

Korean Christian Women's Counter-Ideologies to Japanese Colonial Policies, 1937-1945

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Activities by Christian women under Japanese rule were distinguished according to the different policies adopted by Japan. The distinctions were based on changes in their recognition of Japanese colonialism. These changes were particularly obvious in the late 1930s, responding to changes in Japanese policies: Japan manifested militarism and its intention to erase Koreans' national sense under colonial policy. From this point of view, I looked into changes in Christian women's understanding of Japanese colonialism from 1937 to 1945. The results are as follows:

The ideologies of both of those who objected to the Japanese policy and based on the Christian doctrine those who participated in the policy optimistically believed that Japan would finally be defeated and a bright future realized in the near future in the late Japanese colonial period. Although their actions were totally different from to each other, they all stuck to Christianity. The women who participated in the anti-Japanese movement were mostly missionaries. They even risked their lives for their religion. However, there were those who supported Japanese policies did so because they thought that it was the only way to continue education for women. One thing noticeable is the difference in social economic status between the two groups. Most of the former group came from rather lower classes while those of the latter group were from higher classes who had secured privileges in the society. The difference may be one of reasons that caused them to take quite opposite ways in responding to Japanese policy.

Keywords: Christian women, Kyungnam Women's Mission of the Presbyterian Church, belief in the only God, belief of Christ's second advent, Christian education movement

Introduction

Up to date research on the history of Christian women in Korea is largely divided into two parts: group-oriented research (Jang Byung-wook 1978; Ju Seon-ae 1979; Bae Ga-rae 1987; Kim Jeong-sun 1990; Lee Deok-ju 1991; Lee Sun-ryae 1992) and figure-oriented research (Park Young-kyu 1979; Lee Deok-ju 1993; Jung Suk-ki 1995).

The former have been focused on the activities of Christian women in groups around churches and the latter on the history and major activities of some outstanding women.

This research, in fact, has brought to light many parts of the history of Christian women, which has not only drawn attention for a long time but also showed some limitations. That is, they failed to show the whole picture of the movements of Christian women by focusing on just some important groups or characters. *Hanguk gidokkyo yeoseong 100nyeonui baljachwi* (100 Years of Korean Women Christians) (Lee Wu-jeong 1985), which was published in 1985, shows the efforts to overcome these limitations but it is also considered to have failed to make a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of Christian women's activities.

Activities by Christian women under the Japanese rule had distinctions according to different policies adopted by Japan. The distinctions were based on changes in their recognition of Japanese colonialism. These changes were particularly obvious in the late 1930s, responding to changes in Japanese policies: Japan manifested militarism and its intention to erase Koreans' national sense as its colonial policy.

From this point of view, I will take a look into changes in Christian women's understanding of Japanese colonialism from 1937 to 1945. The year 1937 is important because it was when Christian women's characteristics and changes in their recognition became obvious.

During the late 1930s Japan adopted a more violent policy over the peninsula as it entered into its wartime structure. And as the national erasure policy took on a religious character, it began to cause complications among Christians. To the change, Christian women responded in two obviously different ways. One was fierce resistance against the Japanese policy and the other was cooperation with it.

However, there have been various evaluations afterwards on these reactions. Some regard that their resistance was just based on their conservative religion

while others argue that it was a part of nationalist movements (Lee Wu-jeong and Lee Hyeoun-suk 1989) based on the national sense (Choi Min-ji 1984). With regard to the women who cooperated with Japan, some think that they were forced to do so by Japan and, moreover, they were actually pioneers of education for women (Park Young-kyu 1979; Jung Suk-ki 1995). But others, listing specific examples of their pro-Japanese activities that caused strong repulsive feelings among Koreans, take a more negative attitude (Park Seok-bun and Park Eun-bong 1994; Hanguk Yeoseong Yeonguhoe Yeoseongsabungwa 1992; Kang Jeong-suk 1996; Jang Ha-jin 1993a) and argue that they cooperated with Japan just to protect their privileges.

These studies, however, also show limitations as phenomenal analyses. They failed to look more deeply into the basic reason why they acted differently—changes in their recognition. In other words, we need to look more carefully at the background, against which they unfolded anti-Japanese movements or decided to cooperate with Japan.

When this study in their recognition is added to former phenomenal studies, we can understand and evaluate Christian women's theories as being anti- or pro-Japan more comprehensively. Based on this understanding, I will analyze Japanese colonial policies to assimilate Koreans into their empire as "imperial subjects" and Christian women's counter-theories to their assimilation policy.

Japanese Policies for Turning Koreans into Imperial Subjects of Japan

During its rule, Japan's policies for governing the Korean peninsula changed from militarism, cultural assimilation, and national erasure to those to make the country a military supply base for the Japanese army stationed in China and other regions. However, the underlying basic policy of Japan during the whole period was to assimilate Koreans into their empire as "imperial subjects."

Japanese assimilation policy was publicly adopted by the Japanese Governor General Minami who was appointed to the post in 1936.¹ Since the policy was initiated by Japan as the country entered into a wartime structure in the late

1. In May 1937, Minami announced the "Five Principles for Governing Korea" in which Japanese assimilation policy was also included (Institute for Research in Collaboration Activities 1996).

1930s, it is generally said to represent the later period of Japanese rule.

Here, we explain the nature of the policy based on the assumption that it was Japan's consistent policy during its rule over Korea, and then we take a look into its development.

The goal of the national erasure policy was to make Korean people the subjects of the Japanese Emperor by instilling in them the ideology of worshiping the country's emperor. Under colonial rule, the policy was to root out Koreans' independent and proud national sense.

The ideology of worshiping the Emperor as God was first made by Japanese leaders who succeeded in the Meiji Reform in order to justify their rule.

In addition, as Japan realized the strong power of Western countries and recognized the need of a stronger national sense, the Meiji leaders used the ideology in order to integrate people, centering on the emperor (Kim Young-deok 1991: 22-3).

The country pursued, on the surface, constitutional monarchism but, in reality, the monarchism was supported by military force, which was the main power behind the country's imperialist invasion, the ancient religious ideology called Shinto, and modern capitalism represented by plutocracy (Gurita Masahiko 1991: 35). Since Amaterasu Omigami in Japanese mythology was connected with its successive emperors, the emperor, who was originally in charge of sacrificial rites, was regarded as a living God. In this context the emperor became the center of the country and the Meiji constitution publicly pronounced the emperor to be the highest person and a sacred and inviolable one.

In short, although Japan proclaimed its national system as constitutional monarchism, it was a country with pseudo-religion based on its national religion called Shinto. And its constitution is a pseudo-religious system centering on the emperor (Gurita Masahiko 1991: 36).

Since national Shinto, which supported monarchism, had its own doctrine, Japan did not allow people to have a belief or religion that contradicted the doctrine or denied it. This is why Japan regarded communism and Christianity as most well-organized enemies (Gurita Masahiko 1991: 25).

The emperor and national Shinto had been dependent in its development from the growth of Japanese imperialism and they became the ideology that justified the country's colonial policy and invasion into other countries. For example, the Meiji government, which won the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War but suffered a great number of casualties, built *Yasukuni jinja* (a place where the God is enshrined) in Tokyo to console the spirits of those killed

in wars and set up *Gokuni jinja* in every province (Gurita Masahiko 1991: 36).

Therefore, *Yasukuni jinja* and *Gokuni jinja* became bases for justifying the ideology. Meanwhile the way that Japan chose to instill its ideology in people and spread it was through education. Thus the Meiji government established the imperial constitution and proclaimed the Royal Rescript of Education.²

The Royal Rescript of Education was announced by the Emperor in 1890 in the form of a royal gift to Japanese people. The rescript became the most important thing to be taught to people and in school, and all had to respect and follow it (Suzuki Keio 1989: 134). Like this, Japanese ideology of the emperor spread among people through education and the *jinja* system.

Then, how did Japan apply its assimilation policy to Korea?

As seen in Japan, the Japanese government also started to spread the ideology in Korea through education and the establishment of *jinja*. Japanese imperialists instructed the governor general to Korea to proclaim the Royal Rescript of Education in 1911. According to the rescript, the ideology of the emperor became the basis of Japanese colonial education. Based on the rescript, the Chosun Education Order and Regulations of Elementary School were pronounced in 1911, which was the beginning of instillation of the ideology.

The second article of the education order prescribed that "Education in Korea aims to produce loyal and obedient people according to the Royal Rescript of Education" (Suzuki Keio 1989: 133).

The Regulations of Elementary School also prescribed that "The most important goal is to produce loyal and diligent people." (Suzuki Keio 1989: 137) "To produce loyal and diligent people" meant to make people the subjects of the Japanese Emperor.

Once again, the first Chosun Education Order announced after the Royal Rescript of Education was to manifest the national erasure policy as the basic principle of education in Korea.

The Police Bureau of the Korean Government General dispatched inspectors to check the results of colonial education. The following is research on children's ideology written by the inspectors at Suwon public schools in January 1917.

2. After 1890, the most important thing concerning Japan's education policy was to teach people loyalty and service to the country. Therefore the Royal Rescript of Education was recited at schools in a serious mood (Peter Duus 1993: 131).

To the question, “To whom do we owe our life in peace?” students answered, “It’s all thanks to the emperor’s virtue.” And when asked another question, “What is loyalty?” students mostly replied “It is to serve the emperor and the country-Japan” (Kim Seung-tae 1994: 12).

As seen in the examples above, Japan forced and re-emphasized the policy through both the education order and inspection of the results. That is called the first development of the governing policy.

In addition, Japan started to establish *jinja* in every foreign colony to instill its ideology. In Korea it announced the Regulations of *jinja* in August 1915 and the Case for *jinja* in 1917, and included the establishment of *jinja* by ordinary people in the law. And the bureau sent the Japanese cabinet “the Petition for the establishment of *jinja* in Chosun” and pronounced the establishment of *Chosun jinja* as the 12th Notification of the Japanese cabinet in 1919 (Kim Seung-tae 1992).

The Japanese assimilation policy began being fully executed with the announcement of regulations forcing the ideology upon Korean people and pronouncing the order for the establishment of *jinja* to use as the bases of the ideology.

Meanwhile Japan announced a change of policy from militarism to cultural assimilation after the March First Uprising by Korean people in 1919. But it did not ease the national erasure policy, but rather intensified it. For example, the government bureau decided to start building *jinja*, which had been prepared before the uprising, and began construction. In 1925 it promoted Joseon as the *Chosun jinguo* (a palace where the God is enshrined) and held a rite to serve the Holy spirit on the 15th of October in the same year (Han Seok-hui 1988: 250).

Yukekoudarow (弓削幸太浪), the head of the Department of Education Affairs under the bureau, said in his book titled *Education of Chosun* that the most important reason behind the March First Uprising was Koreans’ desire for independence. He went on to say that as long as the nature of independence existed, Koreans’ desire would be there and, in order to get rid of the desire, they should make Koreans not aware of their being Koreans by making them marry Japanese. He argued that it would be the only way to assimilate Koreans to Japan (Sujuki Keio 1989: 150-1). Although the proposal was not adopted, it clearly shows Japan’s intention.

After the March First Uprising, Japan adopted the milder policy of cultural assimilation and revised the Chosun Education Order. From the Order “the Royal Rescript of Education” part was removed (Sujuki Keio 1989: 152-4). It

was because the phrase could provoke bad feeling among Koreans, which in turn would be an obstacle to the government. They believed that colonial policy was under way anyway. In other words, the bureau thought that the phrase already became the basic principle of education with or without it being in the law.

Meanwhile, as Japan was faced with economic difficulties in 1929 under the world financial crisis, it caused the Manchurian Incident in 1931 in order to solve the economic problems. Then, it expanded it into the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and to the Pacific War in 1941. In this situation, Japan decided to make the Korean peninsula its base of military supply. The new policy, however, was based on the same ideology along with the assimilation and national erasure policy.

The Police Bureau of the Korean Government General changed the word “people” in the third Chosun Education Order to “the emperor’s subjects” and reinforced the policy even further and clarified that the emperor was the center of the world and the national constitution. Next, it organized “the patriotic group” and forced people to visit *jinja*, bow to the Japanese palace, raise the Japanese flag, recite the oath to be good subjects of the emperor, and work in service to the emperor on a monthly basis. It forced people to establish *gamidana* in their homes and distributed charms of Ise Jinguo. It also organized inspection teams under the police and checked, every morning, whether people had paid tribute to *gamidana*. In addition, it planted informants among patriotic groups and discriminated against people who did not follow their directions, particularly in the ration of crops or rubber shoes based on informants’ reports (Han Suk-hei 1988: 261). There is also evidence (Ahn E-suk 1996: 288) that Koreans who wanted to visit people in jail were required to speak in Japanese. If they could not, they were denied meeting the inmates. All these examples show how much the Japanese imperialists struggled to make people the subjects of the country.

As explained above, the consistent governing policy adopted by Japan during its 36 years of rule was to make Koreans the subjects of the emperor by erasing the national sense. It was originally adopted by the leaders of the Meiji Reform in order to integrate the country with Japan and was effectively supported by Shinto ideology. The emperor was proclaimed as a living God who was sacred and inviolable under the Meiji constitution. Therefore, the country was based on conservative nationalism and used the ideology as an excuse for its invasion of other countries. And it instilled this same ideology in Koreans through education

and the *jinja* system.

The first phase of the Japanese assimilation policy started with the announcement of the Chosun Education Order and the establishment of *jinja*. Japanese colonial policy had been strengthened with the country's change in policy to cultural assimilation after the March First Uprising in 1919. Then, the Japanese economy severely suffered under the world financial crisis in 1929, which prompted it to trigger the Manchurian Incident, which, in turn, developed into the Sino-Japanese War and later the Pacific War. During the course, Japan decided to make the Korean peninsula its base of military supply and the decision strengthened the national erasure policy. Christians were forced to worship at the *jinja*, the symbol of the Japanese Emperor regarded as a living God. Therefore, the requirement was something Christians could never accept because they believed in monotheism, a single creator of the universe.

Different Ideological Approaches by Christian Women to Japanese Colonial Policies

1. Ideologies behind Christians Who Resisted Japanese Colonial Policies

With the Presbyterian Church's surrender in 1938, most Korean churches finally submitted to Japanese policy in 1938. The only Christian group which fought against the Japanese assimilation policy was the Kyungnam Women's Mission of the Presbyterian Church (Ju Sean-ae 1979: 207). After the churches were destroyed by Japanese imperialists, Christians built the church underground or continued anti-Japanese movements.

The movement to resist worshipping the Japanese Emperor spread nationwide in early 1939. The base of the movement was Sanjunghyun Church (Kim Yang-seon 1992: 37) located in Pyeongyang where Minister Chu Kee-chul worked. Christians who participated in the movement intended to start a church restoration campaign (Kim In-suh 1958: 68). But worried by the Christian movement, Japan arrested people who resisted worshipping the emperor, including Minister Chu, in July 1940. They continued their movement even in prison, saying that worshipping the emperor was a national rite not a religious rite. Some of them died in prison and others were released after liberation in 1945.

Women who objected to the Japanese policy organized the world women's

prayer meeting. But the meeting was disbanded by Japan in 1941. The anti-Japanese movement organized by Christian women mostly centered around schools and Christian women's groups but some women participated individually. Among those individuals, Choi Deok-ji worked in Tongyoung, Kyungnam by organizing a group and Yeom Ae-na and Cho Su-ok also joined the group. They tried to encourage other women to participate in the movement through prayer meetings and revival services in their regions. Choi Deok-ji was arrested four times but did not give up the movement, enduring suffering in prison.

Ahn E-suk, who was a school music teacher, also participated in the movement and was pursued by the Japanese police. But she continued to persuade other women not to follow the Japanese policy by having meetings at her mother's house. In addition, Christians trained themselves not to give in to the Japanese imperialists and to continue the movement even if arrested. For example, they did not use a blanket when sleeping and ate a very small amount of food, which was of bad quality, on purpose. All of this was to prepare themselves for struggle in prison. They also held fasting prayer meetings in order to train themselves for possible hunger in prison (Ahn E-suk 1996: 58-59). The reason for Ahn's arrest was of course her activities against Japan. In particular, her participation in the 74th Imperial Congress with Park Kwan-jun infuriated Japan most. In the Congress they distributed a warning message that criticized the country's policy of worshiping the emperor as the national constitution and said "Japan will be defeated." After being arrested, she continued the struggle in the Pyeongyang police station. When the suffering became too painful, she tried to overcome all difficulties by entrusting herself to God.

While there were many other Christian women who joined and supported the Japanese policy, they did not give in to Japan and continued their resistance with fasting, praying and singing hymns even in prison. They never bent their will, an act that could cost their life.

Behind the movement was their belief in the only God and of the Second Advent of Christ. The argument over monotheism can be seen in the records of preliminary trials and testimony books. For example, Choi Deok-ji argued that "The Japanese constitution requires us to worship the emperor not as a king or a person but as God. Worshiping the emperor, who is merely a person, as God contradicts the Bible" (Choi Jong-kyu 1981: 77). And Cho Su-ok said in her testimony that "Our God is the only God. We never worship other gods." The argument is based on one of the Ten Commandments—"Don't worship any gods other than me." It was the very ideology behind their resistance.

The belief of the Christ's Second Advent gave Christians hope for a bright future. They believed that Japan would be defeated in the near future and that the Kingdom of God would be founded. The belief was also frequently seen in preliminary trial records and testimony books. Choi Deok-ji gave a sermon titled "Be Prepared for the Christ's Second Advent," in which she said, "The current social situations are the signs that the world is approaching the end. We should prepare ourselves for the imminent Advent of God. The war currently waging in the Pacific region is the start of Armageddon. Therefore we should fiercely object to the Japanese demand to worship the emperor and prepare ourselves for the Advent" (Kim Seung-tae 1992: 499-500). Cho Su-ok also said, "The destiny of Japan is up to God. We should resist the Japanese policy. And the war is a sign of the end of the world. It means that God will be here soon as promised and he renew the whole world and build a Heavenly Kingdom that God governs."

As seen in the examples above, behind the ideology was the Christian wish to establish Christ's Kingdom. It can be confirmed in many cases. In her testimony, Yeom Ae-na said, "I told the Japanese police that I just refused to worship the emperor but they continued to torture me because they wanted to make me say that I had participated in the national liberation movement ideologically" (Kim Seung-tae 1993: 250-251). She said that the Japanese police understood her the wrong way but the nation Yeom wanted was the one governed not by the Japanese Emperor but by Christian doctrine.³ And Ahn E-suk argued, "The government is forcing us to betray God for the Japanese Emperor. But we Christians should make all efforts to denounce the policy and make Christianity the religion of our country" (Kim Seung-tae 1992: 513). Choi Deok-ji encouraged Christians to pray for making their belief national religion through home prayer meetings (Choi Jong-kyu 1981: 84).

The two ideologies were the bases of Christian resistance against Japanese policy. What they wanted most to achieve was to build a Christian country. And we should notice that behind the ideology was Korean women's national sense and their effort to get rid of feudalistic Korean practices. Most of those who led the movement were women missionaries. Some Christian women who resisted

3. Min Kyeong-bae said that the nature of resistance against worshiping Japanese shintoism was religious and the national movement was something phenomenal. But Christian women who participated in the movement wanted to build a national sense and a country based on the Christian doctrine.

Japanese colonial policies are listed below.

Most of them studied at Bible training schools and worked as missionaries to build their kingdom of Heaven. They had actively performed their mission with confidence since they themselves experienced how miserable women's life was under colonial rule. They usually met women who were suffering from Japanese oppression and feudal bindings through Sayung-hoe, revival services, missionary work, evening schools for women, and home visits. They persuaded women

Table 1 List of Anti-Japanese Christian Women

Name	Educational background	Occupation	Source
Kim Du-seok	women's bible training school	None	a ruling (1944. 9. 12, Busan district court)
Kim Myo-nyeon	elementary school course	Bible woman	"
Kim Ya-mo	illiteracy	none	"
Ahn E-suk	finished home women school course	teacher	Ahn E-suk, <i>ibid.</i>
Yeom Ae-na	elementary school course	Bible woman	a ruling (1944. 9. 12, Busan district court)
Im Jong-ho	college of theology	teacher	The Institute for Korean Church History. 1999. <i>Hanguk kyohoe jeondo buin jaryojib (Collection of Source Materials for Korean Bible Women)</i> .
Lee Sool-yeon	women's bible training school	Bible woman	a ruling (1944. 9. 12, Busan district court)
Cho Su-ok	women's bible training school	Bible woman	Watanabe Noburo. 2002. <i>Sinsa chambaereul geoguhan geuriseudoin (The Christian who resisted worshiping Japanese Sintoism)</i> , Dongin Publishing Co.
Choi Duk-ji	women's bible training school	Bible woman	Choi Jong-Kyu, <i>ibid.</i>

to believe in God, saying that it was the only way to be freed from their yokes. And most women who attended these meetings were in poor situations - many of them were step-daughters, mistresses, widows, and women who were turned out of their houses. Therefore, the gospel helped them realize that they could lead a better life (Lee Hyo-jae 1989: 164). They became awoken to the fact that the only way to be freed from their environment was to be a Christian. In short, the Christian doctrine was the way for them to get rid of the restraints and became so important to them that they could never give up it for anything.

In her testimony, Yeom Ae-na argued that both men and women were the same children of God. When she tried to hold a revival service to resist Japanese policy, male ministers ordered male Christians not to join the service since it was organized by a woman. To that she responded, "Do you think women should be treated differently from men even in terms of the blessing from God?" (Im Sang-bin 1984: 310). And Im Jong-ho, a professor of Pyeongyang Women's Theological Seminary, said "You are those who will lead the Korean Church. Let's lead the Korean Church in the right way by actively participating in the women's religious movement" (Jung Seok-ki 1995: 341). Im Jong-ho was arrested by the Japanese police for refusing to follow their policy but continued the struggle in prison, showing the very example of how women should act in order to save the church and the country from suffering. Choi Deok-ji visited door to door to deliver messages from God. When asked, "What should women learn for?" she emphasized the necessity of women's education, claiming, "Women should learn. There will be a society where men and women are treated on an equal basis, and therefore we should learn" (Choi Jong-kyu 1981: 28-30). The awakened sense for the status of women developed into practical women's movements after the country was freed from the Japanese yoke. For example, when the general meeting of the Presbyterian Church decided not to give ministership to women, teacher Choi Deok-ji, Choi said "I would not receive it if it is given to me as an individual and not as a representative of women. Please make it clear whether granting ministership to women contradicts the Bible or not and whether ministership can be given to women or not." After a heated debate, the church decided to revise the Presbyterian constitution such that both men and women could serve as deacons or deaconesses or to lead the confirmation (Choi Jong-kyu 1981: 123-4).

The national sense of those who refused to follow the Japanese policy was shown in many cases. They learned Moses and Esther from the Bible and wanted to follow Esther's example as being a model of Korean Christian women

(Lee Hyo-jae 1989: 155). Before going to the Imperial Congress, Ahn E-suk prayed to God based on Chapter 4 of Esther in the Bible. Her son also testified that “Choi Deok-ji taught lessons from stories of Moses to children and read the story of Esther a lot of times.” In this way, they identified the country's sufferings with those of the Israelites and learned the right attitude from Esther who saved Israel, believing that the truth would win through the life of God. In her autobiography, An wrote “God suffered under the oppression of Rome as we do under Japan” (Ahn E-suk 1996: 264), which identifies the country's situation with that of Israel. And Choi showed the national sense in her remarks, “I as a person who experienced national discrimination and oppression by Japan, can feel Israelites' love for their fellow countrymen.”

Christian women regarded the country's destiny as the same with Israelites in the Bible and believed that the country would be liberated from Japanese oppression. With the belief that Japan would be finally ruined though it seemed undefeatable, they unfolded the movement in and out of prison, even risking their lives. The national sense became stronger even in prison as seen in the following. Ahn said in her recollections that, “The enemy's arm that attacks me is not that of a group or individual. It belongs to the Japanese Imperialists. It is a country most violent with the steel-barred window” (Ahn E-suk 1996: 440). Choi also said that “May god give us the country. Give us the freedom of religion. May God guard us from the bloodthirsty hands of Japanese imperialists and make us live in prosperity to the extent that the Japanese would envy us.”

As explained before, the basic ideologies behind the movement were Christians' belief in the only God and the Second Advent of Christ. The latter gave them hope and optimism that a Christian country would be built in the near future. What they pursued was a Christian country liberated from Japanese rule. And we should notice that through Christianity, Christian women could have national consciousness and were awakened to their oppression by the social system. Most of those who participated in the resistant to worshipping Japanese Shintoism were missionaries and had previously been ostracized from society. That is, they were the very people who experienced various restrictions under Japanese rule. The Christian gospel was regarded by them as the only way to be freed from their restrictions. In short, Christianity helped women have a national sense and awakened to their oppression as women by the social system. In this context, the Japanese policy was something they could never accept and Christianity was the most important thing they could never give up.

2. Ideologies behind Those Who Joined Japanese Policies

Through the lecture for women organized by the Broadcasting Publicity Conference in January 1937, many pro-Japanese women's groups were established. The goal of those groups was to propagandize the Japanese policy through lectures and symposiums.

The contents of these lectures mostly emphasized a family's duty for the country and admiring Japanese motherhood. The movement was designed to improve the living standard and to enrich the country by rooting out old practices and nurturing the spirit of sacrificing for the country (Yang Mi-kang 1992: 252). For example, Park In-deok said "... it's high time that housewives should lead a thrifty life and serve the country with everything they have including time, materials, and money" (*Sinsidae* 4, 1943). In her article of "With a cup of coarse tea" (*Sinsidae* 6, 1943) carried in the June 1943 issue of *Sinsidae*, the pro-Japanese magazine established in 1941, Lee Suk-jong emphasized thrifty living for the movement.

The reality of national solidarity under Japanese rule was to help Japan win the war with supporting materials from Koreans who were forced to lead a thrifty life (Yang Mi-kang 1992: 252). And the following explains the theory of admiring Japanese motherhood, which was also enforced on Korean women. Park In-deok wrote "...Mothers of the peninsula should exert efforts to be good mothers like their Japanese counterparts, and girl students should be educated to be like mothers in Japan" (*Maeil sinbo*, May 12, 1942). And Yu Kak-kyeong wrote "We mothers should think hard about how we can serve the country by raising good children. I want to see my beloved son give his life for the country and achieve brilliant war results. How good it will be. How glorious it will be..." (*Maeil sinbo*, May 5, 1942). Articles covering similar topics were often carried in papers and magazines. The basic theory behind the writings was that education for students should be directed to make them realize that they would become the mothers of Japan and at home mothers should have been willing to present their sons as the subjects of the emperor.

The two theories were originally based on patriarchal ideology. In other words, Japanese monarchism was a big patriarchal system, at the center of which stood the emperor. The emperor was the father of the subjects and subjects were his sons. Therefore, they compared the filial devotion of children to their parents with the relationship between the emperor and Korean people as his subjects. This filial devotion meant, in this case, the loyalty to the emperor, the

Table 2 List of Pro-Japanese Christian Women

Name	Educational background	Occupation	Source
Koh Hwang-kyeong	Ph.D. (U.S.A)	professor	Institute for Research in Collaboration Activities. 1993. <i>Chinilpa 99in (99 Pro-Japanese)</i> . Dolbaegae.
Kim Hwal-ran	Ph.D. (U.S.A)	college dean	Kim Hwal-ran. <i>ibid.</i>
Park Maria	M.A. (U.S.A)	lecturer	<i>Gidokkyo Dae-baegwasajeon 9 (Encyclopedia of Christianity 9)</i> , Gidok Gyomun-sa, 1983.
Park In-deak	M.A. (U.S.A)	founder of a school	Choi Eun-hee. <i>Jogukeul chaatzeul ttaekkaji 1905-1945, 3 (Until Independence: 1905-1945, 3)</i> . Tamgudang, 1973.
Im Young-shin	M.D. (U.S.A)	founder of a kindergarten	Son Chung-moo. 1972. <i>Hangangeun heureunda (The Han River Flows)</i> . Dong-A Publishing Co. 1972
Song Keum-seon	Girls' Normal School (Japan)	school principal	Kim Hag-min and Cheong Wun-hyeon. 1993. <i>chinilpa 9 jwisanggi (Records of the Cooperation by the Pro-Japanese People)</i> . Hagminsas.
Son Jeong-kyu	Girl's Normal School (Japan)	teacher	"
Yu Kag-kyeong	Women's College (Chinese)	president of the society for the women's propagation of the Gospel	Hanguk gidokkyo baekjuneon ginyeomsaehoyeopuihoe yeoseong bungwawiwonhoe. 1985. <i>Yeoseong! kkaeljieoda, ireonaljieoda, noraehaljieoda (Women! Awake, Arise, and Sing!)</i> . Daehan Gidokkyo Publishing Co.
Lee Suk-jong	Arts College drop-out (Japan)	women's college principal	Unjeong seonsang ginyeon munjip pyeonchans wiwonhoe. 1984. <i>Hanjulgi biteul bara (Looking forward to the Future)</i> .

country, and superiors. With this theory, the subjects' sacrifice could be justified and strengthened. Japanese society could be called a big family on top of which was the emperor, and all families lived giving him their complete loyalty. Every individual was required to fulfill their duty to their superiors and sacrifice him or herself to the interest of the bigger group (Peter Duus 1993: 131-2). It was the basic ideology of Japanese society. Under the system, the role required of women was absolute obedience to everything they were told to do, especially for their husbands and the emperor. The same theory corresponded to Korean women. Japan forced them to offer their sons for the emperor through the two movements, which were the best ways to be loyal subjects of the emperor (Yang Mi-kang 1992: 257).

Many women of celebrity supported Japanese policy. Most of them were Christians who led education for women based on Christian doctrine. Among them were Kim Hwal-ran, Ko Hwang-kyeong, Yu Kak-kyung, Park Maria, Park In-deok, Lee Suk-jong, Im yeong-sin, Son Jeong-kyu, and Song Keum-sun. The following table contains the details of their educational background and occupations.

As shown above, Pro-Japanese Christian women who worked at the various mission schools were pioneers of women's education in Korea. Many of them were working at schools, assumed important responsibilities at private Christian women's schools, and were pioneers of education for women. The reason why they paid interest to women's education was that the awakening of women to their social status and potential started from giving them opportunities to learn modern knowledge (The Department of Women's History of Korean Women's Institutions 1992: 294), which was being taught mostly at Christian schools.

There were also many men who aggressively supported Japanese policy during the last stage of Japanese rule. Among them, Yun Chi-ho was outstanding. He emphasized the prosperous future of Great Asia, claiming that the only way Korea could live was to join efforts with Japan to fight against the Western powers.⁴ While many men willingly participated in the Japanese scheme, most women were forced to do so.

Kim Hwal-ran once said "Sometimes I was forced to give a speech as a principal. I used to read the prepared speech. At those times, I was carefully observed by the senior Japanese staff. All my activities were reported to the

4. For more details, see Yoo Young-nyol (1985), Chapter 3.

superior office and the person who wrote my speech was one dispatched by the Japanese government. The speech was to make students understand the goal of the Pacific War and urge them to cooperate with the government” (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 212). When she became ill because of eye trouble she said, “I deserve even to go blind since I drove so many sons to the war front ...” (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 227). And Han Shin-deok said to the pro-Japanese women's group, “Japanese assimilation policy would not be true if it is based on the thought that Koreans are inferior to Japanese.” (Im Sang-bin 1984: 358) In her testimony, Huh Kyeong-shin said, “I was forced to be the chairwoman of the pro-Japanese women's group just because I was the only person there who studied at school. But I tried my best to use the lectures as an opportunity to educate women” (Im Sang-bin 1984: 364). Although there was possibility that the stories could be embellished by them, it is still true that most of them were forced to cooperate with Japan. The compromise theory put forward by these women was that they could not help following Japanese policy since it was the only way to continue modern education for women.

The Christian education movement was firmly founded on the belief that education was the only way to help Korean women to lead a decent life as human beings. For example, when Kim Hwal-ran was offered the chance to join an organization set up in America by Koreans to achieve the country's independence, she flatly turned it down saying that, “What I am doing is to pave the way for the welfare of Korean women who are now suffering in the dark” (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 143). And Park In-deok claimed, “...still, a lot of women have never heard or dreamed of equal treatment between men and women. In order to archive equal society, the first thing we should do is to make an all-out effort to study modern culture and cultivate our minds and take responsibility - not depend on men” (Park In-deok 1920). As seen here, highly-educated women argued that, in order to achieve real national independence, men and women should be treated equally and, to realize equal society, women should strive to learn.

In short, they believed that women should be educated in order to achieve the society where men and women were treated on an equal footing and that education should precede the country's independence. Kim Hwal-ran also wrote that “My belief was nothing but weak. I did know that the country's independence was important. But I decided to put all my efforts into educating women. I thought that it was better to concentrate on one thing - education (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 152). There were many people, including my friends and students, who

turned their back on me. They misunderstood my intention, thinking that I was doing it because I wanted to be the principal, wondering if I was enduring all the insults just to remain as the principal.” Despite criticism for being a pro-Japanese activist and the nation’s traitor by friends, Kim stuck to her own principle; some lamented, “Even Kim Hwal-ran is joining hands with the Japanese imperialists” (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 213-4).

It is noticeable that the women called pro-Japanese also had the same dream with those who risked their lives resisting Japanese policy—they cooperated with Japan with the belief that the future would be bright with the blessing of God.

Here is Kim’s confession: “God is still with us. As long as providence is with justice and truth, we don’t have to leave (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 214). My heart was saddened by rage but I didn’t feel it necessary to fight against them. ... I shouldn’t give up here. It means nothing. It leaves just an empty life. I should put up with all difficulties with the belief that this is one way to help my country and my people achieve a bright future” (Kim Hwal-ran 1965: 213). Believing that she was doing the most important mission of educating Korean women, she tried to endure any offense, which was an example of Christian optimism for the future.

In short, the reason that pro-Japanese women activists stuck to education in spite of all insults and offenses for cooperating with the Japanese colonialists was that they believed the Christian concept that truth would win and therefore Japan would be defeated in the end. Meanwhile, the goal of education, which they gave priority to over the country’s independence, was not to educate women ostracized from society but to produce leaders qualified enough to enter into established society. That is, education aimed to enhance women’s social status. They put the highest priority on education, thinking that it was the most solid and fastest way to achieve a society in which women were treated equally with men.

They first paid attention to the movement to enhance the women’s social status as many educated women started to play important roles after the March First Uprising. Hwang shin-deok who led the movement claimed that, “The movement is to improve women’s social status based on the thought that women’s roles in politics, economy, law, education, and other social areas have been less than noticeable. It is also to change the male-oriented culture and to build a society where men and women support and cooperate with each other” (Jungang Yeoja Junggodeung Hakkyo Dongchanghoe 1971: 439).

Like this, according to them, the most urgent thing to do was to educate women. The understanding of this necessity was also seen in Park In-deok's remarks, "In order to make our society like that of Western countries', women should be treated better and men and women should help each other. The first step to make it come true is to educate women" (Jang Byeong-wook 1978: 362). Another goal of the movement was to help women, who were totally dependent on men in financial terms, to lead an economically independent life. It can be confirmed in Kim Sun-bok's remark that "If you work, you can become economically independent and don't have to count on you husband for materials. It'll also bring equal opportunities in education to women" (Jang Byeong-wook 1978: 366).

In 1920 Kim Hwal-ran organized a mission of seven women and held a lecturing tour around the country. The mission was formed on the belief that if Korean women accepted the gospel, the social absurdities and discriminations, which had shackled women for a long time, would disappear (Jang Byeong-wook 1978: 374).

The gospel helped women who had been suffering from Japanese rule and patriarchal system to awaken to their social status and the future they should make. They also realized that an independent and decent life could be achieved through economic independence that, in turn, is possible through social education. Therefore the main goal of the movement can be said to enhance women's social status and rights.

In 1941 when Japan stepped up the national erasure policy, Park In-deok established a women's school called Deokhwa Yeosuk. The school was modeled after the Danish vocational school system and provided one-year of vocational education. Only women who graduated from junior high school could study at the school (Jang Byeong-wook 1978: 543). This also shows what pro-Japanese women activists aimed at improving women's social status in the Establishment.

As explained above, the main ideologies Japan enforced onto Korean women were sacrificing themselves for the country and admiring Japanese motherhood. The theory Christian women used as an excuse for their cooperation with Japan was that they had no choice but to follow Japanese policy in order to educate Korean women. Since it was a compromise with harsh reality, they felt the pangs of conscience and had to endure all difficulties by counting on God. But it was optimism for a bright future that helped them put up with all criticism about their pro-Japanese activities from their fellow people.

The belief that Japan would be finally defeated made them concentrate on

education for women more with the goal of enhancing women's social status. They understood that Western countries had achieved society without sexual discrimination because they continued to improve women's social status through education. In this context, they put higher priority on the movement rather than national independence since the country they wanted was not just an independent one but one without discrimination against women as well as independence. However, the movement had limitations in that it did nothing for those who really suffered from their poor condition and who had been ostracized from society. It also failed to take into account Korea's different situation in applying the Western theory. Despite these limitations, the movement did many things for Korean women for the long run.

Conclusion

From the review of the Japanese policy and different ideological approaches to the Christian women's, I draw the following basic points. First, the Japanese policy of erasing Koreans' national sense was the most consistent policy during the 36 years of Japanese rule. The goal was to make Korean people worship the Japanese Emperor, thinking him to be a living god. The ideology was first established by the leaders of the Meiji Reform in a way to integrate the country and the ideology was strongly supported with national Shinto. Also, the Japanese Emperor was proclaimed as a sacred and inviolable living god. In this process, Japan became more and more conservative and used the ideology as an excuse for its invasion into and then wars with other countries.

Meanwhile, the ways Japan chose for effective implementation of the colonial policy were education and the *jinja* system. The first step was to pronounce the Chosun Education Order and establish *jinja*. After the March First Uprising, it adopted its cultural assimilation policy in a way to strengthen the existing policy of erasing Koreans' national sense. Then, faced with the world financial crisis, it caused the Manchurian Incident and then the Sino-Japanese War and finally the Pacific War in order to relieve its economic difficulties. In this situation, Japan again changed its governing policy over the peninsula to make Korea a base of military supply, which resulted in more intensified oppression. It required all Koreans, including Christians, to visit *jinja* as a sign of recognizing the Japanese Emperor as a living god. However, Christians objected to the policy since it contradicted their religion.

Second, the ideologies behind Christian women who refused to follow the Japanese policy were their belief in the only God and the Second Advent of Christ. The latter gave them hope for the future and represented their wish of building a Christian country liberated from the Japanese yoke. And we should notice that there was also the national sense and newly awakened sense of their social status as women. However, many of them were missionaries who themselves had been exploited and neglected in Korean society. They knew well what women's life was like under colonial rule. To them, the gospel presented the way to be freed from the yoke. In short, Christianity helped these women have the national sense to be awakened to their poor status and so they became the base on which these women actively waged the anti-Japanese movement. They did not give up their religion for Japanese policy even though it cost their lives.

Third, another ideology enforced upon Korean women was that they sacrificed their family for country and admiring imperial motherhood. There were Christian women who cooperated with Japanese policy, saying that they had no choice but to follow it in order to continue education for Korean women. They suffered from condemnation and criticism from their fellow people but concentrated on their mission of education by entrusting themselves to God.

With the belief that Japan would be defeated, they put all effort into improving women's social and economic status. They wanted to follow the examples of western countries and, in order to achieve the same society, put higher importance on education over national independence. However, they failed to pay attention to women who were really alienated from society and who had suffered most, showing the limitations of their movement. Also they did not take into consideration the differences between Korea and other western countries. Despite the failure, they strove to improve the social and economic status of Korean women and exerted a positive influence from the long-term viewpoint.

Behind the ideologies of both those who objected to Japanese policy and those who participated in the policy was a common belief - the optimistic view based on the Christian doctrine that Japan would be finally defeated and that a bright future would appear in the near future. Although their actions were totally different to each other, they all stuck to Christianity. The women who participated in the anti-Japanese movement were mostly missionaries. They even risked their life for their religion. However, those who took the opposite way did so, thinking that it was the only way to continue education for women. One thing noticeable is the difference in social economic status between the two groups. Most of the former group came from rather lower classes while those of the lat-

ter group from higher classes who had secured privileges in society. This difference may be one of reasons that caused them to take quite opposite ways in responding to the Japanese policy.

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