Lottie Bell to Father, 11 August 1895, quoted in *ibid.*, 115.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 115-6.

which the earliest missionary pioneers had regarded as the glory of their missionary vocation.²² This gradually widened the gulf between Koreans and missionaries and may have contributed to the instances of misconduct among the second-generation of foreign missionaries in Korea.²³

Ironically, it was the heroic but tragic instance of William J. McKenzie (1861-1895) that decisively contributed to the decision of missionaries, including even those who had attempted to realise cultural identification to the greatest extent, to keep a clear distance from the indigenous people. William McKenzie, a Canadian independent missionary, went to Korea in November 1893 after first reading about Korea while travelling for mission work in Nova Scotia, his home province in Canada. Unable to persuade the Canadian Presbyterian Church to open a mission in Korea, he privately raised money from local Presbyterian churches for a voyage to Korea. After arriving in Korea, he stayed in the foreign settlement in Seoul, but soon resolved to live among Koreans, without any fellow Westerners nearby, in Sorai, a north-western coastal village in Hwanghae province. In Sorai, the first Korean Protestant community existed as early as 1882. Many villagers in Sorai were already Christians, and their leader, Sangryun Seo (1848-1926)²⁴ was one of the co-workers with John Ross and John MacIntyre, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria, in the translation of the first Korean edition of the Gospel of Luke published in 1882. In imitation of St Paul, McKenzie lived in Sorai alongside Koreans as much as possible in every way, wearing only Korean clothes and eating Korean food in order to get nearer to them, though he found the experience difficult, especially with the food:

My food, what about it? In Labrador potatoes and milk were something to do without. Here I have no potatoes, milk, or butter. I have been already

²² Ibid., 124-8. This situation in Korea was very similar to that in China. Roland Allen (1868-1947), Anglican missionary in China and mission theorist, was so critical to this system of missions in China, especially to the 'mission station' concept. See Ronald Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's Or Ours?*, Third Edition (London: World Dominion Press, 1953), 69f. For the description of British settlements in China in the first half of the twentieth century, see Robert A. Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900-49* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 206-7.

²³ See pp.243-7 of this thesis.

²⁴ Seo has sometimes been transcribed as Saw, Suh, or So.

over two weeks without eating any bread. At every meal is rice. Rice here is like fish in Labrador. One does get tired of it twenty-one times a week with no change. They put in some other things with it, but most of them I can't touch.²⁵

However, McKenzie's resolution to live in the poorest Korean rural village moved many inhabitants in the village and other Koreans who heard of him, resulting in continuous conversions. From the spring of 1895, the Christian congregation in Sorai began to build their church without any funding from foreign sources, and dedicated it in July. Even when the Donghak uprising swept the north-west, which had originated in Honam but was most powerful in the north-west, Sorai became a shelter from their attacks since McKenzie and the Seo brothers had such good relationships with Donghak followers, some of whom became Christians later. Yet, on 23 June 1895, after just eighteen months in Korea, he got sick from his 'imprudence....traveling under hot sun and sitting out at night till cold',²⁶ became delirious with a high fever, and in his delirium shot himself. The news of this tragic accident influenced some seminarians in Nova Scotia to become Korea missionaries. This led to the commencement of the Canadian Presbyterian Korea mission in 1898.²⁷

It is clear that Christian leaders in Sorai remembered McKenzie as their true friend and teacher who succeeded in identifying himself with the locals, as shown in Seo's written petition to the Christians in Canada:

After Mr. McKenzie arrived in Korea he came down to the village of Sorai....working hard about his Father's business, led many to come out and take their stand for the Lord....The village of Sorai was always a very wicked place, devoid of blessings. Now there are many who are trying to follow the example of Mr. McKenzie. His body is no longer with us, and we, in prayer, want to know God's will. We, now waiting before God in prayer, hope that you, our older brothers in Canada, will pray much and send us out a Christian teacher.²⁸

²⁵ McKenzie to Brother Bobbitt, 6 February 1894, quoted in Elizabeth A. McCully, *A Corn of Wheat or the Life of Rev. W. J. McKenzie of Korea*, Second Edition (Toronto: Westminster, 1904), 105-6.

²⁶ McKenzie's last diary entry for 23 June 1895, quoted in *ibid.*, 221.

²⁷ Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 36-40.

Duncan M. MacRae (1868-1949), one of the 'Korea Five' who pioneered the Canadian Presbyterian Korea mission in 1898, visited Sorai in October of that year and recorded his impression of the legacy McKenzie had left in Sorai: 'As you come in touch with the people here, the shake of their hand and their friendly welcome and geniality together with their hospitality, makes your heart ring with joy you cannot help but think of McKenzie. The Work of Grace is evident. It is a "city set on a hill."'²⁹

McKenzie's dramatic life and death in Sorai, however, produced results from missionary communities which were exactly the opposite of what he hoped for during his life. Most missionaries in compounds professed to value the sincere efforts at identification of McKenzie and other similar pioneers, but they came to be less confident that isolated living apart from their foreign settlements was prudent behaviour. In Seoul, as already mentioned, Lottie Bell was so jealous of Davis on account of Davis' close contact with Korean women and even censured missionaries who did not exhibit a similar passion for the identification. She even made up her mind to eat Korean food in order to be Koreans' friends, though 'a great many of the ladies will not eat Korean food.'³⁰ Yet, in a letter written just after the death of McKenzie, Lottie demonstrated an entirely changed opinion of missionary identification, saying, 'His death is one more illustration, it seems to me, of the fallacy of the theory of missionaries living among the people as one of them.'³¹ After this, Eugene, as well as Lottie, 'could not eat Korean food at all', and hence he had to bring all food provisions to cook for himself, unlike other male missionary itinerants, for example, Damer Drew who liked Korean food.³²

In addition to the death of McKenzie, the early deaths of many other missionaries at the post of duty, including missionary children, in the earliest period of Protestant missions contributed to missionaries' justification of the construction of

²⁸ A. F. Robb, 'From Far-Off Korea', *Theologue* 8:2 (December 1896): 48, quoted in McCully, 253-4.

²⁹ Duncan MacRae's diary entry for 13 October 1898, quoted in Helen Fraser MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain: The Life of Rev. Duncan M. MacRae, D.D.* (Charlottetown, Canada: A. James Haslam, 1993), 31.

³⁰ Lottie Bell to Father, 26 May 1895, and Underwood, 123.

³¹ Lottie Bell, 11 July 1895.

³² Eugene Bell to Marshall, 21 October 1895, quoted in Underwood, 123.

secluded mission compounds. Among Southern Presbyterians in Honam, some of those who had been known to have close contact with Koreans and did not hesitate to eat Korean food died in harness, or had to leave the field due to fatal diseases, earlier than other missionaries—for example, Linnie Davis (died in 1903), Damer Drew (left in 1901), and William Junkin (died in 1908), Fredrica Straeffer (left in 1908), Clement Owen (died in 1909), Wiley Forsythe (left in 1912 and died in 1918).³³ This was the main reason why some of the married American missionaries with children, regardless of their denominational background, were so attached to building comfortable American-style houses.³⁴ For instance, the British female traveller, Isabella Bishop, stated that American missionaries and their families generally lived in the most attractive and spacious houses in foreign settlements.³⁵ This conspicuous pattern of missionary life actually caused some complaints from international residents unrelated to the missions. William F. Sands of the US legation in Seoul indicated this clearly:

Among commercial men at the treaty ports....American missionaries had a bad name, first because they lived with impunity outside of the treaty limits of foreign residence....and secondly, because, living as they did, with their families, it was necessary for them to live as nearly as possible as they would at home. Consequently they would bring out for their own use every labor-saving appliance or agricultural implement they could afford to have, all of which were of immense interest to the natives.³⁶

There were some culturally sensitive missionaries from varied missions who lowered their standard of living to the level of Korean Christians as far as they could, but even their houses were seen as inviolable mansions by the ordinary Korean

³³ For the list of Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries and their termination of work on field, see Brown, 239-51. Some of Brown's information is not correct. Ironically, however, the first Southern Presbyterian adult missionary to pass away in the Korea field was Lottie Bell, who died of heart failure in 1901, which was not directly connected with the Korean food.

³⁴ For a broader discussion of early American missionaries' lifestyle, see Ryu, *Chogi Miguk Seongyosa Yeongu*, 56-80. For the description of missionary housing, see Katherine H. Lee Ahn, *Awakening the Hermit Kingdom: Pioneer American Women Missionaries in Korea* (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 2009), 125-37.

³⁵ Bishop, 3.

³⁶ William F. Sands, *Undiplomatic Memories* (London: Hamilton, 1930), 94.

Christians.³⁷ When establishing new stations in the towns of Honam, Southern Presbyterians initially resided in simple Korean houses in mission districts which had been bought by Korean co-workers. However, missionaries soon launched upon the construction of buildings for the use of missionary dwellings, clinics, schools, and churches. It is important to remember that the first permanent residence of missionaries in Jeonju station, the first SPKM station, was made in the Christmas season of 1895, six months after the death of McKenzie. Every Southern Presbyterian in Korea heard this tragic news, and most seem to have drawn the common conclusion about the dangers of living in Korean style. For this reason, from late 1895 it appeared to be taken for granted that missionaries would in future live in Western-style houses, maintaining their familiar Southern ways of living. After several years of residence in renovated Korean houses, missionaries now started building their own houses in the mission compounds.³⁸

For example, William Reynolds and his family relocated to Jeonju as late as June 1897 because of health problems and his duties in Bible translation. Since he was one of the key members of the Bible Committee of Korea after 1897, he had to be competent in dual tasks in two locations, Jeonju and Seoul. However, sometimes the progress of translation was left behind for the sake of what he supposed to be his priority, house building. This came into question between members of committee for a while. In his letter to John H. Ritson, secretary of the Editorial Committee in London, in 1903, Alexander Kenmure (1856-1910), secretary of the Korea branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, expressed his anger at the delay in progressing the translation, and levelled an outspoken criticism against Reynolds: ‘Jones and Reynolds are not giving satisfaction. Reynolds is a fine scholar, but he is a Southerner and therefore indolent and he is building a house for himself. . . . Surely not a sufficient return for his salary.’³⁹ According to Kenmure’s letter in July, Reynolds’ house-building was still in progress, and he expected that it would not be finished till

³⁷ Mrs. William Baird, ‘The Relation of the Wives of Missionaries to Mission Work’, *KR 2* (November 1895): 417.

³⁸ Brown, 37.

³⁹ Kenmure to Ritson, 21 April 1903, in Sung Deuk Oak and Mahn Yol Yi, eds., *Documents of the History of Korean Bible Society II* (Seoul: KBS, 2006), 167.

the end of the year. In a further letter written on 6 August, Kenmure reported to his recipient that house-building was Reynolds' priority over translation.⁴⁰ Kenmure's negative responses to Reynolds are understandable in view of his responsibility as superintendent of the translation work. However, no endorsement can be given to Kenmure's discriminatory slander that Reynolds was unfaithful to his duty since he was an 'indolent Southerner.' In fact, Reynolds contributed to the completion of the 1911 edition of Korean Bible more than any other member. In addition, he frequently had to come and go between Seoul and Jeonju, and building construction in Korea was often a full-time job for missionaries since they found difficulty in working with Korean carpenters and builders with a totally different idea of building.⁴¹

In 1906, John Fairman Preston and his wife Annie built a Southern style house in Gwangju, even spending more money than the amount the mission allowed as described in his letter to parents: 'The distinctive features of our house are: large front porch, with colonial pillars, and "old Virginia" door-way, opening into reception hall, real American stairway, large open fire-place in Dining room and grate in Sitting room, and small dressing room and bath, both heated Korean style...In order to get these features, Annie put up about three hundred dollars over and above the amount allowed by the mission for a house.'⁴² No missionary questioned that the first major task of Robert M. Wilson, who arrived in Gwangju in 1908, was to build his house which would be his future new home even before his marriage with his fiancée in America.⁴³

All these episodes prove how difficult it was for representatives of a stratified and highly status-conscious landed society to modify their ideals of genteel living and identify themselves with the common people of the host culture. However, the extent of missionary identification with Koreans varied according to individual

⁴⁰ Kenmure to Sharp, 28 July 1903, *ibid.*, 217, and Kenmure to Sharp, 6 August 1903, in *ibid.*, 227.

⁴¹ Ahn, 130-3.

⁴² John Fairman Preston to Father and Mother, 2 July 1906, Preston Papers, PHS, Philadelphia.

⁴³ Mary Stuart Wilson Mason, *Bess and Manton: Stories about Growing Up in Korea with Her Parents and Other Missionaries* (US: Scientific Software Solutions, 2004/Yeosu, Korea: Aeyangwon, 2010), 14-8. This book has been translated into Korean to be published by Aeyangwon (former Biederwolf Leper Colony) in which Wilson was director of the community. As the original English edition has not been found in any library catalogues in the world, I quote pages from Korean edition.

personality, gender, marital status, and parental status, which will be the topic discussed in the following section.

2. Commonalities: Sisters and Brothers in Christ

Individual attitude is the most significant variable in defining the extent of missionaries' efforts of identification with the locals, but social factors, such as the opportunity and experience based on gender and marital and family status, are also key elements in explaining differences in the depth and width of their contact with the indigenous people. When bearing in mind these social factors, according to Underwood, the group of missionaries who seemed to have been most clearly identified with Koreans were the single female missionaries.⁴⁴

Married women (missionary wives) had least opportunity to make contact with local Koreans due to their domestic duties in caring for children and husbands. Many of them occasionally participated in evangelistic activities, served as directors of institutions for girls, treated female patients in the mission clinics, or taught Bible study groups for women. However, wives and mothers were frequently encouraged to remain at home as the existence itself of a good 'Christian home' was assumed to be one of the most ideal and effective mission methods in 'heathen land.' Just as the early Puritans in New England hoped that their community would appear as a 'City on a hill,'⁴⁵ Dabney's successors in Honam attempted in a foreign land to maintain his ideal of the Southern Christian household.⁴⁶ In this regard, Korean servants and nannies (or amahs) working for the missionary families were anticipated to be the main agents through whom the report of exemplary Christian homes could spread to the indigenous people.⁴⁷ The images of an imposing missionary house with a

⁴⁴ Underwood, 131.

⁴⁵ Ryu, 70f. For a fuller study of the Christian Home as a key Protestant missionary goal as well as a strategy, see Dana L. Robert, 'The 'Christian Home' as a Cornerstone of Anglo-American Missionary Thought and Practice', in Dana L. Robert, ed., *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 134-65.

⁴⁶ For Dabney's ideal of the Christian household, see pp.69-70 of this thesis.

⁴⁷ In the same way African American domestic servants and nannies working in white households in

carefully decorated garden, a beautiful Christian family living there, and the mistress of the house directing loyal servants reflected the typically evangelical ideal of family life in the nineteenth-century American South.⁴⁸

Unlike men or single women missionaries who had regular opportunities to meet Koreans outside the compounds, and who were therefore pretty good Korean speakers, however, some missionary wives even experienced problems in communicating with their servants. Elizabeth Knox Wilson (1881-1961), wife of Robert Wilson and mother of seven children, oversaw at least three female servants including a nanny and several male servants at a time. These servants' routine labours included cleaning rooms, taking care of children, preparing meals, washing clothes, and helping their mistresses welcome guests for the parties and meetings. Yet, it was not always easy for these representatives of two dissimilar cultures to understand each other. Some female servants, with no official school education and with no familiarity with the modern American lifestyle seen in missionary homes, were 'children caring for children' in American Southerners' patronising eyes. One day, after her return home, Elizabeth found that her orders given to the servants had been ignored or wrongly carried out and said, 'I want to knock your head.' However, these Korean women even did not understand what it meant when she said 'nok-hedo.' Children felt a closer intimacy with their amahs at home. Yet, these children also necessarily exhibited condescending or paternalistic attitudes to their servants who served them as young masters and ladies.⁴⁹ This episode displays how easily missionary wives, when they remained mainly within mission compounds with little direct contact with Honam locals, except for a couple of indigenous servants who

the American South were expected to commend what they observed to their own families and African American society. In the post-bellum American South, this evangelical ideal of family life was similarly taught even at the higher educational institutions for African American women such as Spelman College. See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 100-1, quoted in Robert, 155-6.

⁴⁸ For the application of this idea in the China mission context, see Hunter, 128-73. For how Protestants in the South regarded women and their home and family lives as the central ingredients in maintaining the old-time Southern virtue, see Wilson, *Baptized in Blood*, 46f. Also see Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 3-21.

⁴⁹ Wilson, *Bess and Manton*, 89-95.

were clearly in a subordinate role, could be detached from the ideal of missionary identification.

In contrast, single women missionaries were not restricted by family concerns, did not need to have so many servants, did not have responsibility to display the ideal of a Christian home, had an extended radius of permissible activities, and above all, were able to retain true friendship with Korean women. The foremost reason why female missionaries achieved close identification with Koreans in Honam than their male counterparts was that most of them remained single until they left the field. According to Underwood's table, the American Presbyterian missionary force to Korea between 1884 and 1934 consisted of 175 men and 294 women. Among this total of 469 missionaries, 252 were married (thus, 126 married couples), and hence the remaining 217 were single (49 men and 168 women). 39 single males married on the field, leaving only 10 men who continued single until their home return. In contrast, of the 168 female missionaries who were single when they arrived in Korea, 120 still remained single until 1934.⁵⁰

One of the reasons why single males preferred to marry on the field was that married men normally occupied leadership of the missions. The historical Protestant emphasis on the married life led missionary life and work to revolve around the married workers and their families. Another significant factor in the Korean context was that for Koreans in a Confucian context, unmarried men were not regarded as adults but as the handicapped, physically or mentally.⁵¹ Women who remained single also experienced troubles, as Eugene Bell wrote, 'It is with great difficulty that the people are convinced that they are not our concubines and "How many children have you" is a question they have to answer.'⁵²

In addition to these misunderstandings, practical problems, mostly related to physical and mental health, caused a higher resignation rate among single female missionaries than among their married counterparts.⁵³ Single women felt lonely and

⁵⁰ Underwood, 135.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 146-7.

⁵² Eugene Bell to Mother, 18 March 1897.

⁵³ Underwood, 137 and 299 (n.5). Rate of less than 10 years of residence in Korea: single women (42%) vs. married women (23%).

were sometimes undernourished. To solve this problem, some decided to share housing with others or to rent a room from a missionary family. These communal households were in many cases advantageous for all housemates, but the results of some arrangements were negative. In 1908, Cornelia B. Rankin (1879-1911) started living in her new home in Jeonju, called 'Old Maids' Retreat', with other two singles, Sadie M. Buckland (1865-1936) and Emily R. N. Cordell (later Mrs McCallie, 1873-1931). However, Rankin had to leave her communal house owing to incompatibility in character with a roommate.⁵⁴ The case of Fredrica Straeffer (1868-1908) who boarded at the house of Bell family in Mokpo is also worth noting here since this demonstrates a different kind of tension between a married woman and a single woman. Straeffer, born in Cincinnati, Ohio, was not a native Southerner and had a progressive—to use Lottie's word, 'Republican'—idea of women's role in the church, notwithstanding her status as a Southern Presbyterian missionary. Her idea and attitude brought disappointment and anger to Lottie who cherished the ideal of a Southern lady as the bearer of heightened domestic morality. Lottie made complaints to her family: 'I do wish Dr. Chester would hurry and send us another one—a cultured Southerner, or else a married couple.'⁵⁵

In spite of these instances of tension and disharmony, Rankin and Straeffer, like other single female workers, enjoyed the freedom their unmarried status bestowed to be active at work and to be more accepted by the locals. Rankin played an active part in female education as headmistress of Gijeon School for Girls until her death from a disease in August 1911, four years after her arrival. Just one month earlier, in July 1911, Rankin felt blessed with her life of celibacy: '....when a woman has made out for 31 years alone and has perfect freedom and has her own money to do as she pleases with it isn't often she sees a man that she considers fine enough to give up all for. I have a comfortable home, can go and come as I please and have lots of good friends so no poor stick for me!'⁵⁶ Like Rankin, Straeffer was also able to invest her all energy in running the first school for girls in Mokpo (Jeongmyeong

⁵⁴ Rankin to Father, 2 March 1910, Rankin Papers, PHS, Philadelphia, quoted *ibid.*, 141-2.

⁵⁵ Lottie Bell to Mamma, 11 February 1900, quoted in *ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁶ Rankin to Will, 10 July 1911, quoted in *ibid.*, 139.

School) as headmistress from November 1903. How attached she was to her students is proved from her tenacious opposition to the resolution of the mission in 1904 to transfer leading missionaries in Mokpo to Gwangju in order to open a new mission station there and then to close the Mokpo station. She simply could not leave behind her students and women in Mokpo whom she loved and served. Even after her relocation to Gwangju, she expressed her heart's adherence to the people in Mokpo.⁵⁷ A remarkable example of adaptation of another single female missionary to the Korean life-style is provided by Ellen ('Ella') I. Graham (1869-1930) of Gwangju. Two years after her arrival in Korea, she wrote how she was happy to be in Honam, Korea, saying, 'I am truly thankful that my work is among a people who are so loving and appreciative. I thank God for sending me to Korea. I would rather be where I am, doing the work that I have than anywhere else on earth.'⁵⁸ Even she was pleased with her new identity as a 'Korean' in her itinerant trip to a remote part of the country: 'Don't you think I ought to become thoroughly Koreanized, saying among the people weeks at a time, without seeing a white face, or hearing a word spoken in my native tongue?'⁵⁹

Despite these striking examples of female single missionaries' exertions for identification with the Christians in Honam, the most significant piece of the jigsaw puzzle, without which the complete image on the puzzle cannot stand out sharply, still remains to be assembled. The life and work of Elizabeth J. Shepping (1880-1934) became a legend, being called 'mother of the poor and lepers', 'regenerated Jesus',⁶⁰ and 'Mary Slessor of Korea'⁶¹ by both missionaries and Koreans alike when she died in 1934. Shepping, unlike the majority of missionaries in the SPKM, was neither born as a Southerner, nor even as an American. As her surname suggests, she

⁵⁷ Fredrica Straeffer, 'Fact from Korea', *TM* (July 1905), and *Personal Report of Rica Straeffer to the 15th Annual Meeting of the SPKM* (June 1906).

⁵⁸ Graham to Home Folks, 21 December 1909, Graham Papers, PHS, Philadelphia, quoted in Underwood, 148.

⁵⁹ Graham to Home Folks, 21 March 1911, quoted in *ibid.*, 148.

⁶⁰ *Dongailbo* [Donga Daily] (28 June 1934).

⁶¹ Mrs. M. B. Knox and Mrs. E. E. Talmage, 'Miss E. J. Shepping—An Appreciation', *KMF* (October 1934): 218. For a well-summarised biographical information of Mary Slessor (1848-1915), Scottish woman missionary to Calabar (now Nigeria), see Ruth A. Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*, Second Edition (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 170-3.

was a German, born in Koblenz, western Germany. When her father passed away when she was one, her mother emigrated to the US, leaving Elizabeth to her grandmother's care. Later in a Catholic parochial school, she suffered from bullying of wealthy children for her poor dress. At the age of nine, Shepping sailed for New York to live with her mother where Shepping attended high school and a nursing school. In 1903, at the age of twenty-three, she converted to the Protestant faith through the Sunday evening worship service in a Protestant church. Yet, Shepping's conversion so shocked her mother that she declared a permanent severance with her daughter.⁶²

Shepping, again being no better than an orphan, registered at the Bible Teachers' Training School (now New York Theological Seminary), which was founded by Wilbert Webster White (1863-1944) in 1900, as well as at the Teachers' College of New York (now part of Columbia University),⁶³ in order to pursue her passion for urban mission work. By studying Bible and education as well as working at a Jewish sanatorium in Brooklyn at the same time in 1904, she was well prepared for her future wide-ranging missionary work in Honam, though she did not intend it at that time. After finishing her school programs, Shepping helped Jewish tuberculosis patients and Italian immigrants as well as volunteering for the mission for travellers based in Pennsylvania Station, Manhattan. In course of time, her application to serve as a missionary nurse to Korea was accepted by the Southern Presbyterian executive committee of foreign missions, and she began her new vocation in Honam from March 1912.⁶⁴

⁶² Lois Hawks Swinehart, 'Elise Johanna Shepping', in Hallie Paxton Winsborough and Sarah Lee Vinson Timmons, eds., *Glorious Living: Informal Sketches of Seven Women Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.* (Atlanta: Committee on Woman's Work, PCUS, 1937), 161.

⁶³ On the history of Teachers' College, see <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/tnyc/?Id=Welcome&Info=TC%3A+A+Legacy+of+Innovators>. Its co-founder was Grace Hoadley Dodge, a member of one of the World Missionary Conference 1910 Commissions. See Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 171-3.

⁶⁴ Shepping left only a dozen written materials, including journal articles, personal reports, and correspondences. Sources I have consulted to compile her biographical account include *Glorious Living*, 145-84; Chunseong Baik, *Cheongukeseo Mannapsida* [Let's Meet in Heaven: The Glorious Life of Miss Shepping, Missionary Nurse] (Seoul: Korean Nurses Association, 1980); and Kukjoo Yang, *Baboya, Seongongi Anira Seongimiya!* [Not for Success, but for Service!] (Seoul: Serving the People, 2012). A chronological list of the major events in Shepping's life in Yang, 257-73 was particularly helpful.

What she attempted and accomplished during her twenty-two years of missionary life in Korea was distinguished. As regards the quantity and variety of activity, nobody in the mission was a match for her. In addition to her basic duties in caring of the patients, teaching the Bible to women, and instructing girls at the secondary schools, Shepping played a leading role in establishing Korean branches of several major international religious or secular organisations which were considered essential to enhance women's rights and wellbeing. As early as 1915, just three years after the beginning of her service, she officially proposed to the medical committee of the mission the foundation of a training school for nurses in Honam. This proposal was rejected, but she commenced her project privately. By this time, she was beginning to suffer from sprue (celiac disease), a disease that put many Western missionaries to death or compelled them to go back to their countries. After finishing two years of dispatch to work at Severance Hospital in Seoul, in 1920, she opened a Bible school in Gwangju for women, mostly widows and cast-off wives, in her bedroom due to her illness at that time. The class then was moved to an old shack named 'The Black Hole of Calcutta', and in 1926, it grew to occupy a pleasant building, changing its name to Neel Bible School.⁶⁵ After the visit of Hallie P. Winsborough, organiser of the Woman's Auxiliary of the PCUS, to Gwangju in 1922, Shepping officially formed the first Korean Woman's Auxiliary in Gwangju. This organisation within the PCK was formally sanctioned by the General Assembly in 1933, which currently exists in almost every local Presbyterian (and even other denominations') church in Korea in the name of the Women's Evangelism (or Mission) Committee.⁶⁶

Shepping's early vision to found a nursing school in Honam was not realised until 1967. However, by organising the Korean Nurses Association in 1923 and then by trying to affiliate it to the International Council of Nurses in 1926, she and her Korean colleagues expressed their wish to demonstrate the independent and autonomous capability of Korean people regardless of their colonised status. Korean

⁶⁵ Swinehart, 162, Brown, 121-2, and Yang, 260-1. In 1961, Neel Bible School was united with Ada Hamilton Clark School in Jeonju to become the co-educational Hanil Presbyterian Theological College (now University) in Jeonju.

⁶⁶ Brown, 119-21.

delegates, including Shepping, first attended the 1929 assembly held in Montreal with the permission of the council, but the Korean association failed to become a regular member of this international nursing body for political reasons. During her eleven consecutive terms in chairpersonship, however, she attempted to meet executive members of the Japanese Nurses Association to reach an agreement in sanctioning the independent status of the Korean association.⁶⁷ Shepping led the Korean Nurses Association to join the movement for the abolition of licensed prostitution and helped form the Korean Woman's Temperance Union in 1924. From 1926, Shepping, assisting Dr Wilson and Heungjong Choi, a Korean pastor, engaged in a campaign to protect the interests of leprosy sufferers.⁶⁸

The fact that she had only one furlough during her twenty-two years of missionary work in Korea made her conspicuous among other missionary colleagues. Her first and last furlough occurred between 22 June 1929 and 7 August 1930. Yet, this visit to her 'second' home appeared to increase the traumas arising from the experience of rejection in her unhappy childhood rather than to cure them. She visited her mother during the furlough. However, according to Shepping's eldest step-daughter, Aerye Kwak, to whom Shepping revealed this hidden story only a couple of days before her death, Shepping's mother again refused to accept her daughter, saying, 'I am so ashamed of you with a beggarly appearance. Just go away from me!'⁶⁹ It is not surprising that she felt Korea was now her authentic home rather than Germany or the USA.

Somehow leaving this time did not leave me, as it did the first time, keyed high with excitement for the great unknown venture of being a Now Missionary. Today instead there is a deep feeling of unworthiness of being a Missionary, but there is a high resolve to retrieve former mistakes and above all not to dominate according to the Western civilization, but to cooperate more from the Oriental viewpoint of life. As I look back on my past seventeen and a half years in the Orient, it seems that I have made the greatest mistake in under estimating the high ideals and ways of Oriental living. No matter how low the non-Christian Oriental's state of life may be,

⁶⁷ The Korean Nurses Association became a full member of the International Council of Nurses in 1949.

⁶⁸ Brown, 121-2, Baik, 35-43, and Yang, 264-6.

⁶⁹ *Dongailbo* [Donga Daily] (28 June 1934).

there is beauty and love and many things that are fine that I have undervalued in the past, because of my own idealization of our Western civilization. But my year at home had opened my eyes to its many gross shortcomings that are startling to all who see and search for real spiritual realities in the social fabric of present day civilization in U.S.A.⁷⁰

Shepping's concern at the secularism and spiritual decline of contemporary American society and her re-evaluation of the East during her furlough are reminiscent of the experience of the Southern Baptist China missionary, Martha Foster Crawford, during a similarly traumatic furlough in Gilded Age America in 1881. Crawford experienced serious reverse culture shock which made her feel herself as 'an alien in a new kind of wilderness' in the New South.⁷¹ Shepping defined her identity as a helper 'to lift the load of Korea in any way that God may call me to do.' Especially, she was ready to see the world from the viewpoint of the poorest Korean tenant farmers, saying that the poverty of Korean people was caused by the exploitation of Japanese rulers.⁷²

The fact that Shepping adopted thirteen Korean girls and a boy has been continually praised by Koreans. Most of the girls were rescued during her anti-vice and anti-human trafficking movements. When she was asked why she adopted so many cast-off girls, she answered: 'I was alone. The little girl that had arrived at Ellis Island ten years before had not been more forlorn. Perhaps you know now why I love homeless ones, children especially.'⁷³ It is no doubt that her experience in America in 1929-30 helped her adhere more to Korea and Koreans. She indeed spent her entire salary on contribution to the churches, tuition fees for students, poor relief, and care for her adopted children. Following a typical lower middle-class Honam Korean way of life, she and her children often suffered from malnutrition, wore rubber shoes, and lived in a small and untidy house with a tin roof.⁷⁴ Though her missionary colleagues

⁷⁰ Shepping to Friend, 7 August 1930, Shepping Papers, PHS, Philadelphia.

⁷¹ Carol Ann Vaughn, 'Missionary Returns and Cultural Conversions in Alabama and Shandong: The Latter Years of Madam Gao (Martha Foster Crawford)', in Wilbert R. Shenk, ed., *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 245-8.

⁷² Shepping to Friend, 7 August 1930.

⁷³ Swinehart, 161.

⁷⁴ Yang, 225.

occasionally complained at her ineffective use of money, she was greatly admired and loved by Koreans, Christian and non-Christian alike. Honam Koreans felt that Miss Shepping belonged to them, and hence they took charge of her funeral,⁷⁵ which was the first public funeral in the history of Gwangju.⁷⁶ An article in the Korean national newspaper described Shepping in the following words: ‘an affectionate mother who devoted her life to benevolence and education’, ‘regenerated Jesus on earth, exemplary life of diligence and endeavour’, and ‘twenty two years of her strenuous effort.’⁷⁷ An editorial in the same newspaper in the following day was significant in that it made sarcastic remarks both about the missionary community and the new generation of Korean women who manifested a bourgeois mentality in the 1930s:

How must the life of Shepping sound to the ears of some missionaries who are sitting in a house equal to that of a millionaire with servants, and are driving cars? How must Shepping’s life stimulate the consciences of many Korean *sinyeoseong* (new women) who close their eyes to the miserable reality of their people and who spend their time only for personal enjoyment? The life of Shepping necessarily becomes a great torch before the mass of Korean *sinyeoseong*. If a foreign woman does this, think how many Korean women will follow her!⁷⁸

Shepping’s remarkable identification with Koreans, especially with marginalised women in Honam, was the most distinguished example among several similar cases of cultural identification by single female missionaries. In other words, Shepping and above-mentioned other single female missionaries had a common ground for a better identification with Koreans. However, Shepping’s uniqueness in the Honam mission field was that she was not a representative of the Southern Presbyterian missionary tradition at all in any sense. She was not born in the Southern states, nor was she an Anglo-Saxon or Scots-Irish American, nor did she come from a pious Southern Protestant home, nor was she brought up as Southerner, nor was she married to a Southern gentleman. She had never seen an ideal Southern

⁷⁵ Knox and Talmage, ‘Miss E. J. Shepping—An Appreciation’, 219.

⁷⁶ Swinehart, 184.

⁷⁷ *Dongailbo* [Donga Daily] (28 June 1934).

⁷⁸ *Dongailbo* [Donga Daily] (29 June 1934).

lady at home, and had been educated in institutions in New York City committed to social gospel ideals rather than in any Southern institution. Her active engagement in the Christian social reform programs and closest friendship with Koreans was possible since she was not a typical Southern Presbyterian woman defined by Southern Presbyterian cultural and religious separatism. Thus, some concluding remarks can be made in summing up this discussion of Southern Presbyterian missionary identification.

First, the more distant a missionary was from his/her innate Southern identity, the closer he/she was to Koreans, especially to the marginalised. As discussed several times in the previous chapters, the missionary movement within the PCUS opened the way for their gradual acceptance of something non-Southern, whether it was religious, social, or cultural. Through this inter-denominational, inter-provincial, inter-national, inter-cultural, and inter-racial missionary campaign, Southern Presbyterians were substantially well-equipped to make cordial relationships with the missionaries from different backgrounds and the peoples in remote lands with totally different cultural identities.⁷⁹ As the cases of Shepping, Straeffler, and others demonstrate, even missionary candidates not from the South were occasionally accepted as members of the denominational missions force. Nonetheless, the extent of that equipment differed from individual to individual, and was greatly influenced by conditions such as marital status, parental status, health, relationship with fellow missionaries, and type of service. The reasons for the comparative success of female single missionaries in the identification process were their relative freedom from the obligation to make and run a Southern Christian home, an idealistic symbol of Southern values. For Shepping, who had no experience of a Southern Presbyterian home and even had no normal family, home and family could not be inherited from her parents in the West, but rather had to be found or created in Honam.

Second, though Honam's missionaries invested their full energy in establishing mission compounds and houses for the safety of all missionary families and personnel and the efficiency of their mission services, it is hard to conclude that Southern Presbyterians in Honam were more tenacious in their adherence to these

⁷⁹ See Section Four of Chapter Two in this thesis in particular.

establishments than were those from other American denominations located in other regions of Korea. In fact, Honam's Southern Presbyterians as late comers imitated their Northern brethren in Seoul and Pyongyang in this matter as in others.

Differences of nationality did not appear to make much difference in shaping missionary attitudes to establishing missionary compounds. Some early Canadian independent missionaries, as shown in the example of McKenzie, approached closer to New Testament ideals of missionary identification than did American denominational missionaries as a whole. However, both Canadian Presbyterians in north-eastern Korea and Manchuria and Australian Presbyterians in the south-eastern region were no different from Americans in favouring secluded mission compounds.

Third, in relation to the second observation regarding secluded missionary settlements, there is no clear evidence that Southern Presbyterians in Honam had more Korean servants in their homes than Northern colleagues, or that they treated the domestic servants more hierarchically than did their colleagues from the North.⁸⁰ There were variations within mission stations in Honam, which means that this diversity depended more on individual attitude than on the specific denominational or regional backgrounds. For example, the individual missionaries concerned in the various episodes of missionary misconduct in the 1920s were not drawn from any specific national or denominational group of missionaries, but from most of the missions in Korea.⁸¹

Fourth, the fact that two culturally different Christian districts, namely the SPKM compounds and the Honam Christians' homes scattered in towns, co-existed in a region meant that the common ground shared by these two communities was inevitably religious rather than cultural. In other words, missionaries stuck to the compounds with little contact with indigenous people, and, despite their individual differences, sought to preserve their inherited cultural identity and to hand over it to

⁸⁰ It is, however, difficult to compare two groups of missionaries due to the lack of household accounts submitted by Southern and Northern missionaries.

⁸¹ See pp.243-7 of this thesis. I have found no obvious evidence that Southern Presbyterian missionaries were more likely than others to display racist tendencies on the basis of the seven interviews with elderly Christians in Honam that I conducted between 9 March and 15 March 2011. Some of them commented about these missionaries' condescending, paternalistic, or patronising attitudes, but it is difficult to conclude from these comments that Southern Presbyterians were far more so than others.

the next generation, the missionary children. Both parties remained committed to their respective lifestyles and customs. Therefore, the only possible option to be shared between them was Christianity itself, even though missionaries generally believed that a necessary and integral result of dissemination of the biblical message to Korea would be the creation of an oriental Christian civilisation. If anything was capable of making these two one, it was not Western civilisation, modern technology, or Korean nationalism, but evangelical faith in Jesus Christ as the saviour who made all people equal in the Trinity. That is, what was shared between Honam's Christians and Southern Christian missionaries was the label, 'Christian', the people of Christ.⁸²

In sum, Southern Presbyterian missionaries contributed to the emergence of Honam Christianity, on the one hand, by teaching purposively the principles of spiritual Christianity as an entity that they believed could be detached from what Southern civilisation meant. On the other hand, by maintaining a Southern lifestyle detached from indigenous Honam Christians, Southern Presbyterians failed in transmitting a culturally defined Southern Christianity and civilisation to the Honam Koreans to which they were sent. Their Southern lifestyle isolated from ordinary Honam locals paradoxically resulted in the reinforcement of the intention and capability of Honam Presbyterians to establish their own indigenised form of Christianity in their own land. The following and final section of this chapter is thus about the process through which an indigenised Honam Protestantism developed.

3. Transformations: Revivals, Nationalism, and Devolution

As investigated in the previous chapter, the converts in Honam did not attempt to create a brand of Christianity totally different from the pietistic evangelicalism of missionaries. However, as an inevitable result of the cross-cultural and cross-national exchanges of the Christian gospel, and the above-mentioned distinctive features of Southern Presbyterian mission policy and lifestyle, the

⁸² Elizabeth Underwood has formed a similar conclusion to mine, insisting that North American missionaries in Korea as a whole dreamed of a Christian Korea, rather than a modern Korea. However, it needs to be noted that Presbyterian missionaries in Honam, like those in Pyongyang, placed less stress on the significance of the modernising and civilising power of Christianity than did missionaries

indigenisation of Christianity on Honam soil was effected in the midst of the tumultuous history of colonial Korea. The gradual process of transformation of Southern Presbyterian mission Christianity into the indigenous Christianity of Honam was expedited by several momentous trends in Korean history. Four of these were particularly significant.

First, the Christian revivals between 1903 and 1910, including a revival meeting in Mokpo in 1906, were among the earliest movements in which Koreans began to take autonomous leadership in the churches.⁸³ In the autumn of 1906, John Fairman Preston (1875-1975), senior pastor of Mokpo Church, held revival meetings for a week in Mokpo. Though the town was one of the smallest of all ports in Korea, its church was ‘proportionately the largest and the most flourishing’ of churches in all other towns in which mission stations were established. The Methodist missionary, J. I. Gerdine of Songdo, a city in northern Korea, in which one of the Southern Methodist mission stations was located, was invited to preach twice a day for a week for the revival meetings. According to Preston’s eyewitness account of the meetings, Gerdine was ‘thoroughly at home in Korean language’ even though he stayed ‘only four years on the field.’ He also delivered his message ‘with directness and simplicity that won all hearts’, and ‘with demonstration of the Spirit and with great power.’⁸⁴

Praised as ‘a Spirit-filled man’ by Preston, Gerdine ‘reasoned of righteousness, temperance, judgment, sinfulness of sin, and the necessity of cleansing.’ As a result of Gerdine’s sermons, ‘confessions of sin poured out of scores of burdened souls and strong men wept like children.’ Preston also reported that evidence of ‘the new birth, repentance, faith, consecration, power for service, and the Christian joy’ appeared as follows: ‘faces shone with new life and light, the church rang with hymns of triumph, and people stood six deep, eagerly waiting their turn to

in Seoul. See Underwood, 287.

⁸³ Robbins suggests that revivals can be understood as the crucial second stage of Christian conversion, in which Christianity ceased to be an instrumental choice (something chosen for ulterior material ends) and became for the first time an independent variable, creating its own framework of meaning and making the faith truly indigenous. *Becoming Sinners*, 84-8 and 122-54.

⁸⁴ J. Fairman Preston, ‘A Notable Meeting’, *KMF* II:12 (October 1906), 227, and ‘A Notable Meeting: A Remarkable Revival at Mokpo’, *TM* (January 1907): 21. Hereafter, I will quote the latter. I was not able to locate any eyewitness record of this event written by Koreans. In addition, no extant sources have been identified that describe the role Honam Christians played in the revival at Mokpo.

testify of blessings received, such as sins forgiven, differences healed, victory over self, and baptism of the Spirit.’⁸⁵

Preston informs us that 150 local Christians made arrangements for the meetings with a four-day period of preparatory prayer. During the meetings, participants frequently ‘prayed aloud simultaneously, continuing until the signal for preaching was given.’ The aim of the meetings was ‘to arouse and quicken Christians, rather than to reach directly the outsiders of the church’, and Preston was delighted that the purpose ‘was attained most gratifyingly.’ In addition to the renewal of the existing Christians, however, some cases of outright conversions were reported. ‘The most notable conversion’ was that ‘a very bright man from a distant county, who was seeking to exploit Christianity for political ends had an intense religious experience.’ Another ‘noteworthy case’ was the transformation of a baptized man from the southern region who was elderly and influential but caused many to stumble due to his inconsistencies of conduct.’ He declined to attend the meetings until three days passed, but after the unremitting petition and prayer of missionaries and Honam Christians, this man eventually ‘was on his knees under deep conviction in the meeting to have got right with God.’⁸⁶ In the final paragraph, Preston expressed his expectation that ‘the influence of this meeting will be felt far and wide in South Chulla (southern province of Honam)’, their whole mission field, and ‘other parts of the country.’ Claiming that the most significant components of the genuine revival were ‘cleansed, consecrated, and Spirit-filled Christians’, he assured readers that ‘there were many such as a result in the Mokpo revival meeting.’⁸⁷

This 1906 Mokpo revival was significant in the early history of Protestant expansion in Korea for the following reasons. First, the revival in Mokpo was the first of a series of similar revivals that happened in the southern part of Korea from 1903 to 1910. As is well-known to scholars of Korean Christianity, the 1907 Pyongyang Great Revival—‘the Korean Pentecost’—was the biggest and most momentous event which decisively helped shape the key characteristics of future

⁸⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 22-3.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 23.

Korean Christianity. The impact of this event was so outstanding that it caused a chain reaction of a series of revivals in other part of Korea and even in neighbouring countries including Manchuria and China.⁸⁸ However, revival in Pyongyang in 1907 was not a single event which erupted separately from the flow of history of Christian revivals in Korea. There were various smaller-scale revivals before and after the Pyongyang revival. The revival in Mokpo occurred in the late autumn of 1906, just before the Pyongyang revival in January 1907. Missionaries in Pyongyang read reports of the Mokpo revival in Preston's article published in *The Korea Mission Field* in October 1906. This news from Honam fuelled hopes for revival among the missionaries and Korean Christians in Pyongyang and other parts of Korea, which led them to pray still more eagerly for revival in their regions.⁸⁹ The revival in Mokpo was a catalyst that accelerated a greater reaction in Pyongyang.

Second, the revival in Mokpo clearly displayed many of the characteristics of stereotypical nineteenth-century Southern evangelical revivalism. Preston's article on the Mokpo meetings suggests that he had a typically Southern understanding of the place of revivals in church life. Preston was born and brought up in Florida as the son of a Southern Presbyterian pastor. After graduating from King College in Tennessee and Furman University in South Carolina, he went to Princeton University for further study and Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey for becoming a pastor. Ordained in the Southern Presbyterian Church in 1903, he sailed to Korea with his wife Annie, a South Carolinian. For Preston, as a son of a Southern Presbyterian pastor whose denomination was deeply influenced by the Southern evangelical pietistic revival tradition, attendance at the regular revival meetings was a religious duty. In fact, he showed his familiarity with them, by saying that 'the revival in Mokpo was the most powerful one the writer ever participated in', and by clarifying the purpose of revival meetings in Mokpo as giving indigenous Honam Christians opportunity to renew them rather than evangelising unbelievers outside the church.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ For one of the best explanations of the Korean revival's influence on those in Manchuria and China, see Daniel H. Bays, 'Christian Revival in China, 1900-1937', in *Modern Christian Revivals*, 161-79.

⁸⁹ Samuel A. Moffett, 'Evangelical Work', in *Quarto Centennial Papers Read Before the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA at Annual Meeting*, 22.

⁹⁰ Preston, 22. For an outstanding example of revival within Southern Presbyterian tradition, see n.18 of Chapter One of this thesis. There is no reference whether Preston knew about this 1857 North

As discussed in the first part of this thesis, the large-scale revival movement in the American South between 1800 and 1805 was the source of power for creating a Southern democratic evangelicalism which would ‘fit the needs of the rapidly expanding backcountry’, ‘giving individuals a sense of purpose’ and ‘providing a local community.’⁹¹ Gerdine, a Southern Methodist and the key promoter of the Southern revivalist tradition in Korea, ‘spoke with a directness and simplicity that won all hearts’ in Mokpo.⁹² Boles writes that in the revival meetings in the American South, ‘God’s redeeming power was offered in the vernacular, and an emotion-filled ritual of conversion, whose very morphology enabled believers to understand their new status in Christ in concrete fashion, evolved.’ These kinds of experiences of conversion and renewal were accepted as a norm, which ‘involved feelings of contrition and worthlessness’ leading to immediate or gradual acceptance of divine grace with a high tide of emotion.⁹³ As Preston suggested, in the American South, ‘the revival became an annual ritual to ceremonialize the local religious community’s self-awareness of its faith commitment.’ That is, the commitment must be proved by ‘bringing others to a faith decision’ or ‘renewing one’s own devotion by a ritual reenactment of a prior conversion experience.’ However, more important was that ‘for most of the church members, the revival season was primarily a period of renewal of their faith—a battery-charging time.’⁹⁴

One other aspect of the parallels between the revivals in the American South and Mokpo was that both happened in traditional rural societies, primarily practising agriculture. Explaining the reasons why revival religion succeeded in taking over the religious topography in the South, Boles has suggested that it fitted ‘the pace and frame of mind of an overwhelmingly agricultural society, and revivals usually occurred in late summer, after the crops had been “laid by” and when farmers were most conscious of how the yield of their labors and, by implications, their lives, lay ultimately in God’s hand.’ Preachers, no less than farmers were sensitive to the

Carolina revival.

⁹¹ Boles, ‘Revivalism, Renewal, and Social Mediation in the Old South’, 63. See p.27 of this thesis.

⁹² Preston, 21.

⁹³ Boles, 63.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 64-5.

language of ‘harvest.’⁹⁵ Both Honam as ‘the rice belt of Korea’ and the US South as ‘the production centre of cotton in America’ proved fertile soil for pietistic revival Christianity, with the emphasis on a felt experience of conversion and revitalization for less-educated and simplistic people. In this regard, the fact that the revival in Mokpo was held in late autumn after the end of the harvest suggests a clear link between the revivalism of these two regions.

Third, the revival in Mokpo was the product of fraternal cooperation between two evangelical mission agencies derived from the American South. Gerdine, born in Georgia, arrived in Korea in November 1902 as an ordained evangelistic missionary of the MECS and soon was allocated to Wonsan, a north-eastern harbour town. In August the following year, the first spiritual awakening in Korean church history took place in Wonsan which was ignited by Robert A. Hardie, a Southern Methodist medical missionary. In an ecumenical Bible conference and prayer meeting, in which Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, Southern Methodist missionaries, and Korean converts gathered together, Hardie as the speaker of the meeting, publicly confessed his failure in missionary work and his sins including his pride, hardness of heart, and lack of faith, which caused the failure.⁹⁶ Hardie’s public confession of his conviction of sin was followed by many similar examples of public confession by indigenous Christians in the succeeding revival meetings.⁹⁷ Gerdine, a novice in the Wonsan mission field and helper of Hardie, watched what happened in the revival meetings, and gradually attained prominence on the scene of the Korean revivals. The Southern Presbyterians’ invitation to Gerdine to Mokpo, when he had just moved to his new post in Songdo, asking him to lead the revival meetings for Christians there, also meant that Gerdine became well-known as a revivalist among Christians in Honam.

The facts that Preston held a master’s degree in English literature from Princeton University and had studied at Princeton Theological Seminary, the stronghold of Old School Northern Presbyterian orthodoxy, may cause surprise since orthodox Presbyterians were traditionally cautious of excessive manifestations of

⁹⁵ Ibid., 65-6.

⁹⁶ *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting, Korea Mission Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1904*, 23.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 24-6, and 31-2.

religious emotion. However, Preston did not seem to hesitate to invite this Southern Methodist revivalist to his church. In fact, as historical evidence shows, Presbyterians in the American South were already accustomed to unite with Methodist and Baptist brethren in revival meetings and evangelistic campaigns in the homeland. These kinds of united revival meetings in the South were ‘a constituent part of the religious system of the country.’⁹⁸ Hence joint events in Korea between missions from diverse denominational backgrounds, such as revival meetings, evangelistic campaigns, and the distributions of the Bible and hymnals were not strange novelties. This was an international and cross-cultural expansion of an existing Southern ecumenical movement which contributed to the gradual metamorphosis of Southern Presbyterianism into a broader pietistic pan-evangelicalism.

Fourth, the revival in Mokpo, along with other revivals all over the country in the 1910s including those in Wonsan and Pyongyang, became an important factor, perhaps even the main factor, in the homogenisation of Korean Protestant Christianity. The two main streams of intense Korean revivalism originated from the graduates of McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago and the Southern Methodist missionaries.⁹⁹ Missionaries from the Southern Methodist mission made great contributions to the rise and expansion of the revivals in the early stage, between 1903 and 1907, into the whole country. The revival in Mokpo was the only revival that happened in the southern half of Korea before 1907. As this revival was led by a Southern Methodist revivalist located in a northern town, the revivalist characteristics of the Southern Methodist tradition were first transmitted to the southern region of Korea in 1906. The other stream of revivalism, which was promoted by McCormick Seminary alumni, started from the Pyongyang station of the NPKM in the 1907 Great Revival and then was extended to other regions including Honam and other parts of the South by the leading Pyongyang-based revivalists who included McCormick missionaries and Korean revivalists. Many of the former were products of the evangelical revivals in the Midwest initiated by D. L.

⁹⁸ Loveland, ‘Presbyterians and Revivalism in the Old South’, 36-50.

⁹⁹ Yong Kyu Park, *Pyongyang Daebuheung Undong* [The Great Revival in Korea: Its History, Character and Impact, 1910-1910], Second Edition (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 2007), 710-2.

Moody's evangelistic campaigns and the SVM. In the early autumn of 1906, McCormick missionaries in Pyongyang, along with Northern Methodist workers, jointly held a revival meeting for missionaries, inviting Hardie of Wonsan as the main speaker. The personal correspondence, journal articles, and diaries written by Northern Presbyterian missionaries in Pyongyang who attended the meeting were full of expressions of desire to see the revivals which Hardie had defined and experienced.¹⁰⁰ When McCormick Presbyterians and Southern Methodists in Korea referred to the nature and features of Christian revivals, they meant almost the same thing.

Finally, the revival meetings in Mokpo were actually the last revival of the era in which missionary revivalists played a leading role. After this revival, indigenous Koreans were quick to take the leadership in revivalism in Korea. Two leading figures of the Great Pyongyang Revival, which was held only three months after the Mokpo revival, were Graham Lee, a Northern Presbyterian missionary from McCormick Seminary and Seonju Gil, a Korean elder. However, after the Pyongyang awakening, the most capable leadership in the series of revivals was supplied by a group of indigenous revivalists destined to have a dominant part in Korean Christian affairs. This analysis is paralleled by evidence from China, as studied by Daniel Bays.

Bays has argued in his study of Christian revivals in China between 1900 and 1937 that revivalism in China, despite its missionary origins, was dominated by Chinese indigenous leaders. Many of them were independent from the Western missions and sometimes even antagonistic to them. By having more opportunities to lead revival meetings for their own people in the fluency of their mother tongue, Chinese leaders eventually came to break free of domination by missions. In this case, revivalism worked as 'a handy and effective means' for indigenous leaders to be autonomous rather than as a tool for missionaries to wield supremacy over the locals.¹⁰¹ A similar conclusion can be applied to the Korean context as clearly shown in the examples of a group of Korean leaders, including Seonju Gil and Ikdu Kim. They actively engaged themselves in revival meetings across denominational

¹⁰⁰ Lee, 'McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of Korean Evangelical Presbyterianism, 1888-1939', 77-86.

¹⁰¹ Bays, 175. Also see n.83 of this chapter for a comparable case in Papua New Guinea.

boundaries throughout the country from the very beginning of the revivals. One obvious difference from the Chinese situation was that in Korea there was no antagonistic and independence-oriented attitude toward the Western missions. Almost every Korean Protestant leader laboured within the framework of the ecclesiastical authorities in a secure partnership with missionary bodies.¹⁰² This conformity of revival spirituality to ecclesiastical order reflects the fact that the establishment of the first Korean Presbytery took place in the same year as the great revival of 1907, and that the two events happened in the same place, Pyongyang. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the ability of Korean Christians in eloquent preaching and Bible teaching in the vernacular language was a key reason for the diffusion of revivalism throughout Korea. After this revival in Pyongyang, revivalists who were invited by the churches in Honam for leading the revival meetings were mostly nationally famed Korean preachers or local pastors rather than missionaries.

The second key event in promoting Korean self-control of their churches was the March First Movement and its succeeding independence movements. As Daniel Adams has pointed out, the independence movements may be viewed as the epochal beginning of authentic Korean Christianity. A style of mission Christianity which had paid attention mostly to spiritual matters allegedly began to change into a genuinely national Christianity as a result of the 1919 uprising.¹⁰³ However, it is not the case that Korean converts before 1919 had no vision of a national Christianity that combined the destiny of their country with the biblical understanding of individual redemption.

As early as 1901, the Council of Presbyterian Missions announced that 'Some Principles on the Relation of Church and State' was sent to all local Presbyterian churches in Korea. The summary in five articles was as follows: 1. Missionaries do

¹⁰² For several examples of missionaries' compliments to Korean revivalists and their active roles, see *Annual Report of the Korea Mission, PCUSA, 1907*, 59; G. S. McCune, 'The Holy Spirit in Pyeng Yang', *KMF* (January 1907): 1-2; Horace N. Allen, *Things Korean* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 171; James Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York: Laymen's Missionary Movement, 1909), 205-10; 'Kil Moxa', *KMF* (June 1910): 118; George T. B. Davis, *Korea for Christ* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910), 33-8; McCune, 'The Campaign in Syen Chen', *KMF* (January 1911): 21-2; 'Notes from the Stations', *KMF* (February 1911): 36-9; A. J. Brown, *One Hundred Years*, 436; and T. Stanley Soltau, *Yin Yang: Korean Voices* (Wheaton: Key Publishers, 1971), 35.

¹⁰³ Adams, 'Church Growth in Korea', 22-5.

not interfere at all in governmental affairs; 2. The church must not be the place for politics; 3. Koreans should obey the emperor and the laws of the nation without violating the Word of God; 4. The church must be neutral, neither encouraging the members to engage in politics nor prohibiting to do; and 5. The church is a divine institution of the Holy Spirit, and thus church buildings must be used only for spiritual affairs, not for the discussion of political matters.¹⁰⁴ Missionary teaching to obey the laws of the government was further intensified by the diplomatic and strategic orders of the US administration and mission boards after the 1905 Korea-Japan Protectorate Treaty. However, an absolute majority of the missionaries had a firm belief that Japanese rule in Korea would be beneficial to their missionary efforts. In this regard, Arthur Brown spoke for many missionaries in Korea:

Now the [*sic*] Japan is constructing Korea politically, building railways, stretching telegraph wires, reorganizing the courts, correcting abuses, inaugurating a new era in that erstwhile hermit kingdom. The Koreans do not like it. A lazy, sleepy child does not wish to be compelled to get up in the morning and go to work. Korea is being forced to reform her methods. That war between Russia and Japan threatened to close missionary opportunity in Korea, but Japan, although she knew it or not, fought the battle of the Lord of hosts, and the victory of Japan means the continued freedom of the development of conditions more favorable to the stability of the growing Church.¹⁰⁵

As demonstrated in the above statement from a PCUSA board secretary, the order given to missionaries not to intervene in political matters meant in practice lending unofficial but straightforward support for Japanese rule in Korea. For Brown, the Korean was ‘a lazy, sleepy child’ who must obey and learn from the Japanese teacher. The Japanese were even regarded as the divine army ‘fighting the battle of the Lord of hosts’ for the advance of Christian missions. Missionaries in Korea, including Southern Presbyterians, showed little variation in this view of church-state relationships. Some conservative missionaries condemned the learning of all kinds of secular knowledge as well as political participation, which sometimes caused disappointment among Korean converts.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Gyohoiwa Jeongbusaieui Gyojehal Myeot Jogeon’ [Some Principles on the Relation of Church and State], *Geurisdosinmun* [Christian News] (3 October 1901).

¹⁰⁵ Arthur J. Brown, ‘The Unprecedented Opportunities in the Far East’, *MRW* 30 (January 1907): 53.

On last Wednesday, when Rev. Samuel A. Moffett, a missionary in Pyongyang, was preaching, he said that as the newspapers and new books were about the secular learning, Christians should not read them and reject all of them, but believe in only Jesus. Christians were the people of the kingdom of Heaven and the sons of God....After hearing this, many members said that the newspaper develops the knowledge of people, but his sermon darkens the eyes and ears of people. They were much frustrated by his sermon.¹⁰⁶

This officially apolitical or neutral position of missionaries in Korea was a cause of latent tension between missionaries and Korean Christians, particularly young and educated Koreans, who never abandoned their Christian vision of national liberation and progress. Hence, the leading roles of Christians from Honam and all other regions of Korea in the 1919 March First Movement need to be interpreted in the light of this longstanding and dormant conflict. Most indigenous Christians, whether they participated actively in the riot or not, were sure that the movement was a God-given opportunity to realise the deliverance of oppressed Korea from captivity similar to that experienced by Israel in the book of Exodus.¹⁰⁷ By committing themselves to a fight to the death, Christians showed Koreans outside the churches that they could become the citizens of two kingdoms—that they could be an authentic Korean Christian or Christian Korean. ‘An unexpected and sudden rebound’ in church growth in the early 1920s, as described by G. Thompson Brown, was the result of the birth of this genuine Korean Christianity.¹⁰⁸ The Independence Movement thus created the opportunity for indigenous Christians to come to the fore in church leadership, replacing missionary dominance. Korean nationalism appealed to the young and educated Christians in the major towns of Honam as elsewhere, and it does not seem that any sense of Honam provincialism or missionary teaching of political non-interference limited this appeal of nationalism.

The third significant transformation is linked to the gradual process of

¹⁰⁶ ‘Seongyosa Sileon’ [A Missionary’s Improper Remark], *Daehanmaeilsinbo* [Korean Daily News] (26 April 1908). See pp.209-10 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁷ Deok-Joo Rhie, ‘Samilundonge Daehan Sinangundongsajeok Ihae’ [Understanding of the March First Movement as a Christian Movement], *Gidokgyo Sasang* [Christian Thought] (March 1990): 144-7.

¹⁰⁸ Brown, *MK*, 115-8.

devolution of ecclesiastical leadership to Koreans and their challenge to missionary authority from the 1920s onwards. As already discussed, this process of leadership transfer commenced during the series of revivals in the 1900s and was accelerated by the 1919 Independence Movement. A more important milestone for this change of relationship among Presbyterians was the General Assembly's adoption of a complete constitution in 1922, as an expanded revision of the 1907 constitution. A noteworthy section in this constitution was on the subject of the official establishment of the relationship between missions and the Korean Presbyterian Church. The committee for the composition of the constitution, consisting of eight Korean leaders and six missionaries, presented a recommendation unanimously adopted by the committee members and then accepted by Korean presbyteries and the General Assembly. Brown outlined the main points of this recommendation as follows:

...a missionary from one of the cooperating missions presents to the presbytery in whose bounds he is to work a certificate of introduction from his mission. If approved by presbytery, he is enrolled as a member. Presbytery can then assign to the missionary responsibility for certain churches or preaching points, just as it assign Korean pastors. When this is done, the missionary receives the right to vote both in presbytery and on any committee to which he may be appointed. In addition, each presbytery may elect from among its foreign missionaries a number equal to one-half the number of its pastors as commissioners to the General Assembly. Any missionary member of presbytery must obey the ordinances of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. If he is guilty of any moral fault or of acts contrary to the creed, he may be executed by his presbytery from the pulpits and the courts of the church.¹⁰⁹

This statement asserted the authority of the Korean church courts, more exactly the presbyteries as a Presbyterian governing body, over all missions and their members as well as Korean churches and workers. The only difference of status between missionaries and Korean members was that the former had a dual membership of the Korean presbyteries and the missions. Thus, the board or mission had authority to accept or refuse the allocation made by presbytery to an individual missionary. According to Charles Allen Clark, however, no outstanding conflict over the assignments between the foreign workers and indigenous labourers was ever

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 131-2.

reported to him. The fact that no missionary became moderator of the General Assembly after 1919 was also considered evidence of the officially complete devolution of ecclesiastical leadership to Koreans.¹¹⁰ From this time, a critical turning point in Korean Presbyterian history, the Korean Presbyterian Church became genuinely indigenous rather than controlled or supervised by the missions.

As for the missionary work of education and medicine, however, missionaries still retained their dominance over Korean workers since they judged that Koreans still lacked the ability to manage these enterprises requiring professional expertise and financial resources. Unlike the medical work of the SPKM, substantial leadership of which was not transferred until the 1960s,¹¹¹ however, the educational work was partially devolved to Honam Koreans after 1926. On condition of becoming self-supporting in operation, the mission turned over the men's ten-day Bible class to the Suncheon Presbytery in 1926. In a plan adopted by the mission in 1926 and revised in 1929, missionaries and Honam Christians decided to establish 'the Cooperating Board of the Southern Presbyterian Schools' representing mission school boards in all presbytery areas. Each board, consisting of an equal number of missionaries and Koreans, had authority to appoint all teachers and the chaplain, except for the school principal who would be still assigned by the mission. This was possible when Honam Koreans proved their capability to support financially their young nationals in the schools. Koreans indeed succeeded in increasing tenfold their financial support for these growing schools from \$6,577 in 1919 to \$64,792 in 1929.¹¹²

A series of episodes of missionary misconduct and racism in the 1920s incurred the widespread distrust of Korean people and resulted in a substantial loss of

¹¹⁰ Clark, *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work Illustrated in Korea*, 234-8.

¹¹¹ The mission refused the request of the Honam churches to establish hospital boards similar to school boards in 1929 for the following reasons: 'the discipline of the hospital must be rapidly administered on account of the immediate bearing upon human life; that a board of trustees in order to act intelligently must be cognizant of the professional needs, problems, and qualifications required, such knowledge could only be available in a board of doctors with hospital administrative experience; and the experiment was tried in China, where gifts from the Church increased their interest, but is reported as having failed in many instances, and having been voluntarily released.' *Minutes of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea for the Year 1930*, 49.

¹¹² *Minutes of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea for the Year 1930*, 63 and Brown, 132-4.

missionary supremacy. The most notorious scandal among them was an episode involving C. A. Haysmer, an American Seventh Adventist medical missionary who started his work in a north-western town in the spring of 1925. When a boy stole some apples from his orchard, he wrote *Dojeok* (thief) on the boy's forehead with hydrochloric acid and then let him go back home. Several articles about this incident were printed in the newspapers, and anti-missionary public opinion reached a high tide. Haysmer was imprisoned for three months and was finally forced to leave the country after issuing a public apology.¹¹³ Both before and after this incident there were other reports of missionary-related scandals in the public media, such as the confinement of a schoolgirl by an Australian missionary (January 1923), the boycott of a missionary by the Indong Church in Pohang (December 1924), the attempted sexual harassment of a schoolgirl by a missionary in the Sorai resort (August 1925), a Korean woman's legal suit for libel against an Australian missionary (November 1926), a student beaten by an Australian missionary wife (February 1927), and a student beaten by a Canadian missionary (January-February 1930).¹¹⁴ More detailed investigations would be necessary in order to find out what exactly happened in each case, what the backgrounds of these instances were, and how the cases became known to the public and to the press. However, what is important for our purpose is that these episodes were widely interpreted as events caused by the strong sense of white racial superiority demonstrated by some of the second-generation missionaries.

It is plausible to suggest that the less educated people from the agricultural context of Honam were more inclined than those in the urban centres of Seoul or Pyongyang to be obedient to missionaries and to older Korean leaders and their teaching. However, even Honam was not an area totally distant from such tensions in this transitional period. The mission district which led the change in Korean-missionary relations in Honam was Suncheon, in which the mission station and presbytery were established in 1913 and 1922 respectively, later than in any other part of Honam, but which first obtained self-governing authority for a Bible school in

¹¹³ 'Heossi Sageongwa Seron', [The Incident of Mr Haysmer and the Public Opinion], *Dongailbo* [Donga Daily], (6 July 1926).

¹¹⁴ *Dongailbo Saekin* [Index of Donga Daily] vols. II-IV (Seoul: Dongailbosa, 1970-2), quoted in *Hanguk Gidokgyoeui Yeoksa*, II:171. These are reports only in *Dongailbo*. There are more records on the scandals of missionaries.

1926 ahead of other older presbyteries.

During the 1920s and 1930s, there were frequent strikes of students in the secondary schools, including Christian schools, all over the country. The ostensible reasons were such matters as demands for replacement and improvement of outdated school equipment and accommodation facilities, objections to strict school rules, outmoded curricula, and the employment of unqualified staff, and demands for curb of discrimination in favour of Japanese students over Korean ones. However, many strikes were actually caused by students' intellectual awakening in response to new currents of thought, including nationalism, communism, and new religions.¹¹⁵ The Maesan Schools, consisting of a boys' school and a girls' school in Suncheon, also had three student strikes in the 1920s, but a unique feature of these protests was that two of them resulted from controversies related to missionaries.

In 1925, James Kelly Unger (1893-1986), who had begun his work as a missionary doctor in the Southern Presbyterian mission four years previously, was sent to become the new headmaster of Maesan Boy's School. However, Unger allegedly did not get along with his Korean staff and students, often evoking negative repercussions from the local community. The main reasons for this negativism were his strict treatment of poor students unable to pay their tuition fees, leading to their expulsions from school.¹¹⁶ Two months later, when the expulsions of more students continued, students went on strike demanding Unger's resignation on the grounds of his betraying a want of sincerity in education, beating students, and despising Koreans.¹¹⁷ One other notable incident happened at the end of 1927 which earned him extremely unfavourable criticism. Unger hired a married woman as a kitchen maid for his family who stayed in a room given to her to live with Unger's family. When Unger heard her quarrel with her husband in discord visiting her, he brought a hunting rifle to see what was happening and fought with the man. The Korean man was injured by Unger's rifle's butt plate, and was hospitalised for a while. This

¹¹⁵ Hoil Kim, *Hanguk Geundae Haksaengundongsa* [A History of Modern Student Movement in Korea] (Seoul: Seonin, 2005), 206-7.

¹¹⁶ *Dongailbo* (16 October 1925), quoted in Dugeun Moon, *Maesan Baeknyeonsa 1910-2010* [One Hundred Years of History of Maesan Schools] (Suncheon: Committee of Compilation, 2010), 338.

¹¹⁷ *Dongailbo* (13 and 17 December 1925) and *Sidaeilbo* (15 December 1925), quoted in *ibid.*, 339-40.

incident was reported later in February 1928 in several Korean newspapers with harsh criticism. These newspaper reports gave special emphasis to Unger's social status as a missionary and school headmaster who should not be involved in such brutal violence.¹¹⁸

It is hard to identify what really happened that night since there was testimony of a different kind, in which Unger's action was favourably interpreted as an act of legitimate self-defence to protect the Korean woman and Unger's own family.¹¹⁹ The significant point for the argument of this chapter is that Koreans in Suncheon, whether Christians or not, made a firm response to the Unger incident. On 1 February, all leading public figures in Suncheon were summoned to discuss this affair, and then they resolved to organise an investigation committee to issue a public statement to the whole country.¹²⁰ On 8 February, the church session of the Suncheoneup Church (now Suncheon Central Church), the most influential church in the region located next to the mission station and Maesan Schools, was also held and passed a resolution to protest against Unger's transgression.¹²¹ Four years later, the session of the church once again issued a charge to Unger for his violation of Presbyterian doctrine¹²² in the Christmas special celebration in Maesan Schools. The session held on 24 December 1932 passed a declaration that Unger should express his regret before a meeting of all church members for not fulfilling his responsibility to observe high standards of behaviour.¹²³

Despite this series of scandalous episodes, Unger kept his post until 1937, a fact which suggests that he continued to command the support of at least some indigenous Christians. Nevertheless, these episodes indicate that missionaries were no longer able to claim an automatic right of supremacy over Korean Christians in

¹¹⁸ *Jungwoilbo* (6 February 1928) and *Dongailbo* (6 February 1928), quoted in *ibid*, 341-2.

¹¹⁹ Erisi Jeong, *Ilheobeorin Ireumeul Chajaseo* [Finding A Lost Name] (Seoul: Salmgwaggum, 2003), 51.

¹²⁰ *Jungwoilbo* (6 February 1928).

¹²¹ *Suncheoneupgyohoi Danghoirok 1928* [Minutes of the Session of the Suncheoneup Church, 1928], 13.

¹²² I was not able to identify which doctrine he violated.

¹²³ *Suncheoneupgyohoi Danghoirok 1932* [Minutes of the Session of the Suncheoneup Church, 1932], 53.

Honam. Unger was headmaster of one of the most influential mission schools for twelve years, but he had to be repeatedly censured by the Korean media and even by his Korean colleagues and students whom he served. He occasionally was called to make a public apology for his errors in front of indigenous people. His missionary career thus reflects the radically changed context of Christian presence and activities in Korea by the 1920s and 1930s.

The fourth landmark in the transformation of mission Christianity to indigenous Honam Christianity resulted from the social and cultural changes affecting Korean society in the 1920s. The active involvement of Christians in the March First Independence Movement contributed to overcoming the people's distrust toward Christianity as a foreign religion, but newly introduced trends of thought gave a challenge to the churches and their evangelistic work. As James Huntley Grayson has suggested, after the national uprising there was 'the clear emergence of two strands of Protestant Christianity, one which was both more theologically liberal and more socially active, and another which was both more theologically conservative and more concerned with purely "church" affairs.'¹²⁴ Though the leadership of the churches was still in the hands of conservative traditionalists, a social understanding of Christianity emphasising the civilising and enlightening power of the Christian message became attractive to many, especially to younger or more intelligent Christians. An emphasis on Christianity as a source of national enlightenment in the new era appeared as an attractive alternative to overcome the reality of colonisation in the context of the failed uprising. National independence was believed to be possible only when Koreans reached the same or similar stage of national capability as Westerners or Japanese. For some of these social reformers, one of the most significant elements which made Western nations great was Christianity, more specifically Protestantism. The common rationale for the succeeding campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s of enlightenment for farmers and women, a crusade against illiteracy, the temperance movement, the establishment of night schools, and the distribution of literature, was the goal of reforming the Korean people through

¹²⁴ James Huntley Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History*, Revised Edition (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 161.

Christianity.¹²⁵

As one would expect, the new generation of Christians influenced by this social gospel perspective often declined to accept the church-centred conservative teaching of older missionaries and less educated indigenous leaders. The younger Christians in Honam were no exception from this nationwide inclination. LeRoy Newland (1885-1969), a Southern Presbyterian missionary, gave a vivid description of this trend among young Christians in Korea including Honam at the time.

It is foolish to refuse to recognize the new temper of the Korean people or to stubbornly under-estimate the radical changes that have taken place in their mental activities. Still it does not follow that the old Gospel is not sufficient for new Korea or that the missionary must change his whole aim in order to be sympathetic with the present problems of her young people....a swelling cry is going up from young Christians, non-Christians, intellectuals, and even from some of the newer recruits to the missionary force, that the changes in the life of Korea demand a change of emphasis in the message of the missionary. Not that the spiritual content of the Gospel should be entirely submerged but that it should be secondary to a social, ethical, religio-political Gospel; which would first concern itself the social, moral and civil problems of the young Koreans, and having remedied these, then, by means of these outer changes, bring about the spiritual reclamation of a truly new people...It is not necessary to enlarge on this point for every newspaper is filled with discussions all the magazines overflow with articles and the voices of numberless speakers blend on this one topic— Give us a social Gospel.¹²⁶

Newland's accommodative attitude to the Social Gospel movement, which had previously been associated with Northern urban liberalism, possibly reflected his rich and personal experience of crossing states and cultures: born in Iowa, he studied at Davidson College in North Carolina, Louisville Seminary in Kentucky, Princeton Seminary in New Jersey and Union Seminary in Virginia. However, this Southern Presbyterian openness to the social expression of Christianity did not only mean the intellectual conversion of a missionary individual with a cross-cultural background, but also reflected a theological rift in the home church as a whole. According to Ernest Trice Thompson, as early as 1905, the first public challenge to the traditional

¹²⁵ *Hanguk Gidokgyoeui Yeoksa*, II:41.

¹²⁶ L. T. Newland, 'The Missionary and His Message for Present-day Korea', *KMF* (March 1927): 51-3.

Southern Presbyterian view of the church and its mission—‘the principle of the spirituality of the church’—was issued. In response to successive demands for the reconsideration of the denomination’s position, in 1911, Walter Lee Lingle (1868-1956) became a permanent member of academic staff teaching Christian sociology at Union Seminary, the first post in social ethics in any of the Southern Presbyterian seminaries. Lingle, who had been greatly stimulated by Walter Rauschenbusch’s vision for the social awakening of the church, was a highly influential teacher of his students until he left the seminary in 1924.¹²⁷ That is, for missionaries who had access to the teaching of socially engaged Christianity in some degree at home, the Korean call for Christian nationalism or a socially engaged Christianity may not have appeared as a form of heterodoxy which must be eradicated. In fact, G. Thompson Brown, after investigating all the minutes of the mission for the 1920s, summarised the dilemma it now faced: ‘The new mood of the country demanded better educated leaders that the mission was able to train with its limited funds; and better educated leaders would demand more educate support and salaries than the church could provide at a time when the country’s economy was in sharp decline. Thus the demand for better leaders came into conflict with the principle of self-support, on which the mission had operated from the beginning.’¹²⁸

Having experienced the revivals in the 1910s, the March First Movement in 1919, the complete revision of the constitution of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1922, and the devolution of church ministry and school administration in the 1920s, Honam Christians were now successfully performing the principal parts in the evolving historical drama of Honam Christianity. Rapid social changes in Korea since the 1910s were also significant factors in the growth of an indigenous autonomy and variety of Korean Protestantism on Honam soil.

All Southern Presbyterian mission institutions in their refusal to tolerate Shinto shrine worship were closed by the mission on 6 September 1937 when Japanese officials ordered all teachers and students to attend Shinto shrine worship in support of Japanese troops fighting against China. The resolutions of the

¹²⁷ Thompson, III:264-73.

¹²⁸ Brown, 136.

presbyteries in Honam and of the General Assembly to give approval to shrine worship were passed in April and September 1938 respectively. In October 1940, five mission hospitals were finally closed, and Gaylord Marsh, the American consul general, urged all Americans to leave Korea immediately. In 16 November, the *S. S. Mariposa* took on board 129 Americans including 50 Southern Presbyterian missionaries and their families to leave Korea. Seven Southern Presbyterians who remained at that time finally left Korea on further orders by Japanese authorities and US consul general in 1941 and 1942.¹²⁹ The first act ended with this scene.

¹²⁹ See Brown, *MK*, 156-65.

Conclusion: Cross-cultural Mission Encounters as Both the Transmitter and Transformer of Inherited Identities

In the foregoing six chapters, I have illustrated a history of Protestant mission in Honam, Korea between 1892 and 1940, in terms of the following three categories—traditions, encounters (namely, transmissions and receptions), and transformations. In this brief concluding chapter, I will clarify the key arguments suggested in the previous chapters by answering the research questions in the introductory chapter. The first set of questions connect with Southern Presbyterian missionaries, and the remaining questions relate to the indigenous Protestants of Honam.

Southern Presbyterians in Honam: Identity, Missionary Encounter, Transmission, and Transformation

Most American Southern Protestants, both before and after the American Civil War, could be characterised as evangelical in their religious identity and as racist in their socio-cultural identity. Democratic, individualised, emotional, and activist expressions of evangelical Christian practices flourished throughout the Southern states. However, this commitment to an evangelical articulation of Christianity in the South was also common to most Protestants in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. What was unique to the South was its provincial compromise with slavery as the key ingredient of the established Southern social order. By compartmentalising issues like slavery into a separate political sphere and privatising and individualising their Christian belief,¹ Southern evangelicals justified slavery by appeal to the cause of evangelisation of the slaves.

Presbyterians in the South, despite the caution of the Reformed heritage about endorsing popular approaches to Christian faith and practice, compromised with the dominant Southern evangelical culture in order to secure success in the region. In the theological presentation of Southern evangelical faith, they substantially succeeded

¹ Boles, 'Revivalism and Renewal, and the Social Mediation in the Old South', 62.

in preserving their inherited Calvinist tradition and in detaching themselves from other Southern evangelicals by restraining the explicitly emotional character of revivals with Presbyterian good order, as characterised in the 1857 North Carolina revival.² In their socio-political persuasion, however, Southern Presbyterians were not dissimilar from their Methodist and Baptist counterparts. Presbyterians, who traditionally displayed intellectual predominance over other evangelicals, were destined to be the leading advocates of the Southern racial and hierarchical social order, represented by the system of slavery. James Henry Thornwell and Robert Lewis Dabney have been notorious for their theological justification of slavery, as well as celebrated for their influence in bringing to maturity a American Southern branch of Reformed theology.

However, it needs to be noted that Southern Presbyterians' pre-experience of ecumenical cooperation with other evangelicals in the antebellum South was the seed of their experience of wider open collaboration after the Civil War with Northerners, whom they once had considered enemies. It was the missionary movement that led the gradual exodus of the Southern Presbyterian Church from the kingdom of Southern isolationism and became the vanguard enabling Presbyterians in the South to build bridges with their Northern counterparts. From the very beginning of the denomination in 1861, the PCUS declared that foreign missions would be the glory of the church. Between 1861 and 1940, when the PCUS's foreign mission activities were the most lively, several controversies over missions within the denomination contributed to change the character of the church dramatically from being a stronghold of Southern conservative sectionalism to the proponent of a pan-evangelical internationalism. By recognising voluntary societies as agencies for mission, the church overcame Thornwell's high-churchism. By refusing to establish international branches of the home denomination, the PCUS became the supporter of indigenous three-self church principles. The active rapprochement with Northern Presbyterians at home and in the mission fields was the evidence of its gradual departure from Southern exceptionalism. Southern Presbyterian missionaries' engagement in the human rights campaigns in the Congo, China, and elsewhere was

² Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals*, 131-58.

a signs of their abandoning the principle of the spirituality of the church. Especially, the innovative establishment of a working partnership between black and white missionaries in the Congo provoked a reconsideration of the denomination's long-conceived antagonism to any discussion of social justice and human rights. There is no doubt that the PCUS was still one of the most theologically conservative churches in the US, as shown in the modernist-fundamentalist controversy in the China mission field, and by the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. However, after 1861, the denomination had gradually become more moderate and internationalist, escaping from its sectional isolation. Although the missionaries' influence on the gradual change of the denomination should not be exaggerated since they were never more than a small minority group of people who had cross-cultural ecumenical experiences in a missionary context, the church's involvement in foreign mission was of crucial importance in accelerating this process.

The entire narrative of the SPKM between 1892 and 1940 must be interpreted in this broader domestic and foreign mission context revolving around the international and cross-cultural transformation of the Southern Presbyterian Church. These processes of change in the post-bellum South and in the PCUS substantially influenced future Southern Presbyterian Korea missionaries. The commencement of the SPKM was itself the result of friendly relations of Southern Presbyterians with their Northern brethren, as displayed in the eager recruiting effort of Horace Grant Underwood who wished to find his co-workers among Southern brethren. Indeed, even before the official initiation of the SPKM in 1892, and continuing until the end of the first stage of the Korea mission in 1940, these Presbyterian representatives from the South and the North maintained close friendship and regarded each other as true brothers and sisters. This was possible because the separate Southern identity of the SPKM missionaries had to a large extent been weakened even before arriving in Korea. Their experiences of various nationwide and interdenominational missionary movements in their homeland, such as the SVM, tended to dissolve their parochial Southern identity in a greater Christian cause. Diverse episodes in Korea suggest that Southern Presbyterians made little or no attempt to leave any distinctive marks of the Southern Presbyterian presence in Korea, at least in ecclesiastical affairs. These episodes include: the Northern Presbyterians' initial welcome to 'the Seven Pioneers'

in Seoul in 1892; Reynolds' itineration to Chungcheong province accompanied by Moffett in 1892; the official adoption of the Nevius mission method in imitation of their Northern partners in 1892; the establishment of the Council of the Presbyterian Missions in 1893; the organisation of the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea in 1905; the founding of the first Korean Presbytery in 1907 without any consideration of the possibility of forming a separate Korean branch of the PCUS; the birth of the Presbyterian Church of Korea including the churches planted by the four missions in 1912; and the General Assembly's adoption of the revised constitution articulating the subordinate status of missionaries under the authority of the Korean Church in 1922. A distinctive Southern Presbyterian identity was subverted by the experience of missionary encounters with others—missionaries from other denominations and indigenous converts—both at home and in the foreign mission field.

This transformation of Southern Presbyterian missionary identity through mission experience should not be overestimated. Though many members of the SPKM attempted to suppress their inherited identity and to achieve identification with the Honam people as possible as they could, most of them still retained their familiar traditional Southern lifestyle, as exemplified in the characteristically Southern homes constructed in mission compounds. Some were blamed by Honam locals for their patronising attitude to Koreans, as in the case of Unger. Single female missionaries were more closely identified with Honam Protestants than were any other missionary groups. Nevertheless, none among them could be compared with Elizabeth Shepping in the radical extent of her embodiment of the biblical ideal of missionary commitment. However, Shepping, who was born in Germany as a Catholic, brought up as an orphan, studied and worked in New York, and had no family even in Korea, was not a typical Southern Presbyterian missionary. Her presence and life in the SPKM signified the fact that the Southern Presbyterian Church was becoming tolerant enough to be open to missionary candidates who held no Southern or Presbyterian identity. But Shepping's career also suggests that the traditional social and cultural identity of Southern missionaries was still a stumbling block in the way of identification with the indigenous Christians among whom they worked.

Indigenous Honam Protestants: Identity, Missionary Encounter, Reception, and Transformation

The history of Christianity in Honam has been largely neglected by historians in Korea as well as in America and even by Honam Christians themselves. Allegedly, it was because historically Honam had a longstanding tradition of isolation and ignorance by the governments which arose from the regions antagonistic to Honam, and geographically it was always distant from the capitals of the regimes. Whether this assertion of Honam's intended seclusion was true or not, it is a fact that the people of Honam internalised this sense of isolation as their regional identity. However, more significant to the subject of this thesis is that the people of Honam had time-honoured commercial and cultural exchanges with foreigners through waterways. This could be considered advantageous to the influx of Protestantism. But it is also important that they were influenced to some degree by established Confucian conservatism which was hostile to a new religion, which undoubtedly retarded the progress of conversion. Honam people were renowned for expressing their identity through a complex amalgam of independence and hospitality. Though neither of these appeared decisive factors in shaping their response to Christianity, it is obvious that missionaries regarded with favour any people characterised by openness.

The conversion pattern in the early mission stage of SPKM reflected this dual religious setting of Honam. Though less receptive to mission Christianity than were the inhabitants of the north-west, the common people in Honam were more favourable to the gospel message than Koreans in other regions and Chinese to whom other Protestant missionaries were sent. The earliest converts were mostly male, but this trend changed by 1927 when women occupied more than 60% of Honam converts. The mission's initial success among women was dependent on evangelistic itinerations by the female single missionaries, but the 'assault troops'³ of indigenous Bible women soon became the main agent in the evangelisation of Honam women. In relation to the female participation in church activities, there is

³ Brown, 122.

room for debate over whether the active role of indigenous women in Christian ritual practices was a totally new opportunity for women who had formerly been excluded from social activities or whether it should be seen as a continuation and expansion of traditional leadership in religious practices. Both arguments can be true when each is applied to a specific case, for example, in strict Confucian rituals, no women were allowed to attend the ceremony though women were required to prepare all necessary items. Oppressed by these Confucian rules and ethics, however, women found a new way of self-expression by actively engaging themselves in church practices.

Nevertheless, due to the conservative social order embodied in both Southern Presbyterianism and Honam Confucianism, women in Honam were not able to occupy leadership position in the churches. A small number of young and educated women converts who were ambitious to improve their status in society chose to move to Seoul and sometimes changed their affiliations to the Methodist Church, as displayed in the life of Louise Yim. But such cases were rare in Honam among both women and men; the mainstream of Christianity in Honam supported by the majority of Honam Protestants remained of a more pietistic and evangelical kind.

Just as the innate identity of Southern Presbyterian missionaries was significantly transformed by their mission experience both in America and in Honam, the identity of Honam people changed through their missionary encounters with Southern Presbyterians and their Christianity. Many women found a new way of life in missionary Christianity. Rural nobles who had been ousted from local power found an alternative space for their leadership in the local churches. Since the SPKM did not attempt to establish replicas of Southern Presbyterian churches but indigenous three-self churches based on the Nevius method, the devolution of authority to Koreans in churches and schools mainly occurred through amicable mutual agreement.

Hence, the conclusion of this thesis is that the progressive weakening of Southern Presbyterian sectional identity, first in the United States and then in Korea, significantly facilitated the indigenisation of Christianity in Honam, resulting in a pietistic evangelical form of religion with pronounced evangelistic, emotional, experiential, activist, and popular characteristics. Crucial in this process was the democratising impact of revivals and the implications of wider ecumenical

relationships with representatives of other denominations and regions. Honam Presbyterianism today is not a replica of the American Presbyterian tradition in its traditional Southern form. However, it does display many of the same features as the broad pan-evangelicalism to which the Southern Presbyterian mission increasingly adhered.

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