

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: SCHOOL, STATE, AND NATION:
EDUCATIONAL RHETORICS AT A
KOREAN WOMEN'S COLLEGE DURING
AND AFTER JAPANESE COLONIZATION,
1918–1965

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Dissertation directed by: Professor Jessica Enoch
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“School, State, and Nation” examines how the leaders and students of Ewha College, founded by American missionaries in 1910 as Korea’s first college for women, used rhetorical strategies to negotiate Japanese colonial power and Korean patriarchal objectives as they pursued their educational goals during and after the Japanese colonial period (1918–1965). This project draws on a range of Korean- and English-language primary sources, including letters, reports, photographs, articles, emblems, and autobiographies, especially the work of Ewha’s last American president Alice Appenzeller (in office 1922–1939) and first Korean president Kim Hwallan (1939–1961). Analyzing these sources, I show how Ewha became a contested site for the competing agendas of the Japanese colonial state, Korean nationalists, and the school community. I argue that Appenzeller, Kim, and Ewha women generally crafted what I call “educational rhetorics,” or the rhetorical strategies leveraged to constantly re/define their school’s

relationship with the Japanese state and Korean nation during and after the colonial period. I identify performance, debates about education's utility, and confession as three categories of these educational rhetorics. "School, State, and Nation" analyzes these educational rhetorics and argues that Ewha women leveraged them during the colonial period 1) to cooperate with the Japanese state while resisting its assimilating and imperializing goals, and 2) to signal their support for Korea's independence and welfare while insisting on women's equality in this nationalist project, and, after Korea's liberation in 1945, 3) to mitigate Korean criticisms of Kim's wartime collaboration with Japan. Anglophone rhetoric scholars have increasingly diversified our understanding of how rhetoric works in environments outside the US and Europe, examined the role of schools in identify formation and promoting/stifling political activism, and studied the rhetorical power of performance, education, and confession to dis/empower marginalized groups and pursue social reform. "School, State, and Nation" builds on and complicates this rhetorical scholarship by extending it into post/colonial Korea, where the complex environment complicates national and cultural categories of rhetoric, diversifies our understanding of the rhetorical role of women's colleges in colonial and postcolonial environments, and problematizes definitions of patriotism and collaboration.

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by

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Transcription and Transliteration Notes

I have tried to follow the 국어의 로마자 표기법 (Revised Romanization of Korean) promulgated by the South Korean government in 2000 rather than the older McCune–Reischauer system that has remained common in United States scholarship. Personal names, however, are much messier, since Koreans typically choose their own romanizations. In general, I follow the transliteration used by each author. The main exception is 김활란 Kim Hwallan: when writing in English, she called herself Helen Kim, but since she is no longer remembered in the US, her Korean name seems more appropriate.

Spelling conventions in the Korean alphabet during the first decades of the twentieth century differed from modern usage. As a result, older texts use letters and letter combinations that are not available on modern keyboards – at least not in American versions of Microsoft Word. For sake of time and convenience, I have modernized these spellings:

1. The vowel • modernized to ㅚ
2. Consonant clusters converted to modern double consonants (ㅅㅅ to ㅆ, ㅅㅈ to ㅆ, ㅅㅊ to ㅈ, ㅅㅌ to ㅎ, ㅅㅍ to ㅍ, *et cetera*)
3. ㅑ, a sign indicating that a syllable should be held out longer for emphasis, rotated to ㅑ to follow the reorientation of the original texts from vertical to horizontal lines. (Korean was traditionally written in vertical columns ordered

from right to left, like traditional Chinese and Japanese. I have reoriented them due to the greater convenience in Microsoft Word.)

4. Following MLA guidelines¹ for Korean-language texts, I have replaced 『』 and 「」 (used for quotation marks or book titles) with modern English equivalents, using quotation marks for quotes and article titles and bold text for book and periodical titles.
5. However, I have retained Korean ellipsis tradition, writing “……” where in English we would conventionally write “...”

¹ <http://library.khu.ac.kr/c.php?g=121218&p=791813>

Introduction

Educational Rhetorics, Ewha College, and Occupied Korea



Figure 1: Kim Hwallan's statue defaced by students on the Ewha Womans University campus in 2017. *Huffington Post Korea.*



Figure 2: Ewha Womans University students act out pulling down Kim Hwallan's statue in 2017. *Seoul.co.kr.*

1. The Controversy over Kim Hwallan's Collaboration with Japan

김활란 Kim Hwallan² (1899–1970) is one of the most controversial figures of Korea's Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) and perhaps of its entire twentieth century. She was widely admired during her lifetime in Korea and beyond as an ideal modern woman and leader. Kim was educated by American missionaries in Korea's first women's school, became Korea's first woman PhD, was an outspoken advocate for women's rights and education. Moreover, she became a leader of national and international importance, serving as president of Ewha College, Korea's first women's college (1939–1948) and university (1948–1961), as minister in the South Korean government, and as one of her country's first UN representatives. However, her career was also defined by Japan's occupation of her country, and the constraints imposed on her as a Korean leader, educator, and woman proved increasingly difficult to negotiate. During World War II in particular, when Kim was serving as Ewha College's first Korean president, the Japanese colonial government pressured her to collaborate with its programs to assimilate Koreans as Japanese and mobilize Korea's human and material resources for Japan's wars. The government especially pushed her to contribute to the Japanese propaganda campaign encouraging Korean men to enlist in the Japanese military, or give up control of Ewha to the government. This wartime collaboration with Japan has brought Kim enormous criticism in recent decades.

² Korean and other East Asian languages put the family name (Kim) first and the personal name (Hwallan) last.

Kim was not alone in her collaboration with the Japanese government, and after Korea's liberation at the end of World War II, some Koreans called for these "collaborators" to be identified and punished (see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion). On the whole, however, the collaborator controversy remained subordinate to other conflicts in postcolonial Korea, especially between communism and capitalism. Kim's reputation remained more or less positive in South Korea until the 1990s, when younger generations of Koreans began confronting the mixed legacy of the generations who had dominated South Korea's leadership since 1945. Popular support grew for the compilation of an official list of colonial-era traitors to be compiled, and the government finally gave its approval: the result was the *친일인명사전 (Chin-il Inmyeong Sajeon) Pro-Japanese Biographical Dictionary* in 2009, which included Kim's name (Bae 111).³ As a result of the *Dictionary* and this negative attention, Kim has been widely condemned as a traitor in South Korea today, even – or perhaps especially – by students at her own Ewha Womans⁴ University. In 2017, for example, Ewha students demonstrated near Kim's statue on the campus in Seoul, South Korea. Students demanded the statue's removal and set up an information board detailing Kim's misdeeds. They defaced the statue (figure 1) and

³ However, women have received disproportionate attention and criticism in this collaboration controversy, with Kim now familiar as a Japanese traitor, while 백낙준 Paek Nakjun/George Paik, the president of Ewha's brother college (today Yonsei University) – who collaborated in much the same way as Kim – has largely avoided attention (Kwon 53).

⁴ Ewha Womans University, which describes itself as the world's largest women's university, is the descendent of Ewha College. "Womans" in the singular and without an apostrophe is the official English spelling of the university's name today. The school's website explains that "womans," formed as a neologism by Kim, indicates their "desire to respect the uniqueness and individuality of each of Ewha's students" (<https://www.ewha.ac.kr/mbs/ewhaen>). My own suspicion is that Kim modeled it after "Columbia University Teachers College," where she completed her doctoral studies (see chapter 2), since "teachers" similarly lacks an apostrophe, though for a different reason.

enacted pulling it down (figure 2), with a student dressed in a graduation gown and glasses representing Kim. This was only one such anti-Kim demonstration at Ewha in what has now extended to a twenty-year controversy and has included multiple protests and angry performances including Kim's burning in effigy (Kwon 43).

Although this collaborator issue has been a significant controversy in South Korea, it has attracted little attention in rhetorical studies. This dissertation takes the debate about Kim as its starting point, suggesting that a rhetorical perspective – on Kim and her Ewha community's ever-shifting rhetorical situations, audiences, and persuasive goals and strategies – reveals a much more complicated picture than patriot or collaborator. But this controversy also provides a lens onto the broader experience of women's education in colonial-era Korea, and here, too, very little has been done in the way of rhetorical studies.

The problems that Kim and Ewha women faced in occupied and postcolonial Korea were often *rhetorical* problems: they sought to persuade their Korean and Japanese audiences of their vision of the relationship between women's schools, the colonial state, and their ethnic nation against competing views. Identifying and analyzing the persuasive means un/available to women educators in the colonial and postcolonial Korean contexts challenges scholars of rhetoric in numerous ways. How do we study rhetoric outside Europe and the US? What was the role of women's schools in shaping identities and preventing or promoting political activism in post/colonial environments? What kinds of persuasive strategies have women educators in post/colonial environments used to pursue their own goals while negotiating political and social constraints? "School, State, and Nation" takes a step

into the complex environment of Korean women's education during and after Japanese colonization with these broad rhetorical questions in mind.

In this study, I view Kim in her rhetorical context by examining her persuasive efforts along with those of her predecessor and mentor Alice Appenzeller (1885–1950) and of Ewha women generally between 1918 and 1965. I define their strategies as “educational rhetorics” and argue that Kim, Appenzeller, and the Ewha community used these educational rhetorics to negotiate Japanese colonization and Korean colonial and postcolonial criticisms as they pursued their educational aims. The three body chapters divide these educational rhetorics into three categories. Chapter 1 identifies performance as a rhetorical strategy crafted between 1925 and 1940 under the leadership of Alice Appenzeller as a strategic choice to define their work as apolitical to preserve Ewha while defending the school's Korean, Christian, and American identities. Chapter 2 centers on Kim's own rhetorical work from the same colonial period, exploring the rise and fall of her use of “rhetorics of educational utility.” With these rhetorics, Kim strategically engaged discussions about the usefulness of education to empower women and help her nation while resisting both Korean critics and Japanese policies. Chapter 3 examines how Kim used confession as a third educational rhetoric to mitigate postcolonial Korean anger at her collaboration with Japan. Together, these educational rhetorics complicate our national and cultural categories of rhetoric (“Greco-Roman,” “Korean”), diversify our understanding of the rhetorical role of women's colleges in colonial and postcolonial environments, and problematize ideas of patriotism and collaboration.

2. Historical Context: Japanese Colonization, Ewha College, Alice Appenzeller, and Colonial Censorship

The first challenge of rhetorically analyzing Kim and Ewha women's rhetorical practices at this time is their complex and constantly shifting sociopolitical environment. Korea was ruled by the Joseon dynasty (Classical Chinese: 朝鮮, Korean: 조선 *Joseon* “morning calm/beauty”) when American missionaries began establishing schools for girls in the 1880s. However, Japan's imperialism and American complicity robbed Korea of its independence⁵ between 1894 and 1910.⁶ According to their traditional tributary relationship, China had guaranteed Korea's protection in return for annual tributes, but both China and Korea were slower to adopt Western military technology than Japan.⁷ Following the Meiji Restoration⁸ (明治維新) in 1868, Japan had rapidly modernized on Western models, and its leaders began pursuing imperial designs – also like Western nations – first in Taiwan⁹ and then Korea. Japan first gained influence in Korea by crushing outdated Chinese forces

⁵ I use this problematic term as the lesser of two evils (the other being “tributary state”). This is a sensitive issue for many South Koreans today. By the late 1800s, Korea had maintained a tributary relationship with China for many centuries. Yet this tributary relationship defies easy categorization, being neither an *equal* nor a colonial relationship in the modern sense of the word (see Cumings 100). But Korea was *not* “part of China,” at this time, as it was unfortunately characterized in US President Donald Trump's gaff during his first state meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping on April 12, 2017 (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/04/19/trumps-claim-that-korea-actually-used-to-be-a-part-of-china/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.3f12bc0ef354). Korea had its own monarchs and state bureaucracy, language, clothing, food, and other unique cultural traits. Following the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), China relinquished this tributary relationship with Korea, offering the peninsula a theoretical equal status. However, with Japanese power growing in Korea, this equality was only partial and short-lived. See Cumings chapters 2–3.

⁶ For overviews of Japan's annexation of Korea, see Duus; Cumings (chapters 2–3); Hwang (chapters 13–16); and McKenzie.

⁷ For a recent study of the Korea-China tributary relationship during the Qing dynasty, see Kim Seonmin.

⁸ For one recent study, see Kitaoka.

⁹ Japan won Taiwan from China as its first colony in 1895 following its victory in the First Sino-Japanese War. See studies by Tierney; Matsuda; and Myers et al.

in the First Sino-Japanese War¹⁰ (1894–1895). Russian leaders also hoped to colonize Korea, and the competing designs of these two countries led to the Russo-Japanese War¹¹ (1904–1905), in which Japan stunned many world observers by becoming the first modernized non-Western power to defeat one of the Western colonial empires at war.¹²

However, Japan's victory was in part thanks to American support. During the war, American lenders with President Theodore Roosevelt's approval had provided Japan with huge loans.¹³ Moreover in 1905, Roosevelt helped negotiate peace between Russia and Japan in the Treaty of Portsmouth, which won him the Nobel Peace Prize. Yet this prize came as a bitter irony to Koreans: as part of this treaty, the American president acknowledged Japan's "paramount political, military, and economical interests" in Korea ("Treaty of Portsmouth"). Roosevelt had his own imperial ambitions, supporting America's capture of Hawaii and colonization of the Philippines in 1900 – actions which had alarmed the Japanese. Indeed, Japan had sent ships to Hawaii in 1897 in attempt to resist American colonization there (Morgan 213–216). In return, therefore, for Japan's condoning US conquests in the Pacific, Roosevelt gave his recognition to Japan's control of Korea. This special arrangement was confirmed in the "Taft-Katsura Memorandum" that same year (Nagata 159–160; Esthus). By approving Japanese occupation of Korea, Roosevelt betrayed the United States' 1882 "Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation" with Korea, in

¹⁰ For a recent study, see Fröhlich.

¹¹ Nordlund provides a fascinating recent examination.

¹² See Heale 21 for reactions in the US.

¹³ Best reports \$180,000,000 from US lenders, with the total Japanese war expenditure at \$860,000,000 (313). See also Shaw 67, 130.

which America had agreed to come to Korea's aid against foreign aggressors.¹⁴ As a result, with Korea's traditional and recent allies unable (China) or unwilling (US) to help, Japan was free to impose a "protectorate" on Korea in 1905 and annex it completely in 1910. Japanese occupation lasted until August 1945, when Japan surrendered to the Allied powers following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, leading to Korea's "liberation" (Spector 22). This independence was also short-lived, however, as the US and USSR divided¹⁵ the peninsula into north and south zones of influence. Growing tensions between Korean supporters of communism and democracy ultimately led to the Korean War¹⁶ (1950–1953) followed by an uneasy armistice that persists today.

Within this historical context characterized by a seemingly endless series of political crises, Ewha Academy and College – and Kim's career there – symbolized and facilitated the social changes occurring in Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ewha Academy (Classical Chinese: 梨花學堂, Korean: 이화학당 "pear blossom academy"), the college's predecessor and Korea's first school for girls, was opened for elementary students in 1886 by American Mary F. Scranton (1832–1909).¹⁷ Scranton arrived in Korea the year before as a missionary of the Methodist Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) (Conrow 3; Willoughby 40). Korean King Gojong (Classical Chinese: 高宗, Korean: 고종)

¹⁴ See Kang Woong Joe for a study of the treaty and Im 30 for an account of Koreans' perception of Roosevelt's betrayal.

¹⁵ Hwang 196.

¹⁶ See Cumings chapter 5.

¹⁷ Much excellent scholarship has been done on women missionary educators in various regions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – see Choi and Jolly; Desser; Graham; Hill; Huber and Lutkehaus; Hunter; Jolly and Macintyre; Porterfield; Robert; Singh; and Insun Yoon.

avored reform in his kingdom and quickly gave his support to the school, naming it “Ewha (pear blossom) Academy” in 1887, probably because of the pear trees around Scranton’s home where the first lessons were held.¹⁸ From just one student in its first year, the school expanded to middle and high school and finally began offering college classes in 1910. The college’s first graduating class in 1914 included only three students, but by 1936, 236 students were enrolled and 262 had graduated (Conrow 13, 35). Kim entered Ewha as a middle school student and went on to complete high school and college there, graduating in 1918 as part of the college’s fifth class (Conrow 16). She went on to teach in the college, later serving as dean and finally, from 1939, as its first Korean president.

However, from Ewha College’s founding in 1910, its American and Korean teachers and students faced two major challenges. First, Japan annexed Korea in August of that year, and the new colonial regime sought to use Korean schools as sites for assimilating Korean children as obedient imperial subjects by teaching Japanese language, history, and culture (Han 259; Brown 586–587; see chapters 1 and 2). Yet Ewha leaders were unwilling to participate in this assimilation work, as chapter 1 argues, making the college an educational and political threat to colonial regime of the 1910s. Of course, Ewha’s leaders needed to obey Japanese regulations to continue operating, but the school’s American and Korean members crafted strategies to preserve their hybrid Korean, American, and Christian identities. At times, however, Ewha’s Americans and Koreans sometimes disagreed about their

¹⁸ https://www.ewha.ac.kr/mbs/ewhaen/subview.jsp?id=ewhaen_010401000000).

college's relationship with the Japanese state and the Korean nation, particularly during the March First Independence Movement (see chapter 1). Many Korean students and staff became determined to demonstrate politically for their nation's independence, while Americans sought an apolitical path to keep the school and its members safe. However, as all three body chapters will detail, American Alice Appenzeller (president of Ewha from 1922–1939) and Korean Kim Hwallan (president 1939–1961) together developed a compromise position during their many years of cooperation in leadership positions at Ewha: they would carefully obey Japanese laws, but they negotiated Japanese assimilation through rhetorical strategies that balanced cooperation with resistance – strategies that I am labelling “educational rhetorics.”

In addition to negotiating the assimilationist educational goals of the Japanese colonial administration, the second challenge to Ewha College came from Koreans themselves. Due to the patriarchal culture prevalent during the Joseon dynasty, many Koreans objected to women's education, especially in the school's early years. After the college's founding in 1910, Ewha teachers and students at times faced bitter opposition from patriarchally-minded Koreans who objected to women's changing roles and education (Appenzeller, “朝鮮” [Problems] 47). Recently, historian Hyaeweol Choi has described women's traditional subordinate status in Korea and Western missionaries' response to it:

The traditional Korean norms included such notions as *samjong chido*¹⁹ [“threefold subordination teaching”] to the three male figures

¹⁹ Classical Chinese: 三從之道, Korean: 삼종지도

in her life – father, husband, and son – and *namjon yŏbi*²⁰ (men revered, women despised), which was used to define overall family gender dynamics. From a missionary point of view, these practices simply reconfirmed the harm of pagan customs against women.

(*Gender* 77)

Another practice singled out as evidence for women’s low social standing in Korea was the fact that daughters were often not given personal names (Willoughby 26). As a result of this subordination, most Korean women were not permitted to gain an education before the country’s modernization starting in the late nineteenth century. Yet even among Korean reformers who supported women’s *education* (like King Gojong, as we have seen), some remained opposed to women’s changing social roles and equality, as chapter 1 will explore in more detail.

Ewha Academy and College leaders hoped to free Korean women from such repressive attitudes through Western and Christian gender ideals. Seeking to elevate women socially and spiritually, Scranton, and her successors Appenzeller and Kim, offered a mixed curriculum, at once Korean and Western, secular and Christian, taught in English and Korean (Yoo 49). The school’s American influence was undeniable, as students learned the Bible in English and studied Western history and sciences (이혜정 Lee Hae Joung 23; Yoo 50). Teachers and students also sought to modernize²¹ women’s social standing by founding Korea’s first women’s magazine,

²⁰ Classical Chinese: 男尊女卑, Korean: 남존여비

²¹ Choi has questioned how “modern” Ewha’s influence actually was, pointing out the ways that institutions like Ewha perpetuated separate spheres for women rather than undermining them (Choi, *Gender* 3). See also 이혜정 Lee Hae Joung. My concern, however, is with the ways that Ewha women *articulated* their education rather than the historical or social realities. See chapter 2 for a discussion of the social roles that Kim and her contemporaries advocated for Ewha’s graduates.

신여자 *Sin Yeoja* (new woman), in 1920, and forming a Korean branch of the YWCA in 1922 (Choi, *New Women* 26, 227; Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 52). But even as the school worked to modernize Korean women's social standing, Ewha leaders also declared their intention to preserve what they considered the best of Korean culture. The school taught the Korean vernacular as well as Classical Chinese and English, for example, and the home economics department during the 1920s and 1930s emphasized traditional Korean architecture, cooking, and sewing (Yoo 47–50; Willoughby 46; Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 96–97; see chapter 1).

This dissertation focuses attention on Kim and the educational rhetorics at Ewha, but to fully understand this rhetorical situation, we need to examine the work of her friend and predecessor as Ewha president, Alice Appenzeller, whose approach to the Japanese she often emulated. Crossing national categories, Appenzeller identified as both Korean and American, paralleling Ewha College's own hybrid identity. She was born in 1885 in Korea, the “first white child born in Korea,” the year before Ewha's founding by Mary Scranton. In fact, her parents, Henry (1858–1902) and Ella Dodge Appenzeller (1854–1916) had sailed with Scranton, and together they were Korea's first Methodist missionaries (Pahk 55). Alice grew up speaking Korean fluently, eating Korean food, and singing Korean songs (김성은 Gim Seong-eun, “아펜 켈러 Alice R. Appenzeller” 177). Later in life, she referred to herself as an “Oriental” and to Korea as her homeland (수-II-B-5-5-4-20). Moreover, she devoted her career to Korean women's education. Nevertheless, Appenzeller was educated in the United States, attending high school in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and earning her bachelor's degree at Wellesley College in Massachusetts and her master's

degree at Columbia University Teachers College. It was as an American missionary, moreover, that she returned to Korea after college, sponsored by the WFMS to teach at Ewha College in 1915, three years before Kim graduated from Ewha and began teaching there as well (Conrow 19–20). In 1922, following the death of Ewha College president Lulu Frey (see chapter 1), Appenzeller was appointed as the school’s third president, a post that she would hold until 1939, when Kim took over (김성은 Gim Seong-eun 51). Given Appenzeller’s resulting mix of Korean and American identities, she perfectly articulated and embodied the school’s mission to foster modern Korean women informed by American Protestant Christianity. Even more importantly for my purposes, Appenzeller led Ewha College’s response to Japanese colonization, closely following government regulations while working with her American and Korean colleagues and students to defend the school’s Korean, Christian, and American identities, as chapter 1 demonstrates.

As Appenzeller, Kim, and the Ewha community generally sought to advance women’s education in this volatile political and social environment, they were constrained in their efforts by Japanese censorship and control of the public sphere. Waxing and waning in its rigor, with periods of especially relentless scrutiny during the 1910s and late 1930s–1945, Japanese regulation of the public sphere conditioned the way Ewha women represented themselves and their work. Writers both Korean and Western who criticized Japanese rule in Korea, and the journals who published them, were punished.²² For example, the Korean daily newspaper *환성신보*

²² For an overview of Japanese censorship of newspapers, see Schmid “Censorship”; Chong; and Kim and Kim 181–188.

Hwanseong Sinbo published an issue denouncing the 1905 “Protectorate” treaty, resulting in editor 장지연 Jang Jiyeon’s arrest and three month imprisonment by the Japanese and ultimately the closure of the paper after annexation in 1910 (Schmid 95). Westerners were not exempt. Englishman Ernest Bethell owned and published the bilingual Korean- and English-language daily newspaper 대한매일신보 *Daehan Maeil Sinbo*. Often critical of the Japanese, Bethell published an account of the suicide by patriotic official 민영환 Min Yeonghwan in protest of the 1905 Protectorate Treaty and called for Koreans not to forget his sacrifice (Schmid 143). In 1908, Bethell’s paper referenced the demands of 의병 (“Righteous Army,” anti-Japanese fighters) leader 허위 Heo Wi to restore Korea’s sovereignty in 1908 (Dudden 77). Thanks to Bethell’s extraterritoriality as a British citizen, the Japanese were unable to arrest him, giving him unprecedented ability to criticize their policies in Korea (Schmid 166). However, the Japanese pressured their ally Britain to silence Bethell, and in 1908, British authorities put him in prison, where he soon died (167). Similarly, Homer Hulbert, an American educator and advisor to Korean Emperor Gojong, undertook a secret mission to deliver Gojong’s appeal to the Western powers to defend Korea’s sovereignty as they met at the Second Hague Peace Conference in 1907, and he published a book criticizing Japan’s occupation of Korea in 1906 (Cumings 145; Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*). He became a *persona non grata* and was forced to leave Korea in 1907 (“Homer Hulbert”). Finally, Canadian missionary Frank Schofield actively supported Korean independence. During the 1919 March First Independence Movement (see chapter 1), he photographed the demonstrations and visited Ewha teacher 박인덕 Pahn Induk in prison after her arrest for

participating in the Movement to ensure her good treatment (Pahk 65; Legault and Prescott). Schofield was also pressured to leave Korea in 1920 (Legault and Prescott). By the time Kim began teaching at Ewha in 1918 and Alice Appenzeller was appointed president in 1922 (see chapter 1), therefore, both Koreans and Westerners had learned what the limits were for public utterances and performances.²³ To carry out their work in occupied Korea, Ewha women had to adapt their rhetorical strategies to the precarious reality.

3. Project Definition

“School, State, and Nation” situates the Kim collaborator controversy within this broader context of Ewha College, women’s education, and Korea’s colonial and postcolonial eras. A rhetorical approach to debates about women’s education and the responsibility of Ewha College to the colonial state and Korean nation reveals a more complex situation than is often recognized by Kim’s critics and supporters alike. Kim and other women educators at Ewha College faced both the imperializing objectives of the Japanese colonial state and the antipathy of many Koreans who opposed women’s changing roles. To continue operating their school, Ewha leaders and students crafted what I will call “educational rhetorics” to convince the Japanese state that they were not a political threat and their Korean community that they had their nation’s welfare in mind. Nevertheless, the increasingly fascist Japanese dictatorship of the 1930s and 1940s brought every aspect of education under its control. After

²³ Censorship was familiar to missionaries in other colonial environments as well. Liz Rohan has explained how American missionaries in Angola had their personal letters censored by the Portuguese colonial government during the 1930s.

independence in 1945, Kim confessed her wartime collaboration as a new educational rhetoric for a changed South Korean readership.

This study, then, seeks to complicate national and cultural rhetorical categories, diversify our understanding of the rhetorical negotiations of women's colleges in post/colonial environments, and problematize the Kim collaborator controversy by bringing a rhetorical perspective to the development of women's education in Korea during and after Japanese occupation. It analyzes the persuasive strategies of Kim, her American mentor Alice Appenzeller, and the Ewha community generally between 1918 and 1965, focusing on their articles, speeches, letters, reports, photographs, emblems, autobiographies, and performances. Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever" (15).²⁴ "School, State, and Nation" recovers the persuasive means available to women educators within the colonial and postcolonial environments, arguing that their rhetorics functioned to advocate women's education and Korea's welfare by negotiating the constraints of Japanese colonization and Korean patriarchy. I define these rhetorical techniques as "educational rhetorics": the rhetorical strategies crafted by Ewha women to advance women's education in a hostile sociopolitical colonial environment, especially by re/defining the relationship between their school, the Japanese state, and the Korean nation.²⁵ I contend that

²⁴ "Ἐστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρησαὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν" (14).

²⁵ The terms "state" and "nation" require definitions. To summarize a typical contemporary understanding, states 1) have clearly-delineated land and borders, 2) bureaucracies, and 3) monopolize violence, law-making, and other work (<https://www.e-education.psu.edu/geog128/node/534>). Oomen points out a "tension between state and nation" in that the "state wants to systematize, simplify, label and homogenise socio-cultural categories because it makes administration easy" (213). In contrast, "nations are incessantly in search of roots, emphasising their difference and identity," concluding that "The tension between state and nation then is the tension between homogenisation and pluralism" (213). Drawing on these definitions, I will define "state" as the Japanese apparatus of government

Appenzeller, Kim, and Ewha women pursued this goal through three broad categories of educational rhetorics: performance, educational utility debates, and confession. I analyze these educational rhetorics and argue that Ewha women leveraged them during the colonial period 1) to balance cooperating with the Japanese state with resisting its assimilating and imperializing goals, and 2) to signal their support for Korea's independence and welfare while insisting on women's equality in this nationalist project, and, after Korea's liberation in 1945, 3) to mitigate Korean criticisms of Kim's wartime collaboration with Japan.

The dissertation is divided into three chapters based on the three categories of educational rhetorics – performance (chapter 1), educational utility debates (chapter 2), and confession (chapter 3). It demonstrates the way Kim, Appenzeller, and the Ewha community drew on these different persuasive techniques to define their school's relationship with and responsibilities to the Japanese colonial state and the Korean nation based on their changing colonial and postcolonial situations. I analyze how the educational rhetorics of performance, educational utility, and confession constructed a strategic apolitical patriotism for Ewha College to balance contradictory Japanese and Korean demands: in this apolitical patriotic construction, Ewha women maintained their Korean culture and were dedicated to their nation's long-term welfare, but they posed no political threat to Japan and should be allowed to continue their work undisturbed. Nevertheless, I show how this apolitical patriotism satisfied neither side, with the Japanese increasingly silencing their rhetorics during the

imposed on the Korean peninsula and the “nation” as the (real and/or imagined) Korean ethnic and racial group (drawing on the Latin root *natus* “born” – people born from a common ancestor).

colonial period, and postcolonial Korean critics asking why they hadn't demonstrated more aggressively. With the wisdom of hindsight, we see that Kim might have done better to close Ewha for a year or two during World War II to avoid collaboration with the Japanese government, which was doomed to destruction anyway. Caught in the messiness and uncertainties of that past present (see conclusion), however, Kim made choices based on the persuasive means available to her. Ultimately, Ewha women's educational rhetorics reveal the limited means of persuasion available in the contexts of colonization, war, and decolonization: the competing Korean and Japanese demands proved an impossible dilemma.

4. Research Method and Chapter Overview

Chapters 1, 2, and 3 center on three categories of educational rhetorics – performance, educational utility debates, and confession. Chapter 1 focuses on the performative educational rhetorics of the Ewha community and Japanese government as deployed and witnessed by Alice Appenzeller between 1925 and 1940 to argue that Ewha women used rhetorical performances of the school's Korean, Christian, and American identities instead of political activism to negotiate Japanese colonial power. In this chapter, I analyze primary materials from the Ewha Womans University Archives in Seoul, South Korea, especially personal and general letters, and reports to and from Appenzeller from the 1920s to the 1940s. These archival materials enable me to track the way that Appenzeller, her fellow American missionary teachers, and Korean students used performances to re/negotiate changing Japanese colonial administrations across two decades. Under Appenzeller's leadership, Ewha women's

performances strategically constructed their school as apolitically patriotic – they remained strictly apolitical to keep peace with Japan but signaled their resistance to Japanese assimilation by performing Christian, Korean, and American identities.

Chapter 1 considers both performances in the traditional sense – specifically, school pageants and music concerts – and performances more broadly conceived: visual displays, performative silence, and epideictic letters and reports. Ewha’s annual May Day pageant, for example, provided Ewha students and teachers with a strategy to acknowledge Japanese political dominance while continuing to represent their school’s non-Japanese identities in the face of Japanese assimilation efforts. Similarly, Ewha women leveraged visual rhetorics, in the form of the 1930 school seal and in carefully-staged school photographs in 1940, to resist Japanese educational goals. Furthermore, students used their performative silence to contest Japanese assimilation by refusing to sing the school song after it had been translated into Japanese. Finally, Ewha women used epideictic rhetoric in reports and letters to characterize Appenzeller’s ouster from the school’s presidency in 1939 as part of their own long-term goal to foster Korean women leaders.

At the same time, chapter 1 also reveals how the Japanese colonial government used many of these same performative rhetorical strategies to pursue its own educational goals. For example, I read the government’s 1926 tour of Japanese schools for American missionary educators as a performative rhetoric designed to pressure Americans into aligning with its modernizing and Japanizing goals for Korean education. Moreover, the government recognized the rhetorical threat of Ewha’s performative rhetorics and increasingly moved against them: it cancelled the

May Day pageants, literally erased the school seal's Korean, American, and Christian images to silence its performance of non-Japanese identities, and ended Ewha's music concerts.

Chapter 2 shifts from Appenzeller and the Ewha community in general to Kim herself between 1918 and 1942. I identify her references to debates about the utility of classical liberal arts and vocational education (especially of women), and the careers that this education should prepare women for, as a second educational rhetoric to negotiate both Japanese colonial power and Korean criticisms. This chapter draws on Kim's Korean- and English-language speeches, articles, and PhD dissertation, especially materials archived at the Korea University Library Special Collections in Seoul, South Korea, in the *HathiTrust* digital archive, and in printed reproductions of colonial-era periodicals. I contend that Kim referenced these liberal arts/vocational education conversations to pursue her twin goals for women's social advancement and Korea's strengthening. Focusing on five moments of her colonial-era writing career, I show how she leveraged these conversations about educational utility to 1) win Korean support for women's education, 2) resist Korean criticisms of educated "New Women," 3) criticize Japanese educational policies in Korea, and 4) resist Japanese militarism and call for a practical education aimed at preparing women for a weakened economy. However, compelled by the Japanese state during World War II, Kim referenced these same conversations in a reversed way, urging Korean women to serve the Japanese Empire in their homes rather than pursuing education and social leadership. In other words, drawing on these five rhetorical moments, I maintain that Kim's rhetoric was consistently concerned with Korea's national welfare as well as

women's rights. The pro-Japanese speeches published under her name during World War II use rhetorics of educational utility in exactly the opposite way that she had done throughout the rest of her career: her decision to let her name be used on these speeches reveals that the constraints of colonization and war left her with no sense of choice, if she wanted to retain control of Ewha.

Chapter 3 follows Kim's writing into the postcolonial era to examine the way the altered environment of 1960s South Korea placed new constraints on her rhetorical endeavors. I argue that Kim, criticized by fellow educator 임영신 Im Yeongsin/Louise Yim (1899–1977), used confession of her wartime collaboration as an educational rhetoric to win back South Korean readers' goodwill. I focus on her Korean-language autobiography, *그 빛속에 작은 생명* *Geu Bitsoge Jageun Saengmyeong* (the little life in the light), printed in 1965 by Ewha Womans University Press. I compare this work with two other texts: Kim's 1964 English-language memoir, *Grace Sufficient*, published in America by The Upper Room, and the English-language autobiography of her Korean critic Im Yeongsin, *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, printed in America in 1951 by A.A. Wyn, Inc. and in 1959 in Korea by Chung-Ang University Press. Beginning with Im's text, I show how she criticized Kim, Ewha, and American missionary educators for their collaboration with Japan and characterized Kim as a traitor. I see Im's critique as representative of the position of post-liberation Koreans who sought to identify and punish Japanese collaborators. I then explore how Kim tailored her responses to such critiques for her American and Korean audiences, especially via confession in her Korean-language memoir. Her English-language autobiography presents her work at Ewha in a positive light and

emphasizes her religious rather than patriotic efforts. In contrast, Kim's Korean-language text reveals an educational rhetoric that both defends her patriotic credentials at Ewha and confesses her collaboration. By both confessing and defending her actions in this way, I contend, Kim's 1965 memoir sought to secure her Korean audience's sympathy and forgiveness.

In the concluding chapter, I reflect on the continuing – perhaps *increasing* – importance of the Japanese colonial period for contemporary South Koreans, highlight the project's contributions to rhetorical studies, suggest avenues for future research, and share what I've learned about the challenges that confront Anglophone scholars of Korea.

5. Contributions

Broadly, “School, State, and Nation” contributes to scholarly conversations about comparative/non-Western rhetorics, rhetoric and education, rhetorical studies of performance and confession, as well as Korean studies.

Comparative/non-Western rhetoric is an exciting – though still frustratingly marginal – field that is challenging many US rhetoricians to rethink their discipline's relationship with the rest of the world. Scholars²⁶ have over the past two decades explored what it means to study “rhetoric” outside the US and Europe and outside the Greco-Roman tradition. For example, in his recent essay “Bloody Rhetoric and Civic Unrest: Rhetorical Aims of Human Blood Splashing in the 2010 Thai Political

²⁶ For example, Adsanatham; Baca and Villanueva; Cho; Coles; Frank and Park; Jon; Lu; Mao; Olson and De Los Santos; Wang; Michelle Murray Yang; You.

Revolt,” Chanon Adsanatham leverages the Thai Buddhist concept of *kaya karma* – “the intentional use of one’s body and physical actions to accomplish an aim” to analyze the 2010 Thai Red Shirt riots. Linking his work to the field of comparative rhetoric, he uses *kaya karma* to look beyond “the focus on canonical texts of elite exemplars” to “complicate our ability to see the available means of persuasion in non-Western contexts” (274, 272, 271). Thinking about definitions and tasks of comparative rhetoric in their 2013 collectively-authored essay, “Manifesting a Future for Comparative Rhetoric,” authors Mao et al. describe comparative rhetoric as the study of “rhetorical practices that have been under-represented, under-recognized, or dismissed altogether as anything but rhetoric” (Mao et al. 240).²⁷ These authors call for studies of rhetorics that are more diverse and more nuanced.

Although not a comparative study, “School, State, and Nation” broadly contributes to this work of diversifying rhetorical scholarship beyond the United States and Europe, especially by challenging national and linguistic rhetorical categories. This project examines English- and Korean-language texts written by American and Korean rhetors, but the languages do *not* correspond with the nationalities of the rhetors: Appenzeller sometimes wrote in Korean (see chapter 2), and Kim was comfortable writing in English (chapters 2 and 3). Moreover, Appenzeller was born and died in Korea and saw herself in many ways as a Korean,

²⁷ The authors’ full definition of comparative rhetoric:

Comparative rhetoric examines communicative practices across time and space by attending to historicity, specificity, self-reflexivity, processual predisposition, and imagination. Situated in and in response to globalization, comparative rhetoricians enact perspectives/performances that intervene in and transform dominant rhetorical traditions, perspectives, and practices. As an interdisciplinary practice, comparative rhetoric intersects with cognate studies and theories to challenge the prevailing patterns of power imbalance and knowledge production. (273)

while Kim was deeply familiar with American culture from her life at Ewha and years living in the US (chapter 2). As the following chapters show, both women moved physically between countries and linguistically between Korean and English, thus enacting a both transnational and multilingual rhetoric. Indeed, despite its focus on Korea, this is not a study of a “pure” Korean rhetoric (understood as the indigenous traditions of persuasion and composition): addressing a historical moment characterized by complex transnational movements and interactions – Japanese colonization, American missions, and Korean studies abroad – this project instead reveals how Ewha women developed rhetorical strategies *on the spot*, in response to multilayered and shifting audiences and social, political, and economic conditions. The result is a much messier understanding of rhetoric, not easily defined by national or linguistic boundaries.

In addition to non-Western/comparative rhetorics, “School, State, and Nation” participates in scholarly conversations about rhetoric and education. Historians of rhetoric have identified schools as complex sites of identity formation and political engagement that reinforce and complicate the priorities of the state. Focusing their attention on US schools, scholars such as Stephen Schneider, Lisa Mastrangelo, Susan Jarratt, Suzanne Bordelon, David Gold, Catherine Hobbs, Candace Epps-Robertson, and others, have shown how schools have functioned in relation to the state. In his study of Citizenship Schools, for example, Schneider describes the rhetorical role of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee in promoting civil rights and social change from the 1930s to the 1960s. On the other hand, schools have also worked as agents of oppression. In her introduction to *Rhetorical Education in*

America, for instance, Cheryl Glenn observes that rhetorical education often enforces “the preservation of dominant culture” (ix). She references Pierre Bourdieu’s observation that the function of many educational programs is “to legitimate social inequalities” (ix; see Bourdieu). Similarly, Jessica Enoch has explained that the work of the Carlisle Indian School at the turn of the twentieth century was to erase Native American languages and cultures and to replace them with the “‘civilized’ bodily and social practices of dominant white society” (*Refiguring* 74). Together, this scholarship reveals schools as sites that resist or perpetuate the dominant sociopolitical order.

Building on this work, my dissertation views Ewha College as a contested educational site of critical interest to Koreans, Japanese, and Americans. At first glimpse, American practices at Ewha sometimes appear to replicate the cultural erasure wrought by their counterparts in the US a generation before at the Carlisle Indian School: teaching students about Anglo-American culture, religion, and history in English, and depicting many of their students’ traditional practices as backwards. However, in colonial Korea, occupied not by Americans but by the Japanese, English, America, and Christianity became symbols of progress, democracy, and liberation for many Koreans (chapter 1). The position of Ewha’s American teachers themselves was more complex: unlike their Korean colleagues, they were unwilling to resist the Japanese politically, but they admired much about Korean culture and defended it from Japanese erasure campaigns as long as possible (see chapter 1; Wong and Lee). Instead, in colonial Korea, it was Japanese colonial policies that most actively pursued cultural and linguistic erasure through assimilation and the perpetuation of

Koreans' inequality. Chapter 2 explores Kim's greater concern with Korea's political welfare. Here, we see how Kim called both for women's education and Korean independence more or less overtly through discussions of educational utility. Chapter 3 maps these dis/empowering potentials of arguments about education onto Kim's postcolonial context, in which she depicted Ewha as empowering Korean women during colonization. For situations where she was unable to do this – especially narrating her wartime collaboration – she instead resorted to confessing her failure.

In contrast to these broader contributions of my research to non-Western/comparative rhetorics and rhetoric and education, the three body chapters of “School, State, and Nation” contribute more specifically to rhetorical studies of performance, educational utility debates, and confession. Chapter 1 engages rhetorical scholarship on performance. Scholars including Kate White, Xing Lu, Cheryl Glenn, Jill Parrott, Hyunah Yang, and Lois Agnew have revealed the ways rhetors use performance to regulate behavior, enculturate marginal populations into (still unequal positions within) a dominant community – and also to *resist* each of these same moves. For instance, Xing Lu's scholarship has revealed the way that authoritarian states use public “symbols and symbolic practices” “to legitimize the ruling ideology and alienat[e] a whole group of people” (3). Lu's *Rhetoric of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* examines the role of “symbols and symbolic practices” including “political slogans, official propaganda, the language of wall posters, the lyrics in mass songs, and model operas... denunciation rallies, political study sessions, and criticism and self-criticism meetings” in the pursuit of Mao Zedong's annihilation both of Confucian and capitalist culture (3). Although Lu does not directly link her work to

rhetorical studies of performance, her rhetorical reading of these “ritualistic practices” – especially music, theatrical performances, and rallies in the context of authoritarian rule and violence – informs my own study of Ewha College’s encounter with Japanese rule.

This project’s first chapter investigates how Ewha women’s public performances – their pageants, music, visual symbols, and epideictic displays – negotiated Japanese educational goals by presenting the school as apolitical and unthreatening to colonial rule while defending Ewha’s Korean, Christian, and American identities. However, as this chapter demonstrates, the unique complexity of the colonial Korean environment rendered not only performances of *Korean* identity as subversive to the assimilationist goals of the Japanese state, but performances of its American and Christian identities as well. These performances signaled Koreans’ anti-colonial sentiments and ran counter to the increasingly fascist colonial regime’s intentions. I explore how the colonial state used its own rhetorical performance – a tour of Japan for American teachers – and converted or silenced those at Ewha by translating its school song into Japanese, erasing Christian, Korean, and American identities from the school seal, and ending its pageants and musical performances. Building especially on Lu’s insights, I show how the Japanese government-general sought through these efforts to legitimate its rule of Korea and alienate the school’s American staff.

Chapter 2 engages with rhetorical scholarship on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century conversations in America about the relative values of liberal arts versus industrial/vocational education, especially for populations that had been

excluded from college, including women and African Americans. For example, David Gold has described the ways that these marginalized groups sometimes viewed classical and vocational education differently. “[F]or black educational and religious leaders,” Gold observes, “...classics had both powerful symbolic and practical value,” noting that, in addition to fostering literacy, “the promotion of liberal arts education often represented a conscious struggle against white definitions of what black educational institutions should be” (*Margins* 20). In contrast, he explains, classical and vocational training held a different significance at least for some white women Texans in the early twentieth century:

Whereas for other marginalized groups, such as African Americans, a classical liberal arts education was seen as the epitome of educational attainment, for white women in Texas, gender-centered vocational education represented an important avenue of socioeconomic and political advancements. Though home economics has been criticized for reinforcing gender roles, for the supporters of TWU [Texas Woman’s University] it was seen as progressive and even feminist. (*Margins* 68)

Jessica Enoch has also noted these differing significances of classical and vocational training for many white and African American women around the turn of the twentieth century (*Domestic* 75²⁸). She finds that many white women used the home

²⁸ The published edition of *Domestic Occupations* (2019) was not available to me in preparing this manuscript, so the page numbers I provide are from the copy-edited manuscript of chapter 3, “The Domestic Scientist’s Home Experiment: Spatial Rhetorics and Professional Ethos.”

economics²⁹ movement in education to claim new professional identities,³⁰ but “black educators had to clarify what a home economics education would do for its black women students and the relationship it would build (or not build) between their own and white communities” (75). In other words, these and other scholars of rhetoric have observed the ways that vocational education could be used to empower or disempower marginalized groups.

Chapter 2 explores how these debates played out at Ewha College from the 1910s to the 1940s, arguing that Kim Hwallan referenced these conversations both to claim women’s right to education and to criticize Japanese educational policies. At Ewha Academy and College, both American and Korean leaders, and Korean students and parents, negotiated among conflicting desires – for an education that was classical (providing instruction in the Confucian classics), modern (especially mastering Western knowledge via acquiring English), and also practical (through training in home economics). However, Japanese occupation imposed a further layer of complication, as colonial authorities encouraged women’s education to some extent while also promoting Japanese assimilation and mobilization for imperial wars. Chapter 2 centers on five texts across Kim’s colonial-era career to analyze the way she leveraged this debate for her own educational purposes. As a college graduate in 1918, for example, Kim directly employed the language of higher education’s utility in preparing Korean women to become modern housewives and mothers – but since this education would indirectly help build a strong Korea, Kim’s position was

²⁹ For another reexamination of the home economics movement, see Stage.

³⁰ See Skinner for a rhetorical study of American women doctors claiming professional identities in the nineteenth-century.

potentially subversive toward Japanese occupation. As an Ewha teacher in 1920, in contrast, Kim defended educated women moving into public society by addressing the question of educated women's value for society in general. In her PhD dissertation written at Columbia University Teachers College in 1931, Kim – now dean at Ewha – took advantage of her relative freedom in the US to criticize Japanese colonial education. She argued that this education was not useful to most Koreans and discriminated against them, and that it sought to shape submissive colonial subjects rather than critical thinkers, unlike Korea's classical education. Back in Korea in 1933, (now Dr.) Kim used her authority and prestige as Korea's first woman PhD to reject Korean criticisms of Ewha students and Japanese assimilation policies and describe her vision of women's education in Korea given the bleak economic realities of the global Great Depression. Here, writing for a Korean audience, Kim imagined most girls receiving a balanced liberal and vocational education but entering the workforce after high school. However, this chapter also demonstrates the downfall of these educational rhetorics during World War II, when Kim allowed her name to be signed to government propaganda essays urging Korean women to support Japan's war effort by offering up their sons and husbands as soldiers. These articles inverted all of Kim's own work, expecting *no* education for women at all, and serving only to produce male bodies for the imperial war effort.

Chapter 3 examines Kim's confession of her wartime collaboration, thus her rhetorical strategy and my analysis of it contribute to rhetorical scholarship on confession. Elizabeth Ellis Miller, for instance, has turned a rhetorical lens on confession in the spiritual memoir, identifying the way one American woman civil

rights activist strengthened her ethos and regained her readers' favor through confessing her failures. Susan Wise Bauer investigates political confession more broadly, asking why some confessions by politicians satisfy their audiences and others fail. Bauer identifies successful confessions as those that admit to "moral blame" and do not seek to shift blame onto others (89, 144). Dave Tell's study of confession finds Bauer's explanation to be incomplete: rather than the *substance* of the confession, Tell argues that it is the very *definition* of certain texts as confessions that matters most (10–12). He examines how the confession genre has been "constantly pressed into the service of various political agendas" (8).

Following Miller's lead, chapter 3 reads Kim's memoir as an acknowledgement of her struggles to respond to the complexity of life under Japanese occupation: most of all, I contend that Kim's confession of sin and the account of her expiation work rhetorically to evoke her readers' sympathy. Building on Bauer's framework, I explore how Kim does admit moral blame for her collaboration with Japan and accepts the fault as her own. On the other hand, I point out how the confession comes quite late in her narrative of the colonial period, with the rest of the narrative space emphasizing her and Ewha's patriotism and explaining her reasons for her collaboration. The resulting mix of confession and defense may have put off some of Kim's readers, but why would the 1965 and 1999 editions provoke such opposite reactions, with few criticisms evident after 1965 but *many* after 1999? Tell's thesis encounters the same problem when applied to Kim's memoir: although she explicitly confesses her sin, her *publisher* (Ewha Womans University Press) packaged this text as the testament of a laudable women's leader and patriot in prefaces to both versions.

If the book's resulting categorization by the publisher as *not* a confession thus angered skeptical South Korean readers after 1999, then why not also in 1965? I argue that historical context must be added to Bauer and Tell's frameworks as another factor in confessions' persuasive successes and failures.

Finally, in addition to these contributions to rhetorical studies, "School, State, and Nation" also engages discussions of Kim's legacy within Korean studies. As I set out in the opening paragraphs of this introduction, Kim has been largely condemned by South Koreans who see her as a pro-Japanese collaborator, which I think is both understandable and unfair. However, I believe that recent feminist defenses of Kim have also been unsatisfactory. Specifically, my project responds to two scholars who 1) have argued that Kim *believed* in the rightness of Korean men joining the Japanese military but 2) have insisted that she saw this as a way for advancing women's rights and agency in the context of the Japanese Empire. For example, in an insightful and important article from 2006, 권인숙 Kwon Insook rightly complicates the nationalist narrative of Kim as a traitor by encouraging modern viewers to remember Kim "in all her complexity" to reveal "how collective memory of a colonial era utilizes gender for a nationalistic construction in a way that silences feminists and interrupts their participation in it" (59). Despite this important move questioning postcolonial nationalist narratives that oversimplify the colonial-era experiences of women, Kwon's essay alleges that Kim did in fact support Japanese conscription of Korean men into the military, believing it would give Koreans more rights in the colonial system (49). Moreover, like the perspective advanced by historian Donald Clark, Kwon argues that Kim had become disgusted by Americans' behavior toward

Koreans and saw the Japanese as a welcome counterbalance to their authority at Ewha (48; see Clark, “Mothers” 180).

More recently, Hyaeweol Choi has taken a similar approach, finding in Kim’s collaboration an attempt to claim agency for Korean women in the colonial system. Like Kwon, Choi sees contemporary condemnations of Kim as a conflict between nationalist and women’s needs (*Gender* 152). Choi finds evidence of Kim’s tendency to subordinate nationalist issues to women’s rights in her earlier rhetorical work, such as her 1928 speech at the International Missionary Council meeting in Jerusalem, where Kim called for women’s equal leadership roles in church and society (152). She speculates that “collaborating with the (colonial) state was understood as a way to broaden the scope of women’s work and influence,” arguing that Kim’s collaboration can be “understood as a historical intervention, one that privileged the expansion of women’s spheres of influence while downplaying Korean national identity,” rather than “the work of a colonial puppet” (152).

However, based on the sources analyzed in the following chapters, I do not find the idea that Kim actually believed in the Japanese cause to be persuasive: in my view, she understood the pro-Japanese speeches as a regrettable sacrifice to save her school. Especially in chapter 2, I argue that Kim consistently sought to advance both women’s education *and* Korea’s national welfare. Moreover, the evidence I’ve collected suggests that the controversial wartime speeches and articles were not actually written by Kim – she merely signed her name to the obviously propagandistic work of government writers. Although she was racked by guilt for her association with these speeches (chapter 3), she hoped that her fellow Koreans could

distinguish between her true loyalty to Korea and the words that she was forced to speak or print. In other words, I contend that both condemnations and defenses of Kim's wartime collaboration should 1) acknowledge the Japanese constraints that limited what she could do and say and 2) consider these wartime essays and speeches in the context of her authentic writings from other points in her career. Recent defenses of Kim, therefore, could be stronger if they took a longer view of Kim's career and educational context, as "School, State, and Nation" attempts to do.³¹

Concluding

The Kim controversy, then, offers a challenging and valuable entry into the complex history of rhetoric and women's education in colonial and postcolonial Korea. To scholars of rhetoric, the primary texts giving witness to the efforts of Kim, Appenzeller, and Ewha women to defend and promote their school under inhuman

³¹ To many observers in the US, the Kim controversy may seem relatively unimportant. However, historian Bruce Cumings has pointed out that Koreans who collaborated in more or less direct ways with Japan contributed to horrific suffering of their own people. Koreans made up a large percentage of the colonial police force by the 1940s, for example, who arrested and tortured activists (178). Koreans who were admitted into the colonial administration participated in the drafting of Korean men, women, and children for labor duty in factories and mines in Japan and elsewhere, where they suffered under often-inhuman conditions (176–177). Most appalling to many modern observers was the experience of so-called “위안부 comfort women,” Korean women drafted as sex slaves for the Japanese military. Between one and two hundred thousand Korean women were enslaved in this way (179). But according to Cumings, while many South Koreans today use the comfort women issue as a way to criticize Japan, in fact many Korean leaders participated in their kidnapping and drafting: Korean village leaders were given quotas of young women, and these leaders resorted to whatever means necessary to trick or pressure poor families into giving up their daughters (179–180). In other words, Korean collaboration mattered: no mere issue of patriarchal nationalism, the effort to identify and condemn Koreans who benefitted from Japanese rule at the expense of their fellow Koreans has been, at least to some extent, about seeking justice for the victims of violence and exploitation. Kim, as an ostensible or even unwilling contributor to the military draft campaign, directly called on Korean women to give up their sons and husbands to fight and die for Japan. Whether she truly supported Japan or not (and I will contend that she did not, that she continued to support both women's rights and Korea's independence, and that her intentions were good), her actions nevertheless victimized many who were less privileged than she.

conditions are fascinating and difficult. Pushing the way we have understood non-Western rhetorics, rhetoric and schools, performance, education's utility, and confession, they ultimately require us to be respectful and wise. We commence our study of Ewha women's educational rhetorics with the performances exchanged between Appenzeller, the Ewha community, and the Japanese government to negotiate their relationship especially in the 1920s and 1930s.

Chapter One

Performative Educational Rhetorics at Ewha College

During Alice Appenzeller's Presidency, 1925–1940

From last December till May 31st, Ewha's Fortieth Anniversary, when the joyful announcement of the registration was made, the government officials and other friends have been most helpful, Viscount Saito, the Governor-General himself, encouraging us and helping us to put it through. Founder's Day [May Day] this year was memorable in Ewha's history, for... our beloved Bishop Welch was with us to announce the new college. A simple pageant showed scenes from the development of Ewha since the time when Mrs. Scranton had five little girls around her till today, when 800 are studying in six departments. It is a sight one never forgets – an Ewha May Day – the lovely terraced lawn, the long, long lines of girls in white, their young voices raised in glad music, their joyous movements in the May Pole and story play.

Alice Appenzeller, *Annual Report of the Korea*

Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal

Church, June 1925 (45–46)



Ewha College's 1930 Seal. Ewha Archives, Ewha Womans University

Outside the station all the Ewha students were lined up but they did not sing the school song as they did when I went away. It has been translated and is sung only in the national language [Japanese] now.

Alice Appenzeller, May 9, 1938 (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-15, 2)

It is our pride and privilege to claim her [Alice Appenzeller] to be one of us. She was the first Methodist and first American baby ever born in Korea, the eldest daughter of Rev. and Mrs. H.G. Appenzeller, whose sainted memories will long remain sacred in the annals of the Christian Church of Korea. Not only so, she early felt herself to be called of God to choose the land of her birth as her adopted country, called for whose daughters she has given her best in years and efforts in imparting to them the blessings of spiritual and intellectual enlightenment. It is no exaggeration to say that the superb Ewha College and Ewha

Kindergarten Training School, as they now stand, are the creation of her devotion and ability. She has discharged her God-given duties faithfully and efficiently for the last seventeen years.

Ewha Board of Managers, April 13, 1939 (승-II-B-5-5-4-51, 1)

During the presidency of Alice Appenzeller at Ewha College (1922–1939), the community of Korean and American teachers and students at Ewha negotiated Japanese colonial rule and the (sometimes critical) opinions of other Koreans to implement and maintain their own vision of a Christian school mixing Korean and American identities to foster modern women. Unable to voice their political ideas about Korea under Japanese occupation, Ewha women pursued these negotiations in the 1920s and 1930s through a variety of rhetorical performances. In the first epigraph above, Appenzeller recounts the way Ewha’s yearly May Day pageant defiantly performed the school’s Christian history while also recognizing Japanese colonial rule. The image above shows Ewha College’s 1930 school seal, which represented its Christian, Korean, and American identities in the face of increasing government pressure on schools to facilitate the assimilation of Koreans as Japanese. In the second epigraph above, Appenzeller described Ewha students’ performative *silence* as they refused to sing their school song after it had been translated by the government into Japanese. Ewha women’s silence, and the government’s silencing of many of their educational rhetorics, comprise a third negotiation between this women’s college and the Japanese colonial state in the late 1930s. The third epigraph

reveals the way the Ewha Board of Managers responded to the Japanese state's decision to bar all foreigners from positions of leadership in Korean schools in attempt to purge the peninsula of non-Japanese influences. The Board rhetorically ignores Japanese pressure, celebrating Appenzeller's life and work at Ewha through an epideictic display. With performative rhetorical strategies such as these, Ewha leaders and students under Appenzeller's influence made subtly shifting claims about the relationship between their school, the colonial state, and the Korean nation. They were willing to cooperate with the Japanese government-general in pursuit of women's modern education, but performances of the school's Korean, Christian, and American identities became symbols of the school's resistance to Japanese assimilation. As we shall see, Japanese authorities recognized the rhetorical threat that these non-Japanese identities posed to their assimilating and imperializing goals, and they ultimately moved to silence them.

This chapter analyzes the rise and fall of these performative educational rhetorics between 1925 and 1940. I bring to light primary sources from the Ewha Womans University Archive in South Korea, including letters and reports to, from, and about Appenzeller from the 1910s through the 1940s. These sources reveal the way performative pageants and music concerts, visual displays, silence and silencing, and epideictic functioned as educational rhetorics that defined and negotiated the school's relationship with the colonial state and the Korean nation. Although Appenzeller was unwilling to permit *political* activism against the Japanese, this rhetorical work functioned (temporarily) to undercut colonial assimilation efforts in education.

This chapter engages scholarship on the ways that power is imposed and negotiated through rhetorical performances. For example, Kate White has defined pageants as rhetorical events that can both empower marginalized peoples and perpetuate hierarchies. Examining civic education in early-twentieth-century United States pageantry, White finds that pageants produced by white women's clubs sometimes represented Native Americans and recent immigrant groups in native costume singing traditional songs. She contends that these pageants served both to empower and oppress through a civic education that reinforced existing social hierarchies (515, 521). As I mentioned in the introduction, Xing Lu has examined both visual rhetoric and the rhetoric of music, investigating the way both strategies were employed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution to mobilize class violence and pursue the goals of a dictatorship. Other scholars have examined performative silencing as a technique of control, especially in gendered discourses, while others have looked at the ways women have *used* silence to negotiate and resist power (Glenn, Parrott, Yang). Finally, Cynthia Miecznikowski Sheard and Lois Agnew have explored the ways epideictic rhetoric can reinforce or contest dominant values.

Chapter 1 builds on this scholarship, investigating how performances of Ewha's Korean, American, and Christian identities signaled a strategic apolitical patriotism that resisted Japanese assimilation and imperialization. Crucially, at Ewha College it was not only Korean language and identity that threatened Japanese hegemony and assimilation policies. Indeed, while the English language was imposed in British and US colonies as a symbol of occupation and assimilation, for some

Koreans, English became a symbol of liberation and resistance to Japanese rule.³²

Wong and Lee explain that

putting a ban on using the Korean language during the Japanese occupation triggered zeal for English learning, as many Korean students were highly resistant to the ‘Japanese-language-only’ policy, and turned to English as an alternative. Apparently, some Koreans regarded English as a respite and form of resistance from educational suppression and imposition of Japanese imperialistic values. (279)

Along with Korean and American/English identity, Christianity became a third symbol of anti-Japanese identity, often connoting modernity and progress and, after Japanese annexation, democracy and liberation. As Yoonmi Lee explains, “Many reform-minded Koreans looked to Christianity as a source of western civilization....

For many Koreans, the initial encounter with the West was through contact with missionaries who, in turn, stood paradigmatically for the ‘West’ or ‘western modernity’” (“Religion” 597). Kang-Hee Han concurs in his analysis of mission education: “Even though the ultimate aim of mission education was on the spiritual reform of Korea, the democratic values produced by this education served as crucial factors for Korea’s self-governance and independence, leading Koreans to stand against all strategies of Japanese assimilative education” (262).³³ This highly-

³² See Arnold for a fascinating similar example of students in Beirut using “an imagined America” to motivate their activism in the late nineteenth century.

³³ On the other hand, American missionary James Earnest Fisher noted in his 1928 doctoral dissertation that many Koreans – especially those informed by Marxism – were *critical* of Christianity as connected with imperialism globally, as an “opiate for the oppressed masses,” as anti-scientific, as hypocritical, and as invalidated because of its own divisions into many churches and sects (168–169).

politicized and complexly-layered cultural environment rendered the Ewha rhetorical situation somewhat distinct from its contemporary women's colleges in the US.

In the rest of this chapter, I track the development of Ewha's performative educational rhetorics under Appenzeller's leadership – as well as the Japanese government's competing rhetorics – between 1925 and 1940. I read the 1925 Ewha May Day pageant as a performative educational rhetoric that both acknowledged Japanese authority – especially by celebrating Ewha College's registration with the government – and asserted the school's Korean, Christian, and American identities. Next, I identify the 1926 tour of schools in Japan for missionary educators as a government performative educational rhetoric that responded to Ewha's assertions of its non-Japanese identities. With this propaganda tour, Japanese authorities sought to bring Americans on board the colonial state's dual objectives of modernizing and assimilating Korean women students. Moving to 1930, I show how Ewha women ignored (or failed to perceive) Japan's assimilating objectives and continued to perform the school's non-Japanese identities through more educational rhetorics, including music tours, contests, and concerts. Similarly, in the 1930 May Day, Ewha women performed traditional Korean and American activities, and they displayed a new school seal which presented Korea's past and present *without* Japan. I then transition to the late 1930s, where a new Japanese administration was unwilling to tolerate these non-Japanese performances and worked to silence them, revising Ewha's school seal, translating its school song into Japanese, and banning its performances and contests. The new administration, moreover, converted the school into a propaganda center for a new campaign to unify Japan and Korea and mobilize

the peninsula for war through new performances of Japanese military identity. I close by considering the final ways Appenzeller and Ewha women sought to maintain their own definition of their work through last performative epideictic and visual rhetorics. Before moving into these analyses, however, I examine the background of these rhetorics, focusing on conflicting American, Japanese, and Korean goals for women's education at Ewha in the 1910s and early 1920s.

1. Historical Contexts

A. Conflicting Japanese and American Educational Goals at Ewha, 1910–1919

Even before Alice Appenzeller was appointed Ewha president in 1922, the college's American leaders and Korean teachers and students had been negotiating their relationship with the new Japanese colonial state beginning in 1910. Following its annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese administration intended to erase Korean identity and assimilate the population as Japanese linguistically and culturally (though with unequal rights). Ewha's American leaders posed an educational and political threat to the colonial state both by providing a Christian education and simply through their identity as Americans not completely under Japanese authority.

One of the government's primary tools for assimilating Koreans was public schools, where the state emphasized Japanese language, history, and ethics (Han 176–177). As Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions secretary Arthur Judson Brown explained to American readers in 1919,

In carrying out their policy of assimilating Korea with Japan, the Japanese did not fail to perceive the difficulty of changing the attitude

of mature men who have been moulded by the traditions of their own race, and who have personal memories of the tumults and sorrows that attended the subjugation of their native land. But if the children could be trained to the altered conditions, a single generation would see the desired change in sentiment. The Japanese therefore turned their attention to the schools.... The Imperial Education Society of Japan announced that the purpose of the government was to extend to the people of Korea the principles of national education... in such a manner as to make the Korean understand that the union of the two countries came about inevitably as a consequence both of their historic association and of their geographical position; to inspire in them the hope of playing a noble part as Japanese subjects on the present and future stage of world-civilization; to bring them to an intelligent comprehension of the need, under existing conditions, of the general use of the Japanese language; and to create a new bureau under the direct control of the Governor-General to undertake the important work of compiling special text-books for Korean schools. This programme was energetically undertaken. Free public schools were opened under Japanese teachers and Korean parents were urged to send their children to them. (586–587)

In other words, the Japanese government-general conceived of schools in Korea as sites for erasing Korean culture and identity, assimilating Korean children as Japanese, and integrating them as obedient subjects into Japan's imperial ambitions

on the world stage. Brown goes on to explain, however, that many Korean parents were reluctant to send their children to these new schools, “partly because parents hesitated to put their children under alien conquerors whose purpose was to wean them away from their national ideas, customs, and language, and turn them into Japanese,” and partly because many who wanted a modern education for their children were already sending them to missionary schools (587).

This situation rendered the American and Christian identities fostered at mission schools like Ewha threatening to the colonial state, Brown went on to clarify:

The Japanese regard education as a function of the state; not in the sense of Great Britain and the United States, which deem it their duty to provide free education for those who need or desire it, but in the sense that the state must absolutely control the education of its people in order to train them for the ends of the state. Schools are regarded as agencies of the state like the courts and the army. It is intolerable from the Japanese view-point that subjects of the Empire should be educated in private institutions over which the government has no control and in which they may be taught anything that the teachers please, especially when, as in Korea, these teachers are foreigners who owe allegiance to another government and who are suspected of lack of sympathy with the [Japanese] authorities of the country. (587–588)

Besides assimilating Koreans, therefore, Japanese leaders aimed to curtail American and Christian influence, which they perceived as threatening their hegemony on the peninsula (Jun 46). The colonial government attempted to eliminate missionary

schools like Ewha by raising standards for facilities beyond their financial means, forbidding religious instruction and Bible classes, and requiring them to become licensed (Yoo 62).³⁴ Many missionary schools were forced to close due to insufficient funds to meet recognition or to protest the government's persecution of religion, reducing the number of mission schools from 1,317 in 1912 to 690 in 1919 (Yoo 63–64).

At Ewha, the response to Japanese educational policies differed between the Americans and Koreans: American teachers attempted to follow government policies

³⁴ The Japanese requirements that schools drop religious instruction and achieve recognition split the missionary community between those willing to give up religious instruction and those not. In the 1928 description of James Earnest Fisher, it was often *Koreans* rather than Japanese that convinced mission schools to change, as they recognized the inevitability of Japanese rule:

As soon as people were thoroughly aroused on the subject of education, they began to be more particular concerning the kind of education they wanted. It was soon recognized that the government controlled the whole system. If one wanted an education which would lead to the [Japanese] Imperial University, one which would lead to a position of honor and a good salary, and having to stand difficult examinations, then he must get into the government system, or into a school which was fully recognized by the government department of education. (6)

Despite these sentiments among many Koreans, Fisher explains that many missionaries opposed incorporation into this government system. For one thing, improvements in facilities, teacher training, and other standards would be too expensive. Even more importantly, government registration would require giving up Bible and religious instruction, which was for many “the one most vital aim of the school” (7). However, many schools faced increasing “pressure from Korean sources in the form of petitions, demands, and strikes,” forcing them to consider their options as “conforming to government standards or ceasing to exist as a school” (7).

However, American missionary educators, particularly Methodists, called for compliance with state regulations since the early colonial period, even at the cost of religious instruction in schools. For example, Ewha Academy's brother school 배재학당 Paichai Academy, founded by Appenzeller's father, “was the first Christian institution to make an application to become a recognized school... preferring to omit the Bible from the curriculum rather than to incur the displeasure of officials by holding out against the government,” although their decision was controversial among missionaries (*Korea Review* 3, no. 1, March 1921, 15, qtd. in Yoo 220 n.13). Similarly, Lulu Frey, Appenzeller's predecessor as Ewha president, had also sought recognition for Ewha, explaining that “Children are coming to us from every direction but government regulation and more intelligent parents make it necessary that the equipment of the schools and the educational attainments of the teachers be beyond question” (qtd. in Yoo 63). Frey had explained that government recognition was necessary to provide students with “opportunities of studies in government institutions of a higher grade” (63). In other words, Frey sought to persuade her missionary audience that their relationship with the government should be a collaborative one, and that the purpose of their work was providing an excellent education rather than strict evangelism (or Korean independence activism).

to keep the school safe, while many Korean teachers and students increasingly found ways to express their desire for their country's independence. As Korea's only women's college until 1938,³⁵ Ewha became important to the colonial government as a central site for implementing its educational goals. The school thus provides a lens through which to view the changes happening on the peninsula, although Americans, Koreans, and Japanese all disagreed as to *which* changes it should represent.

B. Direct or Indirect Action Against Colonialism?: Conflicting American and Korean Objectives During the 1919 March First Independence Movement

The assimilationist educational policies of the Japanese government-general divided Ewha's American leadership from much of its Korean faculty and student body. The anti-colonial Korean independence demonstrations beginning on March First, 1919, marked the most important disagreement between Ewha's American and Korean members about how to respond to Japanese colonial rule. The March First Movement³⁶ was Korea's single most important anti-colonial demonstration during the 35-year occupation by Japan. The Movement split the views of Ewha women on the proper relationship between the school, the Korean nation, and the Japanese state: many Koreans wanted to take direct, political action for independence by joining the demonstrations, while the American staff objected, prioritizing keeping their students safe.

³⁵ In 1938, 숙명여자전문학교 Sookmyung College was approved as the country's second college for women (수-II-B-5-5-4-26).

³⁶ Referred to by contemporary South Koreans as 삼일운동 (*sam-il undong* "3.1 movement" – meaning March 1st) or 만세시위 (*manse siui* "the *mansei* protest," referring to the march's most popular slogan: "[May Korea live for] ten thousand years!")

On March 1st, 1919, Japanese colonial rule of Korea was entering its ninth year. Korea's former Emperor Gojong, who had been deposed by the Japanese in 1907 in favor of his more pliable son, had died suddenly on January 21, 1919 (Hwang 163).³⁷ Gojong's death galvanized many Koreans into taking new steps against colonial rule, and his funeral on March 3rd provided an excuse for large crowds to gather in Seoul (Hwang 163). The protest's leaders, including numerous American-educated Christians, planned a peaceful protest for the purpose of attracting the attention of the Western imperial powers who were working on the treaty to end World War I at Versailles (Im 103). In particular, they hoped (in vain, as it turned out) to win the support of US President Woodrow Wilson, who had called for the right for self-determination of colonized peoples in his Fourteen Points.³⁸

³⁷ An opponent of colonization, Gojong had survived several Japanese assassination attempts in previous years (and the Japanese had murdered his wife in 1895), and at the time of his death, many Koreans believed that he had been poisoned by the Japanese or by the traitorous pro-Japanese Korean leadership who had signed the protectorate and colonization treaties the decade before. Im Yeongsin, for example, mentions Gojong's death as the *only* instigation for the Movement in her memoir (102). And Im's opinion, Gojong was certainly assassinated by the Japanese (102).

³⁸ Donald Clark explains the Wilson hysteria that developed in Korea in early 1919:

Many Koreans in the March First Movement apparently believed that President Woodrow Wilson was personally interested in the cause of Korean independence, which made his name a red flag to the authorities. The manifesto calling people to demonstrate on March First declared Wilson the champion of the movement.... There were petitions for Wilson's active intervention, such as the schoolgirls' petition which closed, "Mr. Wilson, President of Great America, we look on you as a father. 'Hear our declaration of independence and tell it to the world,' is our prayer." And there were the Wilson rumors: that he was about to arrive in an airship to lead the Koreans' fight for independence, or that he was about to land at Incheon with an army to liberate the peninsula. (*Living* 53)

In her 1964 autobiography *Grace Sufficient*, Kim Hwallan recalls the way that rumors circulated in Korea of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" promulgated during the peace talks:

We were not able to get any copies of President Wilson's speech or to comprehend the full intent of all its points; but the two phrases – self-determination of all peoples, strong or weak, and the independence of Poland – were enough to raise our hopes high for our own independence. (40)

In other words, Koreans heard America's language about freedom in Europe and assumed that these same principles would be applied to other parts of the world. Tragically for Korea, this was untrue: Western nations took little notice of the demonstrations, unwilling to anger Japan or set a precedent for their own colonized peoples (especially America's colony in the Philippines) to follow.

As news of the protests began circulating on March 1st, many Korean teachers and students at Ewha attempted to leave the school campus to join. But the American teachers firmly objected to their students' participating in these demonstrations.³⁹ Writing in 1965, Kim Hwallan recalled the dramatic showdown between Ewha's American and Korean members at the school gate. President Frey had ordered the gates to be locked, but shouting "We are Korean people, too," and "I must unfurl my desire for independence,"⁴⁰ students thronged the gate, pounded on it, and demanded that the gatekeeper open it:

소식이 선생님들께 곧장 전해진 모양이었다. 프라이 교장 선생님과 다른 교직원들이 불안한 기색으로 달려 나왔다. 교장은 학생들을 한 번 둘러보았다. 모두들 숙연해졌다. 그는 심각하지만 자애롭고도 복잡한 표정으로 입을 열었다.

“나는…… 학생들을 진심으로 사랑합니다. 그리고 그 깊은 뜻도 잘 압니다. 나는 열어분의 신변을 보호할 책임이 있습니다. 못 나갑니다. 여러분은 이 곳을 나가서는 안 됩니다. 나는 내보낼 수가 없습니다.”

그는 강경했다. 그러나 그 정도로 물러설 학생들이 아니었다.

“선생님! 우리 조국입니다! 우리 우리 나라를 위해서 나가려는 겁니다. 비켜 주십시오.”

³⁹ See Clark, “‘Surely God’”; Jun; and Moffett for missionaries' mixed reactions to the Movement.

⁴⁰ “우리도 한국 민족이다.” “독립을 위하여 내 뜻을 펴야 한다” (61).

“교장 선생님은 조국을 잃은 슬픔이 무엇인 줄 짐작이나 하십니까? 우린 지체할 수 없습니다. 어떻게 해서라도 나가겠습니다. 나갑니다!”

학생들의 아우성을 들어며 프라이 선생은 굳게 잠긴 교문 앞에 두팔을 벌리고 막아 서서 침통하게 말했다.

“자 학생들, 내 시체를 넘어서 교문을 나가시오. 나는 살아서 학생들이 당하는 참변을 볼 수 없습니나” ...

교장 선생의 완강한 태도에 몇몇 학생들은 분개했다. 한 학생은 선생을 밀쳐 내려고 달려들었다. 너무도 강경하게 버티는 선생과 옥신각신하던 학생들은 드디어 그 뜻을 굽히지 않았다. 서로서로 손을 잡아 담을 넘겨 주고 또 넘어 거리로 거리로 달려나간 것이다. 그리하여 그 역사적인, 그리고 거족적인 시위 대열에 참여하고 많은 학생들이 투옥된 것이다. (*Bitsoge* 60-62)

It seemed the news [of students' attempt to leave the Ewha campus and join the march] had been told immediately to the teachers. Principal Frey and other faculty came running with anxious expressions. The Principal looked around at the students. Everyone grew solemn. With a complex expression, both grave and loving, she opened her mouth:

“I love you students sincerely. And I know your deep desire well. It is my responsibility to keep you safe. You cannot go out. You cannot leave this place. I cannot let you out.”

She was firm. Nevertheless, there was not one student who stepped back.

“Professor! It is our homeland! We want to go out for the sake of our country. Please move.”

Upper-grade students cried out in indignation...

“Principal, can you guess what the pain of losing your homeland is? We cannot delay. No matter what, we are going out. Let’s go!”

Hearing the students’ cry, Professor Frey spread her arms, blocking the way, and said mournfully:

“Well, students, you will go out over my dead body. While I live, I cannot see my students suffer tragedy.”

Some students were infuriated at the Principal’s unbending attitude. One student flew at Frey to shove her. Although the Principal strongly resisted them during this altercation, the students did not at last yield. Grabbing each other’s hands, they helped each other over the walls, then they went out, running through street after street.

Therefore, they joined the ranks of that historic and nationwide protest, and many students were imprisoned.⁴¹

In Kim's postcolonial depiction, Korean students' patriotism brings them into direct conflict with Frey, even to the point of fighting physically with her.⁴² This passage reveals the significant disconnect between Ewha's American staff and their Korean students: although Americans sympathized with Koreans' pain at losing independence, they considered their students' immediate physical safety their primary responsibility.⁴³

Despite Lulu Frey's attempts to stop Ewha women from joining the protests, both Korean students and teachers joined the protests and numbered among those imprisoned, tortured, subjected to sexual violence, and murdered (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 43; Noble 276).⁴⁴ Indeed, the Japanese response to the March First Movement was brutal: Korean estimates at the time placed the number of casualties

⁴¹ Translation mine. Significantly, Kim's depiction of this scene in her *English*-language memoir eliminates almost all of this dialog, with its allusions to students' patriotism (*Grace Sufficient* 42–43). Moreover, there is no hint at the girls becoming violent toward Frey. Indeed, the English version portrays the girls as defeated by Frey's firmness, with only a few slipping over the wall afterwards (43). This is but one of many instances of the way Kim caters her memoirs to her Korean and American audiences, which theme we will explore in chapter 3.

⁴² Importantly, however, Kim obeyed Frey and did not join the march, although she never directly states this.

⁴³ American missionary educators at other Korean schools would repeat this approach during further anti-colonial demonstrations during the 1920s, resisting any signs of student activism (see Clark, *Living* 92–93; and Im chapter 4).

⁴⁴ Japanese suppression of March First included sexual violence and humiliation of women. Former Ewha teacher 임영신 Im Yeongsin recounts being stripped naked and forced to walk in front of a large group of Japanese men:

We were forced to march between two rows of Japanese. We tried to cover the private parts of our bodies with our hands, but this only made the Japanese laugh. They pulled our arms in different directions and then others took whips and lashed our backs. Some of the girls fell to the ground. (116)

Confirming these kinds of atrocities in his 1920 text *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, Canadian journalist Frederick Arthur McKenzie (1869–1931) reported that “the rule in many police stations was to strip and beat the girls and young women who took any part in the demonstrations,” and that schoolgirls in Seoul were both most active in the demonstrations and most cruelly tortured (292–293). This violent response suffered by Ewha women was exactly what Frey had tried to avoid.

as high as 7,500 killed and 45,000 imprisoned (Cumings 155). Ewha teacher Pahk Induk joined the protests and was arrested, spending five months in grim conditions at the infamous 서대문 *Seodaemun* West Gate Prison (Pahk 59–70). American missionary Mattie Wilcox Noble described the beating of an Ewha student in the protests:

A number [of students] were cruelly beaten, and as one Ewa Haktang [Ewha Academy] girl was being beaten across her back, our secretary, Pong Yul Kim, rushed out to her and tried to push them off; the Japanese civilians, maybe some of them disguised policemen, began beating him, broke their canes over his head into three pieces and struck their fists into his neck bending his head back, and finally took him off to prison.... The Japanese police would grab a girl's hair and whirl her around and throw her down in the street.... The Ewa ladies tried hard to keep Ewa girls from going but about 20 of them ran away to go. (276)

Most famous of all was Ewha student 유관순 Yu Gwansun, who led demonstrations in her hometown, was arrested and sent to West Gate Prison in Seoul (where Pahk Induk was being held), and eventually tortured to death (Pahk 68). In South Korea today, Yu is remembered as one of the most admirable independence martyrs.

Despite the apparent catastrophe of the March First Movement, the crisis also created a new opportunity for cooperation between Ewha's American leaders and the Japanese colonial state. The police and military's violent suppression of the protests put the legitimacy of Japanese rule in question both for Koreans and Western imperial

powers, since the Japanese government was trying to present itself as an enlightened and civilizing presence on the peninsula (Underwood 246; Clark, *Living* 46). A new governor-general, 齋藤 実 Saitō Makoto (1858–1936),⁴⁵ was appointed to salvage the situation by initiating a relatively liberal policy that he called “cultural rule,”⁴⁶ in contrast to the police rule of his predecessors (Caprio, *Japanese* 126–127). As the new governor-general of Korea, Saitō Makoto emphasized common ground with Americans like Appenzeller to reassure the US about Japan’s colonial rule in Korea in the aftermath of the March First Movement.⁴⁷ In 1920, Saitō’s administration published the *Manual of Education in Chosen*,⁴⁸ an English-language educational rhetoric detailing the advances supposedly achieved by Japanese rule in its first decade. The *Manual* characterized Japan’s influence in Korea as modernizing, especially in women’s education. Like Ewha’s American missionary educators, the *Manual* notes the traditional low social standing of Korean women and presents itself as the best solution to this problem.⁴⁹ The *Manual* sought to present Japanese

⁴⁵ Like Korean, Japanese puts the family name first and the personal name last.

⁴⁶ Classical Chinese: 文化政治, Japanese: ぶんか せいじ *bunka seiji*.

⁴⁷ Japanese leaders like Saitō likely sought American support for Japanese rule in Korea because of the perceived global power of the United States and other Western imperial states. After all, it had been Theodore Roosevelt’s seal of approval that gave Japan free rein in Korea in 1905, as we saw in the introduction. For a summary of Saitō’s part in Japan’s attempt to improve the image of its colonization in Korea, see Manela 211.

⁴⁸ “Chosen” reflects the Japanese pronunciation of the Korean word 조선 (Joseon), the name of last Korean ruling dynasty and the term used by Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese as the name of the region during the colonial period. “Korea” was used only by Westerners and was derived from the name of the *previous* dynasty, 고려 (Goryeo).

⁴⁹ For example, the *Manual* stressed women’s exclusion from education during the Joseon dynasty: Female education in Chosen is still in the early stage, it being but a few years since it was started. As a matter of fact, in former days Korean women of good social position lived in seclusion, never being in the society of the sterner sex, and left their houses but rarely. In consequence, it was of the utmost difficulty for them to receive education in a school.... It is especially necessary that female education, the history of which is but of to-day should be suitably directed and helped onward in development. (60–61)

influence in Korean education attractively to readers of English and helped Governor-General Saitō consolidate his power in a manner that seemed more reasonable to Westerners both in Korea and abroad. When Saitō reached out to Ewha's American leaders, he could frame his educational project as congruent with her own: they both believed that Korea's traditional treatment of women was regrettable and that Koreans' attitude toward women and women's education needed to be modernized.

Following Lulu Frey's precedent and informed by Japanese violence in 1919 and Governor-General Saitō's new cultural rule, Alice Appenzeller sought to define Ewha College's work as strictly apolitical after her appointment as the new college president in 1922.⁵⁰ Appenzeller had been teaching at Ewha College since 1915, but during the drama of the March First Movement, she was studying Japanese in Fukuoka and did not witness the protests ("Notes and Personals"). She returned to America in 1921 to do a master's degree at Columbia University Teachers College (Reninger 117). President Lulu Frey died suddenly in 1921, and after completing her MA, Appenzeller was appointed as her replacement the following year (Willoughby 83). Although she had not seen the March First Movement firsthand, Appenzeller would have been well acquainted with what had happened, especially the

⁵⁰ In addition to the general violence of the March First Movement, Appenzeller was also no doubt troubled by the colonial government's treatment of her brother, Henry D. Appenzeller, who was head of Ewha's brother school 배재학당 Paichai/Baejae Academy. Concerned with ongoing student demonstrations in March 1920 on the first anniversary of the movement, the Japanese removed him temporarily from his leadership position (Nagata 173–174). Alice Appenzeller, therefore, was certainly aware of the danger of letting her students demonstrate any sign of political activity.

Nevertheless, students across Korea increasingly employed school strikes to resist anti-Korean teachers and ideologies, especially during the 1920s (see Hong Yung Lee et al. 59; Im 69–74; and chapter 3). Despite a few tantalizing allusions, I have not yet discovered much evidence of such strikes at Ewha, although it seems very likely that there were some despite Appenzeller's likely anxiety. This remains a *desideratum* for future work.

disagreement between Frey and the students. Aware of the arrest, abuse, and murder of her Ewha friends and students, and conscious of Japanese censors who read everything she wrote, Appenzeller harbored no illusions about the ultimately oppressive nature of Japan's occupation. However, precisely because Japanese rule was so oppressive even after Saitō's liberalizing policies, Appenzeller also seemed to feel she had no choice but to find common ground with the government to preserve Ewha College – a precedent that Kim Hwallan would later follow. That common ground was a shared Japanese and American commitment to modernizing Korean women's education, a task made easier under Saitō's cultural rule. Indeed, like Saitō, Appenzeller's own educational goals at Ewha similarly focused on modernizing gender relations in Korea.⁵¹ This was, therefore, a potential moment of alignment between these two stakeholders – an alignment that would find expression in Ewha College's 1925 government recognition.

2. Ewha's 1925 May Day Pageant as a Performative Educational Rhetoric:

Balancing Government Cooperation and Resistance to Assimilation Policies

Governor-General Saitō's gestures of goodwill toward American missionary educators did not imply any laxity in his intention to regulate and control their

⁵¹ For example, in an article for the *Korea Mission Field* in 1918, Appenzeller wrote about the danger facing her students after they married and entered their husband's family's household, warning that "we know that the old fashioned mother-in-law is capable of trying to break the spirit of the finest girl, making her very virtues appear to be vices, and undoing the patient work of years" ("Higher Education" 213). In other words, Ewha and Appenzeller faced a generational challenge where mothers-in-law could undo Ewha's work by enforcing old ways. As a young teacher at Ewha, Appenzeller also witnessed her students being harassed for going to school, as patriarchally-minded Koreans accused them of abandoning their traditional culture ("朝鮮" [Problems] 45–46). Many students dropped out of school, unable to endure this hostility.

schools. Indeed, missionaries faced growing pressure to achieve government recognition or close down, and obtaining this recognition required meeting stringent standards including those for facilities, textbooks, and faculty training and certification. After her promotion to president of Ewha in 1922, Appenzeller's priority was registering Ewha College with the government to ensure its survival. However, Japanese colonization was threatening the prestige and economic viability of missionary education in Korea. Government recognition required an overhaul of school facilities and equipment, which would raise the cost for students. Historian Theodore Jun Yoo explains the economic and social costs of this registration process:

To qualify as a recognized school demanded an increase in expenditures for such things as renovation of facilities to meet government standards and purchase new textbooks. Though some schools were able to solicit aid from outside donors to help pay for these expenses, many private institutions had to increase tuition and add fees, as did Ewha haktang [Ewha Academy], when it sought government recognition. In 1934, the *Tonga Ilbo* reported that a female student at Ewha College would have to pay roughly 380 *weon* to cover room and board and tuition costs. However, for an extra 100 *weon*, she could go to Japan and study at a more prestigious university.... In other words, Christian education, which had once been, for the most part, free and accessible to anyone now required a substantial expenditure and was relegated to an inferior status. (63–64)

Achieving government registration, as Yoo points out, increased Ewha's financial burden, which was in part passed along to students. However, because of Korea's colonized status, schools in Japan were considered more prestigious than Ewha, and Appenzeller was aware that, if the school failed to gain official status, it would soon become obsolete as students went elsewhere for their education.

A crucial component in registering Ewha as a government-recognized institution was obtaining a larger campus. Government regulations required sufficient space and facilities for certified schools, and Ewha College fell far short of the space requirement, crowded together with Ewha Academy's elementary, middle, and high school all on one small campus in Seoul (Willoughby 87). A new site in Sinchon, a largely undeveloped stretch outside the city wall, had been identified, but no funds existed to purchase it. However, an unexpected blessing came in 1923, when a certain Mrs. Philip Gray of Detroit made a visit to Korea and Ewha with her two daughters. Appenzeller took the three women to the Sinchon site one rainy November afternoon, and despite the bad weather, Mrs. Gray was moved by the beauty of the site and pledged \$30,000 to buy it (↗-II-B-5-5-4-3, 1; ↗-II-B-5-5-4-56, 1; Conrow 20). Although there would be no money to build on this site for another decade, the mere promise of the future campus proved enough to allow Appenzeller to proceed with the registration process.⁵²

⁵² The purchase of the new campus – and the promise of government recognition that it entailed – brought unexpected blessings and curses as student enrollment increased dramatically. Appenzeller wrote in August 1924 that they started the school year in April badly underprepared for an increase in first year students: “Why didn't we know that, . . . with the promise, which we must [Appenzeller's emphasis] fulfil, that as soon as possible we would register the college department according to government regulations, we should expect the largest entering classes in our history?” (↗-II-B-5-5-4-2, 1).

By 1925, then, under Appenzeller's control and influence, the school had reached a compromise with Saitō's relatively liberal Japanese administration, acknowledging Japanese rule but maintaining the school's Korean, Christian, and American identities in the face of longterm Japanese assimilation goals.⁵³ In May of that year, the Ewha community represented these dual messages in a performative educational rhetoric: the May Day pageant. Ewha's annual May Day pageants had long been one of the school's primary rhetorical strategies for defining its work for the broader community and reinforcing Korean support for the school (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-26; Conrow 8–10).⁵⁴ It also provided stages for defining Ewha's relationship with the Japanese state. Primary sources concerning the 1925 May Day are scarce, but accounts by Appenzeller in the *Annual Report of the Korea Woman's Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* and her letter to Mrs. Philip Gray in June of that year both briefly summarize the pageant and reveal its multilayered persuasive messages. These two documents suggest how Ewha used the celebration to perform its willingness to play by the rules of the colonial state through its registration as a "professional school." At the same time, they clarify how the Ewha community reasserted its commitment to non-Japanese identities.

As one of Ewha's most popular yearly traditions, May Day featured a procession of students in white Korean 한복 *hanbok* (traditional dress), the May Pole, archery, a May Queen, and the traditional Korean jumping board, as figure 3 demonstrates. Of course, the May Pole, May Queen, and the May Day tradition

⁵³ This approach of defending Korean identity while accepting Japanese political rule was shared by many Western missionaries in Korea at the time – see Underwood 246–247.

⁵⁴ Ewha Academy's first May Day seems to have been staged in 1908 (이혜정 Lee Hae Joung 24).



Figure 3: Clockwise from top left: The May Pole; The May Queen; The Archer; May Day Procession; Traditional Jumping Board. Ewha Archives, Ewha Womans University.

itself was imported from women's colleges in America (Grant). Jordan Grant explains that May Day celebrations became popular on American women's college campuses in the 1870s, and they were used by reformers in schools for working class and immigrant populations in attempt to foster healthy physical activities and foster middle class, Anglo-Saxon culture ("May Day"). Still, as Kate White has observed, other US pageants at this time also functioned to empower marginalized populations (515, 521). We see a similar contradiction in Ewha's 1925 May Day celebration, as it performed the school's acceptance of Japanese hegemony in Korea while also reminding its audience of the important Christian, Korean, and American identities of the education Ewha had been providing to women for four decades.

Appenzeller's report to the Methodist Korean Woman's Conference reveals two functions of the pageant's performative educational rhetoric: signaling cooperation with the Japanese administration via officially registering the college, and maintaining Ewha's Korean, American, and Christian identities in the face of sometimes-hostile Japanese rule. Writing in June 1925, she explained that that year's May Day "was an unusually significant day" (46). First, it marked the school's fortieth anniversary (counting from the founding of the Academy in 1885). Second, it was on this day that Herbert Welch (1862–1969), the Methodist bishop of Japan and Korea, announced Ewha's registration as a government-recognized college. In addition to the usual May Pole, procession, and music, Ewha students performed scenes from the school's history as Governor-General Saitō looked on:

In 1910 the college was founded, a[n]d after fifteen years of pioneering service it has given way to the new, registered college, the

first and only one for women in Korea. From last December till May 31st, Ewha's Fortieth Anniversary, when the joyful announcement of the registration was made, the government officials and other friends have been most helpful, Viscount Saito, the Governor-General himself, encouraging us and helping us to put it through. Founder's Day [May Day] this year was memorable in Ewha's history, for... our beloved Bishop Welch was with us to announce the new college. A simple pageant showed scenes from the development of Ewha since the time when Mrs. Scranton had five little girls around her till today, when 800 are studying in six⁵⁵ departments. It is a sight one never forgets – an Ewha May Day – the lovely terraced lawn, the long, long lines of girls in white, their young voices raised in glad music, their joyous movements in the May Pole and story play. (45–46)

As Appenzeller's comments reveal, Ewha women acknowledged Japanese political authority at the 1925 May Day, celebrating the school's state recognition and performing for the governor-general. On the other hand, the *content* of their performances – the May Pole, archery, procession, music, traditional games, and history performance – were completely Korean, American, and Christian in nature. I have already discussed how the Japanese administration of the 1910s had pursued assimilation of Koreans and sought to eradicate American and Christian influences from Korean schools. Although Governor-General Saitō had softened these goals for

⁵⁵ Here, Appenzeller is referring to Ewha's primary and secondary programs, College Preparatory Program, Kindergarten Normal Training Program, and the College's English and Music departments (Conrow 25–26).

the time being, assimilation remained a long-term goal, as we shall see. Yet – whether consciously or not – here were Ewha women staging mass performances without any signs of Japanese identity.

Indeed, despite the framing of the May Day as a celebration of the school's cooperation with the Japanese state, Appenzeller's report subtly criticizes Japanese policies, suggesting that the pageant's assertion of non-Japanese identities may have been intentional. Her comments indirectly criticize the colonial administration while accepting Japan as the educational standard:

The new government registration gives recognition to our graduates in English and music, so that they are considered qualified teachers in these two subjects in recognized high schools. Our work is regarded as of the same grade as that of the Tokyo Union Christian College⁵⁶ for wom[e]n. The course is not changed so much, but our graduates can now claim their places with those of other recognized institutions in Japan. In a land where one is not even allowed to employ a teacher, no matter how good she may be, unless she has a certain kind of diploma, this means much. We could hardly have continued our old college even one year more, for there was no prospect before the girls after they had finished the long course. The change also means that we must keep a strong faculty of qualified teachers, specialists in their subjects, with higher degrees just as in any first class college.

⁵⁶ Appenzeller means Tokyo Woman's Christian College, today 東京女子大学 Tokyo Woman's Christian University, founded in 1918 by 新渡戸 稲造 Nitobe Inazō, an American-educated Japanese Quaker and author in 1900 of the English-language book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* that became popular in the United States (<http://www.twcu.ac.jp/univ/english/since1918/>).

Appenzeller indirectly critiques the Japanese government in two ways. First, she clarifies that, despite the façade of cooperation, the educational rhetoric of the May Day pageant was negotiating what had nearly been the death of the school: without state registration, Ewha would have closed, since its graduates were unable to find work. Second, she directly complains that teachers absolutely require a diploma despite their qualifications, critiquing the Japanese system. She further justifies her cooperation with Japan by insisting that Ewha's actual education "is not changed so much." At the same time, she does recognize Japan as the new educational standard, celebrating Ewha's new parity *not* with women's schools in the United States (for example) but in Japan.

Appenzeller's descriptions of the 1925 May Day's educational rhetorics were reframed for various audiences. For instance, in June 1925, the same month of her report to the Korea Woman's Conference, she wrote about the school's registration and May Day to Mrs. Philip Gray, the donor of the money for the Sinchon campus two years earlier. In this letter, Appenzeller does mention the importance of the government registration, as she had done in the report to the Korea Woman's Conference, but she places greater emphasis on the meaning of the pageant as a time for celebrating the school's Christian identity and history:

We have organized the College according to Government Regulations and have received recognition of our work from the educational authorities. When we celebrated our Fortieth Anniversary on May 30th, with Bishop and Mrs. Welch present, we were glad to announce ourselves a "Semmon Gakko [professional school]."...

Bishop and Mrs. Welch were away from us more than a year and are now back. We feel as tho father and mother had come home. Mrs. R.L. Thomas, Secretary for Korea of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the guest of honor at our 40th Anniversary. We got as many of the old students back as possible, and had a historical pageant of Ewha. I enclose a program. I can personally remember most of this development and my heart is full as I think of what God was wrought. (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-56, 2)

Appenzeller's most immediate rhetorical purpose here is assuring Mrs. Gray that her donation was valuable to Ewha not only for providing a campus but, through the campus, saving the college itself: it was the new land that had made registration possible. Beyond this immediate goal, however, Appenzeller conveys the important news of Ewha's government recognition as a "professional school,"⁵⁷ as in her report to the Korea Woman's Conference. But in this private letter, her greater concern is emphasizing Ewha's Christian American and Korean communities and their shared history: she describes the emotional value of the presence of Bishop Welch and his wife at May Day, reports the impressive journey of the WFMS Korean secretary from America and reuniting Ewha's far-flung alumnae for this event. She recounts the "historical pageant," as in the public report, but here she adds her personal memories and her conviction that God's will is at work in Ewha.

⁵⁷ "Semmon Gakko": 専門學校 in Chinese characters, pronounced 전문학교 *jeonmun hakkyo* in Korean and せんもんがっこう *senmon gakko* in Japanese.

In short, Appenzeller's two descriptions of the 1925 May Day reveal how she and Ewha women were negotiating Japanese rule through this performative educational rhetoric. They *were* doing their best to observe the letter of Japanese law, but they remained critical of its spirit.

3. Japanese Performative Educational Rhetorics: Imposing a Vision of Modern, Assimilationist Education on Mission Schools Through the 1926 Japan Tour

After viewing the 1925 Ewha May Day, and possibly conscious of the way it had signaled both cooperation with and resistance to Japanese rule, Governor-General Saitō invited Appenzeller and other missionary educators on a month-long tour of Japan – especially its schools – the following spring. I read the tour itself as another performative educational rhetoric designed to persuade American missionaries to better align with the goals of the Japanese government by redoubling their work modernizing school facilities *and* facilitating the assimilation of Koreans.

Appenzeller wrote a letter to friends⁵⁸ back in America in July 1926, elaborating her understanding of the tour as a rhetorical performance. She explained that the Japanese state “invited all principals of mission schools of high school grade and above to go on an educational and sight-seeing tour of Japan, being gone from April 19 to May 13. They paid our transportation and we were entertained for many of our meals, so you see it was a most generous offer” (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-6, 1–2).

⁵⁸ Many of the documents preserved in the Ewha Archive are letters from Appenzeller addressed to “Friends.” Circulars such as these were a common way for Western missionaries in Korea and elsewhere to keep in contact with friends, family, and donors back home. The rhetorical situation, therefore, called for making the missionary’s work sound interesting and worth the sacrifices that they – and their supporters – were making. For other examples of such letters and circulars, see Pruitt 156; Seat “Rhetorical Strategies” and “*Providence*”; and Robbins and Pullen chapter 3.

Twenty-seven missionaries participated, and Appenzeller recounts that they were fully aware of the propagandistic purpose of the trip:

We visited dozens of schools... and saw all the beautiful things that one can see nowhere else in the world – wonderful gardens, ancient temples, and flowers everywhere, for the cherries were still in bloom. We had an entrée to things that most people don't see, and everywhere we were met by educational and mu[n]icipal authorities, and treated like royalty. We knew enough not to take this personally, of course, for they wanted us to see and appreciate the best in their country, which we were delighted to do, and to realize the progress that they have made in education. We were impressed with the modern school buildings that we found everywhere, and with the earnest and enlightened way in which they are attacking their educational problems. (2)

In Appenzeller's account, she was aware of at least one rhetorical function of the tour: the Japanese wanted to persuade missionary educators of the impressive modernity of Japan's schools. To a certain extent, this message was nothing new: both Appenzeller and Saitō were determined to modernize Korea's education, as we have seen. As a result, she focuses on this rhetorical purpose:

They want us to realize that just any old thing won't do, and that if we expect to have schools in their e[m]pire we must fall in with their educational plans and not lag behind. I think we all felt that no longer could poor, ill-equipped schools, with low educational standards and

poor teachers be maintained. Such work has always been a disgrace to the name of our Lord, and yet too often mission schools have been not better than that, because so little support was provided. (2)

Along with the Japanese government, Appenzeller was convinced of the need to develop and update mission schools in Korea. However, her comments reveal that a bigger shift was under way: the Japanese had “educational plans,” and American missionaries were being shown that no other plans would be tolerated.

Indeed, the tour’s second rhetorical purpose was both too obvious (and perhaps too problematic) for Appenzeller to mention: the tour was a tour *of Japan* – the colonial government wanted schools and imperial subjects that were both modern *and* culturally and linguistically Japanese. Appenzeller provides evidence of this second purpose by detailing their visits to gardens and temples, seeing the cherry blossoms, and experiencing other distinctive elements of Japanese identity. She recounts a beautiful night at a traditional Japanese inn, where they slept on the floor: “It is a fairy like place,” she confided to her friends, “and was lovely in the moonlight” (2). They had lunch with Prince Tokugawa in Tokyo and visited his family’s mausoleum in Nikko, “the most gorgeous place in Japan” (2). Despite describing this whirlwind of beautiful places and fascinating people, Appenzeller omits the main point: the Japanese were arguing for the value and necessity of Japanese culture so that missionaries could implement this knowledge in their schools in Korea and join the project of Japanizing the Korean people. Appenzeller might have been unaware of this second rhetorical function of the Japan tour, or she might have chosen to ignore it: she could get behind Japan’s goal of building excellent,

modern schools, but not of destroying Korean culture or erasing Ewha's American and Christian heritage, as Japanese assimilation necessarily entailed.

By 1926, then, tensions between Ewha women's and Japanese' objectives for women's education were again evident, but both sides were advocating these objectives indirectly through performative educational rhetorics in an attempt to avoid another direct conflict like in 1919.

4. Resisting Japanese Assimilation: Music, Theatre, and the 1930 May Day Pageant as Performative Educational Rhetorics in Defense of Korean, American, and Christian Identities

By the late 1920s, Ewha College had performed its collaboration with Governor-General Saitō by registering as a professional school, and Appenzeller had expressed her eagerness to implement Japanese-style modernization of Korean schools following the rhetorical performance of the Japan tour. However, Ewha College in fact did not budge in terms of Japanese assimilation: they continued using the Korean language for most classes, their music major included training in traditional Korean instruments, their home economics department focused on traditional Korean cooking and clothing, they continued teaching English, and the Christian faith was the center of the school's culture.⁵⁹ Remaining the country's only women's school until 1938, Ewha was undeniably influential in Korea. As a result, Appenzeller's reluctance to implement Japanese assimilation policies became

⁵⁹ See photographs of the music and home economics program in Conrow unnumbered page before 25, 26; and Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 96–97.

especially troublesome to the colonial administration. In 1928, two years after the Japan tour, Saitō's government directly threatened to close Ewha, citing the still-overcrowded Seoul campus (Willoughby 87). Appenzeller was given a last chance to expand the college's property and facilities. There was still no money to build at Sinchon, so Appenzeller resolved to go to America from 1929 to 1930 on a furlough and fundraising tour (Conrow 27). However, building a bigger campus would solve only one of Ewha's problems (its need to modernize) in the eyes of the Japanese government: Japan's second goal for Ewha was to shift its cultural emphases from its hybrid Korean, American, and Christian identities to Japanese. And this was something that Ewha teachers and students were not yet willing to do.

Popular ways that the Ewha community both promoted women's higher education and performed its hybrid, non-Japanese identities included musical performances, contests, and theatre. Remembering these traditions in 1939, Appenzeller recalled the concert tours that Ewha's music majors used to make across the country (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-26, 1). Further, students would conduct music contests that served a rhetorical and pedagogical role: there were "high school contests when girls won the best prize of all, a determination to get a college education," as well as "primary music contest[s], when a thousand little girls sang as their teachers, our music seniors, directed them and learned one of life's great lessons, how to lose or win with honor" (1). In addition, Ewha's performances openly articulated their Christian and American identities: students would perform Christmas music on the radio each year, and the school's "English players" would give productions of English-language plays for their families and the community (1).

Another striking way that Ewha College persisted in deflecting government pressure to Japanize students through performing its non-Japanese identities was the 1930 May Day pageant. We have already seen how Ewha's May Day pageantry served as an educational rhetoric that negotiated the school's relationship with the Japanese state. In 1925, Ewha students and leaders had struck a balance between collaborating with Saitō's government-general and maintaining the school's Christian heritage and mission. However, in the May Day celebration of 1930, surviving archival sources point to an emphasis on the school's Korean, American, and Christian identities and to an omission of *any* representations of Japanese rule. The 1930 May Day thus functioned as another educational rhetoric by reasserting Ewha's – and Korea's? – independence vis-à-vis the state through performative pageantry and visual rhetorics.

We gain insight to these educational rhetorics through a letter written to Appenzeller, who was in Ohio fundraising, by her Ewha friend and colleague Marion Conrow, dated May 31, 1930. Conrow's letter indicates Ewha's investment in educational rhetorics through performances of the school's hybrid identities. In her letter, Conrow enthusiastically recounts the May Day's successes and emphasizes traditional Korean elements. For example, she explains that students, wearing brightly-colored 한복 *hanbok* (traditional dress), performed traditional Korean games including standing-swings, jumping boards, and archery (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-10, 3). Students from Ewha's brother school, Chosen Christian College,⁶⁰ also staged a game of Korean-style tug-of-war. In addition to these features familiar from 1925,

⁶⁰ Today, Yonsei University, one of South Korea's most prestigious schools.

Conrow's account reveals something new: Ewha students competed in singing Korean folk songs, making a deep impact on the audience. "You should have seen the Korean audience as these were being sung," Conrow wrote Appenzeller, "And when the rollicking 'Farmer's Song' (농부가) was chosen... the audience... was delighted" (3). One Korean commented afterwards to Conrow that "It left a good Korean taste in my mouth" (4). At the climax of the performance, a student was chosen as queen for a new "kingdom" named "Truth, Goodness, Beauty," which was Ewha's school motto, but here it perhaps subtly represented Korea itself. As the queen ascended her throne, students unfurled a banner bearing the new Ewha school seal.

The Korean audience could not have missed the rhetorical purpose of this pageantry, especially its pronouncement of Ewha's identity in the face of Japanese assimilationist expectations. Through their performances, Ewha women were displaying a new kingdom that preserved beloved Korean customs alongside American and Christian traditions and was free of Japanese control. Ewha's pageantry effectively inverted the dominant cultural and political hierarchy in occupied Korea by excluding any reference to Japanese culture. Certainly, May Day inscribed these Korean traditions in the context of American Christian values, but the context of Japanese colonialism rendered this performance politically and culturally subversive by resisting Japanese assimilation efforts.

A primary subversive feature of the 1930 May Day pageantry was the school's new emblem or seal (figure 4) featured on the banner of the Ewha "kingdom" at the enthronement of the May Day queen. As a performative visual rhetoric, this seal pronounced Ewha's hybrid identity by picturing traditional Korean

culture melded with Christian and American influence and free from Japanese intrusion. Designed by American teacher Edna Van Fleet (at Ewha 1918–1935), the seal features the outline of a pear blossom and positions the Christian cross at the top.



Figure 4: Ewha College's 1930 seal. Ewha Archives, Ewha Womans University.

At the bottom was the 태극 *taegeuk*,⁶¹ a symbol of Korea's Daoist and Confucian heritage which flew on the Korean national flag until Japanese colonization. The arrangement of the *taegeuk* at the bottom reflects school founder Mary Scranton's commitment to preserving the best of Korean culture, although it is subordinated to the Christian cross. Also

combining Christian culture with Korea's Confucian heritage is the seal's motto, "Truth, Goodness, Beauty." Originally a Platonic concept adopted by Christianity, Ewha leaders had made the triad the school's motto by writing it in Classical Chinese characters according to Korean habit: 眞善美 (진선미 *jin seon mi*). Additionally, the seal included the school's name in Classical Chinese⁶² and English,⁶³ symbolizing Korea's traditional Confucian and modern American alignments.

Ewha's 1930 school seal features two more visual rhetorics that resisted assimilation by performing Korea's pre-Japanese history. First, the seal displayed one of the gates of Seoul's old city wall, the 승례문 Sungnyemun.⁶⁴ The Japanese had

⁶¹ Americans know the symbol as the "yin yang."

⁶² "梨花專門[學校]" *ihwa jeonmun [hakgyo]*, pear blossom professional [school]

⁶³ "Ewha College"

⁶⁴ Today, many South Koreans call it 남대문 Namedaemun ("South Gate").

destroyed the wall as part of their “modernization” of Seoul, including the parts adjoining Sungnyemun (김도형 Kim Do-Hyeong 225; Younghill Kang 310).

Representing the wall intact with one of its most impressive gates, then, the seal represented Korean civilization and history *before* Japanese occupation. Second and



Figure 5: 일월오봉도 "Sun, Moon, Five Peak Painting," the symbol of the Korean king's throne from: Frayed. "Seoul Gyeongbokgung Throne," <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nagy/31666938/>, 16 March 2006.

similarly, visible through the gate's archway are six mountain peaks and three lines of a flowing stream. The combination of mountains and stream would likely have reminded Koreans of the

일월오봉도 (*ilweol-o-bongdo* “sun, moon, five peak

painting”), the painted screen that stood behind the throne of the Korean king until Japanese occupation (see figure 5). The *ilweol-o-bongdo* was a primary visual representation of the power and legitimacy of the Korean kings, based on Korea's rich heritage of Confucian philosophy (Chadwick 114–115). Koreans traditionally viewed Japanese as barbarians and thought of themselves as guardians of Confucian civilization (Cumings 91). As a result, the Ewha school seal would remind Korean viewers of their historical superiority to the Japanese invaders. The 1930 Ewha seal thus combined traditional Korean images with American and Christian references to represent a kingdom free from Japanese occupation. As we shall see, the Japanese

government fully understood the seal's symbolism, and the administration of 1939 would literally erase its performance of non-Japanese identities.

With its performative pageantry and visual rhetorics, therefore, the 1930 May Day signaled the Ewha community's ongoing resistance to Japanese assimilation efforts. Although their educational goals aligned when it came to modernization and improved facilities, they departed when considering the cultural imperatives of the school. Under the relatively liberal rule of Saitō Makoto, the Japanese government tolerated Ewha's recalcitrance. A new administration in 1936, however, would sweep away the college's performances of its non-Japanese identities and re-program its education to produce pro-war propagandists instead of modernized, Christian Korean women.

5. Silencing Ewha's Performances: Government Educational Policies for Japanese Assimilation and War, 1936–1940

I explained in the introduction how Japanese censorship was a concern for Koreans and Westerners throughout the colonial period. However, government restrictions on print, performances, and visual displays reached new levels of oppression beginning in the late 1930s. For example, Appenzeller explained on December 15, 1940, that German “advisers” had arrived in the Japanese empire and guessed that they “may be acting as censors, and they will be more thorough than the Japanese could be” (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-50, 1). Censorship formed a part of the government's broader plan to mobilize Korea for its wars through assimilation and integration into the imperial economy. At Ewha College, this censorship and

mobilization silenced the school's performances of non-Japanese identities. In response to government measures, Ewha women negotiated between cooperation and resistance through new performative educational rhetorics.

The Japanese army invaded China in 1937, commencing the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and beginning a series of military offensives that would ultimately lead to war with the United States and the Allied powers (Clark, *Living* 195). Japan's new wars changed everything in occupied Korea, especially when a new governor-general, 南 次郎 Minami Jirō (1874–1955), was appointed in 1936. Previously an army commander both in Korea and Manchuria, Minami reversed many of Saitō Makoto's more liberal policies and more aggressively pursued Koreans' assimilation and mobilization to support Japan's expanding conflicts (Uchida, "Collaboration" 130–131). At Ewha, Minami silenced the school's performative educational rhetorics in attempt to leverage its influence for his own goals.

Unlike Saitō, who had tempered assimilationist goals with attempts to win Westerners' collaboration, Minami imposed educational policies that explicitly defined America and Christianity as enemy influences in Korea. His views reflected Pan-Asianism, a trend of thought that came to dominate Japanese foreign policy in the 1930s, which crafted a narrative of Japan leading Asia against the encroachments and bullying of the white imperialist powers, especially the United States (Aydin 44; Jun 135). But leading Asia entailed conquering it first: under the control of military

men like Minami, the Japanese army invaded China in 1937,⁶⁵ committed the infamous Rape of Nanking in 1938,⁶⁶ and began recruiting Korean men into its military the same year (Clark, *Living* 195–197). To provide resources for Japan’s expanding war in China and to prepare for its broader war with the West, Minami’s government in Korea sought to mobilize the Korean population for total war (Uchida, “Collaboration” 135). Minami planned to facilitate the exploitation of Korea’s human and material resources by first securing their full mental and spiritual cooperation.

*Naisen ittai*⁶⁷ was Governor-General Minami’s policy for assimilating Koreans into loyal, Japanized imperial subjects who would support Japan’s expanding wars (Uchida, “Collaboration” 137). In describing *naisen ittai*, historian Jun Uchida explains:

The excesses of colonialism were most apparent following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. In the years leading up to the Pacific War,⁶⁸ fascism, colonialism, and pan-Asianism – the key “isms” that propelled Japan’s total war – coalesced into the policy of *naisen ittai* (unity of Japan and Korea) in Korea under the new

⁶⁵ For a recent discussion of the intractable and rebellious nature of the Japanese military that contributed to Japan’s war in China and ultimately with the West, see Orbach.

⁶⁶ The Japanese military in Nanjing encountered the resistance of another American missionary educator, Minnie Vautrin (1886–1941), president of Ginling Women’s College (金陵女子大学), which had begun offering classes in 1915, just five years after Ewha. Vautrin used her school campus to shelter thousands of refugees from Japanese attacks during their invasion. Crippled by the stress of this responsibility, however, Vautrin committed suicide in 1941 shortly after returning to the United States. Her work and experience in China, therefore, both overlap with and differ from that of Appenzeller in Korea, providing a fascinating and troubling vision of the range of work American women missionary educators were undertaking in East Asia at the time and the challenges they faced negotiating Japanese power. For recent studies of Vautrin, see Guo; Vautrin; and Hu.

⁶⁷ Classical Chinese: 內鮮一體, Korean: 내선 일체, “[Japan] and Korea, one body”

⁶⁸ The term “Pacific War” denotes conflicts in the greater Pacific region during the late 1930s through 1945, which were both linked to and somewhat distinct from conflicts in Europe and North Africa at roughly the same time. Americans know the broader set of conflicts as World War II and the Pacific War specifically as the “Pacific Theater.”

governor-general, Minami Jiro (1936–42).... To be sure, the colonial state had always been committed to the assimilation of Koreans, however vaguely understood or defined. But in its drive to enforce homogeneity on colonizer and colonized, the wartime policy of *naisen ittai* had few parallels in the empire or, arguably, in twentieth-century colonialism at large. (130–131)

In this program, “Among the many other new rules, Koreans were now required to recite the Pledge of Imperial Subjects (1937), speak only Japanese (1938), worship at Shinto shrines (1939), and – the ultimate indignity – change their names to Japanese (1940)” (Hildi Kang 111; see also Horvitz and Catherwood 464). Together, the policies of *naisen ittai* constituted an aggressive destruction of Korean language and culture that historian Donald Clark has called “cultural genocide” (*Living* 197, 210).

As an American-led and Christian institution that sought to preserve Korean language and culture, Ewha College represented both a political threat and a rhetorical opportunity for Minami’s *naisen ittai* project, not unlike its experience in the 1910s. During the late 1930s, then, the Japanese colonial government worked to transform the school’s educational purpose and rhetorics by wresting it from Appenzeller’s control, driving out all Western influence, and converting the school into a propaganda center for its military campaigns.

Rhetorical silencing would be key strategy in Minami’s approach to Ewha as he attempted to harness the school’s reputation to advance *naisen ittai*. Rhetoric scholars such as Cheryl Glenn, Jill M. Parott, and Katherine Mack have examined the persuasive power of silence as a complement to verbal rhetorics. In particular, their

work encourages us to think about the way silence and silencing can serve as tools for the regulation of behavior of marginalized groups and for these marginalized people to resist this regulation (see Glenn, *Unspoken* 9; Parrott 378–379, 381; Mack 196–197). We can see both of these processes at work in the performative educational rhetorics silenced at Ewha by Minami and by the ways Ewha women found alternative ways to celebrate and define their work.

Appenzeller's letters from this period offer insight into Governor-General Minami's silencing of her school's performative educational rhetorics. At Ewha College, Minami's *naisen ittai* policy was manifested especially by eliminating public performances of the school's Korean, Christian, and American identities – like May Day – and replacing them with performances of Japanese culture. As it happened, Appenzeller was due for her regular furlough⁶⁹ and had left for the US in 1936, the year Minami arrived as Korea's new governor-general. She did not return until 1938, after his new policies had transformed Korea and Ewha almost beyond recognition.

Appenzeller's letters to friends in the US after her return to Korea in 1938 reveal the way that Ewha's own performative educational rhetorics had been silenced by Japanese militarists bent on the assimilation of the Korean people. Writing on May 9, 1938, she describes trying to come to terms with a crisis that was increasingly beyond her control. She reports her alarm upon her arrival in Korea after her furlough: "Each time I cross the Pacific," Appenzeller writes, "I realize anew its vastness and the great separation that it brings between east and west" (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-

⁶⁹ Periodic furloughs for rest, visiting with family and friends, and fundraising were a regular feature of the experience of American missionaries to Korea and elsewhere (for comparison, see Robbins and Pullen 106–107).

15, 1). Rather than an example of Orientalizing language, the east-west separation that she has in mind here is due to the increasingly authoritarian Japanese colonial government:

Now I find myself in a different world, almost another planet, Mars perhaps, where there is no oxygen and ordinary human life is difficult. It is almost unbelievable how quickly changes have come. The government is well satisfied with its nationalization program affecting every part of life here. Though I have been accustomed to things here for many years all the elements found in other countries governed in the same way are having a strong influence now. (1)

Appenzeller uses the euphemism “nationalization program” to refer to Minami’s *naisen ittai*, which aimed at ridding Korea of Western influence and imposing Japanese identity, as we discussed above. By “other countries,” Appenzeller no doubt has other fascist regimes in mind, especially Mussolini’s Italy and Hitler’s Germany, although her allusion is so indirect that it apparently passed Japanese censors. Education in such regimes was controlled by the state and pursued state goals, Appenzeller observes. Her letters and reports from this period bear out Arthur Judson Brown’s 1919 thesis (see above): Japan was pressuring Ewha and other Korean schools to fulfill its own militarizing ends.

Appenzeller’s letter of May 9, 1938 also reveals the ways that she and her protégée and colleague Kim Hwallan tried to implement government educational policies to avoid conflict, but she subtly critiques these policies as well. Pressure on Ewha faculty (Korean and American alike) to assimilate was increasing. Appenzeller

recounts her stop at Yokohama, Japan on her return voyage, where she met two Ewha teachers who were studying the Japanese language (1). She explains having to get used to “government inspectors... examining every detail,” although the school’s impeccable records provided nothing for them to criticize in their May visit (1). The danger to schools not fully compliant with state directives was real: she writes that the “The work of Ewha College seems to me more important now than ever. With the Christian schools reduced in number there have come new problems and greater responsibilities” (2). Kim Hwallan had taken on the duties of president during Appenzeller’s absence,⁷⁰ and Appenzeller reports approvingly that “Dr. Helen Kim [Kim Hwallan] has made the necessary adjustments with courage and grace” (2). Again, her indirect language conceals her real message: Kim Hwallan had been compelled to implement Japanese policies at Ewha, and in Appenzeller’s opinion, such changes, however distasteful they might be, were necessary to keep Ewha in the government’s favor.

Yet this letter of May 9, 1938 also reveals both Governor-General Minami’s attempt to assimilate the Ewha community and their own use of rhetorical silence to resist this assimilation. Appenzeller writes of the stark changes to the school that were evidenced through one particular performative rhetoric – the ritual of students accompanying her to the train station to bid farewell or to welcome her home. During this performance, students used to sing the Ewha school song in the Korean language, a custom that reinforced Ewha’s Korean identity as well as students’ support for their

⁷⁰ In fact, Appenzeller had tried to resign as president before leaving in 1936, but the Ewha Board in New York refused her resignation (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-51, 1).

American leader. In the same letter of May 9, 1938, Appenzeller reports her safe arrival in Korea after her furlough ended. However, Appenzeller describes how even singing Ewha's school song in Korean was no longer permitted when she arrived at Seoul train station after her trans-Pacific journey. She writes that "Outside the station all the Ewha students were lined up but they did not sing the school song as they did when I went away. It has been translated and is sung only in the national language now" (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-15, 2). Appenzeller uses "national language," the government's euphemism for Japanese. In this passage, she remarks on Minami's policy of banning Korean and using school songs to display and perform Japanese identity. Nevertheless, Ewha students in this case refuse to sing the Japanese version, using their silence as a rhetorical gesture of resistance to assimilation.

Besides rewriting the school song, Minami's *naisen ittai* policy had also silenced other key performative educational rhetorics at Ewha, especially connected to its music program. In a report from February 1939, just nine months after her return to Korea, Appenzeller details the way *naisen ittai* had completely changed life at Ewha. She lists "Events dropped from the Schedule," explaining that "I have missed so many events that used to make for us important connections with younger girls and our general constituency" (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-26, 1). Included in this list were the musical events we learned about above, including "concert tours, and distant places must have missed them," the high school and primary music contests, and performances of Christmas music on the radio. The "English players" staged *Silas Marner*, but they weren't allowed to have an audience – not even families were permitted to attend (1). Even May Day, "beloved of Ewha generations," had been

silenced, its celebration of both American and Korean cultural now too threatening to *naisen ittai*. This list suggests, first, the silencing of performances and articulations of American, Korean, and Christian culture. Far from being advocates of women's higher education, as Saitō Makoto had presented himself, Governor-General Minami and his successor Koiso Kuniaki⁷¹ aimed at eliminating it (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 99; Yoo 203). It was therefore vital for the Japanese state to staunch the spread of educational fervor promoted by these kinds of public performances. Additionally, Christmas, representing the Christian faith, now conflicted with Minami's aggressive implementation of Shinto⁷² observances at schools and even Christian churches (Clark, *Living* 209–210).

In addition to recording the way Governor-General Minami silenced these performances of Ewha's Korean, American, and Christian identities, Appenzeller's letters from this period also witness the way the government imposed new performances that made the college a propaganda center for Japan's total war. In the letter of February 1939, Appenzeller details how Ewha's traditional public events and performances had been forcibly replaced by activities intended to increase Koreans' support for the war:

In place of these [Ewha's musical performances listed above] have been innumerable 'hijoji' or unusual activities... endless in variety and demand. The girls have tramped, washed, sewed, scrubbed, cleaned, dug, and done everything in good spirit. This is a variation on the

⁷¹ 小磯 國昭 (1880–1950).

⁷² For an overview of the Shinto shrine controversy, see Sung-Gun Kim. See also chapter 3 for Ewha students' resistance to the implementation of Shinto worship.

usual and, we have thought, important educational procedure, but is an inevitable part of today's life.... All are assiduously studying the national language, which we use almost exclusively now. (2)

Ewha women had used their voices to make music: now, the colonial government wanted their voices and bodies for military-preparation drills. "Hijoji" is Appenzeller's spelling of the Japanese word for "time of emergency, crisis,"⁷³ a term the government was using to describe its "spiritual mobilization" of Koreans, a crucial component of *naisen ittai* (Uchida, "Collaboration" 137). Uchida explains that, in Minami's "spiritual mobilization," "not only soldiers at the front but also citizens must actively share the burden of war through 'defence of the home front'" (134). Through this "spiritual mobilization," the government increasingly sought to control every aspect of Koreans' lives, including food, dress, and traditional ceremonies (137). As Appenzeller notes, spiritual mobilization primarily entailed physical labor, emphasizing hygiene to ensure a healthy workforce and, as her comments suggest, even conducting military-style drills and digging trenches (136).⁷⁴

The flipside of Minami's rhetorical silencing was the way his administration compelled Ewha women to *speak* in support of government policies. This was another initiative of "spiritual mobilization," in which the state compelled Ewha's own Korean staff to conduct lecture tours advancing *naisen ittai* initiatives. "Staff members have twice been sent on long speaking tours for the government," Appenzeller reports in the same February 1939 letter (승-II-B-5-5-4-26, 2). Uchida

⁷³ Japanese: ひじょうじ *hijouji*, Classical Chinese: 非常時, Korean: 비상시

⁷⁴ Students at Ewha's sister school, 숙명 Sukmyeong, were forced to dig trenches as well (김윤 Kim Yun 52).

explains that “Middle-class Korean and Japanese women frequently went on lecture tours to the provinces to urge residents to practice frugality, avoid waste, curtail consumption, and refrain from conducting elaborate ceremonies and traditional rituals” (138). Although the content of the lectures may seem harmless enough, the purpose in minimizing Koreans’ expenditures was to maximize the government’s resources to make war. Appenzeller’s terse mention of these tours, while avoiding direct criticism in view of the censors, clarifies nonetheless that they were too long and frequent, taking Ewha’s Korean staff away from what Appenzeller saw as their real work. As we shall see, these lecture tours would culminate in Kim Hwallan’s speeches in support of the draft of Korean men after the expansion of the war (see chapter 2).

The government also moved against the visual rhetoric of the Ewha school seal in attempt to purge the 1930 version’s performance of Korean heritage and American and Christian influence. As shown in figure 6, Minami’s censors removed important representations of Korean identity and history from the seal – the gate, the

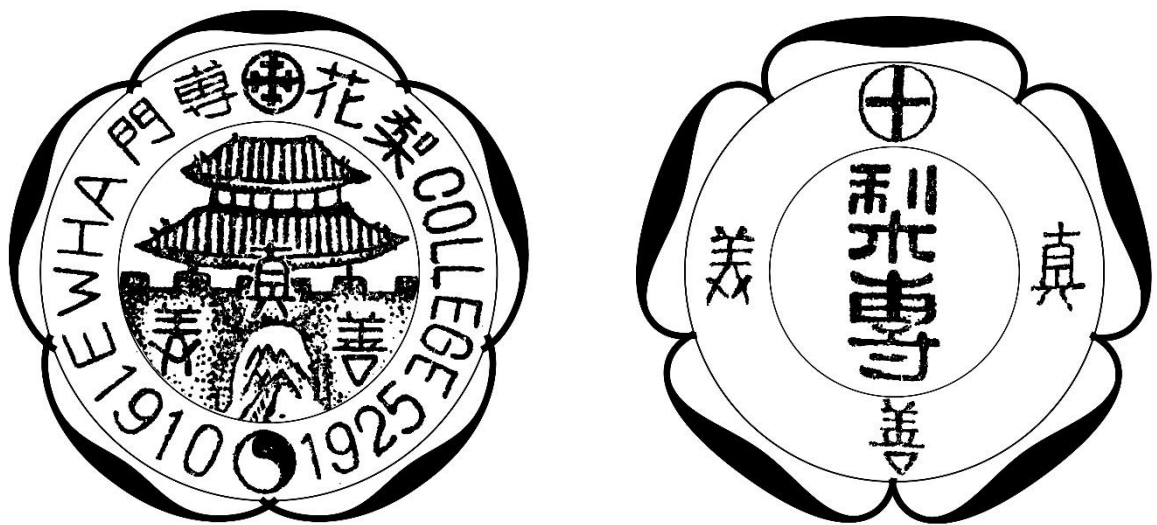


Figure 6: Ewha College's 1930 (left) and 1939 (right) school seals. Ewha Archives, Ewha Womans University.

ilweolobongdo, and the *taegeuk* – leaving only the shape of the pear blossom, the Chinese characters for Ewha⁷⁵ in the center circle, and “truth, goodness, beauty”⁷⁶ in the outer circle. These Chinese characters were acceptable to the Japanese, since the Japanese writing system also used them,⁷⁷ but the school’s English name had been removed. Even the school’s founding dates were removed, revealing Minami’s goal to remove the memory of Ewha’s non-Japanese past. The 1939 seal still included the cross at the top, but by 1943, even this symbol was removed (이화 반 세기의 기적 *Ewha’s Half-Century of Miracles*). Too threatening to Minami’s military designs, Ewha’s Korean, Christian, and American past was expurgated in favor of a performance of pan-Asian identity based on the common Chinese characters.

Thus silencing the Ewha community’s own rhetorics and forcing them to perform his own, Governor-General Minami sought to eliminate the school as a rhetorical threat and to leverage it as an asset in his plans to militarize and imperialize Koreans. Ewha women had attempted to balance cooperation with resistance through strategic rhetorical silence. In the last months of Appenzeller’s time in Korea, they would turn to another performative educational rhetoric: epideictic letters and reports.

6. Epideictic Against Japan’s Rhetorical Silencing

The final component of Minami’s revision to his militarizing educational policies was the removal of American leadership from all mission schools, especially

⁷⁵ Classical Chinese: 梨[花] 專[門] 學[校], Korean: 이[화] 전[문] 학교] *i[hwa] jeon[mun hag-gyo]* pear [blossom] professional [school]

⁷⁶ Classical Chinese: 眞善美, Korean: 진선미 *jin seon mi*

⁷⁷ Classical Chinese: 漢字, Japanese: かんじ *kanji*

Alice Appenzeller as Ewha's president. The Ewha community negotiated the government's move with epideictic compositions celebrating the transition of power as a victory for the school. However, because public performances had been banned, these epideictic displays were performed in writing. As with their rhetorical silences, Ewha women used these epideictic compositions to negotiate the dictatorship's agenda and maintain some ability at least to define events.

Ewha's WFMS Board of Managers in New York took the lead in reframing Minami's interference by emphasizing Appenzeller's own hybrid American, Christian, and Korean identities. Minami banned foreigners from holding leadership positions in Korean schools in April 1939, and he forced Appenzeller to resign in favor of her Korean protégée Kim Hwallan (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 92–93; Clark, *Living* 184, 243–244). On April 13, 1939, unable to host a public event for Appenzeller (due to *naissen ittai*), the Board in New York passed a resolution to “express our since appreciation of the great service which Dr. Alice R. Appenzeller has rendered to the Christian education of Korean womanhood in general, and to Ewha College, in particular” (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-51, 1). The resolution lauded Appenzeller's career at Ewha, linking it with her well-known parents' foundational work in Korea:

It is our pride and privilege to claim her to be one of us. She was the first Methodist and first American baby ever born in Korea, the eldest daughter of Rev. and Mrs. H.G. Appenzeller, whose sainted memories will long remain sacred in the annals of the Christian Church of Korea. Not only so, she early felt herself to be called of God to choose the

land of her birth as her adopted country, called for whose daughters she has given her best in years and efforts in imparting to them the blessings of spiritual and intellectual enlightenment. It is no exaggeration to say that the superb Ewha College and Ewha Kindergarten Training School, as they now stand, are the creation of her devotion and ability. She has discharged her God-given duties faithfully and efficiently for the last seventeen years. (1)

The Board dubs Appenzeller the first “American” child born in Korea, but they also describe Korea as “the land of her birth” and emphasize her adoption of that country as her own. Overarching both of these national identities is her Christian identity, here revealed in her divine calling to serve Korean women. Like Ewha itself, then, Appenzeller transcends identity categories – but *because* of these multiple identities, she had become a threat to the colonial state.

The Ewha Board’s epideictic for Appenzeller *ignores* the constraints of Japanese colonization and depicts the school leadership naturally passing from Americans to Koreans. Kim Hwallan would later clarify that the immediate reason for Appenzeller’s handing of the baton to her was the Japanese ban on Americans (*Grace Sufficient* 92). Wary of Japanese censors, however, the Board in 1939 only subtly allude to this reason, framing the transfer rather as the fulfillment of Appenzeller’s long-held intention:

During these years her ambition has been to find her successor from among her own pupils who might, in turn, take over her work and carry it on, maintaining its distinctive Christian principles for which

the institution has been founded. Believing that she had found such a successor in the person of Dr. Helen K. Kim [Kim Hwallan], she wanted to resign in her favor once in 1928 and again in 1936; but the Board of Managers deemed it unnecessary to accept her resignation on both occasions. However, the condition of the times has so changed that we have thought it wise to accede to her request. (1)

In order to maintain the Americans' sense of control over the school, this resolution emphasizes that the shift in power was *Appenzeller's* decision and desire, *not* the Japanese'. Despite the political reality, this epideictic imagines Ewha leadership pursuing the school's own long-term, faith-focused goals free from state interference.

Through its ever-tightening censorship, the government silenced the epideictic performance that Appenzeller had hoped to dedicate to Kim. She wrote home to friends explaining the changes on April 28, 1939, presenting the change of president at Ewha as an event to be celebrated, just as the Board had done. Nevertheless, she alludes to Japanese restrictions in another way:

It is not customary to have a ceremony of installation into office, such as we have in the West, but formal calls are made and the change announced. Dr. Kim and I have been the rounds and are now attending various dinners given in our honor. It is a disappointment to me not to be able to give adequate recognition to such an important and happy event as the accession of the first Korean woman to the presidency of the first college for girls in this land. But as no public celebrations are

held nowadays, this also has been given up. The culmination of our hopes of many years is the great matter after all. (1)

The reason, of course, that there are no more public celebrations is because governor-general Minami Jirō had forbidden them as part of *naisen ittai*. By expressing her “disappointment” over not being able to mark this event in the way that she wanted, Appenzeller subtly criticizes government policies.⁷⁸ Instead of the performance that she wanted, therefore, Appenzeller crafts her epideictic to celebrate the transition in the form of a letter. Her letter of April 28 goes on to state:

Fortunate is the College and fortunate am I in having Helen Kim as my successor. To quote from my resignation: “Dr. Kim has proved herself a keen scholar, an inspiring teacher, an able administrator, a trusted leader, an understanding friend, a great Christian. I believe that she will bring to this task not only her best powers, but also such an obedience to God’s will as to assure a worthy future for our beloved College. (2)

Instead of frankly assessing the college’s real circumstances – reduced by a military dictatorship to the function of an assimilation propaganda machine – Appenzeller

⁷⁸ This letter reveals Japanese censorship and control of language in other ways as well. For the first time, her letterhead uses the new Japanese term for Seoul, Joseon: “Keizyo, Tyosen” (兪-II-B-5-5-4-65 1). This is the first letter in which Appenzeller abandons naming the location of her school using its Korean names – Seoul or Hanyang. Both “Keijo/Keizyo” and “Chosen/Tyosen” are transliterations of the Japanese pronunciations of the Chinese characters 京城, 朝鮮, written in Korean 경성, 조선 (*gyeongseong* “capital city,” *Joseon*, the name of the last Korean dynasty). The Japanese government had issued new rules for Seoul’s name in Japanese after Minami’s arrival, and Appenzeller carefully observes these instructions, suggesting the censors were increasingly suspicious of her activities (Clark, *Living* 196). Indeed, when she had gotten free of Korea in late November 1940 (see below), she explained that “The police interference in Korea is so much worse than anything” she had anticipated (兪-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1).

here can only perform praise for Kim's Korean and Christian identities and hint at Ewha's altered relationship with the colonial government.

These epideictic reports and letters were one of the last rhetorical strategies available to Ewha women in 1939 to perform their Korean, American, and Christian identities as the school fell under the sway of the colonial regime. They represent one of Ewha women's final attempts to define their school's mission and identity before the outbreak of war in the Pacific. Perhaps the last attempts, however, were more visual rhetorics.

7. Ewha's Final Performative Educational Rhetorics: Picturing the School's Hybrid Identities, 1940–1941

By the end of 1940, Japanese educational policies had been revised to define Christians, and especially Americans, as enemies, and Appenzeller was forced to abandon the land of her birth, as Ewha's American staff and the entire Methodist mission in Korea evacuated the country (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-7; ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45; Clark, *Living* 250–251). Appenzeller at last accepted that American (though not Korean) collaboration with Japan was unacceptable. Less than a month after her previous letter, Appenzeller wrote again to "friends" with a surprise announcement: she and all Methodist missionaries were leaving Korea. "The skies seem to be caving in on us, as Edna St. V. Millay says," she lamented on November 2, 1940, "and it looks as though two weeks will close this long happy drama of our life here" (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-7, 1). She explains that two-hundred fifty American citizens planned to evacuate the country on November 15, boarding a cruise liner, the *Mariposa*, that had been requested to stop

at Incheon port near Seoul.⁷⁹ Appenzeller summarizes three reasons for their decision to leave, which reveal that the American Methodists had accepted that they were no longer able to tolerate the interference of the colonial dictatorship:

Three chief [reasons why Methodist missionaries are leaving Korea], given in order of importance as I see them, are these: our presence is daily causing our colleagues embarrassment and suffering; the Korean Methodist Church has been changed, forced into a mold that is impossible for us to recognize; the U.S. government has strongly urged us to leave now, [quoting the American consulate general] “while transportation is available.” Our best friends among our people say they cannot ask us to stay. “We love you, we need you, but we cannot have you”, is the way one put it, with tears streaming down her face.

(1)

Appenzeller lists political, religious, and educational reasons for Methodists’ decision to evacuate the peninsula. Like their approach to schools, Japanese fascists were actively trying to bring Christian churches in Korea and Japan under its control.⁸⁰ As

⁷⁹ Appenzeller reflects on the significance of Incheon harbor to her family’s mission in Korea. This Incheon, Appenzeller explains (then called “Jinsen” according to Japanese pronunciation), was “formerly called Chemulpo” and was “where my parents landed 55 years ago. It was in those waters that my father lost his life trying to save two Korean friends,” and she reflects that “My brother and I are glad that, since we must go, we can depart together from this place. It breaks our hearts, but we hope that before long we can come back again to our beloved home here, and go on with the work that has been our life for so long” (1).

⁸⁰ Even in the Korean Methodist Church, which Appenzeller’s father had founded more than fifty years earlier, she recognized that she was no longer able to exercise any control. In a letter of October 7, 1940, she had alluded to debates in the Methodist and other Protestant churches encouraged by the Japanese government about the Nicene Creed and the so-called “Shinto shrine controversy”:

While everything looks the same, and we are treated as kindly as ever, momentous changes have come about in the councils of the church, as well as other bodies. Financial aid from abroad is to be repudiated, missionaries are to be relieved of responsibilities that involve leadership, and serious doctrinal changes, in line with recent political events, may drastically change the life of the church. (ㄷ-II-B-5-5-4-16, 1)

Under pressure from Japan, these changes in the Korean Methodist Church were being undertaken by Korean intellectuals including 신흥우 Sin Heung-u (Hugh Cynn, 1883–1959), an early convert to Methodism who had studied in America and became a prominent reformer. According to sociologist Elizabeth Underwood, Sin became increasingly critical of Western missionary educators in Korea, frustrated with what he saw as their racism, imperial attitudes, and excessive emphasis on the Bible at the expense of liberal education (258–260). He had early sought cooperation with the Japanese colonial government, welcoming Japan as an alternative to the West in developing Korea’s own form of Christian modernity (Noble 55). He called for a united, Korean “nationalist Church,” rejecting missionaries’ conservative theology (Underwood 260). For missionaries like Appenzeller, the changes that Sin was bringing to the Korean Methodist Church were deeply disturbing, a sign of Japan’s oppressive influence on the peninsula (see ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-52 below).

As Methodist bishop James Baker noted after his visit to Korea in January 1941, although the Japanese constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, there was increasing pressure in Japan and Korea to participate in Shinto rituals and build Shinto shrines in homes and public places (*Church and Mission* 20–21). Baker writes that, in Korea, “There is pending a check-up of every home for godshelves and charms,” by which he means the physical apparatus of the shrines (20; see chapter 3 for the “godshelf” imposed on Ewha’s dormitories and the students’ disrespectful response to its veneration ceremony).

Baker explained that both Korean and American Christians were deeply divided about how to respond to this requirement, with many missionaries believing such use of shrines amounted to idolatry: “The real issue for Christians,” he observed, “is whether or not shrine attendance, the saying of prayers, the making of offerings to ancestors, and the so-called shrine worship are to be regarded as real religion in conflict with the worship of the Living God” (20). Historian Sung-Gun Kim explains that Presbyterians had initially declared Shinto shrine observance to be idolatry, but even they had been pressured into compliance by 1938 (209, 214). Bishop Baker’s contemporary comments confirm this perspective, observing that “There is a tendency today to regard Shinto as a national patriotic cult and not real religion, and it is said that Shinto and Christianity can therefore exist side by side” (21). The Japanese government itself, in attempting to convince Christians, insisted “that shrine attendance is a patriotic observance and not a religious act” (21).

In addition to the Shinto controversy, the Japanese government was also pressuring religious groups “to unite their various sects,” evidently in order to be more easily controlled by the state (Baker 21). Catholics and Orthodox, Baker notes, had refused any suggestion of unification with the Protestants, but “Many of the smaller Protestant denominations have already joined the larger groups,” and a commission had been formed to draft a constitution for a “United Church,” which had long been Hugh Cynn’s ambition (22).

Appenzeller, at any rate, strongly opposed both Shinto veneration and church unification. In a letter to former Ewha teacher Velma Maynor after her return to the US, she dwelled at length on what she saw as the problems in Korea’s Protestant churches under totalitarian Japanese rule:

I think the Church, both Methodist and Pres. [Presbyterian] is in a bad place. They’ve given in too much. I told the folks I saw that I thot so, and that they’d have to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. It will be worse than that. After giving up so much and assenting to what they know is not right, they’re not spared any persecution, so what’s the use? (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-52, 2)

Appenzeller disapproved of changes such as these, anticipating that they would not prevent government persecution anyway, representing a loss both of conscience and liberty. She ultimately blamed the Japanese, both government and private citizens:

I do wish the J [Japanese] Christians would lead the way and ever [Appenzeller’s emphasis] stand up against these powers of darkness, and not leave it all to the p[o]r Koreans, who get it double, as Christians and as Koreans.... Of course, H. Cynn [신흥우 Sin Heung-u, Hugh Cynn] is the leading brain in all this, and I think he’s leading the wrong way, and have told him so. He and [Japanese Methodist] Bishop Abe think they can get ahead by preparing something acceptable to the J’s [Japanese] before they’re required; but I’ve never seen that stunt work... But I will not jud[g]e

for schools, Appenzeller does not here elaborate on what kinds of “embarrassment and suffering” the Americans were causing their Korean colleagues, but after her return to America, she explained that they had

felt that it was best for the college [for the American staff] to go away and leave the president [Kim Hwallan] and the administration free to make decisions without the suspicion that ‘spies’ were influencing them. We were all called that by the local press, and circumstances became very difficult for our friends because of us. (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-29, 3)

The government-controlled press was working to paint Americans as spies and enemies of the state – a vital component of Japan’s preparations to bomb Pearl Harbor just over a year later. Koreans who still associated with these state enemies were increasingly suspect. Similarly, in another letter written after her departure from Korea, Appenzeller explained the “difficulties that the presence of ‘so many foreigners’” caused Kim Hwallan, in particular, who was harassed by the Japanese police (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1).

these poor people, knowing myself to be less a Christian than most of them, and certainly safe and comfortable, when they have so much trouble. (2)

Appenzeller blames changes in the church on its bishops – Chung in Korea and Abe in Korea – but even more Sin Heung-u, who even then was living in one of the two remaining Methodist mission houses in Korea (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-50, 1). She explains Sin and Bishop Abe believe that the changes they were enacting would ingratiate them with the Japanese, but she predicts that there was no averting the full control of the fascist government. Expressing frustration with the apparent silence of Japanese Christians in response to government pressure, Appenzeller reveals her sympathy for the Koreans who suffer both racial and religious discrimination, but she also critiques Koreans like Sin who had abandoned what she considered a proper independence from government control.

The Ewha community did its best to celebrate Ewha's Christian legacy of Korean-American cooperation when the American staff was preparing to evacuate, this time with performative visual rhetorics. Figure 7 depicts a photograph of the entire college faculty taken on November 5 on the Sinchon campus that Appenzeller had worked so hard to purchase and build on many years before. Nine American faculty sit in the first row, with president Kim Hwallan in the center, and Appenzeller



Figure 7: Ewha College Faculty, November 5, 1940. Taken before the forced evacuation of all Western teachers on November 16, 1940 (Caption from Conrow 38. Kim Hwallan is in the center, front row, with Alice Appenzeller on her left). Ewha Archives, Ewha Womans University.



Figure 8: A farewell bow to Western teachers who were forced to evacuate from Korea in November 1940 (Caption from Conrow 39). Ewha Archives, Ewha Womans University.

on her left. Surrounding them on the left, right, and behind is the Korean faculty. Many are smiling, demonstrating the Ewha community's determination to recognize, remember, and celebrate their unity. Similarly, figure 8 shows Ewha students dressed in 한복 *hanbok* and performing 절 *jeol*, a formal bow and traditional gesture of respect to persons of higher social status upon their arrival or departure, to seven members of the American faculty. The students' faces express their sadness, while the faculty give close attention to the students' actions, some with smiles and others more solemn, suggesting their care for and investment in the students' development. It is not clear if either image was published in 1940 – figures 8 and 9 are from Marion Conrow's 1956 publication *Our Ewha*. Thus, the rhetorical situations they might have been used in and to what rhetorical purposes are uncertain. It *is* clear, however, that the very taking of these photographs, together with the human organization, staging, and (particularly in the case of the student bow) ceremony, represents an attempt by Ewha faculty and students to celebrate and remember what they had built together through performance. In the face of a foreboding future, Ewha's Americans and Koreans crafted this final educational rhetoric to *picture* their shared work.

Conclusion

Appenzeller's evacuation on November 16, 1940 with most of the Methodist mission marked the school's final concession to Japanese educational policies.

Recalling this period in 1956, Ewha faculty member Marion Conrow wrote:

The years 1937 to 1940 were difficult ones as the military aggressiveness of the Japanese Empire brought new pressures and

restrictions upon all Korea. When the limit seemed to have been reached, Western leaders – business, consular, and missionary – were evacuated on the S.S. *Mariposa* from Inchon harbor on November 16, 1940. (40)

Appenzeller was unaccustomed to the freedom from Japanese censorship. Still on the *Mariposa* ten days after their departure, she wrote to the WFMS treasurer, Mrs. J. Wesley Masland, that “I can hardly get used to writing plainly, for we’ve been muzzled so long,” and even now, “We’re afraid that something we write will get back and harm our people in Korea” (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1). Other visitors to Korea that Appenzeller encountered aboard the *Mariposa* agreed about the trauma inflicted by the Japanese police:

One China missionary on this boat said in public that, tho he’d been thru shot and shell in both armies in war areas in China, and he told us terrible things about his experiences, he would rather endure a year of that than six months of the mental torture that Japanese rule brings. This is what Korea, and especially Koreans, are under. At the very least we want to help make it easier. (1)

Appenzeller reports that the missionary to China felt that the authoritarian control of the Japanese police state under the *naisen ittai* mobilization, with its attempt to control every thought and action in Korea as we have discussed, was worse than the actual war in China.⁸¹ By “help make it easier,” Appenzeller meant sending money to

⁸¹ By “both armies,” Appenzeller probably means the invading Japanese and the defending Chinese nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek, although a parallel conflict was also being fought between Chiang and the communist forces of Mao Zedong.

Ewha. In this and many of her letters over the next weeks and months, she urged the WFMS community and all Ewha supporters to send funds as quickly as possible, because the Japanese had declared their intention to cut off both communication and money transfers from abroad sometime soon. Still crossing the Pacific, Appenzeller instructed the Ewha Board that

now we can do something to send Helen Kim money to carry on. To wait... may mean that we can't get it to her... We want to want to put as much money as we can get hold of into Dr Kim's hands now, so that she can invest it and have something to run on. If we don't, she will have a terrible time, and her burden is already almost too heavy to bear. (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1)

In beginning her fundraising for Ewha even from the boat, Appenzeller was fulfilling a promise to continue working for the school even after her departure, which she had pledged to Kim before they parted. "We know that nothing can separate us from our friends," Appenzeller had written home on November 2 while still in Korea, "and that we shall always be working together, even though oceans come between us" (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-7, 1). Now crossing the Pacific, she explained more fully what she had meant:

Dr. Helen and I made a covenant before we parted, that we would work for Ewha as long as we lived. She said twice, while we were standing weeping, with our arms about each other, "I will carry on the work of this college until I die." God grant that she may live long and that she will be allowed to fulfill her vow. (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1)

Clearly intimidated and overwhelmed by the dismal future than lay before them, both women took comfort in their mutual promise to continue working for Ewha no matter what. For Appenzeller, working for Ewha in the United States would primarily mean fundraising. The promise was another way to claim agency in the face of the Japanese military machine. However, as we shall see in chapters 2 and 3, this promise had tragic consequences for Kim, who understood it as her job to make whatever compromises necessary to maintain control of the school – even when it came to *participating* in the government’s wartime educational rhetorics.

It was only after her departure from Japanese occupation that Appenzeller could write about the way Japanese educational policies had compelled even Americans to compromise more than they were willing:

Our presence [at Ewha] was no longer possible.... we should have had to take the part of acquiescing and actually approving the whole Japanese national program. You ask whether we haven’t been doing that up to the present. Yes, our being on the staff ~~indicates that~~ [superscript: “was so regarded”], even tho we did not attend the ceremonies or ever go thru many of the things required of nationals. But with the new church structure and the definite requirements of the past months, which are growing worse all the time, we did not feel that we could agree and continue to work. Our withdrawal is a protest that they understand and have noticed. (1)

Colonial policies had so fully taken over the school that even to remain on staff would have signaled American approval of the government’s educational goals. In

fact, Appenzeller's comments here reveal that she had already heard (or at least anticipated) some criticism of their not leaving *sooner*, since they had already tolerated four years of Minami's policies. She explains that they were willing to remain because Americans were not forced to participate in explicitly pro-government activities (such as the propaganda tours discussed above) – or at least, not until recently. Surprisingly, Appenzeller does not seem to have considered it morally problematic for Kim Hwallan and other Korean faculty to “attend the ceremonies” and “go thru many... things,” because she considered them to be Japanese “nationals.” This would prove to be a tragic misunderstanding of the perceptions of many Koreans, who very much did *not* consider themselves “nationals” of Japan and considered it treasonous to collaborate with their occupiers (see chapter 3). Leaving Kim behind to run the school in the impossible dilemma of colonized Korea, and worse, by encouraging Kim's promise to “carry on the work of this college until I die” (Appenzeller responded, “God grant that she may live long and that she will be allowed to fulfil her vow”), Appenzeller unwittingly doomed Kim to the condemnation of many fellow Koreans in the years to come.

After arriving in the US in December 1940, Appenzeller continued working to help Ewha College preserve its work and Christian identity despite anticipated government persecution. In March 1941, Appenzeller typed a school report emphasizing the constraints placed on the remaining Korean staff back at Ewha:

The withdrawal of ten members of the faculty at one time caused tremendous hardship to the staff, but the extra burdens are being cheerfully born. Hardest of all to us who have been so close to the

college from its early beginnings, is the strict command that Ewha College must cut herself off from all her Western connections and become completely “indigenous”. So we in America are trying to refrain from any word or deed that might endanger those whom we love and would still serve. (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-14, 1)

Even in America, Appenzeller’s words reveal, she feared that the Japanese would detect their work and punish Kim and the remaining Ewha community. Despite this threat, she expressed two main hopes for the college in the days to come. First, she hoped that the school would retain its Christian identity:

The contributions of the missionaries to Ewha, 1885–1940, is eternally woven into the life of the school and will never be lost.... Now in the new day of trial [the American missionaries’] spiritual daughters, the Koreans themselves, are nobly taking their turn and shouldering the tasks... We believe in these fine, strong young workers, who have pledged themselves to carry on the ideals of Ewha, the only Christian college for women in Korea. We cannot write to them nor they to us, but our faith must supply what is lacking in information. (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1–2)

Appenzeller’s second hope was that the school would have the funds it needed to stay open, and on this point, she continued to urge quick action:

Now more than ever they need our prayers our belief in them, and our loyal financial support.... The experts know how to send money

without violating law or endangering persons. We must continue to help them make their work more effective. (2)

Even after Japan closed off these money transfers in April 1941, Appenzeller argued that they should continue to reserve money for Ewha so that it could be sent as soon as the situation improved.

During World War II, with Americans like Appenzeller out of the way, the Japanese regime used Ewha College explicitly as a propaganda machine. On December 7, 1941, Japan bombed the US fleet at Pearl Harbor, and the next four years brought untold sufferings to the Ewha community and Korea in general. The government forced Ewha to rename itself simply “Gyeongseong Women’s College,” using the state-imposed term “경성” *gyeongseong*, meaning “capital city,” since “Ewha College” connoted the school’s Korean and American heritage (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 100; see chapter 3). The government also converted Ewha’s – now Gyeongseong’s – curriculum into a “one-year course for the training of village leaders” (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 99). Graduates were sent to rural villages to conduct classes “tell[ing] people about the war and what they must do to help win it” (99). Appenzeller spent the war in the US and Hawaii, but she hurried back to Korea after the Allied victory⁸² and worked again at Ewha until during Korea’s turbulent first years of independence until her death in February 1950, just four months before the outbreak of the Korean War (Reninger 122).

⁸² The Pacific War ended in August 1945 as a result of the two atomic bombs dropped on Japan by the US. Along with Japanese casualties, nearly 10,000 Koreans forced to labor in Japan died, including Korea prince 李鐸이우 Yi U (1912–August 7, 1945) in Nagasaki (Dower 140).

We have seen in this chapter how Ewha College under Alice Appenzeller's influence negotiated Japanese educational objectives using the means that were available to them in each rhetorical situation. We have seen how Ewha women used performative educational rhetorics to signal both their willingness to cooperate with Japanese policies that aligned with their own objectives and their determination to maintain their Christian, Korean, and American identities against pressure to assimilate Koreans as Japanese. These multiple identities, together with Appenzeller's own hybrid Korean and American identities, transcend and complicate easy categorization as "Korean" or "American" rhetoric. We have also seen how different Japanese regimes responded, first with their own performative rhetorics instructing American educators in their goals to modernize and Japanize Korean education, and then by rhetorically silencing Ewha's non-Japanese identities. We considered the way Ewha women attempted to maintain some level of control in the worsening environment of the late 1930s, resisting at times with rhetorical silence and at times with epideictic compositions and more visual rhetorics to celebrate the college's long Korean–American cooperation. We have thus viewed the Japanese colonial period at Ewha College through one lens, focusing on the experience of its American leadership and the broad Ewha community. In the next chapter, we look at the same period through another lens, the perspective of Kim Hwallan.

Chapter Two

Educational Rhetorics of Utility:

Kim Hwallan's Arguments for Women's Education and Nation, 1918–1942

Some think that it is useless for such a busy woman as a homekeeper to spend time and money for higher education. But they have not realized what important work she has to do. For what does higher education mean to her? It is the factor which enables her to do her work more accurately, more rapidly and more skillfully because of trained senses, a strengthened body, and a developed mind.

Kim Hwallan, "Higher Education and the Home," 1918

(125)

그러나 全部 教育받은 女子中에서는 머리에 기름과 얼굴에 粉을 모르고 겨울이면 보병옷 여름이면 굵은 뽕옷으로 單純하고 儉朴하게 차리고 나서서 一般 우리 社會의 改造를 爲하여 무슨 貢獻이 잇슬가하여 무엇에 着手를 좀 해볼가 하면 여러분은 우리들을 가르쳐 虛榮心이 만흐니 주저넘고 건방지니 別々⁸³惡評을 다—⁸⁴하시지요?

⁸³ This symbol indicates the repetition of the previous syllable, like the English ditto mark except for a single syllable only.

⁸⁴ This symbol indicates that the previous syllable is held out longer for emphasis.

[W]e educated women do not apply oil to our hair or wear cosmetics. We wear our simple and plain, coarse cotton clothes during the winter and hemp clothes during the summer. But, when we try sincerely to engage and find a way to contribute to social reform, don't you lash out with all kinds of malicious remarks?

Kim Hwallan, “男子의 反省을 促함 (Urging men to critically reflect on themselves),” 1920 (38; Choi, *New Women* 32)

Still one cannot but question the helpfulness of the present curriculum changes. If the old [Confucian] curriculum is considered inadequate on the ground of its being Chinese, the same criticism would hold with the new adaptations. The Chinese classics... were learned as a Koreanized code of living through a cultured Korean scholar-teacher. This alone is inadequate to meet the new day, to be sure, but does learning some Japanese and some abstract arithmetic prepare one more adequately to meet the new era? Do the new adaptations enable the rural folk in some measure to solve their life problems? The answer in the main, if not totally, would be negative.

Kim Hwallan, *Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea*, 1931 (55)

열세살 열네살 부터는 실제교육-즉 시대에 적합한 교육을
시켜서 그들 장래대로 혹은 농사짓는 법 혹은 공업기술
노동법에 대한 제 기술을 양성시켜서 십오륙세에 어린
그들이라도 능히 직업전선에서 손색 업시 일하도록 하는 것이
경제적으로 만흔 타격을 받고 잇는 우리조선에서는 가장적은
학교교육방침의 하나가 아닐까 합니다.

From the age of thirteen or fourteen, children should get a practical education that is relevant to society and their times. Students should be trained in whatever is their particular strength – agriculture, industrial skills, labor law. They should be fully prepared to work by the time they reach fifteen or sixteen. It is one of the best ways to educate our students in an economically troubled Korea.

Kim Hwallan, “女學生 教育 問題 (Problems in education at girls’ schools),” 1933 (11; Choi, *New Women* 69)

이제야 기다리고 기다리든 徵兵制라는 크다란 感激이
왔다...至今까지 우리 半島女性은 그저 내 아들 내 男便
내집이라는 範圍에서 떠나보지를 못했다. 떠나볼
機會가없었다. 따라서 자칫하면 國家라는것을 잊어버린것처럼
보인일도 있었을것이다. 그러나 半島女性에게 愛國的情熱이
없은것은 아니다. 그것을 나타낼 機會가 적었을뿐이다...

그러나 인제는 半島女性 自身들이 그어머니 그안해가
된것이다. 우리에게 얼마나 그覺悟와 準備가 있는것인가?
實際로 내 아들이나 男便을 나라에 바쳐보지못한 우리에게는
大緞히 漠然한 일이다. 그러나 우리는 아름다운 우슴으로 내
아들이나 男便을 戰場으로 보낼 覺悟를 가져야한다. 따라서
萬一의 境遇에는 男便이나 아들의 遺骨를 조용히 눈물 안내고
맞어들일 마음의 準備를 가져야한다.

At last the incredibly deeply moving [Japanese] military conscription
[of Korean men], which I have waited and waited for, has come.... As
of yet, we, the women of the Peninsula [Korea], could not leave from
the boundary of just my son, my husband, my home. There was no
chance to leave. Therefore, it might look like we nearly forgot our
nation [Japan]. However, it does not mean the women of the Peninsula
do not have [Japanese] patriotic passion. We just had fewer chances to
represent it.... Nevertheless, now the women of the Peninsula
themselves have become that mother and that wife. How much of that
resolution and preparation do we have? It is hard for us to imagine,
since [before the draft of Korean men into the Japanese military] I was
not able in truth to dedicate my son or my husband. However, we must
have the resolution with beautiful smiles to send my son and my
husband to the battlefield. Therefore, should the situation come, we

must be ready to receive the remains of our husbands or sons silently without tears.⁸⁵

Kim Hwallan, “徵兵制와 半島女性의 覺悟 (Military conscription and peninsular women’s resolution),”
December 1942 (28, 29)

In the first epigraph above, in her 1918 English-language college graduation speech at Ewha College, Kim Hwallan advocates for women’s higher education by asserting its usefulness – particularly of home economics – in preparing women to become modern wives and mothers, thereby both empowering women and helping Korea. In the second epigraph, written two years later after she became an Ewha teacher, Kim responds to anxieties about new roles that educated women were taking on in public, now more strongly asserting women’s rights to apply their education in work in service of their country *beyond* the home. Eleven years later, Kim as Ewha College dean once again leveraged debates about education’s utility as she wrote her doctoral dissertation in the United States, as the third epigraph reveals. Here, however, she uses in/utility as a criterion for critiquing Japanese colonial education in her country. The fourth epigraph shows how, back in Korea in 1933, she subtly critiques Japanese education again by outlining an education balancing vocational training and individual needs that she considered most useful in preparing Korean women for public careers. In other words, Kim’s rhetorical work throughout her colonial-era career frequently returned to discussions about the utility of women’s

⁸⁵ This and all translations of this article are mine.

education – its curriculum and the careers it should/n't prepare women for – in pursuit of the dual goals of empowering women and strengthening Korea. Yet we find something totally different in the final epigraph, published under Kim's name at the height of World War II: there is no mention of women's education, and now Korean women are serving Japan instead of their own nation. These women, moreover, serve Japan only inside the home, and in only one way – sacrificing their husbands and sons to the Japanese military.

This chapter tracks the ways Kim referenced discussions about *what* women should study and the kinds of social roles they should take on. I argue that these references comprise another educational rhetoric,⁸⁶ which Kim crafted to resist Korean criticisms of women's education and changing roles, critique colonial education, and detail both a curriculum and career path whereby Korean women were empowered to serve their country. In the course of her career, Kim's growing authority and prestige as an educator and world traveler buttressed her increasingly assertive defense of women's public careers and her critiques of Japanese educational policies. Moreover, different rhetorical situations – changing audiences, languages, locations, and political, cultural, and economic environments – shaped the means of persuasion available to Kim over the course of more than two decades. Yet she repeatedly found debates about the relative usefulness of liberal arts and vocational educations and about the careers that educated women should pursue to be a useful venue for pursuing her long-term goals. As this chapter demonstrates, these twofold

⁸⁶ Here, I am thinking of rhetoric broadly as preparation to participate in civic and communal life (see Enoch, *Refiguring* 5–6).

goals were helping women and her country. Identifying and analyzing these utility rhetorics further complicates national and cultural categories of rhetoric, as Kim moves linguistically from Korean to English and geographically from Korea to the United States. Grounded in this examination of Kim's authentic rhetorical work, this chapter further confirms the *inauthenticity* of the 1942 pro-Japanese article published under Kim's name. Contradicting the educational rhetorics of utility that she had crafted throughout her career, this article was clearly the work of a government-approved propagandist and bore Kim's name simply because of her national prestige. Kim's decision to let her name be used on this article (see chapter 3) reflects *only* the constraints of military fascism⁸⁷ on a woman leader during wartime, *not* Kim's change of heart, as some of Kim's defenders have suggested (see introduction).

I base my argument about Kim's shifting uses of educational utility debates on analyses of five Korean- and English-language texts between 1918 and 1942. First, I show how the English version of Kim's college graduation speech in 1918, "The Relation of Higher Education to the Home," negotiates Japanese colonization and Korean patriarchal resistance to women's education by claiming that such an education was *useful* both at the family scale (by training modern mothers and wives) and at the national scale (by raising Korea's next modernized generation). Second, in a 1920 Korean-language essay "男子의 反省을 促함 (Urging men to critically reflect on themselves)" in the Korean women's magazine 新女子 *Sin Yeoja* (new woman), Kim modifies her strategies based on her new position as an Ewha College teacher

⁸⁷ For characterizations of Japanese political culture as fascist during the late 1930s and 1940s, see Uchida, "Collaboration" 130–131; and Tansman.

and on the new rhetorical situation, publishing in a women's periodical after the violence of the 1919 March First Movement. Kim mutes her patriotic language but defends the usefulness of education in producing women who are working *outside* the home for Korea's welfare. Third, Kim's 1931 English-language PhD dissertation, *Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea*, written in the US and free of Japanese censorship, shifts away from gender and toward national concerns. Now dean of Ewha College, she criticizes Japanese colonial education as fulfilling neither the functions of Korea's classical Confucian education nor of a truly vocational training, seeking instead merely to produce obedient imperial subjects. Fourth, I examine Kim's Korean-language interview in 1933 with the periodical 新女性 *Sin Yeoseong* (new female), titled “女學生 教育 問題 (Problems in education at girls' schools),” in which Kim leverages her PhD and international experience and responds to the economic crisis of the Great Depression to detail her vision of an education most useful to the majority of Korean young women. She balances the ideal and the practicable, especially knowing that Ewha College could serve only a tiny fraction of the nation's women. Focusing on how to empower women to *survive* in the weak economy rather than pursue nationalist causes, Kim envisions most young women gaining a liberal arts education first, followed by vocational training in their teens, after which they would enter the workforce outside the home. Finally, I show the coopting and inversion of Kim's educational rhetorics in the 1942 pro-Japan propaganda article “徵兵制와 半島女性の 覺悟 (Military conscription and peninsular women's resolution)” in 新時代 *Sin Sidae* (new age), which sees no need

for women's education at all, imagining them serving the Japanese empire inside the home only by willingly sacrificing their sons and husbands to the war effort.

Scholars have studied debates about the relative values of classical liberal arts and vocational/industrial education in eighteenth- through early-twentieth US history, observing the potential of the latter to both empower and disempower marginalized groups such as women and African Americans. For example, historians and classicists (Ronnick; Franklin; Newman, Rael, and Lapsansky; Kaestle) have demonstrated the importance of a classical liberal arts education to many African Americans during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a way to contribute to the abolition movement, claim greater economic and social equality, and resist racism. Nevertheless, the well-known debate between Booker T. Washington (a strong advocate of vocational training at his Tuskegee Institute) and classically-trained W.E.B. Du Bois about how to empower African Americans – and the role of education in this process – reveals deep divisions in this community, especially after the end of slavery.⁸⁸ As I discussed in the introduction, rhetoric scholars have investigated rhetorical of role liberal arts and vocational schools in training women, African Americans, Native Americans, Latinx students, and other marginalized groups to participate in society in equal or unequal ways (Jarratt; Enoch; Gold, *Margins*; Gold and Hobbs; Carr, Carr, and Schultz). For example, Susan Jarratt has examined debates about the classical curriculum at several historically black colleges in nineteenth-century America, observing the impact of white violence on these

⁸⁸ For the debate, see Du Bois; and Washington. For recent interpretations, see Jarratt (136–137); and Aiello.

debates. In particular, Jarratt notes how “lynching as a response to the threat of the educated Negro” during the 1890s forced African Americans – particularly those living in the South – to consider how publicly they were willing to express their views on education and empowerment (“Classics” 153).

As this chapter explores, these debates were altered as they extended into Korea in the early decades of the nineteenth century, where American, Korean, and Japanese views on the content, value, and purposes of women’s education collided. Not unlike the constraints imposed by white violence against African Americans in US, Japanese colonial violence and censorship forced educational leaders like Kim to choose their persuasive strategies carefully. Debating Korean women’s education brought similar risks, and Kim negotiated these risks with a great deal of indirection and obliqueness as she argued for the utility of this education. As we will see, it was only when she was in America and free from immediate threats of Japanese violence that she could directly criticize their educational policies in Korea. Yet Kim also had to negotiate the criticisms and opinions of Korean men, who sometimes opposed or sought to leverage women’s education for their own purposes. As we observed in chapter 1, the triangulation between Japanese, Korean, and American views on women’s education rendered the rhetorical situation at Ewha especially complex and difficult to negotiate.

In the sections that follow, I track Kim’s shifting references to educational utility across her colonial-era career. But first, I detail conflicting views among Americans, Koreans, and Japanese about the curriculum of Korean women’s education and the kinds of careers it should prepare them for.

1. Conflicting American, Korean, and Japanese Views on the Content and Goals of Women's Education

Like in the US, educational, religious, and political leaders in Korea debated the education most in/appropriate for Korean women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In colonial Korea, however, the sociopolitical environment was complicated by the presence of both American missionaries and Japanese colonizers. All three groups – Koreans, Americans, and Japanese – viewed women's education as vital to the changes they hoped to make in Korea. They differed, however, both in the content of that education and the careers for which it should prepare women for.

American missionary educators at Ewha College sought to balance liberal and vocational education, which was reflected in the school's three government-approved majors – English, music, and home economics – by the late 1920s. In chapter 1, we explored Ewha's American leaders' broad intention to foster modern, Christian women at their school. What did this look like in terms of curriculum? Ewha missionaries since the late nineteenth century had been negotiating their own conviction in the value of a Christian liberal arts education with their desire to respect the still-widespread Korean belief that women's proper sphere was the home and that training for this domestic future was the best education (Choi, *Gender* 99). American teachers, therefore, first at Ewha Academy and, from 1910, at Ewha College, shaped a curriculum that balanced the liberal arts with practical instruction – cooking, sewing, sanitation, and others – that would prepare Korean women for lives in the

home (Choi, *Gender* 97–99). However, this vocational component of the curriculum was more the result of Americans’ attempt to respect Korean attitudes rather than a reflection of their own belief in separate spheres.⁸⁹ After its opening in 1910, Ewha College maintained this approach, instructing students both in home economics and the liberal arts and establishing English and music as its first two majors (Choi, *Gender* 100; Conrow 25–27).⁹⁰ At the same time, Ewha College participated in the same home economics movement that had become a source of empowerment for many white women in the US. Especially after the arrival of Harriet Morris in 1921 and its government approval as the school’s third major in 1929, the home economics department quickly became the school’s largest (Choi, “Missionary Home as Pulpit” 49; ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-26, 3).⁹¹

⁸⁹ For example, Ewha Academy teacher Louise Rothweiler wrote in 1887 that, “Whatever may be the private opinion of any one concerning woman’s sphere and proper occupation we must, for the present, at least act under the supposition that in Korea domestic life is her sphere and destiny” (qtd. in Choi, *Gender* 99). “Whatever else we may want our girls to do or be,” Rothweiler continued, “it must be all secondary to this first calling. . . . They must learn to prepare food, cut, make and repair their clothing, keep themselves and their rooms neat and this all in purely Korean style except where we can improve on that without weaning them from their people” (99).

Rothweiler’s comments suggest her own belief – no doubt shared by many Ewha educators – that God may be calling some women to work outside the home. But she insists that missionary educators must respect Korean culture and values, working within Korean culture as much as possible rather than erasing it and replicating American culture on the peninsula. Again, this relatively liberal attitude sadly contrasts with the practice of US institutions like the Carlisle Indian School, which explicitly sought to erase students’ cultural and linguistic identities and replace them with English and white, Protestant culture (Enoch, *Refiguring* 74–75).

⁹⁰ Kang-Hee Han has noted a similar vocational/liberal arts mix at missionary girls’ schools in Korea’s north. Often more religiously conservative than their southern counterparts, missionaries working in the north aimed at producing “Bible Women” (Korean evangelists) while recognizing the likely home sphere that awaited many of their graduates (99–100).

⁹¹ A letter from Appenzeller to her Ewha colleagues while she was fundraising in the US in 1929 (chapter 1) includes an exchange that occurred when she was trying to persuade the WFMS Foreign Department to fund Ewha’s home economics program: “I spoke specially to Miss [Ella M.] Watson, who laughed & said “Harriett [Morris] wants \$5000!” “And she needs it, too!” rejoined Miss [Ava B.] Milam, who was with me. Miss M. was as dear as ever” (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-54, 9–10). As Hyaewol Choi explains, Morris had introduced home economics as a discipline when she arrived at Ewha in 1921, and the college finally “established the Department of Home Economics in 1929 after many years of fundraising targeting Christian groups of different denominations as well as individual donors” (“The Missionary Home as a Pulpit” 49). However, at the time of Appenzeller’s 1929 letter, the program had

As for Koreans, many still opposed women's higher education when Kim was a student during the 1910s, arguing that such an education was not useful for their future lives in the home. Indeed, in the school's early years, Ewha College teachers and students faced characterizations of educated women as spoiled, unable to do housework, impudent, and vain.⁹² Even among Korean reformers (men and women),

not yet received government recognition and urgently needed funding to avoid termination. Oregon State University home economics professor Ava B. Milam visited Ewha two years later, and on her return to the US, she established a home economics scholarship program that funded several Ewha students (Choi 50). Professor Milam met Appenzeller at the WFMS conference in Columbus, OH and was apparently with her during her appeal for the Ewha Home Economics Department.

⁹² Recalling this period in an article written in a 1932 Korean-language article, Alice Appenzeller clarified the opposition Ewha leaders and students had encountered during the school's early years, even citing Kim's experience:

그 때에 여러 사람들 한테서 비난받은 것이 아직도 머리에 박혀있습니다. 물론 학교당국-교육자들도 별별 욕을 다-들었지요만은 배우는 학생들도 욕을 만히 들었지요. “여자를 대학교 공부까지 식혀서 무엇하나, 건방지기나하고 살남도 못하며 사치나 하고 단나라면 거기나 얼는 대답하리라,” “혹은 여자도 교육은 식혀야하지만 대학은 아직 일느다”는 등에 욕설이 꿈직이도 만했습니다.... 지금 훌륭하게 박사일홈까지 가지고 계신 金活蘭씨도 그 당시에 만흔 비평을 듣고 지내든 학생중에 한사람이올시다. 그것케 이곳저곳에서 비난만 하니 배우고 심흐나 뜻이 약한 사람은 무서워서 학교에 오지를 못했으며 또 처음에 배우고 싶허하든 학생들도 “여자는 가정을 잘 다사리고 남편을 잘 섬기는 아름다운 미풍을 배워야 한다.” (“朝鮮 女子 高等教育 問題” [Problems in Korean women's higher education] 45-46)

I vividly recall how we were vilified for daring to offer college courses to mere girls. School authorities and students were both subjected to every conceivable accusation and harsh criticism. Endless rebukes were hurled at us. Critics would say, “What use is there in providing girls with college education? They will just become arrogant and have no knowledge of housekeeping. Given the opportunity to indulge themselves in some luxury, they will jump at the chance”.... Ms. Kim Hwallan, who now holds a respected doctoral degree, was one of the students who faced much criticism at the time. Because of public criticism everywhere, those who wanted to learn but were weak-willed would not come to school out of fear. There were quite a few students who began their education only to have their efforts greeted with veiled criticism: “Women should follow our beautiful customs, which encourage them to learn how to govern the family and serve a husband.” (Choi, *New Women* 63-64)

Appenzeller's comments find an echo in Korean women's literature from this time. In the same month (March 1918) that Kim delivered her graduation speech, author 나혜석 Na Hyeseok (1896-1948) published her first short story “경희” (Kyounghui) about a young woman returning from her studies in Japan to confront these very stereotypes. A conservative neighbor who disapproves of Kyounghui's going abroad for education expresses her surprise upon learning that Kyounghui could do traditional housework like sewing:

“I wonder how she ever finds time to practice sewing. It's remarkable she can even make a shirt to go with a Western coat. Do girl students even do needlework?” The lady-in-law used to think that girl students didn't even know how to hold a needle, much less use one. Moreover, she was surprised to hear that the happy-go-lucky,

there was significant disagreement about appropriate curriculum and career paths for Korean men and women. Before and after their country's annexation by Japan in 1910, Korean men and women reformers alike often sought missionary education as a way to strengthen their country vis-à-vis Japan, despite their missionary teachers' intentions to keep their schools politically neutral. Many reformers viewed Western education, especially at Methodist institutions like Ewha Academy and its brother school 배재학당 Paichai Academy (founded in 1885 by Alice Appenzeller's father), as a method for mastering Western knowledge and technology crucial for strengthening their country and resisting Japan (Han 90). Indeed, Koreans' objectives at mission schools sometimes contradicted those of their missionary educators, as Western technology and political ideas contributed to growing Korean nationalist and anti-imperial thought (Han 253). In addition to these nationalist objectives, however, many Korean women also saw education as a way to improve their social and economic standing.⁹³

As in other colonial environments,⁹⁴ Korean women reformers often found their own goals for social equality subordinated to men's nationalist concerns: the

tomboyish Kyounghui, who made so much of going back and forth between Seoul and Japan for school, could make her own clothes. (Yung-Hee Kim 31–32)

Na's short story expresses the opposition that students faced both from men and women who opposed changing ways, often characterizing educated women as spoiled and useless in the home.

⁹³ At times, this led to misunderstandings with missionary educators. At Ewha Academy in its early years, for example, missionaries supported literacy in the Korean alphabet because it was simple to learn and effective for translating new knowledge into Korean (Wong and Lee 281). However, much like African Americans who were seeking a Western classical education to claim equal rights in the US at roughly the same time, Ewha students also insisted on learning Classical Chinese, which carried greater prestige compared to 한글 *hangeul*, the native Korean alphabet, which many Koreans had often considered appropriate only for lower classes and women (Wong and Lee 281; Choi, *Gender* 108–110). In addition, as Hyaewol Choi observes, many Ewha students viewed English as the “language of modernity” and sought to master it both for its “cultural capital” and the new knowledge it provided access to (*Gender* 115, 119).

⁹⁴ See Chadya for a scholarly view. For a depiction in literature, see Bâ.

aspirations of Ewha's Korean teachers and students sometimes conflicted with men reformers who supported women's education only to the extent that it prepared them to be modern housekeepers and thereby to help build a stronger Korea (Choi, *Gender* 102–103). Many reformers in Korea had come to believe that a country's prosperity was directly related to the amount of education offered to its women. For example, Korean reformer (and later Kim's friend and mentor) 윤치호 Yun Chiho (1865–1945) became convinced that women's education was a crucial component of Korea's modernization, but he believed that vocational training was better than liberal arts for them, since most would become housewives (Yoo 42).⁹⁵ Similarly, the influential author of the first Korean modern novel, 이광수 Yi Gwangsu, insisted in 1925 that “The only duty that women have to humankind, to the nation, and to society is to become good mothers and raise good children” (Choi, *New Women* 55).⁹⁶ In the thinking of influential reformers such as Yi, Korea had been colonized by Japan because of its flawed “national character,” and mending this character was a fundamental step in regaining national independence. Women were crucial to this project, but not in the political or public spheres. Their role, instead, was through their work at home.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ In the early 1900s, Yun wrote that “the Korean girls who are being educated in mission schools are to live and work in Korean homes, many of them in poor homes. So to educate them as to make them unsuitable to a Korean home would be a great mistake” (qtd. in Choi, *Gender* 102). Yun concluded: “The inability or unwillingness of a newly educated girl to take up these duties does more than any one thing to prejudice the Koreans against female education. It is my firm belief that it is more useful for a Korean girl to learn to cook and sew well than to play on a piano” (102).

⁹⁶ See also Yi Kwangsu's 1932 “신여성의 십계명” (Ten commandments for New Women), which commanded women to support their husbands, families, and country, and avoid “the temptations of luxury” (Choi, *New Women* 41).

⁹⁷ The complex relationship between women's education and Korea's colonization by Japan was visible from Ewha's first graduations. From the vantage point of her late career and in a dramatically different political environment (which topic we will take up in chapter 3), Kim described both significances of Ewha's first college graduation in 1914, recalling how “Everyone was proud of

Ewha's American faculty, then, intended to provide a balanced liberal arts and vocational curriculum to improve Korean women's lives apolitically, while many Korean men called for women to get a vocational education to prepare them to help their country in the home, and many Korean women sought both social equality and a chance to help their country. The Japanese colonial authority's own ideas about the curriculum and goals of Korean women's education overlapped to some extent with those of Korean men reformers in that the Japanese supported women's vocational training and resisted real change in women's public roles. However, the colonial state's primary purpose for all Korean schools was to facilitate its hegemony on the peninsula through the assimilation of Korean students. In chapter 1, we examined Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions secretary Arthur Judson Brown's 1919 assessment of these assimilationist goals for education in Korea. Women's schools like Ewha College became contested sites as the colonial government attempted to leverage their work and cultural capital for these assimilationist purposes.

The attitude of Japanese colonial authorities to the curriculum and goals of Korean women's education was informed by the "wise mother, good wife" principle.⁹⁸ Japanese leaders developed the "good wife, wise mother" philosophy in late nineteenth century to mobilize women's education in their own country for state

[Ewha's first three graduates] as potential leaders in the nation" and that she shed "tears of joy for the accomplishments of girls so long neglected and looked down upon" (*Grace Sufficient* 31). At the same time, Kim describes an "unexpressed nationalistic aspiration that all the youth of Korea, girls and boys, would receive higher education and someday throw off the burden of colonial power," since "For us no experience of any significance ever transpired without being connected psychologically with the sad and bitter fact of an alien rule" (31–32). These two visions of women's education coexist uneasily, suggesting the way that women students and teachers at Ewha College faced an environment that was both highly politicized due to Korea's colonization and still deeply patriarchal.

⁹⁸ Classical Chinese: 賢母良妻, Japanese: けんぼりょうさい, Korean: 현모양처 *hyeonmo yangcheo*

purposes.⁹⁹ According to Hyaeweol Choi's analysis, after annexing Korea in 1910, this Japanese concept interacted with Korean Confucian and American Protestant perspectives on women's sphere, resulting in an environment that "was both oppressive and liberating in the sense that it continued hierarchical gender practices of the past, and yet it also enabled women to carve out new space for power and authority within the circumscribed conditions" ("Wise Mother" 1). In an apparent paradox, while celebrating the ideal of women as mothers and wives in the home, Japanese education in Korea in fact prepared many women to work in Japanese-owned factories (Kyu Hyun Ki 178).¹⁰⁰ We can see the Japanese government's emphasis on vocational education for Korean women, especially to make them productive and submissive colonial subjects, in the curriculum sketched by Governor-General Saitō Makoto's 1920 text in English, *The Manual of Education in Chosen* (see chapter 1). Although this text declared its intention to modernize Korean women's education, as I noted in chapter 1, it also emphasized a strictly vocational training:

⁹⁹ The phrase was coined in 1875 in Japan as part of the project of the Meiji modernization project (Choi, "Wise Mother" 6). Japanese reformers sought to reconcile Western perspectives on gender relations with Japanese concepts, giving women an important but limited role in the new national project of joining ranks with Western imperial powers like Britain and the United States. This role, especially as mothers raising modern children, was calculated to serve the needs and objectives of the nation. For a valuable study on the "wise mother, good wife" principle in colonial Korea, see Choi "Wise Mother."

¹⁰⁰ Theodore Jun Yoo has argued that "colonial education promoted a cult of domesticity not for the purpose of fostering modern middle-class womanhood in the Western sense, which included cultivation of moral sensibilities, cultural refinement, and aesthetic taste (*bildung*), but with the sole intent of maintaining Korea women, who were knowledgeable about "modern ideas," within the constraints of domesticity" (70). On the other hand, Kyu Kyun Kim has argued persuasively that the Japanese mobilization of both Japanese and Korean women necessarily moved them beyond the home, as they took work in imperial factories and elsewhere, thus revealing the contradictory nature of colonial views of women's education.

1. The essential object of a Girls' High School being the up-bringing of modest and faithful women of industrial and thrifty disposition, instruction in whatever subject must be given with this in view at all times. (...)
3. In imparting knowledge and art, selection should be made of subjects indispensable to daily life. Care must be taken not to foster the habit of frivolity and luxury by giving lessons in obstruse [sic] and unpractical subjects. (59–60)

This excerpt reveals a similar anxiety about educated women's "frivolity and luxury" expressed by many Korean critics, as we have seen. In particular, the *Manual's* writers seem to associate liberal arts education with such negative outcomes. To counteract negative influences and harness women's education for the construction of imperial society, the *Manual* employs language of "wise mother, good wife," emphasizing modesty, faithfulness, industry, thrift, practical knowledge, frivolity and luxury, as 이혜정 Yi Hyejeong has observed (18).

We have already seen how Japanese authorities objected to Ewha's performances of non-Japanese identities (chapter 1), but the colonial state also likely disapproved of Ewha's *curriculum* in two ways. First, for the Japanese colonial government, an education preparing women for thrifty, productive lives in the home conflicted to some degree with a liberal arts curriculum like that of Ewha College. Although the passage above does not specify which school subjects should be considered "unpractical" and "obstruse," at least Ewha's music major, and possibly its English major (the only two majors offered in 1918), would likely have fallen in

these categories. Eschewing such unpractical subjects, the colonial government sought to maintain women's traditional place in the home and family and to increase their economic productivity at the same time – both objectives intended to serve the colonial state (Yoo 70).¹⁰¹ Second, Japanese leaders likely objected to Ewha's continuing use of the Korean and English languages. The *Manual* emphasizes the importance of learning the Japanese language to acquire Japanese identity: “2. The national spirit lies in the national language and the language is indispensable in acquiring knowledge and art. Consequently in teaching whatever subject of study the aim should be to enable the pupils to use it correctly and freely” (59). Using the euphemism “national” to mean “Japanese,” this excerpt demonstrates the colonial state's goal to use women's schools to erase Korean identity and assimilate Korean women as Japanese.

Again, the objectives of the Japanese colonial state largely overlapped with the educational attitudes held by many Korean men: they shared a concern with maintaining traditional gender hierarchies even as they supported women's education. The major difference between Japanese and Korean perspectives on women's education, of course, was in the conflicting political agendas, with the Japanese trying to foster Japanese-speaking imperial subjects and many Korean men wanting women to raise modernized families for the sake of a strong, independent Korea (Yoo 73). For Korean reformers, as for Japanese colonizers, education in its Western sense both offered great benefits and threatened to change existing values. Balancing these

¹⁰¹ While Ewha maintained its liberal curriculum until World War II (see chapter 3), Korea's second school for women, 숙명여자전문학교 Sukmyeong Women's Professional School, focused on physical industries such as sewing and knitting after colonization, in addition to Japanese language (Yoo 70).

benefits and threats thus was a key objective of Japanese and Koreans alike. The complex interaction of these American, Korean, and Japanese attitudes toward women's education, then, comprised Kim's primary available means of persuasion as she sought to consolidate support for her school in 1918.

2. *"The Relation of Higher Education to the Home": Educational Rhetorics of Utility to Strengthen Country and Defend Women's Education, 1918*

Confronting the way Korean reformers and Japanese colonizers alike sought to use education to prepare women for lives of work in the home, Kim's 1918 college graduation speech uses similar language of utility in crafting her educational rhetoric. She selectively adopts the language of both parties, arguing like Korean reformers that higher education is *useful* because it enables women to help their nation through modernized housework. But Kim also insists on women's right to a comprehensive education. Moreover, she describes educated women's work in "wise mother, good wife" language that the Japanese government would approve of, although she subtly resists Japanese assimilation goals.

In "The Relation of Higher Education to the Home," Kim references the home economics movement and Korean and Japanese views on education to construct her own rhetoric of utility to justify women's higher education. In English, she titled her speech "The Relation of Higher Education to the Home" and delivered it in both Korean and English at Ewha's graduation ceremony in March 1918 to a mixed audience of Koreans and Westerners (and, presumably, Japanese censors). Although the Korean version seems not to have survived, the English text of her speech was

published in June of the same year in the most important Anglophone missionary publication in Korea, the *Korea Mission Field*.¹⁰²

From her speech's opening lines, Kim defends women's higher education from Korean critics by insisting on its utility in the home:

Some think that it is useless for such a busy woman as a homekeeper to spend time and money for higher education. But they have not realized what important work she has to do. For what does higher education mean to her? It is the factor which enables her to do her work more accurately, more rapidly and more skillfully because of trained senses, a strengthened body, and a developed mind. (125)

Kim directly cites the criticisms that she and other Ewha women had already encountered: higher education was a waste of time and money. She refutes this perspective by claiming that it is the very importance of her housework that requires her to seek more education.¹⁰³ Kim describes the professionalization of housework here, one that comprises mental and physical training. Indeed, she references growing support for domestic science to further strengthen her rejection of criticisms:

Everyone accepts the value of industrial training in regard to the home.

The more girls are trained the better they will perform their household

¹⁰² Pratt et al. describe *The Korea Mission Field* as "A monthly magazine published in Seoul by the General Council of the Evangelical Missions in Korea from 1904 to 1941" (232). For studies, see Suh; 이윤미 (Lee Yoon-Mi); Underwood 127–128; and Choi, *Gender* 10. See also the excellent archive at Hathitrust.org.

¹⁰³ This echoes the argument made by American women in the home economics movement. As Jessica Enoch has explained, Ellen Richards and other women in the home economics movement "based a new professional identity on the premise that women should study science and could indeed become scientists, but – and this was the critical point – their science education would lead them back to the home, not take them from it. Domestic scientists would apply newly gained scientific knowledge to the problems of the home" (*Domestic* 2–3).

duties. This training keeps them alert and active, makes them useful and capable and prepares them for the practical duties of later life – to do more efficient cooking, sewing and housekeeping. (125)

No doubt bearing in mind the Koreans who had opposed Ewha College's work and even intimidated some students into quitting, Kim contends that "Everyone" has now come to accept the value of "industrial training," having realized that these women – far from being spoiled by Western education – actually make *better* housekeepers.

Having offered this broad argument, Kim devotes the greater part of her speech to defending the specific subjects she had mastered at Ewha College by detailing their utility in the home. For example, observing that "Some may wonder what science has to do with the home," Kim delineates the application of chemistry and "machinery" to cooking and nutrition (125). She dwells at length on the need for knowledge of hygiene, physiology, and "household bacteriology" to "keep her family healthy," warning that "Bacteria of cholera, scarlet fever and diphtheria, unless destroyed by means of sunshine, fresh air and medicine, will cause the death of many who have the right to live" (125). Kim herself would nearly die from tuberculosis the following year, and no doubt many in her audience had personal experience of death from such diseases (*Grace Sufficient* 44–46). This argument would thus appear all the more convincing to critics. Having defended the sciences, Kim turns her attention to math. Focusing on the task of "Bookkeeping," Kim reasons that "One must have training in mathematics" to "help women to be more economical" and to avoid fraud and deception (126). "But perhaps the greatest work of the homekeeper," Kim claims, "is in relation to her children" (126). Here, she requires "the study of pedagogy" to

learn “how to educate her children, how to lead and govern them,” citing Western authorities – US pedagogy theorist C.P. Colgrove¹⁰⁴ and Jean-Jacques Rousseau – to demonstrate her own mastery of the subject (126).

With this line of reasoning, Kim refutes conservative Korean critics *and* appeals to both Korean reformers and Japanese colonial authorities through “wise mother, good wife” language. We have already considered how Korean reformer men like Yun Chiho and Yi Gwangsu expected women to work in the home and how the Japanese government emphasized industrial labor and cultural assimilation in its 1920 *Manual of Education in Chosen*. Kim emphasizes the vocational training that would be most appealing to Korean and Japanese listeners, selectively adopting their language to achieve her goal of raising support for Ewha, stressing “industrial training,” making women “alert and active,” helping “women to be more economical,” and preparing them for “practical duties” (125, 126). These descriptions closely resembled the language that the Japanese *Manual of Education in Chosen* would use two years later, especially to the *Manual’s* emphasis on “thrift” (*Manual* 59). Moreover, Kim’s rhetoric of utility was calculated to appeal to Korean reformers without seeming to overturn traditional gender relations: her call for women’s education carefully avoids any discussion of women’s liberation or even their entry into the public sphere. In fact, in Kim’s speech, it is in “home-making” itself that women can exercise the greatest influence over national affairs. In sum, Kim’s speech negotiated colonial objectives through educational rhetorics of utility that employed terms familiar from the “wise mother, good wife” doctrine.

¹⁰⁴ See Joseph 141.

However, while appealing to some of her Korean reformer and Japanese audiences' ideas of women's education through this rhetoric of utility, Kim also rhetorically *ignores* (or seeks to correct) other goals, including their disapproval of the liberal arts. Kim gestures to Korean and Japanese opponents of liberal studies:

Art includes architecture, sculpture, painting, literature and music. One might say, "What is the need of studying these? Is the homekeeper going to be a sculptor, a painter, a poet, a musician?" Not necessarily, but why should one be blind and deaf in a world full of beautiful things? Artistic training enables a person to see the truly beautiful and to surround and fill her home with that which is most artistic. What is the difference between a mere soulless creature and man, if he is not capable of realizing beauty? If a child is placed in a cultured environment when he is little, its effect remains with him as long as he lives, helping at all times to seek for order and beauty. (126)

By framing "art" in terms of "training" and providing a good foundation for a (male) child's life and career, Kim defends its inclusion in women's curriculum. An Ewha woman, Kim insists, is trained to be "cultured" rather than a "soulless creature," and she makes even her physical environment beautiful. Thus, by appealing to some of her opponents' values, she eludes others that threatened Ewha's vision: Ewha women could accept Korean reformers' and the Japanese government's progressive message about training women for practical work, but not to the exclusion of the liberal arts.

Indeed, in contrast to the kinds of defenses crafted by white women for the home economics movement in the US (see introduction), Kim's own support for

women's higher education in Korea is clearly informed by Japanese occupation. For example, Kim rounds out her talk's introduction by emphasizing the exigence of Korea's national situation. She quotes from a "Bulletin of Home Economics,"

"Remember! that thousands of homes are wrecked, tens of thousands of lives are ruined and hundreds of thousands are made unhappy because the home-keepers of our country have no training in the greatest of all professions, the profession of home-making and motherhood," – only through such an education can the present domestic difficulties be solved and the modern home contribute all that it should to happiness and well being. (125)

At the surface, Kim's mention of "wreck" and "ruin" appear to concern only individual homes. But her deeper meaning is clear from the reference to "our country" – the translation of the Korean phrase "우리 나라," literally "our country," but used as a shorthand to mean "Korea." Korea's ruin might have been *finished* by the Japanese, she implies, but it had been started by the weakness of her country's homes, and only strengthening them would help win it back.

Kim's rhetoric of utility lets her link Korea's colonial woes and Korean women's poor condition with the misfortunes of nations around the world. She develops her claim that Korea had grown weak and been colonized because of the weakened position of its women by comparing her country with the women of other regions of the world. Drawing on Korean reformers' conviction about the importance of women's education and their shame about Korea's colonization, Kim contrasts Ewha women with the "ignorant women of primitive peoples":

In Africa the women are kept under the veil, and all the spirit of freedom and liberty are taken from them. In China it is the wife's duty to serve and obey her husband.... In India woman has no educational advantages; she is regarded more as the servant of her husband. Hundreds of deaths in India are due to diseases which are the result of the want of fresh air and exercise. How can these women know what is the best way of living if they are not educated? (126)

And this suppression of women hurts not only the women themselves but their countries' place on the world stage:

What effect have these ignorant women of primitive peoples upon their own countries? Do we find them to be the leading powers in the world? Would they not have made much greater progress in civilization and in culture if their children had not been denied educated mothers? (126)

The shame of being compared to Africa, India, or even China (which had lost its former prestige in Korea with the ascendancy of Western imperial powers and Japan) functions as a motivator to her audience. Kim is saying, almost directly, that if Korean men had valued their women and permitted them an education, their country might be the equal of the Western colonial powers, as Japan had become.

The implication, however, is that, even in this dark hour, in the eighth year of their occupation by a hated enemy, all hope is not lost: if Korea will but allow women the chance to be educated, as at Ewha, its future will be bright:

Korea does not need more land or more population or more gold. She needs better homes, more rapid progress in education and higher ideals among present students.... Then if higher education can do all this for the home, what may we expect in Korea when men and women have had this privilege? We shall have a country with every material resources developed; lands well cultivated according to latest scientific methods; fields with abundant grain and gardens rich in products and beauty; schools in every district to accommodate both boys and girls who are compelled to attend; higher schools for the majority of our young people; a desire to learn, not for learning itself, but because of the desire to be better fit for homemaking and the building of a better nation; homes artistic and full of the perfume of flowers and of abiding love; parents with perfect understanding of their children, leading them to real manhood and womanhood; children with healthy bodies, intellectual brains and sympathetic hearts loving and obeying their parents; a country inhabited by a people strong in body, mind and spirit. And then will the home and the life of each one blend harmoniously into this paradise of nature which God has given us to live in – the Land of Chosen. (126–127)

Women's higher education is useful – *necessary* – for transforming Korea in this way. Korea's *liberation* is the subtext of this passage, for no Korean listening could mistake the implication of her message. The purpose of educating women at institutions such as Ewha, in Kim's speech, is not liberating women's consciousness

or even discarding social hierarchies. Instead, it is a tool in reclaiming Korea's place of power in international affairs.

In 1918, then, Kim's educational rhetoric of utility appropriates the language and values of both Korean reformers and Japanese colonizers to pursue her own objectives of empowering women – and helping her country – with a vocational and liberal curriculum.

3. “男子의 反省을 促함 (*Urging Men to Critically Reflect on Themselves*)”:

Educated Women's Valuable Role in Public Life, 1920

Just one year after Kim delivered this speech, Koreans demonstrated peacefully against Japanese colonial rule in the 1919 March First Independence Movement. We saw in chapter 1 how March First divided Ewha's American and Korean members, with many of the latter determined to pursue political activism and the former, especially Appenzeller's predecessor Lulu Frey, attempting to prevent students from joining the demonstrations. Kim, however, did not march: she obeyed Frey's¹⁰⁵ instructions to stay at Ewha, and she even went into hiding from the

¹⁰⁵ Also important may have been the influence of Yun Chiho, the intellectual and reformer whose opinion on women's education we considered above. Yun also became a friend and mentor figure for Kim. He had been arrested by the Japanese in 1911 for plotting to assassinate the Japanese governor general of Korea but later abandoned such anticolonial activism (Cumings 174; Clark, *Living* 110–115, 299; Caprio, *Japanese* 5, 156, 158; see Kwon 48 for his relationship with Kim). Yun was critical of the March First Movement, arguing that the best thing Koreans could do for their country was to get an education and slowly reform their country. He alluded to his negative opinion of March First in his English-language diary:

He who buys a field and keeps it from falling into unredeemable hands is a wiser patriot than he who sells his lands to finance the independent movement. He who sends a poor boy to school to become more intelligent than his fathers is doing a greater service than he who stirs up students for political agitations. He who leads an erring man into decent religious life is serving the Korean race better than he who sends ignorant folks to jail for yelling 'mansei.' Now is the time for Koreans to learn and wait. (Yun Chiho, *Diaries*, June 5, 1920)

Japanese police afterwards while her Korean friends at Ewha were arrested and imprisoned for months (Clark, *Living* 56; Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 43–44). As we saw in chapter 1, the violent crackdown on the March First Independence Movement prompted the appointment of a new governor-general, Saitō Makoto, who implemented relatively liberal “cultural rule” in Korea (Caprio, *Japanese* 126–127). Moreover, during the 1925 Ewha May Day pageant, Alice Appenzeller responded to the violence of the March First Movement and Saitō’s more cooperative attitude by attempting to balance cooperation with Japanese educational policies with celebrating Ewha’s Korean, Christian, and American identities.

Like Appenzeller, Kim found room for compromise with Saitō in the common task of improving women’s education¹⁰⁶ and modernizing Koreans’ attitudes toward educated women. Unsurprisingly, having heard about the violence experienced by her friends and students during March First, Kim expressed her concern for her *nation* in much more muted ways in her next rhetorical work. But this national concern does remain evident. Kim took a job teaching at Ewha after graduation, and her concerns about Japanese violence, together with her new authority as a teacher in Korea’s only women’s college, allowed her to call more assertively for women’s rights to

Like other Korean reformers, and like Kim herself had done in her graduation speech, Yun saw education as connected to the goal of Korean independence. In fact, while many other Korean intellectuals had attempted direct action against Japan, the March First Movement had only convinced Yun all the more of education’s importance as the only realistic, long-term strategy. However, his resulting accommodationist stance toward the Japanese resulted in his condemnation by other Koreans, as would happen to Kim after she used a similar strategy. In any case, Yun’s choice of education over activism no doubt had an influence on Kim Hwallan as well. Given the violent response of the Japanese to the March First Movement in general, and toward Ewha women in particular, and the disapproval of her own Korean and American mentors, it is perhaps not surprising if Kim Hwallan quietly distanced herself from the Movement while trying not to appear unpatriotic.

¹⁰⁶ We saw the way Saitō described his attitude toward Korean women’s education – at least in English for Anglophone audiences – in the *Manual of Education in Chosen*.

contribute to society more broadly. In an article from 1920, “男子의 反省을 促함 (Urging men to critically reflect on themselves),” Kim confronted ongoing Korean men’s criticisms of educated women as wasteful and vain. Revising her 1918 rhetoric about home economics by leveraging her authority as a college teacher and responding to the changed political climate, Kim defended the utility of education for women by emphasizing their good work in visible, public roles. In fact, she claims that it was educated men – *not* women – who were selfishly wasting their nation’s time and resources.

Kim’s more assertive rhetoric in this essay was in part due to the fact that it was published in Korea’s first magazine for women, a project of Ewha women that contributed to the national conversation about women’s education and the social role it should prepare them for. Governor-General Saito Makoto’s relatively liberal “cultural rule” policy provided support for women’s education and new, Korean-language venues for discussing public (if not overtly political) issues (Caprio, *Japanese* 127). New Korean-language periodicals in the 1920s opened new rhetorical opportunities for women educators like Kim. Taking advantage of the colonial government’s more lenient stance, women from the Ewha community began publishing Korea’s first women’s magazine, which they called 신여자 *Sin Yeoja*



Figure 9: An advertisement for Sin Yeoja in May 1920.

동아일보 1920년 05월 02일자, 3면.

(new woman – see figure 9). Kim contributed “Urging men” to this publication in June 1920. *Sin Yeoja* also revealed the important role played by Ewha College in the women’s movement in Korea. Printed only between March and June 1920, the periodical was the undertaking of another Ewha alumna, 김원주 Kim Wonju (later 김이렴 Kim Iryeob), who had graduated with Kim Hwallan in 1918 (Kim Iryeob 267).¹⁰⁷

Moreover, Alice Appenzeller – now

an Ewha teacher like Kim – contributed financially to the magazine (Choi, *New Women* 227). Appenzeller’s donation indicates the way Ewha College was facilitating – and necessitating – a national dialog about what role educated women should play in society.

¹⁰⁷ After graduation, Kim Wonju studied in Japan, where she learned about the women’s movement there, eventually modeling her own magazine on 青鞜 *Seitō*, Japan’s first women’s literary magazine (Choi, *New Women* 26; see Bardsley for *Seitō*). Writing in 1962, Kim Wonju recalled:

I even made myself the editor-in-chief of the first women’s journal to be published in Korea, entitled *New Women*. Korean society had yet to adopt the practice of educating women, and so it was natural that there were no women writers in the Korean literary world. I am not saying that I made myself an influential writer within society, but when my writings appeared in newspapers and the journal, the entire population welcomed them unconditionally. (151)

At least in her recollections forty years later, Kim Wonju reported that most Koreans had understood that their country needed to change – although they might disagree about how and when – and they accepted *Sin Yeoja* as one step in this effort.

Writing within the gendered and patriotic¹⁰⁸ literary context of *Sin Yeoja*, Kim's article of June 1920 revises her 1918 rhetoric first by characterizing *men's* education as producing graduates of no value to their nation. She references stereotypes of educated women's alleged self-indulgence in their daily lives, especially "apply[ing] oil to our" and "wear[ing] cosmetics" (Choi, *New Women* 32).¹⁰⁹ Dismissing such stereotypes, Kim argues that it is educated *men* whose self-indulgence has made them useless to their country:

그러면 여러男子 되시는분들은 우리社會를 爲하여 무슨
 큰一貢獻이 잇기에 每日 有酒 有愛의 만흔 幸樂에 속절업시
 歲月을 보내는 분이 多部分이되십니까? 그리고 여러분은
 얼마나한 生産力이 계시고 智識이 녀々하시기에 數百圓 자리

¹⁰⁸ For example, in *Sin Yeoja's* inaugural essay in March 1920, editor Kim Wonju linked women's liberation with Korea's national welfare:

We must thoroughly reform our entire society. In order to reform society, we must first reform the family, society's most basic and fundamental unit. In order to reform the family, we have to liberate women, who are the masters of the house. And we must first liberate women if we are to catch up with the rest of the world, be competitive, lead lives that can be respected by other states, and transform our entire social structure.... We publish our magazine, *Sin Yeoja*, with the sole purpose of working in society, gaining emancipation, and finding ways in which we can help build a social order that is the envy of the world. (Choi, *New Women* 30)

Like Kim Hwallan in 1918, Kim Wonju argues that women's education and equality will benefit Korean society, and she dedicates *Sin Yeoja* to this process. Similarly, in the third issue, she again wrote:

If any one of us does not achieve self-awakening, it is as if human society is losing one of its own, and the family is losing a sound contributor.... Our relationship to the Korean nation is significant. Therefore, women's self-awakening is important to enhance women's rights but also to reform Korean culture. (Choi, *New Women* 31–32)

At least through 1920, then, women intellectuals like Kim Wonju continued to argue that it was in men's best interest for women to be educated, since it would benefit their country – the implication being that educated women would help Korea win its independence from Japan.

¹⁰⁹ She does not deny changes in women's appearance. Indeed, Kim had begun to follow Western trends, bobbing her hair to signal her participation in the modernization of Korean women's culture (Yoo 76). However, bobbed hair alone does not signify vanity, nor does it harm the nation, she insists. (See Gold "Whose Hair?" for a rhetorical study of bobbed hair in the US.)

洋服에 반작어리는 깃도 굵스를 신고 金테眼鏡에 金니가 번적<
하며 머리에 는 깃구가 흘러나리도록 하이칼라를 내이고 단장을
휘두르며 大路上에 快々히 걸어단이심니까? 이것이 社會를
爲하며 儉約을 表示함이라고만은 못할듯합니다 이러한 男子가
所謂 智識 階¹¹⁰級에 잇는 男子中에는 적어도 半數以上은
될듯합니다. (38-39)

[L]et me ask: what have men done for our society? Why is it that the majority of men selfishly waste time, entertaining themselves with their drinking and their sexual exploits day and night? I have to wonder how much wealth and knowledge men actually possess, when all I see is their arrogant self-indulgence: wearing suits that cost hundreds of *won*, shiny dress shoes, gold-rimmed eyeglasses and high-collared shirts, with silly accessories such as glittering gold teeth and walking sticks, just so they can cheerfully strut around in public. No one could ever suggest that this is a frugal lifestyle that is good for society. I can say that more than half of the so-called educated class of men leads such a lifestyle. (Choi, *New Women* 32)

Kim in this passage evaluates the results of men's education: it produces graduates with great potential, but the "majority" of these graduates wasted their resources and privileges without any regard to their nation's welfare. The money and time Koreans

¹¹⁰ The original reads 陞(陞), but this is certainly a mistake, probably due to the characters' very similar appearance and meaning.

have invested in educating these men, she implies, have been wasted and Korea left all the weaker because of it.

In a second revision to her 1918 educational rhetoric, Kim contends that educated women benefit the nation more than men when they work *outside* the home: it is they who are working diligently to strengthen Korea, not as mothers and wives but by directly acting in society. She contrasts men's stereotypes of educated women with her own picture:

그러나 全部 教育받은 女子中에서는 머리에 기름과 얼굴에 粉을
모르고 겨울이면 보병옷 여름이면 굵은 뽕옷으로 單純하고
儉朴하게 차리고 나서서 一般 우리 社會의 改造를 爲하여 무슨
貢獻이 잇슬가하여 무엇에 着手를 쯤 해볼가 하면 여러분은
우리들을 가르쳐 虛榮心이 만흐니 주저넘고 건방지니
別々 惡評을 다하시지요? (38)

[W]e educated women do not apply oil to our hair or wear cosmetics.
We wear our simple and plain, coarse cotton clothes during the winter
and hemp clothes during the summer. But, when we try sincerely to
engage and find a way to contribute to social reform, don't you lash
out with all kinds of malicious remarks? (Choi, *New Women* 32)

Kim's description is both physical and social. Physically, New Women wear the basic clothing that they need, appropriate to the season. This simplicity and harmony with nature lets them focus on their social goal, which is finding "a way to contribute to social reform." Kim does not specify here *how* New Women are contributing to social

reform, but by describing men and women's public appearances and activities, we understand that she envisions women working outside the home, in contrast to her 1918 speech.

Kim concludes her essay with gestures of goodwill, inviting both educated men and women into a new cooperation in the common goal of helping their country.

Kim seeks to re-gain her readers' goodwill in her conclusion:

以上에 말삼한바는 무슨 男子에게 對한 憾情을 가지고 한거이
決코 아니요 다만 우리 社會를 爲하여 무슨 조고마한 貢獻이
잇슬가함이외다... 나는 이러케 생각해요 우리도남과갓치
健全하고 光明한 社會를 일우려면 男子는 女子의 欠點을
忠告하여주고 女子는 男子의 短處를 警告하여 男子가 다 一
各々自己의 天職을 다하고 天才를 發揮함에 잇다고요. (끝)
(40)

What I have written in these pages is not intended to cast personal criticism on any individuals, but rather to contribute to our society in some small way.... This is what I think: if we want to make our society healthy and prosperous, men must advise women on their shortcomings, and women must caution men on their limitations. (34)

Kim is modeling what educated women can do for Korean society, serving not only via their frugal lifestyles and public careers, but also through promoting dialog among educated Koreans about how best to help their nation.

In 1920, then, Kim revises her educational rhetoric of utility to imagine a public role for the women who graduate from schools like Ewha, one in which they work diligently for their nation's good and set an example for their reprobate male counterparts.

4. Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea: *Educational Rhetorics of Utility for Resisting Japanese Assimilation and Preserving Korean Culture*, 1931

Within two years of this essay's publication, Kim's fellow teacher Alice Appenzeller was promoted to the position of college president, an office she would retain for the next seventeen years, when it would pass to Kim in 1939 (chapter 1). Appenzeller, who had just completed an MA at Columbia University Teachers College, urged Kim to study abroad herself. Accordingly, Kim studied in America twice, taking a second BA at Ohio Wesleyan University and an MA at Boston University between 1922 and 1925, and earning her PhD from Columbia's Teachers College (like Appenzeller) between 1930 and 1931 (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 53–70, 87–88). As it turned out, Appenzeller was back in the US during the first part of Kim's doctoral studies, trying to raise funds for building on Ewha's new campus in Sinchon (see chapter 1).¹¹¹ During these years in America, in addition to pursuing her studies, Kim was asked to attend meetings of women's organizations such as the WFMS (Ewha's supporting organization) and the World Committee Meeting of the YWCA (Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 63, 65). Moreover, on her journeys to and

¹¹¹ The Ewha Archive contains a letter that Kim sent to Appenzeller from New York. Appenzeller had just returned to Korea in March 1931, and Kim wrote to strategize with her mentor about continuing the fundraising efforts (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-13).

from Korea, she visited much of Europe, especially Denmark and the Soviet Union, which would inspire her as she composed her doctoral dissertation. Most of all, her time outside occupied Korea and away from Japanese censorship gave her space to craft educational rhetorics that imagined her nation's schools protecting Korean culture and resisting Japanese assimilation.

Kim's dissertation, *Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea*, completed and published as a book in 1931, described the economic, medical, social, and cultural crises afflicting her country and identifies ways that Japanese colonial education was contributing to them.¹¹² This text then investigates education in Denmark and the Soviet Union and identifies some takeaways for improving her country's schools. In doing so, Kim critiques Japanese colonial education and details

¹¹² Remembering this period as she wrote in her memoir for an American audience in 1964, Kim emphasized the rapid speed with which she completed her dissertation and her desire to help Korea's rural population. She writes that she completed and published her dissertation, *Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea*, in less than two years. Kim remembered that

I worked with great speed and concentration. Enrolling for the summer sessions as well as the regular terms, I finished the work for the doctorate by October, 1931. Nobody, including myself, could believe that it was all over so soon. My happiness consisted not in the fact of having obtained a higher degree nor in the fact that I was the first Korean woman with a PhD, but in the fact that I had finished so soon and was ready to return home. I was back at my usual post in the dean's office at Ewha College when the new semester started in January 1932. (*Grace Sufficient* 88)

Kim employs *παράλειψις paraleipsis*, mentioning a topic by saying that it should not be mentioned, to note her significant personal achievement as Korea's first woman PhD while keeping her focus on her service to Ewha. She also explains her motivation for choosing her dissertation topic:

By this time it was quite clear that my lifework would be in the field of higher education, more specifically at Ewha College, training young women for a life of service in Korea. My concern for our rural people had grown tremendously. As I was facing another opportunity for study there were certain things I wanted to do and to find out. How to make the program for higher education relevant to our new village movement, how to bridge the great chasm between the life of the urban and rural populations, how the educated few could help the underdeveloped people lift themselves into this new day and age – these were some of my concerns. (*Grace Sufficient* 87)

Kim remembers realizing that the remainder of her career would be devoted to Ewha College, and this passage reveals the energy that this realization gave to the crafting of new educational rhetorics for her school.

her own vision of education that preserves Korean culture while making schools more useful to rural Koreans. Kim's dissertation emphasizes the nation rather than gender, thus reversing the emphasis of her 1920 essay. This was no doubt due in part to her new rhetorical situation in America writing for an audience ignorant of Korea, but surely also due to her sense of freedom and safety from Japanese censorship and reprisal. Combining her interest in European rural educational models with a changed rhetorical environment, Kim again revises her educational rhetorics. Now, she critiques both the content and aim of Japanese education, arguing that the curriculum was useless to rural Korean's daily lives and promoted discrimination, and that the system's goal was merely to produce submissive subjects. Indeed, she suggests that Korea's classical education had done a better job of producing critical thinkers and ethical leaders. Through this revised educational rhetoric of utility, Kim more clearly details her vision of the relationship between Korean schools like Ewha, the Japanese state, and Korean nation: she does *not* urge schools to promote revolution, but she identifies them as sites for dis/empowerment and calls on the Japanese state to confine itself to *political* rule without threatening the identity of the Korean nation.

The rhetorical situation of *Rural Education* is multilayered. Kim could have expected at least three groups of readers – Americans, Koreans, and Japanese. On the one hand, she was immediately writing for her American professors and, after the book's publication, for Americans and Anglophone readers in general. To appeal to this audience, Kim (of course) wrote in English and drew on Western pedagogical theory. Her focus on Korea generally, rather than on women and gender as in her previous work, was also no doubt partly due to her American readership: Kim likely

decided her work could do the most good by focusing broadly on the sad condition of her country as a whole. She also took advantage of her American readers' attention to expose some of the faults in the Japanese education implemented in her country, as if to advertise Korea's plight as the March First Movement's participants had tried to do just over ten years earlier. On the other hand, when looking for solutions to the problem of Korea's impoverished rural populations, Kim focused not on American education but on industrial and collective labor models in Denmark and the Soviet Union, one of the United States' primary nemeses. At least one American reviewer of Kim's book dismissed her dissertation as badly researched and naïve in its treatment of the USSR.¹¹³ It is unclear whether Kim was aware how potentially off-putting her approval of the Soviet Union's educational policies might be for some in the US. Perhaps she encountered American socialists or communists at Columbia who were sympathetic to the Soviet experiment and assumed that such feelings were widespread. In any case, it seems that for her American audience, the book was more remarkable as the work of Korea's first woman PhD than for its scholarly merit (see footnote 112). In addition to Anglophone readers, however, Kim might have expected her fellow educated Koreans to read her dissertation. Here, she could have expected a

¹¹³ Maurice Price (1888–1964), a sociologist interested in Christian missions and communism in East Asia, reviewed Kim's text in *The American Journal of Sociology* in 1935, dismissing both the quality of her research and her conclusions. Price describes Kim's research as "what she conceives to be Danish and Russian Soviet practice," implying that the reality is something different, and he notes that "her application to Korean culture of prescriptions resulting from a meager second-hand diagnosis of education in Denmark and Soviet Russia, may be naïve, or it may be bold," concluding that Kim's "capsule diagnoses, limited social concepts, and idealistic programizing which she takes over from so-called educational theory, certainly comprise the kind of challenge which should stimulate sociologists to sharpen their systematic analysis of both social behavior and the conditions of social change" (127–128). In other words, the only benefit of Kim's poor work is that it should stimulate real scientists to review how *not* to do research. In addition to genuine academic concerns, Price's hostility may have stemmed in part from his dislike of communism, which Kim seems unconcerned about.

much more positive response. Koreans were no doubt impressed seeing her book in print in America, written in English at an Ivy League school. Further, with interest in Marxism growing in colonial Korea, Korean reformers likely had a keen interest in her observations of the USSR (Cumings 156–162; Underwood 258). Most of all, however, they would have appreciated her critiques of Japanese colonial education and her concern for Korea’s “regeneration.” Finally, Japanese colonial censors were a third possible readership, although the facts that the book was written in English and printed in America insulated her from their oversight to some degree. Kim might have feared some sort of retaliation for her negative comments about Japanese education, but her work seems to have escaped their notice – or at least, the Japanese felt it wise not to punish a prominent Korean leader who seemed to carry so much American support.

Kim’s 1931 educational rhetoric returns to utility, this time to resist Japanese assimilation policies in Korea more explicitly than before by criticizing the curriculum’s emphasis on subjects irrelevant to rural Koreans’ daily lives. For example, in a chapter assessing the way colonial education serves (or fails to serve) the “educational problems of rural people,” Kim argues that Japanese language education is useless to rural students’ daily lives. She explains that “In textbook space as well as in time this subject [the Japanese language] has a greater amount than any other subject” (32). True, beginner-level textbooks include vocabulary and situations “mostly from the children’s surroundings” in Korea, but in higher-level books, “Japanese life is introduced in the illustrations as well as in the content,” while “The fifth and sixt[h]-year textbooks are identical with those used in the Japanese schools

for Japanese children” (32). In other words, the Japanese curriculum moves children mentally from Korea to Japan. This is no accident, Kim states: the colonial government’s objective to “mak[e] them masters of the national [Japanese] language’... is repeated again and again in the Regulations” (32). She quotes the government’s 1922 educational ordinance:

“In teaching any subject of study close attention shall always be paid to the cultivation of the character befitting a Japanese subject and the making of pupils proficient in the national language.”

“In teaching the Korean language connection shall always be maintained with the national language and at times pupils shall be required to speak in the national language.” (32)

The government’s language here closely resembles the text of the 1920 English-language *Manual of Education in Chosen*, as we have seen: “The national spirit lies in the national language and the language is indispensable in acquiring knowledge and art. Consequently in teaching whatever subject of study the aim should be to enable the pupils to use it correctly and freely” (59). In both instances, the euphemism “national language” is used for Japanese. This euphemism is a trope of colonial knowledge-making designed both to erase indigenous identity and perform colonial identity. Instead of directly attacking assimilation, however, Kim focuses on the *uselessness* of Japanese for students’ daily lives, which she seems to expect would be more persuasive to American readers, and (considering possible Japanese readers) safer for her as well.

Continuing her criticism of the Japanese curriculum, Kim cites the government's own goal of utility and exposes how the curriculum fails to meet this goal. She acknowledges that the colonial curriculum will likely make Korean students masters of the Japanese language, but she points out that the objectives of education should be much broader: "But the common school has other aims, such as physical development, moral training, knowledge and art *indispensable* to life, as they are also written down in the Regulations. When are those functions to be discharged with due emphasis?" (33). She then clarifies this reference by quoting again from the government's educational regulations: "In teaching the national language, the language as spoken and such characters and combinations of them as are deemed *indispensable for daily life* shall be imparted" (33). Kim uses the government's own language to expose the flaws in their argument:

The mastery of reading, writing and speaking the Japanese language may be "indispensable for daily life" to those who will be employed in the Government service later in their lives, where the Japanese language is the official language. These people make up the minority, and besides, they usually have other opportunities to learn the Japanese language. Then how is it to be explained that Japanese is "indispensable for daily life" to the majority of Korean children, who talk Korean in their homes and in the community, read Korean newspapers and magazine and general literature and write communications to each other in the Korean language? (33)

Since Koreans still use Korean most of the time, Kim reasons, it is not true that Japanese is indispensable to their daily lives. Building on this argument, she calls for Japanese instruction to be reduced in proportion to other subjects. Learning Japanese may be “a good thing,” she concedes, but children learn “other good things” in school “during the short period of from four to six years” (33). Japanese is surely not as important, Kim states, as “health, . . . economic ways and means of living, social attitudes and habits underlined with deep understanding, and the adjustment and growth of individual personalities in their own developing surroundings” (34). Hence, Kim concludes, “The present balance needs to be reversed if true education is to be administered” (34). By contrasting Japanese language instruction with subjects that she believes are *actually* indispensable to the daily life of Korean children, she demonstrates that Japanese goals are not what they claim.

Indeed, Kim contends that the Japanese curriculum discriminated against Koreans despite – actually *because of* – its so-called “non-discrimination” policy. Following the 1919 March First Independence Movement, Kim writes, “non-discrimination” became the “principle which had such a tremendous influence in the shaping of education policies” (49). Kim quotes a Japanese official’s explanation of this doctrine:

A cardinal feature of the new ordinance is that, while the old one was an institution exclusively for Koreans, no racial distinction is provided for in it, and the education of all people in Chosen [Korea] is governed by it. . . . [P]eople, within the limits of Chosen are to receive one and the same education despite racial differences. (49)

In describing its intentions to avoid distinctions between races, the Japanese government had no doubt intended to pacify Korean protesters and sooth the misgivings of Western imperial spectators. But Kim insists that, in practice, this policy means little more than the complete erasure of Korea's educational system:

This dominant motive to do away with partiality and discrimination has brought over the Japanese educational institutions into Korea in toto. Hence the use of the Japanese language as the medium of instruction, hence the new normal schools like that of Japan, hence the great number of Japanese teachers and educators, and hence the lack of emphasis upon Korean culture in the curriculum. Hence, in short, an educational system unnatural to Korean life. (49)

Kim emphasizes her point with the repetition of "hence": Japanese non-discrimination, in short, amounts to cultural destruction, and by denying difference, colonial policy *erases* difference.

But Kim couches this criticism in a gesture of goodwill, again no doubt with possible Japanese readership in mind. The government-general surely had not intended such cultural genocide, and she reasons that, if their approach to non-discrimination could only be tweaked, it would be more successful:

Impartiality and non-discrimination in the motive and spirit are the prerequisites of all civilized administrations and as such valued by all peoples and at all times. But to be consistent with this spirit and motive, the non-discrimination principle should hold only in determining major policies such as decreeing compulsory education,

and setting up the standard for achievements in general fields of knowledge and activities. When the non-discrimination policy is carried over into the detailed administration policies, such as writing the textbooks, use of the same language in schools, requirement of the same certificates for teacher-qualifications and such things, then the actual outcome becomes the very discrimination that the principle tries to avoid. This discrimination lies in the non-recognition of the cultural heritage and of the present environment of the Korean children. The truly non-discriminative policy would be to give equal educational opportunities to both the Korean and the Japanese children, then let them develop to their fullest possible selves, each in his own way, in his own environment, to meet his own peculiar needs. Here, again, the actual discrimination as the background of the Korean children may not have resulted from an intentional effort, but from the inability to see the Korean point of view in the urgent hour for revision. (50)

The Japanese have bungled their implementation of non-discrimination in schools, Kim reasons, because they misunderstood what it means in the first place.

Impartiality does *not* mean identical textbooks but equal support for education broadly. It should be up to the empire's different populations to fill in the details. The painfully obvious implication – that Korea would be far better off on its own than as a colony of Japan – is left unstated. Kim merely concludes by hoping for change: “With this analysis of the situation, Korean educators may be justified in looking forward to another revision of the system that will be truly non-discriminative” (50).

In addition to critiquing the inutility of colonial curriculum, Kim finds fault with the way Japanese education aims at producing obedient imperial subjects rather than critical thinkers. She details the way schools regulate every detail of their conduct. Students advance through the grades, Kim observes, by memorizing and reproducing, and obeying teachers and textbooks:

Encouragement of the development of the critical faculties and of the pupil initiative is very rare. Militaristic order and discipline prevail in the schools. Discipline itself may be considered good, but oversubmissiveness and deadening of individuality are to be shunned.

(37)

Drawing on Western pedagogical theory, and no doubt considering her American audience, Kim faults Japanese education with failing to train students to think for themselves. To be fair, the 1920 *Manual of Education in Chosen* had warned that “In giving instruction care must be taken in its method and pupils must be guarded against merely committing to memory what they have been taught. They must be guided to reason and think for themselves” (60). However, this may have been mere lip service to American readers, or at best idealism on the part of Governor-General Saitō Makoto. In actual practice, Kim finds, Japanese pedagogy fostered unquestioning obedience through the meticulous regulation of students’ conduct:

Rules and regulations tell them how to sit and how to hold their textbooks, as well as what uniform clothes and shoes to wear. The minute detail[ed] care in regulating almost every movement of the students is most extraordinary. Such care to make sure of producing

submissive individuals to the existing order is taken all along the line.

(37)

Colonial schools function to monitor, restrict, and dictate, Kim maintains, and their goal is to foster “submissive” subjects of the Japanese imperial order.

Kim further supports this characterization of colonial education as producing unreflective imperial subjects with a description of the entrance ceremony at the government’s Seoul Normal School. New teachers-in-training are led to “pledge their loyalty” during the entrance ceremony and dedicate their future careers to supporting the Japanese Emperor, she explains. They are first forced to sign a loyalty pledge to the Emperor which reads “I pledge that from now on, with firm will and devoted heart, I will serve the holy will [of the Japanese emperor] and diligently keep the holy teachings and pursue training in knowledge and virtues” (37). Then, Kim notes, students are made to sing a hymn beginning with the words “The Imperial subject am I. / Only now I kn[o]w / That I am the Imperial subject” (38). She concludes:

The whole ceremony is very solemn and austere. This is just one example of the care exercised to produce loyal subjects. Order and loyalty, conformity to rules and regulations are indeed valuable traits, but initiative, adjustability, self-reliance and aggressiveness are equally valuable, and in Korea they should be especially emphasized, in view of the traditional habits of submission and non-aggression.

(38)

Kim directly questions the colonial government's educational policy: schools should produce strong men and women who are independent thinkers, she insists, rather than passive recipients of Japanese doctrines.

Perhaps surprisingly for some readers then and today, Kim suggests that Korea's classical Confucian education was *more useful* for fostering ethical leaders and critical thinkers. Classical education,¹¹⁴ Kim explains, aimed at shaping students' minds and characters:

Mastery of the Chinese classics taught at these schools was the immediate objective, but by no means the aim, of the school system. The aim was nothing short of the personal and cultural development of the individual. The Chinese classics were not learned as classics of the bygone days, but as a code of living of the present day... Those who mastered this code of living in theory, as well as in practice, were leaders in high esteem. (52)

The content of the classical curriculum was Chinese, but this material was flexible and could be leveraged to shape wise leaders. The modern education implemented by Japan actually does a worse job of meeting the needs and environments of its Korean students, Kim claims. She concedes that some changes have been good, especially the

¹¹⁴ In a chapter surveying ways that rural people find education outside of modern schools, Kim introduces American readers to what she calls "kulpangs" (글방 *geulbang*, "writing rooms"), or the traditional village school. She explains that *geulbang*, also referred to as 서당 *seodang*, "was the original unit in the Korean educational system" and that "Almost every village or neighborhood had a Kulpang for the education of the boys" (51). Graduates of the *geulbang* would go to "Hyanggio" (향교 *hyanggyo*) in the bigger cities and thence to Sungkyunkwan (성균관 *Seonggyun-gwan*), the national university founded in the fourteenth century. *Seonggyun-gwan* graduates could take the 과거 *gwa-geo*, the national examinations for gaining government posts.

“effort to check abuses, and the admission of girls” (55). Nevertheless, Kim expresses skepticism about the utility of the Japanese system:

Still one cannot but question the helpfulness of the present curriculum changes. If the old curriculum is considered inadequate on the ground of its being Chinese, the same criticism would hold with the new adaptations. The Chinese classics... were learned as a Koreanized code of living through a cultured Korean scholar-teacher. This alone is inadequate to meet the new day, to be sure, but does learning some Japanese and some abstract arithmetic prepare one more adequately to meet the new era? Do the new adaptations enable the rural folk in some measure to solve their life problems? The answer in the main, if not totally, would be negative. (55)

Kim points out that Korea’s classical education prepared graduates to “solve their life problems,” making it more useful than apparently modern curricula that have little bearing on the experiences and needs of Korean farmers. If the old education needed updating, at least it was Korean.¹¹⁵ This is not to say that Kim was calling for a return to the Confucian classics in 1931 – again, she advocated the Danish and Soviet vocational models instead. Nevertheless, her defense of the classics, particularly in this context, illustrates her complex thinking on the content and goals of a useful education.

¹¹⁵ Denny also notes Japanese contempt for Korea’s Confucian education system and Japanese emphasis on pragmatic, technical education as an important component of its colonizing discourse in the 1900s (26–27).

Kim's 1931 dissertation, then, comprises a new educational rhetoric for its unique rhetorical situation, published in the United States and relatively free from Japanese censorship and reprisals. Writing for her American readers, she focused on Korea's national educational situation in general rather than on women and gender. She crafts an educational rhetoric of utility to critique the Japanese system's curriculum and goals to defend Korea identity and culture. In late 1931, Kim took this experience and theory back to Korea, where she used it to reject persistent criticisms of women students and call for women's educational reform according to her developing ideas.

5. “女學生 教育 問題(*Problems in Education at Girls' Schools*)”: *Educational Rhetorics of Utility for Survival in the Great Depression, 1933*

Back in occupied Korea in late 1931, Kim revised her educational rhetorics yet again by drawing on her international experience and status as Ewha dean, and by responding to the economic depression she found in Korea. After her return to Korea, Kim could leverage a strong ethos as she contributed to national discussions. She was dean of Korea's only women's college and was her country's first woman PhD. Moreover, she had earned her degree in the United States – “the dearest dream of every Ewha girl,” as Kim's fellow Ewha teacher 박인덕 Pak Induk put it (78). With the authority and prestige afforded her by foreign travels and a PhD from an American school, Kim published articles about economic revival (1931) and women and the struggle for jobs (1932) immediately after her return. Her growing reputation is evident from her coverage by the country's leading news magazines. In December



Figure 10: December 1931 news article announcing Kim's return to Korea after receiving her PhD degree. Photograph shows Kim in Korea. 동아일보 (Donga Ilbo), 21 December 1931, p. 4, Newslibrary.naver.com.

1931, soon after her return to Korea, news articles described her as the first Korean woman to earn a PhD and mentioned her return (see figure 10).¹¹⁶ Figure 10 shows a photograph of Kim following her return to Korea with bobbed hair and wearing a *hanbok*, showing her mixing of Western trends with Korean traditional culture.

However, Kim found her country blighted by the global Great Depression, which prompted still further revisions to her educational rhetoric. In fact, Japan's economy was less badly damaged by the Great Depression than Western nations, and it recovered more quickly (Cha 129). But in 1931 Korea, the situation was still dire and recovery uneven, especially for women and rural populations (Cumings 168–169, 175–176). For Ewha College, the Depression was both a curse and a boon. As part of its recovery strategy, the Japanese government had devalued the *yen*, Korea's currency under occupation, against the US dollar (Cha 129). This had doubled the

¹¹⁶ “金活蘭嬢이 最初의女博士 (Miss Kim Hwallan First Woman Doctor)”; “博士學位 잇고 金活蘭氏歸國 (Kim Hwallan Receives her Doctoral Degree and Returns to Korea)” – for the latter, see figure 11.

value of the donations Appenzeller had been able to acquire during her own sojourn in America (1929–1931) (승-II-B-5-5-4-1). Using these American funds, Ewha started building on its Sinchon campus and moved the college in 1935 (승-II-B-5-5-4-3; 승-II-B-5-5-4-18). On the other hand, the weakened Korean economy presented most women with few career options – work inside the home, in agriculture, or in a factory (often Japanese-owned).¹¹⁷

Using her educational expertise in this economically depressed environment, Kim published another article in 1933 that rejected Japanese assimilation policies (though much more subtly than when she was in the US) and persistent Korean criticisms of Ewha students and sketched a curriculum that provided girls with liberal arts training but ultimately prepared most graduates to enter the workforce young rather than entering college. In 1933, Korea’s leading women’s magazine, 新女性 (Korean: 신여성 *Sin Yeoseong* “new female”),¹¹⁸ interviewed Kim about her views on women’s education in an article titled “女學生 教育 問題 (Problems in education at girls’ schools).” In her interview with this magazine, Kim faced patriarchal Korean criticisms of women students and Japanese assimilation policies as she had in 1920. However, she modified her rhetorics by leveraging her world travels and education PhD to craft a rhetoric of utility to defend Ewha students. Because of

¹¹⁷ According to Yoo, women made up 33.3 percent of the overall factory workforce, especially predominating in “light industries, such as textile and food-processing factories” (111). See also Appenzeller “朝鮮” [Problems] 46); for Japanese dominance in industry, see Cumings’ discussion of “developmental colonialism” (162–174).

¹¹⁸ Published between 1923 and 1934, *Sin Yeoseong* was, in Hyaewol Choi’s evaluation, “arguabl[y] the most influential women’s magazine in colonial Korea” (*New Women* 227). Choi explains that it contributed “to the formation of new gender discourse for the modern era” (227).

the Great Depression, moreover, she calls for schools to equip students with the daily skills they need to survive without abandoning the liberal arts.¹¹⁹

In “Problems in education at girls’ schools,” Kim leverages her educational expertise and prestige to critique Japanese militaristic education in Korea. Speaking again in occupied Korea, however, she relies on indirect critiques and bases them on her familiarity with the latest Western pedagogical theories. *Sin Yeoseong’s* reporter begins the interview by asking Kim what “shortcomings [she has] found in girls’ education at the present time”¹²⁰ (68). Kim responds authoritatively:

女子教育에 결함을 말하느니 보담드 不滿에 對한 教育에
對하야 이야기하게 되겠조. 갑작이 다—이야기 할 수도 업고
나로서 가장 절실히 늦겨지는 것이 잇다면 지금 教育가들
중에 현대 心理學이 우리 朝鮮에는 실시 되지 못 하고 現代
우리가 教育하고 잇는 그 教育은 個性을 本位로 하지 안는
教育이기 때문에 社會的으로나 家庭的으로 보아 폐단이 업지
못해 만타고 보지 안을 수 업습니다. 말하자면 지금
歐米各國에 만히 실시하고 잇는 個人本位の 教育 朝鮮으로
말하자면 書堂式 教育哲學입니다. (10)

¹¹⁹ It is also interesting to note that this article uses far fewer Chinese characters than Kim’s 1920 essay, with some passages being written completely in the Korean alphabet 한글 *hangeul*. This greater freedom to write in Korean is no doubt due in part to Governor-General Saitō’s “cultural rule,” which gave a measure of freedom to use the Korean language in print. We will see the Chinese characters return in 1942, however, when a more militarist regime aggressively pursued Japanese assimilation. Since written Japanese uses Chinese characters as well, Korean written in Chinese characters were apparently more acceptable to the later regime.

¹²⁰ “문저 現在 女子教育에 對한 缺陷에 對하야 일상 늦기시고 잇는 바를 말씀해 주십시오” (10).

Rather than shortcomings, I am going to talk about some issues that I have felt unsatisfied with. Obviously, I cannot talk about all the problems that exist in a short time, but the thing that I feel is in most urgent need of attention is a matter of basic practice. Our current educational practice is not based on education centered on the individual, which is the method advocated in contemporary scholarly thinking in psychology and pedagogy. If we do not adopt individual-centered education, several larger problems will result in our society and our families. In Europe and the United States, they prioritize individuality in the education of their youth. (Choi, *New Women* 68)

In the context of her doctoral dissertation, it is likely that the educational problems Kim has in mind are due to Japanese colonial policies. We have seen how, in her dissertation, she characterized Japanese education as producing obedience and military uniformity rather than critical thinking. Now again under the control of Japanese censors, Kim cannot directly criticize Japanese education. Instead, she speaks vaguely of problematic educational practices and references Western pedagogy to support her evaluation.

In addition to critiquing school practices, Kim uses her educational expertise to reject Japanese assimilation and imperialization policies evident in student uniforms. Students at Ewha and Korea's other early girls' schools had experimented with various Western- and Korean-style uniforms since the late nineteenth century. Not just a matter of style, these uniform choices signaled what kind of education girls were receiving and what relatively conservative or progressive roles they might

assume after graduation.¹²¹ Broadly, Ewha students wore 한복 *hanbok* of various colors – often white jackets and black skirts – until the later 1930s (김윤 Kim Yun 24, 29, 37). Japanese rule added to this complexity, when government schools began using Western-style uniforms during the 1930s, signaling a more militaristic and non-Korean identity (40). Evidently responding to these Western- and military-style uniforms that she likely saw on her return to Korea in 1931, Kim relies on Western pedagogical and psychological theory but avoids directly mentioning Japan:

군대식으로 모—두¹²² 한가지로 처리를 식히는 것은 도모지 자연에 업는 괴현상이니까요... 혹 교육자가 이래라 저래라 하는 것이 교육적 가치가 있다면 훈련적 가치로 보아 조흘넌지 몰으나 개성을 발휘식히는 대 잇서서는 좇치 못하다고 단안을 내리시기 쉽습니다. (13)

If we try to insist on a mode of dress in a militaristic fashion, rather than promoting creativity, it simply goes against human nature... I do believe that a teacher's command can have a positive impact on a student; however, I do not think it is good if it inhibits the student's individuality. (Choi, *New Women* 71)

Through these Western- and military-style uniforms, the Japanese government used schools to promote the assimilation and imperialization of its subjects in Korea. Kim indirectly resists this imperialization by arguing that it “goes against human nature”

¹²¹ For a detailed overview, see 김윤 Kim Yun.

¹²² The original appears to read “모드,” but this is probably a mistake.

by limiting “individuality.” The Japanese colonial government recognized the threat that Ewha students’ individuality posed to its assimilation project, and Governor-General Minami’s *naisen ittai* imposed similar Western and military-style uniforms at Ewha starting in 1938 (김윤 Kim Yun 50). Ironically, when Ewha students resisted this order, it was Kim Hwallan who persuaded them to follow government policy, revealing the way Minami’s aggressive policies were already intimidating her into turning against her own convictions¹²³ (50). The military connotations of the new uniforms became clear by the 1940s, when skirts were replaced by khaki trousers suited for physical labor, and newspapers began describing them as “국방적” (national defense style) (50–52; Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* 97).

However, in her discussion of Ewha students’ uniforms, Kim leverages her international expertise to reject *Korean* criticisms as well by arguing that Ewha practices are useful both for students individually and for their nation as a whole. As was evident in her 1920 essay, women students still faced Korean criticisms of their appearance and accusations about their character (김윤 Kim Yun 41). When the reporter asks Kim about Ewha students’ practice of wearing various colors, while nearly all other schools enforced black uniforms, Kim defends the practice:

겨울이면 검정색이 덥고 또 때가 쉬이 못지 안는 관계상 의복의
경제도 만히 되는 것이 사실이나 더운 빛이나 경제되는 색이
달리도 만타고 생각합니다. 세상에서 흔히 리화학교는
멋을내느니 또 갑빛산 것을 만히 입느니-하는 세상평이 있다고

¹²³ As would happen again, I contend, when Kim participated in the military draft campaign during World War II (see below).

들었는데 그것이 갑빛산 것을 입어서 환해 보이는 것이 아니고
혹은 붉은색으로 자귀 얼굴과 체격에 맞게 물디려 매만저
입어서 조와 보이는 것은 사회의 한 진보향상을 말하는 것이지
결코 사치라고 보지 않습니다. 사치라면 분에 넘치는 것을
입는다든가 허락지 않는 경제를 쥐여 짜 새물건을 사입는다면
물론 학교 당국자로 안저서 말립니다마는 무명옷이라도
조화되게 입어서 보기 조흔 것을 누가 말합니까. (12-13)

The black uniform for winter is warm and does not get dirty easily, so
it is economical. Yet, I think that there are other good colors that are
both warm and cost-effective. I often hear people talk about Ewha
students, who they believe are too interested in fashion and expensive
clothing. This is not true. Students at Ewha look bright, not because
they wear pricey clothing, but because they know which color or
design is good for their complexion and body and accordingly select
their outfits. They should not be considered extravagant because they
are stylish. Instead, it should be understood as social progress. If
students were to wear something they could not afford or used up their
limited resources to buy new things, it would be appropriate to label
them as lavish. Of course, school authorities would stop students from
such indulgences. But what can we say if students wear something
fashionable made of simple cotton cloth? (71)

In Kim's characterization, criticisms of Ewha students' clothing stem from ignorance both of Ewha students and of world trends. Just because one clothing style has become conventional in Korea, she points out, does not mean that it is the only or best way. Having opened up to outside ideas, Ewha students are at once more progressive and more natural (by conforming their clothing choices to their individual bodies). These students' Korean critics simply reveal their ignorance of modern ideas when they characterize Ewha women's clothing choices as lavish or wasteful. Ewha students' outfits thus represent Korea's progress.

Similarly, Kim rejects Korean patriarchal criticisms of women students' alleged moral laxity using her international experience, again presenting women's changing cultural practices as useful for national progress. The reporter asks about "women school students' moral problems," especially "going to the theater, dating problems, and accompanying male students to tea rooms."¹²⁴ As in 1920, Kim rejects these moral and sexual criticisms completely, defending both Ewha's leaders and its students, or presenting her own ideas for addressing problems. Kim directly confronts popular anxiety about women students by comparing Koreans with other countries. "I do not think our girl students have a lack of moral discipline," Kim explains, "In comparison with girls in other countries our female students rarely engage in bad behavior"¹²⁵ (Choi, *New Women* 70). By using her world travels to provide contrast with the Korean situation, Kim both deflects attacks against the women of her country and impresses an audience curious about the rest of the world.

¹²⁴ "녀학교 학생풍기문제... 극장출입 연애문제 찾집에 남학생과 동반하여다니는 등" (11-12). My translation.

¹²⁵ "다른 나라에 비하여서 비교적 찾기어려워요. 또 풍기문제가 심하다구도 보지 않습니다" (12).

Turning from women's uniforms and social behavior – and the kinds of future public roles for graduates that these implied – Kim indirectly criticizes Japanese education by outlining the curriculum that she considered most useful for the majority of Korean women given the weak economy. She details a mixed liberal arts and vocational curriculum through girls' mid-teens, especially one that would prepare them for physical work outside the home:

이제 다지 女子教育界를 一見하여 그 총평을 한다면 現實에 적응치 못한 教育이 만흔 까닭에 過渡期 朝鮮女性-生活과 直接 닳토아 나갈 現實의 朝鮮女性에게 잇서서는 폐해가 만흔 것 만은 事實입니다. 女子教育의 歷史가 짧은 것도 한 原因이 되지만요. 열세살 열네살 부터는 실제교육-즉 시대에 적합한 교육을 시켜서 그들 장기대로 혹은 농사짓는 법 혹은 공업기술 노동법에 대한 제 기술을 양성식혀서 십오륙세에 어린 그들이라도 능히 직업전선에서 손색 업시 일하도록 하는 것이 경제적으로 만흔 타격을 받고 잇는 우리조선에서는 가장적은 학교교육방침의 하나가 아닐까 합니다. 더욱 우리 조선여성처럼 직업의식이 박약한 여성에게 잇서서는 압흐로 이러한 교육을 실시하야 경제에 대한 결핍된 자아인식을 똑바로 인식 식힘에도 이 교육이 현실에 가장 필요하다고 생각합니다. (11)

My overall evaluation of girls' education is that our current educational practices do not offer anything useful for the daily lives of Korean women. Korean women are in a transitional period and have to

struggle with reality, and the current model of women's education leaves much to be desired. This unfortunate situation probably has to do with the fact that women's education in Korea doesn't have a very long history. From the age of thirteen or fourteen, children should get a practical education that is relevant to society and their times. Students should be trained in whatever is their particular strength – agriculture, industrial skills, labor law. They should be fully prepared to work by the time they reach fifteen or sixteen. It is one of the best ways to educate our students in an economically troubled Korea. I also think this type of practical education is the most needed education for Korean women, who lack the experience of having a job. It will help them realize how ignorant they are in the day-to-day matters of the economy. (Choi, *New Women* 69)

Kim leverages her research on industrial education in the USSR and Denmark, echoing her dissertation's concern with preparing Koreans for lives of physical labor and calling for education to be practical. Yet based on her arguments about utility in the dissertation, it is likely that Kim has Japanese assimilation-oriented curriculum in mind – *not* the liberal arts – when she laments the current system.¹²⁶ Indeed, she maintains that *early* education should focus on “acquir[ing] good character,” by learning “the customs, attitudes, habits, and traits that will be with them for the rest of their lives”¹²⁷ (Choi, *New Women* 70). Here she no doubt has a liberal education in

¹²⁶ For example, see *Rural Education* 32.

¹²⁷ “그 인간이 일평생을 사용할 문화·태도·습관·성격가튼 것을 완전히 하기... 참다운 인격자를 양성해 노토록하고” (11).

mind, forming character through literature, history, religion, music, and the other subjects offered at Ewha Academy. Moreover, Kim is likely thinking of *Korean* customs and traditions here, again echoing her dissertation's concern with preserving Korean culture. Furthermore, in calling for most women to enter the workforce by fifteen or sixteen, Kim is *not* calling for an end to women's higher education. Instead, she is recognizing the fact that Korea had just one women's college for a national population of more than 20 million. Therefore, only a tiny percentage of women would ever have to privilege to gain that higher degree.

Kim in 1933 thus crafts an educational rhetoric based on her international and educational expertise and the Great Depression. Wary of the colonial goal to produce submissive subjects, she rejects Japanese militarization of school uniforms using Western pedagogical theory. Conversely, she suggests that innovative women like Ewha students and graduates represent the modernization that her nation needs to reject Korean criticisms. As for the curriculum most useful for the majority of girls, Kim indirectly argues for a curriculum that minimizes Japanese assimilation, maintains the liberal arts, and equips students with vocational skills. As we have seen in chapter 1, however, a new administration under Governor-General Minami Jirō would seek to mobilize Ewha and all Korea for war just three years later.

6. “徵兵制와 半島女性의 覺悟 (*Military Conscription and Peninsular Women's Resolution*)”: *Wartime Rhetorics of Utility for Japanese Militarization, 1942*

When Appenzeller and Ewha's other American staff evacuated Korea in November 1940 (see chapter 1), Kim was left without support against the Japanese

military machine. As we have seen, Governor-General Minami sought Ewha College's rhetorical potential for his *naisen ittai* (Japan-Korea unification) militarization and imperialization campaign. Government pressure intensified after the beginning of the Pacific War. Nearly five years after its invasion of China (1937), the Japanese Empire launched surprise attacks against US holdings in Hawaii, Guam, Wake Island, and the Philippines, and the British possessions of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaya beginning December 7, 1941.¹²⁸ Despite Japan's initial stunning successes, however, the tide had turned by mid-1942 with US victory in battles at Midway and Guadalcanal. By late 1942, the Japanese military was in desperate need of material and human resources (Cumings 176–177; Pike chapters 15 and 20). The Japanese government stepped up pressure on influential Koreans like Kim to contribute to the war effort, especially through propaganda (see Kim Hwallan, *Grace Sufficient* chapter 7). Forced to lead Ewha College while cut off from American emotional and financial support, and encouraged by her belief that Alice Appenzeller would want her to do so,¹²⁹ Kim felt she was without recourse when the colonial government pressured her to lend a hand in the propaganda effort.

¹²⁸ For a recent treatment, see Pike chapters 5–9.

¹²⁹ In addition to the pressure exerted by the Japanese state, another crucial – and tragic – factor in Kim's decision to contribute to Japanese war propaganda was her parting promise to Alice Appenzeller. When they bid each other a tearful farewell in November 1940, Appenzeller and Kim promised each other to keep working for Ewha until they died (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-45, 1). Appenzeller kept her promise in America as best as she could by continuing to push for transfers of money to Ewha as long as they were permitted and, when the Japanese closed off all financial transfers from overseas, stockpiling Ewha funds in view of delivering them when the way was opened again (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-30). Kim had the far harder part, though, as Appenzeller and her other American friends frequently commented: almost on her own, she was tasked with keeping Ewha open and Christian in the face of a fascist military regime that would soon cripple the militaries of Great Britain and America (ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-22; ㄱ-II-B-5-5-4-8). Although their mutual promise had been intended to provide both women with comfort and encouragement in the dark years to come, its actual outcome was tragic for Kim: her pact with Appenzeller left her no “out” when Japanese propagandists demanded that she cooperate in

Although Kim published a number of propaganda essays during the war, we will focus here on one text, the article “徵兵制와 半島女性の 覺悟 (Military conscription and peninsular women’s resolution),” which was published in the December 1942 edition of 新時代 (Korean: 신시대 *Sin Sidae*, “new age”). The article’s writer (I will use the term “writer” instead of ascribing the rhetoric to Kim, since Kim did not actually write it – see below) calls for Korean women to imagine themselves completely as Japanese and serving the Japanese “mainland” patriotically by joyfully giving up their husbands and sons to the war. The result was Kim’s name ascribed to rhetorics that inverted the work of her entire career: “Military Conscription” describes Korean women learning, not in schools, but from the example of Japanese women. What they learned was to serve the Japanese empire through their work at home rather than in public,¹³⁰ especially by giving up their husbands and sons to the military. Kim’s development as an educator and advocate of women’s education across her career was rhetorically undone in a moment, with her government writer rhetorically confining women to roles narrower than she had done even as a college graduate so many years before. Kim’s across her career had argued that education was useful for women, or at least, in the case of her immature work in 1918, that women were useful to the Korean nation in return for women gaining a higher education. In contrast, I read this propagandistic rhetoric of 1942 as a rhetoric of utility in that it calls for *women* to be useful for the Japanese empire.

the war effort. Kim and Appenzeller’s promise to each other undoubtedly contributed to Kim’s conviction that almost any sacrifice was justifiable to keep Ewha open and under her leadership.
¹³⁰ Ironically, however, Japan needed more help than ever from Korean women in its factories in Korea and elsewhere in the empire (Cumings 174–178). But this did not find its way into the propaganda of Kim’s articles. See Kyu Hyun Kim for an overview of the contradictions between this rhetoric and reality.

This article targets Korean women as part of a larger imperialist objective of the *Sin Sidae* newspaper. The most obvious – and ironic – way that this periodical targeted Koreans was through the use of the Korean language, which had been banned from most public use by the colonial government (Christina Yi 94–95). Published between 1941 and 1945 in Korea and Japan, *Sin Sidae* frequently featured articles to raise Korean support for Japan’s Pacific War, as the illustration in the table of contents from the December 1942 suggests (see figure 13).¹³¹ Far from signaling a pro-Korean or pro-independence agenda, however, *Sin Sidae*’s use of Korean proved



Figure 4: Image from *Sin Sidae* of imperial soldiers cheering on a victorious warplane. *Sin Sidae* vol. 2, no. 12, Table of Contents, Korea University Library.

to be merely another tool for delivering its pro-imperial message. An editorial in the first issue pledged the paper’s intention to “do its utmost to contribute to the empire’s triumphant conquest of the momentous current situation” (Christina Yi 95).¹³²

Recognizing that most Korean women of the older generations had limited Japanese skills – particularly reading its complex writing system – pro-imperial propagandists

¹³¹ For recent studies of *Sin Sidae*, see 오태영 O Tae Yeong; and 윤미란 Yun Miran.

¹³² On the other hand, 오태영 O Tae-yeong has argued that we need to view even *Sin Sidae* in its context rather than simply categorize it as “pro-Japanese” (105).

employed this Korean-language publication to be sure of being heard. In other words, the pressing objective of securing more Korean men to replace Japanese military losses outweighed the government's longer-term goal to assimilate Koreans as Japanese.

Kim's 1942 article constructs women as useful to the Japanese state through colonial terminology. In colonial discourse, "metropole" was frequently used to describe the empire's central territory (Great Britain, for example), while "periphery" denoted colonized regions (such as India; see Webster chapter 4). This language served to orient the perspectives of both colonizers and colonized toward the imperial center and permanently subordinate the colony. Kim's "Military Conscription" employs the terms "内地" (Korean: 내지, literally "inner land," but in this context "mainland") and "半島" (Korean: 반도, "[Korean] peninsula"), which map precisely onto this metropole/periphery discourse.¹³³ In Japanese imperial rhetoric, *Japan* was the mainland (not merely a cluster of islands), while Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and Japan's other possessions were merely extensions from this mainland. Under the complete control of Japanese censors, Kim's text employs language that erases Korea as a nation of its own, depicting it as a loyal, yet permanently subordinate, extension of the Japanese Empire.

As a rhetoric of utility, "Military conscription and peninsular women's resolution" imagines Korean women eager to serve the Japanese Empire from the boundaries of their homes. This home boundary seems to pose a challenge, however: the article opens by describing the writer's long frustration that she had not been able

¹³³ See Uchida, "Sentimental" 712.

to demonstrate her loyalty to Japan and her great relief that at last a way has been opened:

이제야 기다리고 기다리든 徵兵制라는 크다란 感激이
왔다... .至今까지 우리 半島女性은 그저 내 아들 내 男便
내집이라는 範圍에서 떠나보지를 못했다. 떠나볼
機會가없었다. 따라서 자칫하면 國家라는것을 잊어버린것처럼
보인일도 있었을것이다. 그러나 半島女性에게 愛國的情熱이
없은것은 아니다. 그것을 나타낼 機會가 적었을뿐이다. (28)

At last the incredibly deeply moving military conscription, which I have waited and waited for, has come.... As of yet, we, the women of the Peninsula, could not leave from the boundary of just my son, my husband, my home. There was no chance to leave. Therefore, it might look like we nearly forgot our nation. However, it does not mean the women of the Peninsula do not have patriotic passion. We just had fewer chances to represent it.¹³⁴

Kim adopts the persona of a wife and mother desperate for the chance to show her patriotism for “her” nation – Japan – and tormented by the knowledge that it has so far appeared that she *has* no such (Japanese) patriotic feeling. In this text, they are not Korean women but only “半島女性 (peninsula women)” – that is, Japanese subjects living on the peninsula.¹³⁵ The writer here uses “國家 (nation)” to indicate Japan,

¹³⁴ This and all translations of this article are mine.

¹³⁵ In my reading, the clear absurdity of the scenario can only be explained by the pressure of colonial propagandists and the logic of the fascist dictatorship at war rather than a change of heart in Kim.

diametrically opposite from Kim's use of the same word (and its English counterpart) for *Korea* in all of her writing until this point. Until now, the writer insists, Korean women fretted that they were confined to their homes, *not* because they were eager to pursue careers in public, but because they worried that their patriotic feelings for Japan would not be evident.

Like Kim's 1918, the present text theorizes an important political role for women *inside* their homes: now, however, no education is needed, and they are serving Japan instead of Korea. As we have seen, when relatively free of censors' interference, Kim had developed educational rhetorics that advanced both women's equality (in other words, their *right* to get an education and leave the house) and (Korea's) national progress as goals for women's education. Now, completely under the control of the Japanese, Kim's article employs the full "wise mother, good wife" doctrine. As we have seen, this doctrine sought to maintain women in the home (though many were actually working in factories) while mobilizing them for the national project. This 1942 text seeks to mobilize Korean women not by providing them with social equality but by giving them a vision for contributing in the home by sending their own sons and husbands to the war. In fact, the writer claims that Korean women had long *envied* their Japanese counterparts, who had so long been free to offer up their sons:

지금까지 우리는 나라를 爲해서 貴한 아들을 즐겁게 戰場으로 보내는 内地의 어머니들을 물끄럼미 바라만 보고 있었다. 막연하게 부러워도 했다. 장하다고 칭찬도 했다. (28)

Until now, we could only gaze vacantly at the mothers of the Mainland as they joyfully sent their own priceless sons to the battlefield. We envied¹³⁶ them. We called them admirable and praised them.

In contrast to “半島女性 (peninsula women),” Kim refers to Japanese women as “内地의 어머니들 (mainland mothers).” As in the language of the metropole and periphery, the writer’s terms both erase Korean identity and establish a permanent hierarchy, where authentic identity and purpose radiate from Japan out to the colonies. In the logic of the fascist colonial state, Japanese mothers were to be envied for their earlier opportunity to send their sons off to die in the war.

Kim’s propaganda article envisions activating women’s imperial potential only through their relationships as mothers and wives. Having described the envy of Korean women as they watched “mainland mothers” joyfully sending off their sons, the writer announces that their own chance has now come:

그러나 인제는 半島女性 自身들이 그어머니 그안해가
된것이다. 우리에게 얼마나 그覺悟와 準備가 있는것인가?
實際로 내 아들이나 男便을 나라에 바쳐보지못한 우리에게는
大緞히 漠然한 일이다. 그러나 우리는 아름다운 우슴으로 내
아들이나 男便을 戰場으로 보낼 覺悟를 가져야한다. 따라서

¹³⁶ I have omitted the adverb 막연하게, which is difficult to translate into English. The basic meaning is “vague,” and in this context it carries the sense of “lacking information,” or “having only a sense.” The writer here means that Korean women are watching Japanese women enviously from afar, wondering what it is like to have the privilege to send away their sons to the war. I have found no English equivalent, but the sense is not greatly altered by omitting it.

萬一의 境遇에는 男便이나 아들의 遺骨를 조용히 눈물 안내고
맞어들일 마음의 準備를 가져야한다. (29)

Nevertheless, now the women of the Peninsula themselves have become that mother and that wife. How much of that resolution and preparation do we have? It is hard for us to imagine, since I was not [previously] able in truth to dedicate my son or my husband. However, we must have the resolution with beautiful smiles to send my son and my husband to the battlefield. Therefore, should the situation come, we must be ready to receive the remains of our husbands or sons silently without tears.

The writer refers to herself as **나** *nae* (“I”) as she expresses her desire to give up husband and sons to Japan. Kim was never married and did not have children, so this “I” is intended as a rhetorical device to make readers feel like these ideas and beliefs are their own rather than impositions from the outside. To become true subjects of the Japanese Empire, Korean women must become “어머니” (mother) and “아내” (wife). Only in these relationships can Korean women help the Japanese government pursue its goal of global dominion.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ This perspective resembles that of Korean intellectual and novelist 이광수 Yi Gwangsu, who had argued in 1925 that women’s *only* responsibility to the nation was to become modernized mothers, and that women’s education should train them accordingly, as we have seen above. Indeed, after a long career of resistance to Japanese rule, Yi Gwangsu had been arrested and tortured in 1937 (Christina Yi 95). The experience seemed to traumatize Yi, since upon his release, he also started writing in support of Japan. He later became a regular contributor to *Sin Sidae* and devoted the rest of the Pacific War to writing in support of Japan (96). We have seen how Kim had resisted this limiting vision of women’s education in earlier years. Now, under the compulsion of Japanese propagandists, she is forced to employ it herself but in a more sinister form: Korean women are now serving Japan.

Further inverting Kim's 1918 educational rhetoric, which had imagined educated women as agents constructing a new Korea, the educational rhetoric of "Military Conscription" conceives of training (as opposed to educating) Korean women to help Japan pursue world conquest – not as empowered agents *constructing* but as imperial subjects joyfully sacrificing their husbands and sons:

이點에서 우리는 內地女性에게 배울點이 많다. 우리日本이 世界 어느나라보담도 강한 原因의 하나가 日本女性の 숨은 힘이라한다. 말없이 참고 나가는 그들의 힘은 강한 人의 몇배의 힘을 가진것이다. 사랑하는 男便이나 아들이 목숨을 걸고 싸호러 나가는데 조용한 우습으로 보낸다는것은 쉬운일이아니다. 우리는 이點을 배워야한다. (29)

We have much to learn from women of the Mainland on this point. They say that one of the reasons that our Japan is stronger than any nation in the world is the hidden strength of Japanese women. Their strength to endure without a word and move onward possesses several times more strength than a strong man. It is not easy to send them with a quiet smile while our beloved husbands and sons go out to fight and risk their lives. We have to learn this.

Here for the first time, the writer uses the word for Japan, "일본," calling it "우리 일본" (*our* Japan). She uses the language of Japanese global dominion, seeming to take for granted that Japan is the strongest nation on earth. Japan's secret power, the

writer insists, is the quiet – and even joyful – sacrifice of its women, who do not withhold those that they love from the national cause.

“Military Conscription,” therefore, constructs a rhetoric of utility that inverts all of Kim’s previous work, converting “nation” from her own Korea to Japan, Korean women to “peninsula women,” re-confining them to the home, and envisioning serving Japan through their sacrificial roles in the home. This article so blatantly contradicts everything Kim had written before, and so clearly employs the rhetorical language of fascist propaganda, that it seems impossible to me to find evidence here of Kim’s change of heart about women’s education. Instead, we should view this as evidence for the rhetorical threat and value that Kim and Ewha College posed to the colonial war project.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that one way to understand Kim’s relationship as an educator with the Japanese state and Korean nation is through analyzing her references to discussions about the appropriate content of women’s education and the careers that education should prepare them for. This analysis has shown how Kim negotiated the agendas of Korean conservatives and reformers and Japanese colonizers to achieve her own dual objectives to empower women and help her nation. I have also investigated the way Kim’s changing status and her sociopolitical environments shaped her arguments: as a new college graduate in 1918, she more cautiously appealed to Korean reformers’ nationalist goals in return for their support for women’s education, while as an Ewha teacher and US-educated dean, she

leveraged much greater authority to insist on women's public roles in support of Korea. Finally, this chapter has worked to demonstrate the incompatibility of Kim's authentic rhetorical work with the 1942 government-dictated propaganda article, which eliminated any discussion of women's education and viewed them as useful for the state only in the home. In identifying this incompatibility, this chapter has responded to modern South Korean criticisms (and defenses) of Kim Hwallan as a pro-Japanese traitor by looking at Kim's rhetorical work prior to the fascist militarism of World War II. The evidence in this chapter suggests that Kim did *not* believe in the Japanese cause, and that her decision to let her name be used on Japanese propaganda should rather be thought of as an (ineffective and ill-advised, to be sure) *anti*-Japanese strategy. Broadly, this investigation has argued that references to debates about utility in liberal arts/vocational education and educated women's careers proved to be a subtle and flexible rhetorical tool for Kim in the colonial context. She succeeded in advancing her own educational goals with these references between 1918 and 1933 despite Japanese censorship. The tragic reversal of this rhetoric in 1942 simply reveals that all of Kim's options as a rhetor had disappeared, and that she felt she could only comply with Japanese propaganda. In chapter 3, we consider how Kim revised her educational rhetorics in postcolonial South Korea to defend and confess these concessions to Japan.

Chapter Three

Confession as Educational Rhetoric

In Kim Hwallan's Autobiographies, 1964–1965

이러한 경험 후에 고집과 교만과 일본에 대한 증오까지도 죄임을 비로소 깨달았다. 강열한 증오가 애국이 아니라는 것을 알았다.

After this experience, I realized that my sins included my stubbornness, pride, and even hatred of Japan. I knew [then] that strong hatred is not patriotism.¹³⁸

Kim Hwallan, *그 빛속에 작은 생명 Geu Bitsoge*

Jageun Saengmyeong (the little life in the light), 1965

(58)

“선생님, 저희들은 선생님의 깊은 마음을 잘 알아요. 오늘 하신 연설도 결코 본의가 아니라는 것을 이해하고 있어요. 그런 것을 겪으면서 이 학교를 지켜 나가야만 하시는 선생님의 처지를 저희는 마음속으로 도웁고 있는 거예요. 용기를 잃지 마세요. 진실은 무엇으로도 지워지지 않는 거니까요.”

¹³⁸ This and all translations in this chapter are my own.

“Teacher, we know your deep heart well. We understand that today’s speech was never your true intention. In our hearts we are helping you in this situation, as you have to defend this college by undergoing this hardship. Don’t lose your courage, since the truth is never erased.”

Kim Hwallan, *그 빛속에 작은 생명 Geu Bitsoge*

Jageun Saengmyeong (the little life in the light), 1965

(213)

…죄책감으로 쫓기는 나의 황량한 가슴은 겨울바람보다도 더
씨늘하기만 했다. 나는 끝없이 적적한 마음으로 “블루
헤븐”의 곡조를 뜯어보았다. 그러면서 나는 위로받을 수
없는 죄인이라고 스스로 단정했다. 광명을 가리우는 나의
병은 당연한 형벌처럼 느껴졌다.

“내가 남의 귀한 아들들을 죽는 길에 나가라고
권고했으니 나 장님되어도 억울할 것 없지…… 남의 밝던
마음 어둡혀 주고……”

나는 나 스스로에게 선고나 하듯이 계속해서
중얼거렸다.

“당연한 형벌이니 장님되어두 할 말 없지……”

나는 하나님 앞에 나의 죄를 고(告)하는 마음으로
그렇게 각오하면서 더듬거리는 손으로 피아노의 건반을
어루만졌다.

Pressed by a sense of guilt, my bleak heart was colder than the winter
wind. I played “Blue Heaven” with an endlessly lonely heart. As I did
this, I concluded that I was a sinner who could not be consoled. I felt
that my disease, covering up my hope, was a just punishment.

“Since I urged other people’s cherished sons to go to die, it is
only fair that I go blind... Since I darkened others’ bright hearts...”

I kept muttering as if I sentenced myself.

“Since it is a just punishment, I have nothing to say about
becoming blind...”

With my heart telling my sin before God, I determined [to bear
my disease] like that while stroking the piano keys with fumbling
hands.

Kim Hwallan, *그 빛속에 작은 생명 Geu*

Bitsoge Jageun Saengmyeong (the little life in the
light), 1965 (226–227)

In the third epigraph above, from her 1965 Korean-language autobiography,
Kim Hwallan responds to Korean criticisms of her wartime collaboration with Japan
(see chapter 2) by confessing the way she had used her influence as an educator to
hurt Korean women by urging their sons to die for Japan. However, she prepares her

readers for this confession late in her memoir by first explaining and defending her decision with a series of arguments about the relationship between her school, the Korean nation, and the Japanese state. In the first epigraph above, she uses God's message to her during her conversion to Christianity to explain why she believes her own work for women's education – rather than political activism against Japan – was her best form of Korean patriotism. In the second epigraph, Kim uses the words of a loyal Ewha student during World War II to distinguish between Kim's words and her silent true intention: she delivered speeches on behalf of Japan's war effort, but her heart stayed loyal to Korea, she insists. Through these and other rhetorical strategies, Kim maintains that she and the Ewha community *had* patriotically supported their nation and resisted Japanese occupation as long as they could. Even after the school was totally converted into a pro-Japanese propaganda machine, Kim portrays herself and other Ewha members as victims rather than culpable collaborators. In 1960s postcolonial, post-war South Korea, this qualified confession seemed to be the most persuasive means available to Kim, and she used it as an educational rhetoric to defend her reputation.

The previous chapters explored the rhetorical strategies employed by Appenzeller and Kim to advocate their view of women's higher education while negotiating the educational objectives of the Japanese state and Korean observers during the colonial era. In this final chapter, we follow Kim into the postcolonial period to analyze the ways that she defended and confessed the most controversial of her colonial-era decisions as an educator. I identify her autobiographical confession as an educational rhetoric positioning her vision of Ewha and its relationships with

the Japanese state and Korean nation against competing visions. To do this work, I analyze three autobiographies from the two decades following Korea's liberation. First, I consider the 1951/1959 English-language autobiography *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, written by 임영신 Im Yeongsin (1899–1977), the head of a rival women's school, 중앙보육학교 Central Teacher Training School. I read this text's critique of Kim and Ewha College's cooperation with the Japanese as providing exigence for Kim's memoirs. The rest of the chapter examines Kim's educational rhetoric of confession, highlighting the way she tailored the text for her Korean audience by comparing two versions of her own autobiography, the 1964 English-language *Grace Sufficient*, and her Korean-language 그 빛속에 작은 생명 *Geu Bitsoge Jageun Saengmyeong* (the little life in the light), originally published in 1965 and revised in 1999. (I will abbreviate the Korean version's title to *Bitsoge* [빛속에 "in the light"].) Although the Korean text is often similar to the English, significant differences in her discussion of her wartime collaboration demonstrate the way she both confessed her guilt and sought to protect her reputation for her Korean audience.

This chapter classifies Kim's Korean-language autobiography as a confession, but in doing so, it contradicts the way the book's own publisher, Ewha Womans University Press, has characterized it. Neither the 1965 nor the 1999 edition even hint at any controversy related to Kim. For example, the 1965 preface lauds the memoir as a testament to Kim's Christian faith and ceaseless labor on behalf of Korean women (9–11). The 1999 edition's preface writer goes even further, praising Kim as an *anti-colonial* and women's leader:

우월 김활란 선생님은 한국이 낳은 위대한 여성
지도자이십니다. 선생님은 20 세기 초 우리 민족이 노예
상태에서 신음하고 있을 때 ‘민족’과 ‘전통’ 이라는 이중의
속박에 얽매인 한국 여성들의 나아갈 길을 탁월한 통찰력으로
밝히시고 강인한 실천력으로 인도하셨습니다. (3)

Professor U-weol¹³⁹ Kim Hwallan was birthed by Korea as a woman leader. In the early 20th century, when our race [Koreans] were moaning in the condition of slaves, and Korean women were bound by the shackles of “race” and “tradition,” she illuminated a way of escape with superior insight and guided them with powerful application.

This passage recognizes two important roles for Kim, empowering women and helping her nation suffering under Japanese colonialism. Indeed, I have argued in chapter 2 that these dual concerns are precisely what Kim’s own writings from the colonial period reveal. However, both editions ignore Kim’s own explicit confession of sin, and this 1999 edition in particular adulates her as a patriot and woman leader.

As I explained in the introduction, Kim’s legacy since Liberation in 1945 has been mixed, with initial critiques largely disappearing during the 1960s through the 1980s and then resurfacing in the 1990s and 2000s (Kwon 44–45). The trend of these criticisms maps oddly onto the timeline of the publishing of Kim’s Korean-language memoir first in 1965 (followed by no criticisms) and then in a revised edition in 1999 (followed by many criticisms). While a reception study of Kim’s memoir is beyond

¹³⁹ Kim’s *nom de plume*.

the scope of this chapter, I will offer some speculations on Kim's fluctuating reputation by looking to rhetorical scholarship on confession to make sense of the rhetorical in/effectiveness of these two editions in sating South Koreans' anger.

As we saw in the introduction, rhetoric scholars (Miller; Bauer; Tell) have examined confessions in the twentieth- and twenty-first-century US to identify which components make them un/successful. Miller has shown how confession as part of a spiritual autobiography can lend power to an author's persuasive messages about social change. Miller notes with Hobson and Donawerth that spiritual memoirs typically begin with "confession of the writer's sinful past, narration of a conversion moment, and discussion of the better life that follows the conversion" (299). Bauer finds that confessions much acknowledge full responsibility and must seem sincere to be persuasive, while Tell puts more emphasis on how confessions are received and defined rather than the contents themselves.

Certainly, there are elements of each of these processes at work in Kim's Korean memoir, but significant differences render the situation even more complex. In contrast to the order of confession that Miller observes, Kim begins by *rationalizing* and *defending* her wartime actions before confessing them, with the logical connection between these parts undefined. Similarly, Kim's memoir does not fit perfectly into Bauer's categories of in/sincerity, since the confession narrative sounds deeply sincere, while the rest of the text seems to undercut that confession to some degree. Finally, as Tell has observed, the definition of Kim's text by her editors as *not* a confession could very well have contributed to readers' anger after the 1999 edition, but why was there not a similar reaction to the 1965 edition? The answer here

seems to lie in South Korea's changing political, economic, and social realities during these decades. Much of the country's leadership in the 1960s and 1970s was still connected to colonial-era collaborators, and such readers would of course have had very little motivation to sound the charge against other confessors of collaboration (Kwon 44). In the 1990s, in contrast, a new generation of progressive leaders was active, and the "comfort women" (see introduction) controversy added major fuel both to anti-Japanese and anti-collaborator sentiments (Kwon 45).

In the rest of this chapter, I offer a brief historical overview of the changing rhetorical circumstances facing Kim, read the revolutionary educational rhetoric of Im Yeongsin's 1951/1959 autobiography as a potential instigator of Kim's own memoirs, and analyze Kim's rhetorical use of confession in her Korean-language texts by contrasting it with the English-language version.

1. Korea's Liberation, Ewha Womans University, the Korean War, and the Collaboration Controversy

After Japan's surrender (August 15, 1945) to the Allied powers and Korea's subsequent "liberation" by the US and USSR, Kim played leadership roles both on the political and educational stages. She worked energetically at Ewha following the close of the war, managing her school's application for the status of a university (with the name in English "Ewha Womans University") under the new Republic of Korea and overseeing its rapid expansion (Conrow 45–46; *Grace Sufficient* 116–117). Siding with the Americans and Christians, Kim opposed socialists and communists during the post-Liberation years amidst the growing conflict between these groups.

As we saw in chapter 1, Alice Appenzeller returned to work at Ewha in 1946 and died suddenly on February 20, 1950 (*Grace Sufficient* 119). Less than four months later, North Korean forces invaded the South and captured Seoul, instigating the Korean War (1950–1953). Kim evacuated Ewha to the southern port city Busan and maintained the school there in emergency conditions (*Grace Sufficient* 140–141; Conrow 55–57). Kim also served briefly as a delegate for Korea to the new United Nations, and during the war she accepted the role of Director of the Office of Public Information, became the head of the Korean Red Cross, and managed the new English language newspaper *The Korea Times* (*Grace Sufficient* 127, 128, 137; Kwon 42).

In the interlude between Liberation and the Korean War, a controversy arose regarding Koreans who had collaborated with the Japanese occupation.¹⁴⁰ Some Koreans saw these collaborators as traitors who had taken advantage of Japan's colonization to enrich themselves by gaining positions of power. Kim's name, for example, was included in a 1948 list of 263 Korean collaborators published by writer and activist 김승학 Kim Seunghak (1881–1965).¹⁴¹ Similarly, educator and activist Im Yeongsin criticized Ewha's lukewarm patriotism and accused Kim of treason in her 1951/1959 English-language memoir (see below), although the text's use of English almost certainly limited its impact in Korea. However, other Koreans emphasized the importance of unity and healing after the national trauma of

¹⁴⁰ In Europe at the same time, similar controversies were brewing over Nazi collaborators in France, Italy, and elsewhere – see Judt, especially 44–48.

¹⁴¹ See 이덕일 Yi Deog-il.

occupation. Ewha graduate and former teacher Pakk Induk blamed the communists for spreading anti-collaborator hysteria:

[The communists] condemned any Koreans who had ever found it necessary to deal with the Japanese for any reason, calling them traitors and creating suspicion among Koreans. The only way to meet Communist propaganda was to outdo it with democratic propaganda, including the doctrine that “bygones should be bygones” and that from the time of Liberation everyone’s conduct would be judged from that day on. (219)

Pakk herself had also been labeled a Japanese collaborator on Kim Seunghak’s 1948 list and no doubt intended to defend herself in this passage, but she may also have been thinking of her friend Kim Hwallan as another victim of the collaborator hysteria (민주 사회와 정책 연구 *Minju Sahoe Jeongchaek Yeongu* 50–51). As usual, American missionaries were concerned neither with Korean nationalism nor Japanese collaboration, and after their return to (southern) Korea following the war, they urged confession and forgiveness (Clark, *Living* 298–299).

Despite this initial controversy, however, anti-communism soon outweighed anti-collaborator sentiments – at least in South Korean leadership. As Kwon Insook has pointed out, the United States military maintained pro-Japanese Koreans in leadership positions during US rule between 1945 and 1948, hoping to maintain stability and, especially, to resist growing communist influence (44).¹⁴² The pseudo-democracies that followed the end of US rule between 1948 and 1964 – especially the

¹⁴² Again, the approach of the US military was the same in Europe – see Judt 48.

controversial presidency of 이승만 Syngman Rhee (1875–1965, president of South Korea 1948–1960) – followed suit, prioritizing winning the Korean War and then nation-building over punishing colonial-era crimes. On the other hand, hatred of the Japanese remained strong among Koreans, as did resentment toward Korean collaborators who retained positions of power (Kwon 44). When Kim Hwallan took up the pen, therefore, in 1964 and 1965 to write her English- and Korean-language memoirs, respectively, she was first speaking to an American audience wholly unconcerned with her pro-Japanese rhetorical work. The feelings of her South Korean audience were considerably more mixed: Kim probably felt confident that most of the nation’s leadership would not criticize her (activists like Kim Seunghak and Im Yeongsin excepted), since many of them had collaborated in more condemnable ways than she had. But there was still popular anger to be reckoned with, particularly due to her pro-Japanese speeches contributing to the draft of Korean soldiers. It was for these Korean readers, then, that Kim crafted her confession rhetoric.

2. Im Yeongsin’s Accusation of Treachery and Her Own Revolutionary Educational Rhetoric

Im Yeongsin’s autobiography *My Forty Year Fight for Korea* (first edition 1951, second edition 1959) composes an educational rhetoric arguing that Korean schools should have actively resisted Japanese assimilation and sponsored revolutionary activities. American missionaries, Ewha College, and Kim Hwallan were cowards, traitors, or at best dangerously apathetic to Korean suffering, Im maintains. By detailing the way she used schools as a site of resistance to Japanese

hegemony, as a student, teacher, and school principal, she narrates her vision of a revolutionary women's school.

Like Kim Hwallan, 임영신 Im Yeongsin was converted to Protestant Christianity by American missionaries in her youth, educated at American missionary schools, taught at Ewha College, earned higher degrees in the US, became the president of a women's school (중앙보육학교 Central Teacher Training School), served as Korea's representative to the United Nations, and was appointed to the South Korean government (as Minister of Commerce and Industry) (Im 254, 283). However, unlike Kim, Im was an outspoken critic of American missionaries' accommodation of Japanese assimilation policies. She led resistance activities in high school, coordinated the 1919 March First Independence protests in Jeonju, and as a result was arrested and tortured for months (Im 118–124). As head of Central Teacher Training School in the 1930s, she made it her objective to train women revolutionaries, refused to collaborate with the Japanese draft campaign, and when the Japanese attempted to take over her school, she chose to close it rather than let it become a tool of the colonial government (see below). Perhaps because of her own (self-described) eagerness to sacrifice herself for her country, Im wrote critically of individuals and schools – both Korean and American – who seemed too comfortable with Japanese colonization.

Im first published her autobiography in the United States in 1951 under the English pseudonym “Louise Yim,” and in 1959, she used her own Chung-Ang

University¹⁴³ press to publish a “second edition” of her memoir in Korea. The “second edition,” however, was identical to the first – still in English, it included the same pagination and even the same prologue and epilogue, even though these both discussed her anxiety about the just-begun Korean War – which, in 1959, was now long finished. Im’s decision to retain English for her Korean second edition is puzzling, since she thereby limited her readership to South Korea’s educated elite and seemed to manifest the very America-centrism that she criticized in her memoir.

Although Kim never mentions Im in her memoirs, and Im includes Kim only to accuse her of treason during the war, the two women certainly knew each other. They taught together at Ewha in 1923,¹⁴⁴ were one of a small group of Korean women to earn higher degrees in the US in the 1920s, and were heads of rival women’s schools in Seoul during the 1930s. They were both among Korea’s first representatives to the UN and both served on Syngman Rhee’s South Korean government. Kim would almost certainly have known of Im’s memoir and its accusation against her, especially when Im had it reprinted in Korea in 1959. Even if she did not read it herself, she would have heard of it from others in the small circle of Korean national women leaders who could read English.

For her American readers in the early 1950s, Im’s text was most likely interesting primarily as an inside look at the country where tens of thousands of American soldiers were dying fighting against the communists in what Americans call the Korean War (June 25, 1950–July 27, 1953).¹⁴⁵ Americans were no doubt

¹⁴³ The official English name of Central College after its elevation to the status of a coeducational university in 1953.

¹⁴⁴ Im 146.

¹⁴⁵ South Koreans today often refer to it as 육이오 전쟁 “6.25 (June 25) War.”

curious to know how things had gotten so bad in Korea in the first place, and they would have been surprised to learn the role their own country had played in Korea's downward spiral in the previous half century. Im's American publisher was A.A. Wyn, Inc., the book division of Aaron Wyn's publishing enterprise which also

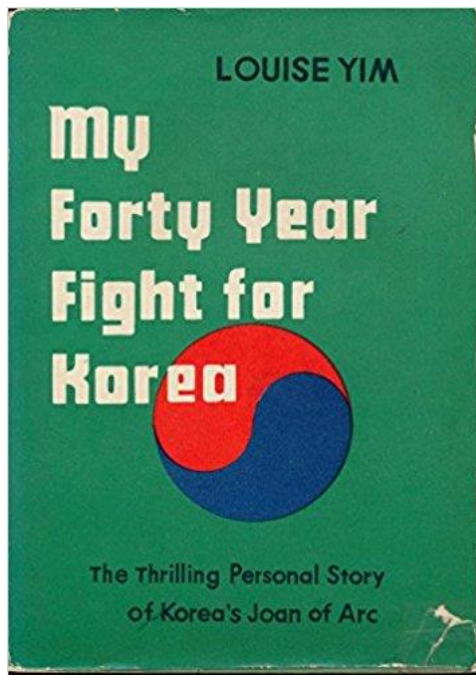


Figure 12: 1951 American edition of Im Yeongsin's (Louise Yim) autobiography.

included magazines and comic books. The revolutionary rhetoric of Im's text was not lost on her American readers. As Figure 12 demonstrates, the 1951 American edition included a subtitle: *The Thrilling Personal Story of Korea's Joan of Arc*, which Im politely objects to in her foreword: "There is no one Joan of Arc of Korea. Countless thousands gave their lives during our struggle, and all the women of Korea who braved the national prejudice against women as well as

the foreign oppressor were Joan of Arcs" (6). An American review of her book in 1952 focused on the text's geopolitical implications, beginning with Im's anecdote about the daughter-in-law of former US President Theodore Roosevelt apologizing to Im because her father-in-law had betrayed Korea to the Japanese (Im 267).¹⁴⁶ The reviewer was also inspired by Im's story of struggling from childhood against Korean prejudices against women and resistance activities to the Japanese government

¹⁴⁶ Ann F. Wolfe, "Review of *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, by Louise Yim," *The Saturday Review*, February 9, 1952, p. 31.

despite imprisonment and torture. The review closes by calling Im not only a Joan of Arc but also a Cassandra, recounting how Im “sounded vain warning that the next war would start in Korea,” although the reviewer does not mention Im’s scathing criticisms of America for its role in provoking the Korean War (Wolfe 31).

My Forty Year Fight for Korea details how American missionary schools had given into – and even become accomplices of – Japanese assimilation, giving up both their Korean and Christian identities.¹⁴⁷ Im’s most important first educational opportunity was provided by an American missionary, Miss Golden,¹⁴⁸ who visits her hometown and helps convince her father to let Im try attending her boarding school for girls in 전주 Jeonju (Chunju, in her spelling), the closest major city. Im recalls her elation when her father escorted her to the school. However, Im quickly discovered that the Korean students were under the watch of a group of hostile Japanese teachers who imposed Japanese language and culture on the children. For example, Im recalls feeling angry and ashamed at being forced to study and use the “hated tongue” of her oppressors (55). The colonial government also outlawed the teaching of Korean history and burned Korean history books, declaring death the penalty for distribution or use of such texts (60). Worse still, Miss Golden, although the principal, was so paralyzed by fear of the Japanese colonizers that she refused to tolerate any assertions of Korean identity.

¹⁴⁷ This is, of course, precisely the opposite of what I argue about Ewha College in chapter 1.

¹⁴⁸ I have not identified this missionary’s real name, but remarkably, I did discover an article likely written by her and almost certainly referring to the strikes Im had instigated at her school – see “Junkin Memorial School – Chunju” 735–736.

In fact, Im's memoir describes the way her desire to defend Korean culture effectively made her an enemy of American missionary educators. According to her account, Im finds the government's assimilation policies at the Jeonju school intolerable and quickly resolves to take action. Convinced of the importance of informing Koreans of their country's history of oppression by Japan and the patriotic heroes who had fought to defend Korea, Im secures a rare history book and organizes a group to copy it out by hand. The girls distribute the copies to secret patriotic groups in the city (61). However, the Japanese teachers on staff get wind of the project and force Miss Golden to intervene. Miss Golden confronts Im's class, arguing that she is afraid not for herself but for the girls and the continuation of her spiritual mission:

“Girls, something is happening here that is not good for the school or for any of us. If I do not tell the Japanese police about it and they find out by themselves, this school will be closed and all of you will be jailed, possibly beaten, perhaps even killed ... Some of you or all of you are working each night to write illegal literature. Oh, please, children, speak up! Do you know what this is doing to me? I love all of you as though you were my own. I want nothing to happen to you. But please remember my position. I am the principal of a school. I am a missionary. I am bringing the light of Christ to your dark country. If I am jailed or imprisoned, it is not for myself that I fear. Christ before me and before all of us died on a cross. But if I am removed who will lead you to Christianity? There are so few of us!”

She spoke the truth. However, neither were we thinking of ourselves. We also were trying to bring light to our dark country, the powerful light of freedom. And there were so few of us who knew as yet what to do! (61–62)

Im portrays Miss Golden's position as cowardice disguised with empty rhetoric about her evangelistic mission, demonstrating that her weakness toward the Japanese puts her own students in grave danger. Although Im specifically targets her high school principal here, her harsh portrayal of Miss Golden was no doubt intended to cast a suspicious shadow on all American missionary schools for Korean women, including Ewha.

Im further demonstrates that Miss Golden's collaborator influence must be defeated along with the Japanese themselves. Inspired by Miss Golden's warnings about the deadly consequences of anti-colonial activity, Im forms a "Suicide Squad" of student revolutionaries who agree together to sacrifice their lives for their country (66). Im leads the Suicide Squad in direct defiance to government policies designed to foster the imperial cult such as singing the Japanese national anthem and bowing to the Japanese Emperor's picture. Under Im's leadership, the Suicide Squad refuses to sing or bow, and they go so far as to poke the eyes out of the Emperor's pictures. Im's narration of Miss Golden's response clarifies how her cowardly acceptance of the Japanese makes her an enemy of the Korean students who must be resisted and defeated along with the colonizers:

This time the Jap teachers were not to be quieted. With anger in their hearts, they burst into Miss Golden's office. Just a corner behind them

I followed until, when the door slammed shut, my ear was at the keyhole.

“Now you must find the trouble maker!”

Miss Golden’s reply came in a fluttery voice. “Er... I will do all I can. After all, we can’t *force* the girls to speak.”

“For such a crime, the Japanese police know how to force an answer... even from little girls!”

I ran away before they came out and reported what I had heard to my classmates. Soon after, Miss Golden walked into our classroom. The two Japanese teachers trailed behind her like monkeys.

“Girls, you must help me. The latest incident – the insult to the Japanese Emperor – was really too much. If you are honest Christian girls, believers in the truth, then the one among you who is responsible will speak up.”

We all stood up. We all cried out, “I did it! I did it! I did it!” Each tried to shriek louder than the other.

Miss Golden rapped her ruler on the desk.

“Order! Order! Order! Now I’m going to leave this classroom. No one will be permitted to walk out – for any reason – until the guilty party confesses.” (67)

However, through their solidarity, the girls call Miss Golden’s bluff, and after enduring the entire day silently in the classroom, Miss Golden – whom Im labels “a beaten woman” – relents and sends them to their dormitory (67). Even more

impressively, the girls never saw the Japanese Emperor's pictures in their classrooms again. Courage, Im demonstrates, can change things for the better, while missionaries' cowardice makes them *de facto* enemies.¹⁴⁹

With her demonstration of the ways that American missionary schools and their teachers hurt the Korean people through their compromises with the Japanese, Im has prepared her readers for one of the primary rhetorical aims of her memoir: criticizing the collaboration of Ewha College and Kim Hwallan with the Japanese. Im's criticisms of Ewha itself are oblique compared to her direct attack on Kim. Im reveals her dislike for Ewha in recounting how she lied to its administrators when applying for a job there in order to learn English when she was preparing to study abroad (146). Similarly, comparing Ewha with the patriotic fervor at Gongju, the hometown of the famous schoolgirl martyr 유관순 Yu Gwansun,¹⁵⁰ Im assesses the school tersely: "The air at Ewha was not as revolutionary as that at Konju [Gongju]. It was an old-line missionary school and at that time the highest woman's institution in the country" (146). Im labels Ewha as "not as revolutionary" as her preferred Gongju. Through this use of *litotes*, Im criticizes her opponent without explicitly stating her case.

As her strongest evidence in her attack on Kim herself, Im chooses Kim's donation of Ewha's dedication plaque to the Japanese metal drive during World War II. As in the United States at this time, the Japanese government called on citizens,

¹⁴⁹ Again, the writer of a 1915 report from the Junkin Memorial School in Jeonju – perhaps Miss Golden herself – is likely referring to disturbances sparked by Im when she complains that "All the new pupils have much to learn in the way of obedience and walking daily in the path they know, but we note decided improvement in almost all the wayward" ("Junkin" 735–736).

¹⁵⁰ Who, ironically, was an Ewha student – a fact that Im does not mention. See chapter 1.

businesses, and schools to donate materials needed for the war effort, including metal for making machines, weapons, and ammunition.¹⁵¹ Ewha College and other schools were pressured to donate metal resources. Im interpreted Ewha's donation not as the inevitable result of fascist government pressure but as evidence of Kim's true desire to fight America.

Im first primes her readers to condemn Kim by introducing her in the context of other Koreans whom she considers to be loathsome traitors. During World War II, while Kim was collaborating with the Japanese to keep Ewha open, Im refused to let her own school be used for colonial aims, resulting in her arrest and torture. In the middle of this narrative, Im writes that Korean collaborators were sent to convince her to give in to Japanese demands:

On the police staff of the West Gate prison were a number of Korean detectives. They could be depended upon to carry out the most brutal assignments against the underground. Instead of understanding the plight of our people, the collaborators were especially cruel to Koreans. Whenever they seized a Korean who had had a higher education or, more specifically, an education in the United States, they outdid their normal cruelty. They delighted in showing their physical superiority and exhibited no shame at their wanton fraternization with the oppressors of our nation. I met a number of these Korean

¹⁵¹ See Kirk for the involvement of US children in this effort. The University of Wisconsin System School Library Education Consortium has created an engaging website with US posters, advertisements, and videos calling for scrap donations:
<https://uwsslec.libguides.com/c.php?g=416691&p=2839329>

detectives when they came to my house to question me.... I felt a loathing as they came into my room. (219)

Im describes her feeling towards these Korean collaborators as “loathing” and portrays them as even worse than the Japanese because of their treachery and their peculiar delight in oppressing their own people. She recounts a story she heard from these detectives in the course of their attempts to coax her away from her anti-Japanese stance:

I heard about Ewha from them [the detectives]. The Japanese had been collecting metal from Koreans. Helen Kim [Kim Hwallan’s name in English], Ewha’s President, offered the brass plate on which were inscribed greetings to Korea from the Americans who had helped build the school. As she handed the brass plate to the Japanese, the detectives heard her say, “Use this to kill the Americans.” Korean newspapers reported the “patriotic” act the next day. I found it hard to believe. I still do. I recall this with a feeling of shame and I remember how I felt the morning I heard about the Ewha incident. (221)

The point of the story as Im tells it is that Ewha in general and Kim Hwallan specifically have betrayed both Korea and America. American missionaries and sponsors generously built and dedicated the school, and Kim dedicates the brass plate – the very product of American beneficence – as an agent of death for those same Americans. Of course, the story is propaganda and shouldn’t be taken literally, but Im does exactly this (see below for Kim’s side of the story). She writes that she “found it hard to believe,” yet she implies its truth merely by including the story in her text and

by noting the “feeling of shame” that still afflicts her when she remembers the event. Moreover, Im writes that “the detectives heard her say” rather than that they claimed to hear it. By framing her description of the “Ewha incident” with her description of loathsome Korean collaborators, Im attempts to prime readers to condemn Kim’s actions. However, Im’s rhetorical efforts here seem to have failed in terms of her audiences, since the evidence she presents has been forgotten in contemporary South Korea, while other activities that Im only alludes to have taken center stage in contemporary criticisms of Kim.

Ironically, Im does *not* directly mention the action for which Kim is condemned most often today, her speeches and essays published in collaboration with Japanese propagandists attempting to enlist Koreans into the imperial army (see chapter 2). I suggest that Im merely alludes to Kim’s pro-Japanese speeches in emphasizing her own refusal to make such speeches. As World War II loomed closer, Japanese antagonism toward Americans and Christianity increased (see chapter 1), and Im writes that the government sought out influential Koreans to spread anti-American propaganda:

I was invited to work with the Japanese propaganda bureau at ridiculously high fees. They wanted me to write a pamphlet on the evils found in the United States.... They offered to assign a skilled writer to help me. I refused, telling them, “I cannot lie to anyone, not the Korean people, not to your government, not to the American people.” At first they accepted my refusal. Then they became more

persistent, until finally the head of the Japanese propaganda bureau said to me, “I could have you killed.”

“Then you never have any hopes of getting my help,” I replied.

Friends in the underground felt I was acting foolishly. I exposed my anti-Japanese feeling too clearly. They predicted that worse things would happen to me. However, I could not take the expedient route. Each Korean who trusted me could not be told in confidence that Louise Yim [Im Yeongsin’s English name] only seems to be working with the Japanese but that she is really with the underground. Anything that I did for the Japanese would be taken as a betrayal of the Nationalist Movement. I think there are times when one must choose, when one must take all risks even if it seems the unwise thing to do. (209)

In this passage, I suggest that Im is alluding to explanations by Kim Hwallan – or other similar collaborators – for why she made speeches on behalf of the Japanese war effort, as we will see below: she was forced to do it against her will, a Japanese writer wrote the speeches and she merely read them, and although she said the words, she didn’t mean them.¹⁵² Im touts her own integrity in refusing “ridiculously high fees” and her courage in facing down the Japanese minister’s death threat. She also dismisses, by implication, Kim’s defense by writing that she knew it was unrealistic

¹⁵² Kim did not publish her first autobiography until 1964, of course, so Im could not have been responding to it specifically when she wrote this passage. I believe it is likely, however, after Liberation in 1945, that Kim had been called upon to explain her wartime activities, and that she must have presented her defense in a similar form to that which appears in her autobiography some two decades later. I have, however, not yet located such post-Liberation materials.

to try to explain separately that she didn't mean the propaganda speeches she was giving. Im frames positions such as Kim's in an absurd light, where the collaborator must go individually to each Korean and explain the rhetorical situation. Cooperation with the Japanese, Im insists, will be understood by her *audience* as betraying Korea.

In contrast to the traitorous cooperation of Ewha and Kim Hwallan with the Japanese, Im details her role as administrator of her own school, where she stubbornly refuses to cooperate with the war effort despite repeated police torture and harassment. In Im's memoir, schools and their administrators are invested with a special responsibility to maintain integrity and defend the people. When they face down oppression and threats, they both create real change and inspire others to keep fighting.

After years of education and work in Japan and America, Im saves enough money to expand and take over the leadership of a women's teacher training school in Seoul in 1933. Im explains that she conceived her school, 중앙보육학교 Central Teacher Training School, as part of "my plans for revitalizing the underground, for the school was to be the fountainhead of our propaganda and the training center for women revolutionary leaders" (185). Im describes herself as one of a "Triumvirate" of leaders of the Underground, the only woman and occupying a middle position between the right- and left-wing leaders (187–189). She reveals to the other Triumvirate members her plans to make the school a center for training revolutionary leaders:

[The Triumvirate] plotted underground strategy for the months and years ahead. They agreed wholeheartedly with my idea for setting up

my school as a base of resistance operations. They realized, as we all did, that the battle against the Japanese might take many years and that through the teachers we trained we would have a network of agents throughout the country. (192)

Suspecting her continued work with the Korea Underground, the Japanese oppose her school from the beginning. As they saw the school's early successes, including spreading anti-Japanese propaganda through her students' visits to Sunday Schools, they increased their pressure and sought constantly for excuses to close it (207).

Unlike Kim Hwallan and Ewha College, she claims, Im uses her school as the site for courageous resistance to Japanese militarism, even in the face of death. Im directly identifies those who fail to resist the Japanese as "compromisers":

On the heels of my refusal to co-operate, I received an order from the Japanese Army to vacate the school building. Friends came to me in last-minute efforts to make me change my mind. I refused. I began to suspect some of these friends. I wondered how many of them were compromisers who were fulfilling their obligations to the Japanese by trying to influence me. (210)

Im emphasizes the importance of maintaining control of her school as a place and institution independent of the Japanese:

When military officials came to take over the school, I told them, "You will have to kill me before any soldier steps inside my school building."... I would not compromise.

One morning, I looked out of my window and saw a company of Japanese troops dismounting from trucks. They formed ranks and marched toward the school. I rushed to the door and stood in front. The Japanese officer ordered me away.

“You will have to run a bayonet through me if you want to enter.”

He shouted commands. His men fixed bayonets. He ordered me to leave for the last time. I did not move. And then he marched his men back to the trucks and they drove away. I had expected to die. I did not know why they withdrew.

The story spread throughout Seoul and into the provinces. I had been the first Korean to defy the Japanese to their face without suffering arrest, torture, or death. (210–211)

Ultimately, as a result of her continued defiance of the colonial government, Im is arrested and tortured again, resulting in her partial paralysis. In addition, Central Teacher Training School was closed by the government. However, in contrast to the story of Kim’s collaboration, which is celebrated by the treacherous press as an example of Japanese cooperation, Im claims that the story of her heroism spreads throughout the country (though she doesn’t say how) as a model of patriotic bravery demonstrating that Koreans can achieve victory through courage.

Im Yeongsin’s autobiography, therefore, calls women’s schools to actively resist Japanese colonization and assimilation and condemns both American and Korean educators who fail to do so. In the context of postcolonial South Korea in

1951, Im's message implied that the new nation's leaders should be those who had resisted the Japanese, *not* those who had benefited from them. In the next section, we examine how Kim Hwallan responded to arguments such as these with her own educational rhetorics.

3. *Kim Hwallan's Confession as Educational Rhetoric*

Responding to views such as Im's – that the most important task of women's higher education was to foster resistance to Japanese colonization, and that Ewha and Kim had failed to do so – Kim faced a complex rhetorical task. She first defends her actions with a series of claims about the relationship between her school, Korea, and Japan, arguing that her school had done its patriotic part as long as possible and depicting the school's conversion into a propaganda center as its *victimization* rather than treachery. Only after these claims does she make her confession for contributing to the deaths of fellow Koreans.

Kim's 1964 *Grace Sufficient* seems to have attracted less attention in America than Im's memoir. In part, this was likely due to her choice of publisher: The Upper Room, a Methodist-affiliated publisher of religious materials based in Tennessee. Ewha had itself been founded by Methodists, and Kim may have used connections through the Methodist church to arrange her text's publication. Her American editor, Reverend Dr. J. Manning Potts (1895–1973), the founder of The Upper Room and an author and editor of devotional literature, wrote an introduction for the text, declaring the impact that he and others who assisted Kim in preparing the manuscript hoped her memoir would have:

We pray that the book will make Helen Kim [Kim Hwallan] better known and that her witness for Christ may have an even wider range in the world. We pray also that it will awaken more prayers and concern for that remarkable institution, Ewha Womans University. (vi)

In her editor's eyes at least, the function of *Grace Sufficient* was to further Kim's religious and educational work in the world, especially at Ewha, by encouraging (financial?) support from Americans. The book's cover (figure 13) features the new seal¹⁵³ of Ewha University and a Bible verse written in Korean: “내 은혜가 네게 족하도다’ 고후 12:9” (“My grace is sufficient for thee,” 2 Corinthians 12:9). Of course, Kim's American readers could not have been expected to read the Korean

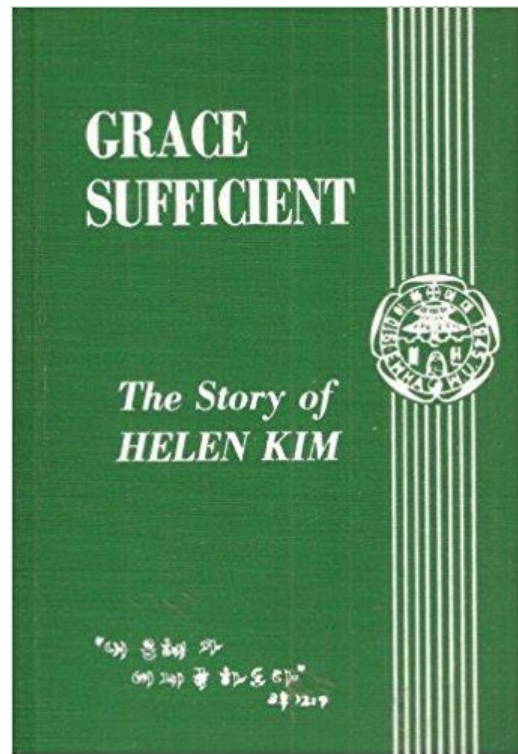


Figure 13: 1964 edition of Kim Hwallan's (Helen Kim) autobiography. *The Upper Room*.

Bible verse. Instead, Kim's publisher seems to have intended the unfamiliar script to make the book appear exotic and signal its East Asian topic. However, unlike Im's memoir, this cover does not include an exciting subtitle or quotes from reviewers promising an exhilarating read. Indeed, Kim's book seems to have attracted less mainstream attention in America than Im's. I have so far located no published

¹⁵³ Notice that the Korean, American, and Christian symbols of the 1930 version are back, after the war-time expurgation of the Japanese regime.

reviews of the text, although two newspapers mention reviews given at local meetings.¹⁵⁴ The lack of mention in the press beyond these local papers suggests a broader lack of attention, with Kim’s smaller publisher no doubt partly to blame.

In contrast to these choices that limited the appeal of her English-language memoir in America, the 1965 Korean version was designed to be as attractive as possible to South Korean readers. Published a year after the English version by Ewha Womans University Press, *Bitsoge*’s cover design (figure 14) was, frankly, more interesting than the English version.

It features an image of Kim in a *hanbok* (traditional dress) and her hair – no longer bobbed (see chapter 2) – pulled back in the traditional style appropriate for an elderly woman of high status. She looks like a busy school leader, wearing glasses and reading. The title font is trendy for the mid-sixties – military green in color, its form is intentionally sloppy or childish. Both the title and subtitle mix the Korean alphabet *hangeul* and Classical

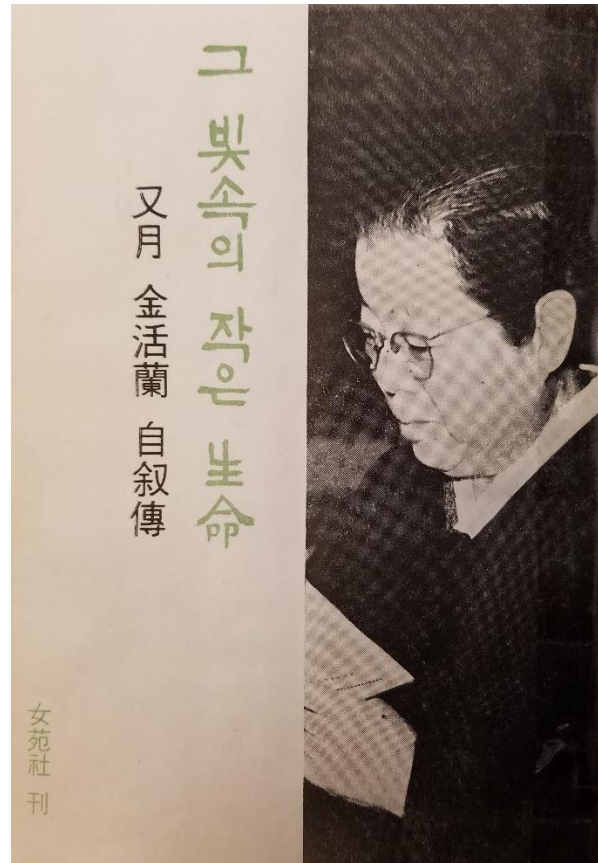


Figure 14: 1965 edition of *Bitsoge*. The text reads (from top to bottom, right to left): “The Little Life in the Light, U-Weol (Kim’s nom de plume) Kim Hwallan’s autobiography.” Ewha Womans University Press.

¹⁵⁴ *The Tennessean*, Thursday, March 11, 1965, p. 41, mentions a review given at a book club; *Las Vegas Daily Optic*, Monday, January 1965, p. 6 mentions a review given at a “Korean University Circle Meeting.”

Chinese characters, revealing the way Koreans were still negotiating the competing impulses to preserve the Chinese characters and, inspired by more nationalist feelings, use the Korean alphabet exclusively, as we saw during the colonial period as well (see chapter 2). Additionally, the text is printed in the traditional format, top to bottom, right to left. When Ewha Womans University Press issued a revised edition in 1999, however, they eliminated all Chinese characters and re-oriented the text left-to-right according to Western.¹⁵⁵

The English and Korean versions of Kim's memoir tailor their arguments to their divergent audiences. For American religious readers unconcerned with Korean nationalism and the obliteration of Korean culture during colonization, Kim emphasizes her faith and her devastation at the loss of Ewha's American staff during the war. In contrast, conscious of potential anger among her Korean readers, Kim's Korean text leverages the rhetorical strategy of confession to win her audience's goodwill. In the following sections, I consider the English version primarily to emphasize her rhetorical choices in the Korean version: the Korean text is my focus because it more thoroughly addresses Kim's controversial wartime activities and more directly reveals her arguments about the school's relationship with the Japanese state and Korean nation.

A. Qualifying the Confession with Arguments about Relationships Between School, Nation, and State

¹⁵⁵ So far, I have no direct information about how Kim's Korean-language memoir was received in Korea – this remains an area for more research.

Before ultimately confessing her guilt for her wartime collaboration with Japan, Kim devotes much of her Korean-language memoir to defending her actions through a series of arguments about the relationship between Ewha College, the Korean nation, and the Japanese colonial state. First, she uses her youthful conversion to Christianity to frame her work educating Korean women as patriotic. Then, narrating the war years after Appenzeller's departure, Kim presents Appenzeller's parting words as a commission for Kim to continue Ewha's work no matter what, emphasizes Ewha's patriotic resistance to Japan, and claims that her silent loyalty to Korea was clear to her students. Finally, she depicts the conversion of Ewha College into a pro-Japanese propaganda service as the school's victimization rather than collaboration.

Kim's conversion story in both memoirs serves rhetorically to justify her willingness to cooperate with the Japanese government for the sake of women's education. She first provides a foundation for her arguments about education by rejecting Im's caricature of her as a Japanese sympathizer, insisting in both memoirs that, in fact, she *hated* the Japanese until divine intervention changed her heart. She recalls in *Grace Sufficient* that her "first experience of real sadness" came at the establishing of the Japanese "Protectorate" over Korea in 1905 (see introduction and chapter 1) when she heard the story of the seven-year-old Korean prince. Seeking to dissolve the Korean royal family, the Japanese forced the young prince to leave his mother and come to Japan. Recalling hearing about the boy's desperate pleas not to be taken from his mother, and about his mother's weeping and the tears of the other Koreans present, Kim writes:

As I heard this account, something began to stir within me. Tears flowed and would not stop all night long. I felt so sorry for him and so rebellious against the Japanese who had taken him by force from his mother, his family, his home, and his country. I had not seen the event at the harbor, but the picture was vivid in my mind. Although too young to understand all the political implications, the feeling of cruelty and injustice involved was too sharp and deep ever to be forgotten.

(18)

In emphasizing her grief for the prince and anger toward the Japanese, Kim implies that she is no less patriotic than Im and no less hurt by Japanese abuse.

However, Kim's frames her anger toward the Japanese as spiritually negative. She describes in *Grace Sufficient* Japan's annexation of Korea on August 29, 1910:

From that day on we had no freedom even to weep when we felt like it; and devotion for our country and our people, oppressed and suppressed by an alien power, took deep roots within my being. With patriotism, hatred and bitterness for anything Japanese grew side by side, until only a supernatural Power could help me to overcome it years later. There is nothing worse that could happen to any people than to be enslaved and subjugated by another people. The effect of the national tragedy of 1910 was like casting a black veil over the heads of the entire people throughout the whole peninsula. (26–27)

Kim emphasizes the deep, personal grief and anger that she experienced because of annexation. Like Im, she began to hate the Japanese for their oppression of her nation.

With hostile readers such as Im in mind, Kim's point is that she was not pro-Japanese – in fact, only the direct intervention of God could remove her deep-seated hatred.

Both of Kim's autobiographies use Christianity to explain her collaboration with the Japanese state first by characterizing hatred of the Japanese as a sin and second by presenting her educational work in service of her country's women as true patriotism. In both texts, she makes this argument by narrating her conversion, which was effected through a religious vision that she experienced as a high school student at Ewha. However, with her Christian American audience in mind, the English text more explicitly identifies hatred for the Japanese as a sin. Writing for Korean readers suspicious of her patriotism, on the other hand, Kim emphasizes God's instruction to her to help Korean women despite her deep longing to fight for her country.

In recounting Kim's religious vision and conversion, both memoirs begin by explaining how she heard a preacher ask his listeners to confess their sins. Kim felt offended by this suggestion, believing she didn't have any serious sins that needed confessing. Nevertheless, Kim writes that she realized her own religion was "a nominal acceptance of a set of frozen dogmas and was expressed in a routine of lifeless exercises," and that she either needed to give up her faith or take a step to make it more real (*Grace Sufficient* 29). She began praying earnestly alone at nights. Here the two versions diverge. The English makes no mention of Kim's patriotic feelings and focuses on the sinfulness of her hatred of the Japanese:

Suddenly the illumination came to me that my sins were pride, self-will, and hatred for the Japanese. I fell upon the floor and asked God to

forgive all my sins committed against him. I immediately felt his forgiveness. (29–30)

Kim was aware that her American Christian readers would not feel much sympathy for Korean nationalism, and she also seems to have anticipated that her American audience would approve of her message against racial hatred. In addition, Kim possibly intended her message as a response to Im Yeongsin's own hatred for the Japanese, which is a major theme of her memoir. Indeed, Im herself acknowledges her troubled conscience due to her hatred for the Japanese, whom she habitually refers to using derogatory terms including "Island Savages" (33), "monkeys" (67), "little Islanders" (78), "savages" (120), and "Japs" (189). The English version then continues Kim's conversion narrative by presenting helping the women of the world as her life's work:

This [recognition of her three sins] was followed by a remarkable vision. I seemed to see Him take the three bags of my sins away, showing me what to do with the rest of my life. He pointed out to me a big dug-out moat where a mass of Korean women were crying out for help with their hands outstretched from the haze and confusion that covered them.... From that time on, my life has been directed by God's hand toward the one course of humble service to the womanhood of my country and the emancipation of the women of the world. (30)

Grace Sufficient uses the account of a religious vision, and Kim's resulting sincere conversion to Christianity, to explain why she prioritized women's education over

national independence activism. This version directly explains the vision's meaning: God was "showing [her] what to do with the rest of [her] life." Her mission was to minister to suffering women rather than hating the Japanese.

Many of Kim's American Christian readers likely approved of her emphasis on Christian faith rather than Korean independence activism. For example, Kim's American editor, J. Manning Potts (see above), in his introduction to *Grace Sufficient*, quoted an American missionary's interpretation of Kim's conversion experience:

[After Kim's conversion,] Her purpose became more constructive and definite. It had been political – to help free her country from alien power. Hereafter she would spend her life in helping to free her countrywomen from the traditions and prejudices that limited their contribution to life. She took Korean women from behind the curtain of non-entity and set them in the midst of the life of their people, trained to help their country solve its problems. (v)

Much like Alice Appenzeller and many American observers, this writer disapproved of Korean nationalism.¹⁵⁶ After all, America had been Japan's ally until the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, and the US had sanctioned the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1905 (see introduction). This American writer, therefore, characterized Kim's *political* goals as unconstructive and indefinite in contrast to her work for Korean

¹⁵⁶ For example, Appenzeller wrote in June 1941 about the efforts of Koreans in America to advertise Japanese injustices in their country:

The Koreans in America in their zeal for Korean independence and in their indignation at what is happening in their land sometimes exaggerate. The facts are bad enough, and I always tell them that if they stick to them, their case will be stronger. (↑-II-B-5-5-4-34, 2)

Her tone is not quite condescending, but her distaste for attempts to stir up American support for Korea's political independence seems evident.

women. Of course, this American writer may have felt differently if her own country had been occupied by a foreign military dictatorship. As it was, she and many Americans were unable to empathize with Koreans' desire for independence.

In contrast, the Korean-language account of Kim's conversion presents women's education as a *better* kind of nationalism than political activism. Kim begins her Korean account with a long, vivid description of her nightly prayers after hearing the preacher's challenge to confess her sins: she would pray alone in a dark prayer room, kneeling before a picture of Jesus, with hands folded, wrestling both with spiritual doubt and lamenting the fate of her country:

나라의 비운을 슬퍼하는 비애와 울분과 의욕이 한꺼번에
소용돌이치며 아우성치는 처절한 마음의 부르짖음이었다. (57)

Grieving for my ill-fated country, my sorrow, anger, and will swirled
together, while my heart cried out, desperate and shouting.

The English version lacks any mention of her grief for Korea in this section, revealing Kim's special concern to present herself as a patriot for Korean readers.

One night, she recounts, the figure of Jesus crucified appeared to her. She also suddenly heard sounds of lamentation, and her description of the sound matches the way she had just described her own lamentations for her country:

그런데 갑자기, 아득히 먼 곳에서 아우성을 치는 소리가
들려왔다. 그 처절한 부르짖음은 아득히 먼 것도 같았고 바로
귀밑에서 들리는 것 같기도 했다. 울부짖고 호소해 오는 처절한
울음소리. (58)

But suddenly, the sound of crying out reached my ears from a far distant place. That desperate outcry seemed both very far off and right by my ear. It was the desperate cry of wailing and pleading.

The words Kim uses to describe this wailing – 울부/울보짚다 (grief, wail), 아우성 (shout, outcry), 처절하다 (desperate), 부르짚음 (outcry) – are the same that she had just used to describe her own feelings about Korea’s misfortunes. Here, however, they take on a new meaning:

…문득 자애로운 목소리가 들려왔다.

“저 소리가 들리느냐?”

“네, 들립니다.”

“저것은 한국여성의 아우성이다. 어째서 네가 저 소리를 듣고도 가만히 앉아 있을 수 있느냐? 건져야 한다. 그것만이 너의 일이다.” (58)

All of a sudden, I heard a loving voice:

“Do you hear that sound?”

“Yes, I hear it.”

“That is the outcry of the women of Korea. How can you hear that sound and remain sitting still? You must save them. That alone is your task.”

The voice – we are meant to understand it as the voice of God – explains that she will work for her country *by answering the cries of Korea’s women*. To emphasize her patriotism even here, the Korean version does not mention helping the women of the

world as part of her task – only Koreans. This only is her task, God tells her, implying that political activism against Japan, while perhaps valid for others, is not her responsibility.

Bitsoge does mention her conviction that hatred of Japan is a sin, but Kim prepares readers for this argument by placing it *after* her assertions of her patriotic grief and the vision. After the vision ended, she writes that she wept and wept with gratitude that Jesus had given her such a clear purpose in life (58). Then she realized her sins:

이러한 경험 후에 고집과 교만과 일본에 대한 증오까지도
죄임을 비로소 깨달았다. 강열한 증오가 애국이 아니라는 것을
알았다. (58)

After this experience, I realized that my sins included my
stubbornness, pride, and even hatred of Japan. I knew [then] that
strong hatred is not patriotism.

No doubt anticipating objections from some Korean readers, Kim saves her most controversial statements for last. She presents the thesis that true patriotism is not hatred of Japan – instead, it is service to Korean women. Her work at Ewha College, therefore, is true patriotism. Kim’s educational rhetoric, therefore, uses the Christian faith to justify her collaboration with the Japanese government by defining hatred of the Japanese as a sin and framing work for Korean women as a different kind of patriotism.

Kim’s autobiographies thus both leverage her conversion narrative to win her readers’ favor. While *Grace Sufficient* emphasizes the message of the sinfulness of

racial hatred, *Bitsoge* characterizes Kim's educational work as her true patriotism. Ewha College was thus a patriotic institution because it was doing God's will for Korea, even when it followed Japanese policies. This claim – that she could serve Korea patriotically as a non-political educator – was a first rhetorical preparation for Kim's confession.

Despite her youthful patriotism, however, narrating her wartime activities forced Kim to confront the facts that Ewha had been totally converted into a tool of Japanese propaganda and that she had participated in drafting Korean men to fight and possibly die for the Japanese military. Im Yeongsin's self-described stalwart refusal to let *her* school be used by the Japanese, even when it meant closing the school down, raised a tough question: why hadn't Kim simply closed Ewha as well, at least temporarily? Why keep the school open and let it be used by Japan? Indeed, it was not only Im Yeongsin's Central College that chose to close rather than cooperate with Japan. 승의여학교 Soongui Girls' School, another missionary-operated institution in Pyeongyang, similarly chose to shut down in 1938 rather than comply with Japanese directives (김민희 Kim Min-hee 42). Kim therefore presents several more defenses of her choices: first, she felt commissioned by Alice Appenzeller to keep the school open no matter what; second, Ewha *did* patriotically resist Japan in many ways; third, her silent loyalty to Korea was clear to her students on campus even when she delivered pro-Japanese speeches; fourth, the Ewha community were victims of Japan who should be pitied, not willing collaborators to be punished.

Kim references her parting promise to Alice Appenzeller in 1940 as justification for keeping Ewha College open at all costs during the war. When the

American consulate encouraged the evacuation of all American staff at Ewha (see chapter 1), Kim recalls the commission she received from Appenzeller as she departed. We have already seen Appenzeller's version of this exchange in chapter 1. Kim's English account is concise and unemotional:

As they were leaving the campus, Dr. Appenzeller held my hand and said, "We are sad to go but glad to leave everything in your hands. We will pray for you and God will take care of you" (94).

The Korean version amplifies the situation's pathos and includes more dialog, making explicit both women's commitment to continuing Ewha's work no matter what:

떠나던 날 "아펜젤러" 선생은 나의 손을 꼬옥 잡아 주셨다. 그 자애로운 얼굴에는 쓸쓸한 빛이 가득 차 있었고 눈에는 눈물이 어렸다.

"헬렌."

"선생님."

차마 다음 말이 금방 이어지지 않는 아픈 순간이었다.

"이제 우리는 떠나며 헤어지는 슬픔을 겪으니까 다음에는 기쁘게 만날 순서가 남았다고 생각해야겠지.....이 곳을 버리고 떠나는 것은 가슴아픈 일이지만, 당신에게 모든 일을 맡기고 갈 수 있어서 안심이에요. 헬렌, 낙심하지 맙시다. 끝까지 힘을 가지고 희망을 가지고 일하도록 합시다. 늘 당신을 위해서 기도하겠습니다. 하나님은 기특한 딸을 항상 돌보시리라고 믿으며 안위해야겠소."

“선생님, 선생님의 뜻 저버리지 않겠습니다. 그리고 항상
정의와 진실을 잊지 않겠습니다.” (203)

On the day she left, Professor Appenzeller clasped my hands tightly.
On her loving face a melancholy light shone, and tears gathered in her
eyes.

“Helen.”

“Professor.”

The moment was so sad that we could scarcely speak another
word.

“Now, since we must undergo the sorrow of our departure and
separation, we must think of the time when we will meet again in joy.
It is a heartbreaking thing to leave this place and depart, but it is a
relief that you can take charge of everything. Helen, let’s not be
disheartened. Until the end, let’s be strong, have hope, and work hard.
I will ever pray for you. I believe and comfort myself that God will
always watch over his praiseworthy daughter.”

“Professor, I won’t betray your desire. And I won’t forget your
justice and truth.”

Kim here strengthens the persuasiveness of her Korean text by amplifying the
situation’s pathos. The women both speak their feelings, Appenzeller using Kim’s
English name, and Kim using the respectful title for her elder. As narrator, Kim
directly states the sadness of the situation and describes the expression of
Appenzeller’s face and the tears in her eyes. The only relief to this unbearable pain,

Kim reports Appenzeller as saying, is the fact that Kim will take charge of all the work of the college now. Appenzeller encourages them both to work hard “until the end” – quitting, or closing Ewha, is not an option in her mind. Kim’s response makes this even clearer: she promises not to “betray”¹⁵⁷ Appenzeller’s belief that she will lead the college well in the dark years to come. Through these pathetic appeals, Kim makes a powerful argument in advance for her later decision to cooperate with the Japanese government in order to keep the school open. Framed by the passage above, closing the school to keep it out of Japanese hands would not have been patriotic or sensible, it would have been betraying her promise to Appenzeller and even abandoning the God’s guidance.

In addition to narrating her conversion and her parting promise to Appenzeller, Kim presents a third defense of her wartime conduct to win over her Korean readers: Ewha under her leadership *had* patriotically resisted Japanese assimilation as long as possible. In *Grace Sufficient*, for example, Kim explains the threat that Ewha College posed to Japan after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, “Actual fighting began in the Pacific and the Japanese officials treated Ewha as an enemy institution. They had never been happy with our existence and always found fault with us” (96). In this English version, it is unclear *why* the Japanese disliked Ewha, and given the context of the war with the United States, Ewha’s American identity would seem a likely candidate. The Korean version of this passage, however, leaves no room for doubt:

¹⁵⁷ The verb 저버리다 can mean “to let down, break (a promise), or betray.” I believe the context calls for the latter.

이것을 계기로 이화는 적의를 품은 학회(學會)와 불순분자들이
몰려있는 장소로서 일본인 간부들에게 혹독한 취급을 받아야
했다. 이화는 한국민족정신의 상징과도 같이 그들에게 비쳐서
그들에게는 참으로 걸리적거리는 존재일 수 밖에 없었을
것이다. (207)

Taking this opportunity, Ewha received harsh treatment from the
Japanese leadership as an academic society harboring hostility and a
place where rebellious members flocked. Since Ewha shone as a
symbol of the Korean national spirit, it was inevitable that its existence
would be a nuisance to them.

In direct contrast to Im Yeongsin's characterization of Ewha as "not as revolutionary"
(see above, Im 146), Kim depicts the school as a "symbol of the Korean national
spirit." According to her Korean text, Ewha was an enemy institution not because of
its historical American affiliation but because of its defiant Korean identity.

Kim points to Ewha's language policy as an example of her school's patriotic
subversion of Japanese imperialization. For example, even *Grace Sufficient* describes
Ewha's long resistance to Japan's cultural oppression through its prolonged use of the
Korean language:

They [the Japanese] did not mind the foreigners not being able to
speak the Japanese language, but they took it as rebellion when we, the
Korean teachers, did not teach in their language. Just before I took the
presidency, I saw that I would have to develop more proficiency in the
use of Japanese if I were to remain at Ewha. All those years most of us

had had refused to use it, for that was one of our natural ways of resisting. . . . Already in the other Korean schools, from primary through college, this rule about the language was strictly observed. Attempts were made to enforce its use even in Korean homes by asking the school children to make daily reports on their parents. To wipe out our Korean language was one phase of the Japanese cultural oppression. (96)

Even for her American readers, Kim here explains Japan's aggressive assimilation policy and Ewha's resistance, not unlike her doctoral dissertation three decades before: her school bowed to the use of Japanese only *after* all other Korean schools had done so. The Korean text takes this further, arguing that she and other Ewha members finally learned Japanese only to resist the colonizers more effectively, citing the proverb "To catch a tiger, you must enter its cave."¹⁵⁸

Another way Ewha College resisted Japanese assimilation, Kim claims, was through its Home Economics program. *Grace Sufficient* details the way the government-general imposed its imperializing policies on this department:

The Japanese authorities had never liked our Home Economics Department, for we insisted on the study of Korean foods and clothing. They would never recognize our graduates as competent enough to teach in our high schools unless they learned Japanese sewing and cooking instead of Korean. The war years gave our oppressors a good pretext for carrying out their designs. All men and women, civilians

¹⁵⁸ "호랑이를 잡으려면 호랑이 굴로 가야 한다" (160).

and students, must wear defense uniforms. Overnight our teachers and students had to dress in shapeless khaki trousers and blouses made of the worst possible material. The garments were too ugly to be in harmony with our campus and spirit. No more Korean sewing, no more fancy Korean cooking, nor anything that was beautiful and representative of Korean culture could be continued. (96–97)

We see here themes that have run through Kim’s entire rhetorical career: the appreciation for beauty that was fostered at Ewha, the importance of students choosing their own outfits, the danger of militarizing their clothing, and most of all, Ewha women’s resistance to the Japanese state and the critical value of their work to the welfare of the Korean nation. Her memoir suggests the way Japanese wartime policies overturned these values.

As usual, the Korean text adds more pathos through dialog, revealing how the Ewha community resisted this militarization and imperialization campaign not through refusing to wear the military khakis but through their *mockery* of it:

학교 내에서 오고 가다가 마주치는 우리들은 이따금 목소리를 낮추어 소근거렸다.

“내가 마귀할멈처럼 보이지 않니?”

“조금만 더 오래 입다가는 틀림없이 그렇게 보일꺼야.”

“한심하지…… 도무지 이게 무슨 꼴이람?” (209)

When we ran into each other on campus, we sometimes whispered in hushed voices.

“Don’t I look like an old witch?”

“If you wear it a little longer, you’ll definitely look like that”

“How pathetic... What a state we are in!”

Ewha women, therefore, defied Japanese assimilation by failing to adopt the proper military spirit, even as they adopted its military clothes.

Kim also rejects Im’s criticisms by depicting Ewha’s Christian identity as a vexing symbol of the Korean ethnic spirit. The English version, for instance, describes the efforts of the Japanese administration to stamp out all practice of the Christian religion at Ewha:

All Christian teachings and observances were ruled out. To the Japanese way of thinking, Christianity was no good because it inspired Korean nationalism and an independent spirit. Christian teachings and usage are so allied to the principles of human freedom and dignity that they are inseparable.

Once several Japanese police came without previous notice and went through the girls’ rooms in the dormitory. They found hymnbooks and Bibles and used them as evidence of our disobedience to their order. They could not make a case of it, but they scolded us rudely, both the girls and myself, and told us never to use these books again. (97)

Kim knew that her American Christian readers would appreciate this depiction of Ewha's enduring culture of faith. Here again, the Korean *Bitsoge* increases the pathos of this scene through dialog and intensifies its political significance. After the soldiers ransack the dormitory and discover the Christian materials, they exclaim:

“이건, 명령 불복종이다! 아니 반역이다! 이 불온한
종교를 금하라 하지 않았느냐?” (210)

“This is disobeying an order! No, it is treason! Didn't we ban
this seditious religion?”

Kim's Korean memoir emphasizes Ewha's clandestine Christian practices as subversive to Japanese assimilation by placing this accusation of treachery (against Japan) in the mouth of the Japanese soldier.

A key difference between Kim's two autobiographies is the fact that the Korean version includes an account of the Shinto shrine rituals imposed at Ewha, while the English version omits it. During the 1930s and especially during World War II, the colonial government increasingly imposed Shinto worship in Korea in the form of shrine rituals. Although the Korean Methodist and Presbyterian churches eventually accepted obeisance ceremonies by defining them as state and not religious rituals, many Americans missionaries, including Alice Appenzeller, continued to oppose them.¹⁵⁹ Knowing her audiences, therefore, Kim omits a description of the

¹⁵⁹ See Sung-Gun Kim for an overview, and chapter 1 footnote 80 above for a longer discussion of Appenzeller's disapproval of Korean Methodists' acceptance of the Shinto rituals. On October 14, 1932, Appenzeller had written:

The other day the schools were all ordered out to a service to “cheisa-hao” to the spirits of those [Japanese soldiers] who had died in Manchuria. The Christian schools all refused to go, and in Pyengyang there has been some pressure. We know that we are following a consistent policy and it is no use for anyone to try to force us into ancestor or spirit worship. Dr. McLaren thinks that is a fundamental principle and that we should take a far stronger stand in

Shinto shrines imposed at Ewha during the war when writing for her religious American audience. For many Koreans, Shinto was perceived more as a violence against their *culture* rather than their religions. In depicting the ceremonies at Ewha, therefore, Kim stresses the way the Ewha community resisted Japanese assimilation by mocking the Shinto shrines. She uses the Shinto ceremony to demonstrate Ewha College's resistance to Japanese assimilation by emphasizing the failure of Ewha students to keep silent during the ritual, thus offending the Japanese.

Bitsoge characterizes Ewha students as resistant to Japanese assimilation policies in their defiance of the silence imposed on them during the Shinto ceremonies. Having attempted to stamp out Christianity at Ewha, the Japanese compelled the school to set up a Shinto shrine and begin conducting obeisance rituals:

그해 가을, 기숙사에는 소위 “가미다나(神棚)” 라는 것을 세우지 않을 수 없게 되었다. 그 눈에 설고 야릇한 것을 차려놓고 일인 직원과 함께 제사를 지내려는 참이다. 장난감과도 흡사한 “가미다나” 가 우습기도 했거니와 그 앞에 벌려놓은 흰떡이나 물들인 생선의 울긋불긋한 모양이 도무지 학생들에게는 견딜 수 없는 웃음꺼리였다. 그렇게 해괴한 차림 앞에서 손벽을 딱 딱 치라니 기가 막히기도 하고 우습기도 했으리라. 다정하게 모여앉아 마음 깊이 기도를

this religious matter than we have. He thinks that we have compromised whenever we have joined in anything that seems like worship of the creature rather than the creator. (수-Ⅱ-B-5-5-4-5, p. 2)

Appenzeller and the Americans' sentiments notwithstanding, the Korean Methodist Church under pro-Japanese leaders like 신흥우 Sin Heung-u began permitting Shinto ceremonies in the late 1930s (see footnote 80).

드리고 찬송가를 부르던 이 때문지 않은 학생들에게 강요란 이상한 것이었고 의미를 붙일 수 없는 그 “가미다나”의 모양에는 아무래도 수궁이 가지 않았던 것이다. 얼굴표정을 간신히 엄숙하게 꾸미며 손벽을 쳐야 할 순서였다.

“쿡쿡!”

“후후훗!”

드디어 참고 참던 학생들의 웃음소리가 미어져 나오기 시작했다. 그때, 시찰을 나왔던 총독부(總督府) 시학(視學) “다까하시”(高橋)의 얼굴이 시뻘겋게 닳아 올랐다. 그는 참을성이 없는 태도로 날뛰기 시작했다. 나는 그에게 이끌려 교장실로 갔다. 그의 노기는 등등했다.

“이 전시 체제하에 도대체 되어먹지 않았소!

황국신민교육이 무엇이라는 것을 모르고 당신이 어떻게 학교를 이끌고 나가려는 거요?”

하기야 내가 황국신민교육을 알 턱이 없지 않으나. 당연한 일을 두고 트집잡고 야료를 부리는 것, 이것이 침략자의 정체다. 나는 무엇이랄 할 말이 없었다. 사리를 따지기에는 사태가 너무도 악화되어 있었고 아무 것도 양심에 벗어나는 일이 없었으니 사과를 할 수도 없는 노릇이었다. 시학관은 계속해서 소란을 떨었다.

“질이 나쁜 학교다! 미국 선교사들의 본거지였던
곳이라 비위에 맞지 않아! ‘빠다 쿠사이’ 하단 말야!” (210–
211)

In the autumn of that year, it became impossible to avoid setting up a so-called “*kamidana*(神棚)” [Japanese: *かみだな* “god-shelf (shrine)”] in the dormitory. They set up unfamiliar and odd-looking things and tried to have a ritual with the Japanese employees [present]. The *kamidana* was ridiculous enough, looking like a toy, but together with the white rice cakes and colorfully-dyed fish spread out in front, it was all unbearably funny to the students. Being ordered¹⁶⁰ to clap in front of this bizarre set-up must have been ludicrous and hilarious [for the students]. The coercion of that meaningless *kamidana* was unreasonable for innocent students used to gathering in friendship to offer prayers and sing hymns with all their hearts [in Christian services]. At the moment when they were supposed to clap their hands while wearing solemn expressions:

“Ha ha!”

“Hee hee hee!”

Finally, they could not keep a straight face, and their laughter came out.

¹⁶⁰ There is no perfect English translation for the grammatical ending -라니 in “손뼉을... 치라니” (“[they ordered us to] clap [our] hands”). This verb ending indicates that the listener is surprised by an order given. Through this grammatical form, Kim succinctly depicts the situation, and the instructions of the Japanese, as bizarre or laughable.

At that time, Dakahashi, the government-general's school commissioner who had come for an inspection, became very red in the face. He started to rave with impatience.

Led by him, I went to the president's office. He was in a fit of rage.

“That was way out of line¹⁶¹ during a time of war! How do you intend to lead this school without knowing what imperializing education¹⁶² is?”

Indeed, of course I did not know imperializing education at all. To find fault with such a natural thing and accuse me so violently and unreasonably – these are the true colors of an invader. I had nothing to say. The situation had become too bad to argue over right and wrong, and I also could not apologize since I had done nothing against my conscience. [But] the commissioner kept making a scene.

“What an awful¹⁶³ school! Since it was the base of American missionaries, it does not suit our tastes! It is ‘*bbada kusai*’¹⁶⁴!”

The Japanese colonial authority expects Ewha students to obediently and silently participate in their religious ritual as a part of the performance of their Japanization

¹⁶¹ “되어먹지 않았소” – literally “[that] wasn't eaten up” – has no direct English translation. The verb 돼먹다 is vulgar, and the expression is used as a crude way to criticize another's behavior.

¹⁶² “황국신민교육” literally means “yellow chrysanthemum citizen education.” The yellow chrysanthemum is the symbol of the Japanese Emperor, and here it serves as metonymy for the empire itself. The whole phrase refers to the assimilationist goal of making Koreans into obedient imperial subjects.

¹⁶³ Literally, “질이 나쁘다” means “bad-quality.”

¹⁶⁴ Japanese for バタ rep さい “buttery smell,” i.e., Western-style. Westerners' offensive, butter-like smell was a trope among Japanese at the time (Phan 207).

and imperialization. Instead, the students fail to keep silent, and their derisive laughter shocks and offends the Japanese school commissioner. Ewha women's inability to keep obedient silence, therefore, becomes a symbol of Ewha's Korean patriotism defying Japanese cultural violence.

In addition to stressing her school's Korean patriotism, Kim's fourth defense of her wartime collaboration was insisting that her heart silently remained loyal to Korea, even when she was forced to speak on behalf of Japan. As we have seen, Im Yeongsin's primary criticism of Kim focused on her donations of metal from Ewha's campus – especially the American missionaries' dedication plaque – to the Japanese military's metal drive. Kim does offer her own account of this donation, but her treatment in both memoirs is so brief that it is obvious that this action was no longer considered important in the mid-1960s (*Grace Sufficient* 103). Ironically, what *had* become important was something Im had only alluded to: Kim's contributions to pro-Japanese propaganda, first at Ewha College, and later across the country. Although Im had only referred indirectly to Kim's pro-Japanese speeches during the war, as I have argued, Kim discusses these speeches at length, especially in her Korean text, suggesting that the speech controversy had become the more important one. As before, the English version is much more succinct and lacks pathos, revealing Kim's special effort to persuade her Korean readers:

Among ourselves spoken words were not necessary to understand each other. On occasions when I addressed the student body, I read a prepared speech in the Japanese language. By this time we had several Japanese on our staff, some of whom were government agents. Every

word I said was being reported, so I usually had one of them draft my speeches. The content consisted mostly of telling the girls to understand the objectives of the war in the Pacific and to cooperate with the Government. They were all good speeches from the Japanese standpoint, but I knew all the time that the girls were understanding my unspoken words. (97–98)

She was forced to deliver speeches written by government writers, but her students understood her true meaning, Kim claims. Even more than *Grace Sufficient*, Kim's Korean-language memoir seeks to convince her Korean readers of her patriotism, first by framing her actions as a personal sacrifice for the sake of Korea:

내 나라 내 민족의 당당한 앞날을 찾아내고야 말리라는
신념은 참으로 끈질긴 인내를 낳아 주었다. (212)

The belief that I would eventually find a dignified future for my nation and my race produced truly tireless patience.

Kim's concern, she maintains, was for Korea's long-term wellbeing. When speaking of her country and race, she uses the first person singular possessive pronoun 내 "my" instead of the usual plural 우리¹⁶⁵ "we," emphasizing her personal love and commitment. It was for *her* country that she was willing to exhibit such "tireless patience" with the Japanese' demands. Then, Kim argues that foreign occupation had disrupted language's purpose:

¹⁶⁵ Korean often uses the plural where English would use the singular: 우리 나라 (our nation), 우리 아버지 (our father), and even 우리 남편 (our husband).

언어란 의사전달을 위해 필요한 것이다. 그러나 그 무렵의 우리들에게 있어서 말이라는 것이 이해를 위해서 존재하는 것 같지 않았다. 왜냐하면 일인들이 시키는 말의 내용이란 우리들의 의사와는 전혀 상반되는 것이요, 그것은 상대방의 이해를 위해서 행하여지는 것이 아니었기 때문이다. (212)

Language is needed for communicating [the speaker's] will. However, at that time it seemed like speaking for the sake of understanding did not exist for us. This is because the contents of the words that the Japanese forced us to say was absolutely the opposite of our will, because it was not done for the sake of others' understanding.

Kim argues that the Japanese occupation reversed the very function of language, rendering it the conveyance of the dictatorship's will rather than one's own, and interrupting the conveyance of one's mind and will to one's audience. In other words, Kim has divided words from will, setting the stage for her argument that her will was innocent, whatever her words might have been.

Yet, unlike her English text, Kim's Korean autobiography seeks the sympathy of her Korean readers by emphasizing both the need to deliver pro-Japanese speeches and her own guilt as a result of them. The Korean text of Kim's description of her pro-Japanese war speeches at Ewha College begins almost identically to the English version, briefly narrating how she was "forced"¹⁶⁶ to give speeches as Ewha president, and that the speeches were written in Japanese for her by a government

¹⁶⁶ “강요당했다” (163).

writer.¹⁶⁷ However, the Korean version expands on this summary by describing how she suffered as a result of these speeches:

나는 그 한 마디 한 마디, 나의 의사가 결코 아닌 말들을
옮길 때마다 고문을 당하는 것 만큼이나 괴로웠다. 그것이
거듭될수록 나의 정신적 고통은 견딜 수 없는 지경에
이르렀다. (212)

Whenever I delivered the words – never [reflecting] my will – every single word was as painful as being tortured. The more [I had to] repeat [these speeches, the more] my mental anguish became unbearable.

These words are specifically for Kim’s Korean audience. They reiterate that her words did not reflect her true intention but that they tormented her nonetheless. Kim does not need the condemnation of others, her implied logic runs, since she has already condemned herself.

Despite conceding her feelings of guilt for these speeches, Kim’s Korean autobiography justifies them again with dialog and pathos to reinforce the power of rhetorical silence with her Ewha students. The English simply says that “I knew all the time that the girls were understanding my unspoken words” (98). The Korean develops this into a long paragraph by including dialog:

¹⁶⁷ “연설문을 작성하는 사람은 정부에서 파견된 사람이었다” (163).

그러나 나는 결코 외롭지는 않았다. 그러한 괴로운 연설을 할 때마다 나의 학생들은 외부로 드러나지 않는 나의 숨은 언어를 충분히 이해하고 있었기 때문이다.

어느 날인가도 그러한 일을 치루고 내가 맥없이 나의 방으로 가는 길이었다. 지친 걸음으로 조용한 모퉁이를 돌아갈 때였다. 애처로운 안색을 띤 학생 하나가 내 앞에 나타났다.

“선생님, 기력이 없으신 것 같군요. 너무 실망하지 마세요.”

그는 나를 위로하려고 했다. 내가 무엇이든 이를 말아 없어 그저 조용히 미소를 띄우자 그는 믿음이 깊은 표정으로 말했다.

“선생님, 저희들은 선생님의 깊은 마음을 잘 알아요. 오늘 하신 연설도 결코 본의가 아니라는 것을 이해하고 있어요. 그런 것을 겪으면서 이 학교를 지켜 나가야만 하시는 선생님의 처지를 저희는 마음 속으로 도와고 있는 거예요. 용기를 잃지 마세요. 진실은 무엇으로도 지워지지 않는 거니까요.”

나는 그 따뜻한 마음에 접하고 마음이 밝아졌다. 그 학생의 손을 꼬옥 쥐어주며,

“쉬잇! 우리들은 따로이 말이 필요치 않은거야.
마음과 마음이 지키고 있는 한……자중해요.” 하고 말해
주었다. (212-

213)

However, I never felt lonely. This is because whenever I gave those painful speeches, my students thoroughly understood my hidden words that could not come out.

One day, [I] was making [my] way weakly back to my room after I suffered that task.¹⁶⁸ I had just turned a quiet corner with tired steps. A student with a pitying expression appeared in front of me:

“Teacher, you look spiritless. Don’t be so disappointed.”

She wanted to comfort me. I just smiled silently since I did not know what to say, and then she said with a deeply trusting expression:

“Teacher, we know your deep heart well. We understand that today’s speech was never your true intention. In our hearts we are helping you in this situation, as you have to defend this college by undergoing this hardship. Don’t lose your courage, since the truth is never erased.”

After I encountered this warm heart, my heart felt brighter. I held her hand tightly:

¹⁶⁸ “그 일을 치르고,” the verb *치르다* can mean “to carry out” or “to undergo, suffer.” I take it to mean the latter in this context.

“Hush! We do not need other words. As long as our hearts protect each other... Be cautious,” I responded.

In this passage, Kim’s student says everything that Kim wishes her readers to say: we understand your intention to protect Ewha and the pain you experience, we pity you, and we support you in your mission. The nameless student reads Kim’s heart, as Kim hopes her audience will. This entire passage was omitted in the English version, revealing her special effort to win her Korean readers’ clemency.

Both memoirs argue that Kim’s actions were misunderstood simply because those outside Ewha failed to understand her true heart. As usual, *Grace Sufficient* emphasizes her religious motives when narrating the way she was criticized for these speeches:

But not everybody understood. Even some of my friends and not a few graduates misunderstood and thought that I either loved the position of president enough to keep it at any cost or was really getting pro-Japanese. Some of my close friends would advise me “You have stood it admirably – so far, but now is the time for you to give up. What is the use of being dragged down into the depths when they won’t let you keep your position anyway?” My answer was, “God is still with us; I will not leave.” The idea of forsaking Ewha, which had been left in my charge, was unthinkable. My voluntary resignation was just the thing the enemy worked and waited for. (98)

Kim cites Appenzeller’s final instructions before her departure from Korea as one primary reason she cannot give up the Ewha presidency, and her faith that she was

doing God's will as her second. The school and even her position as president, Kim argues, were not hers to give up. She was bound to steward Ewha through the dark days of the war.

Like the English version, Kim's *Bitsoge* also argues that her critics misunderstood her intention, but it addresses criticisms in greater detail due to her potentially-skeptical Korean readers. As so often in her Korean text, she converts narrative passages from the English version into dialog. When explaining how many misunderstood her actions, Kim writes:

“흥 김활란도 어쩔 수 없이 친일파가 되어가는군!” (214).

“Hmph! Looks like Kim Hwallan has inevitably gone over to the pro-Japan faction!”

In quoting the mistaken advice of her friends, the Korean version again emphasizes her true intention to help the college. In contrast to the religious focus of the English account, the longer Korean narrative characterizes it as a choice between selfishness and selflessness:

“이제는 정말 위태롭다고 생각하오. 지금까지 당신은 경탄할 만큼 훌륭하게 일본인을 참아왔지만 지금이야말로 그 정신적 투쟁이 어려운 고비라고 생각하오. 이제는 그러한 태도로 학교를 지키겠다는 사상은 포기할 때라고 생각하는데……
어쨌든 간에 그네들은 당신을 교장직에 그냥 눌러 둘 것 같지 않은 눈치인데…… 이렇게 가다가 그들에게 끌려서 헤어가지 못할 함정에 빠진다면 그때는 정말 도리가 없지 않은가? 미리

방비를 해야지, 예상했으면서 그렇게 되어갈 필요는 없다고
생각하오.”

그들의 충고나 염려가 그릇되다는 것은 아니다. 그러나
이화의 역사를 알고 이화의 살림을 알며 이화를 책임지겠다고
나선 내가 그렇게 쉽사리 좌절되어 가며 이화를 포기할 수도
없었다. 변명도 외고집도 아니었다. 지금에 이르러서 자랑을
하려는 심사도 결코 아니다. 오로지 나의 믿음에 자신이
있었던 것이다. (214)

“I think it is really dangerous now. You have been wonderfully and
admirably patient with the Japanese so far, but now I think it is a hard
moment for this mental fight. I think it is the time to give up your idea
that you will protect the college with this attitude. Anyway, they seem
like they won't let you stay on in the president's position. If you were
led along like this and fell into [their] inescapable trap, then you would
really be helpless.¹⁶⁹ You need to defend yourself in advance; even
though you [can] predict [what is coming,] I don't think there is [any]
need for things to turn out that way.”

I do not mean that their advice and anxiety were wrong.
However, since I knew Ewha's history and all the details of running
the school, and since I had said that I would take responsibility of
Ewha, I could not so easily get frustrated and give up Ewha. It was

¹⁶⁹ Literally, “wouldn't there really be no way?”

neither an excuse nor stubbornness. Even now, I have no intention to brag. I was only confident in my faith.

Kim frames the decision as one between saving herself and her reputation (by quitting) and sacrificing everything to save Ewha (by staying on). In this version, even in their “critique,” her friends actually praise her: her cooperation with the Japanese has been evidence of her wonderful and admirable “patience” rather than treasonous collaboration. They advise her to give up control of Ewha not because she is doing wrong but to defend herself from potential criticisms. Framed in this way, criticisms are more easily rebuffed by Kim’s logical appeal: she knows the school best – who else could do the job?

As a final defense before her confession, Kim presents the Ewha community as *victims* rather than collaborators when the school was converted to serve Japan’s wartime goals. Kim and all Ewha members suffered the progressive loss of Ewha’s identity – by the cancellation of its college course, conversion to a propaganda center, and the removal of its school song and even its name. These losses, however, did not justify closing the school, in Kim’s eyes. She explains that the intensifying war during winter 1943 prompted the government to convert Ewha College into a one-year agricultural extension school.¹⁷⁰ The English version clarifies the new educational policies imposed by the colonial government on Ewha:

We were getting along nicely until another scheme was devised to upset us. This time it was the complete change of our curriculum. The normal program of higher education must all be stopped. Carry on

¹⁷⁰ “농촌 지도원 연성소로 바꾸어서 일 년 과정을 시리하라는 것이었다” (167).

only a one-year course for the training of village leaders – this was our new order. The village leaders were not to be used for village enlightenment or social and economic improvement, but only for Japan’s war purposes. The girls were all to scatter over Korea’s rural communities and tell the people about the war and what they must to do help win it. (99)

In pursuit of its total war, the Japanese occupation made women’s education explicitly into a tool for war mobilization. Even though the new curriculum was concerned with the countryside, Kim explains, it was *not* in view of rural Korea’s economic and social development, as her doctoral dissertation had explored more than a decade earlier (see chapter 2). Instead, Ewha graduates were to enlist rural Koreans for Japan’s war efforts.

In contrast to the English version, Kim’s Korean-language depiction of the curriculum changes relies more heavily on pathos to emphasize the Ewha community’s suffering and win her readers’ sympathy. Kim describes how depressed the faculty were to hear the news:

이 소식을 전해 들은 교수들은 맥이 풀렸다. 비탄의 표현 한번 제대로 해볼 수 없을 정도로 완전히 투지를 잃었을 정도다. (217)

When the [Ewha] professors heard this news, they were depressed. They completely lost the spirit to fight, to the point that they could not even properly express their grief.

Without any courses to teach, most had to quit their positions (167). Seeing them off, “it was so unbearably sad... I cried in my heart”¹⁷¹ (167). However, this passage both describes the professors’ negative emotions and contrasts their response with her own: they had lost the “spirit to fight,” but *she* had not. She felt alone after the professors’ departure, but “I was already determined. No matter the end, even if I became the last member of Ewha, I intended to endure and guard [the school] to the last”¹⁷² (167). The rhetorical function of this scene – the school’s professors sadly departing, Kim standing tearful yet determined – is again to provoke sympathy for Kim’s plight and to help convince her readers that what others might perceive as her stubborn selfishness was in fact defiance of Japanese occupation.

Kim’s *Bitsoge* emphasizes the victimization of Ewha students by Japanese rule due to the conversion of Ewha College to an extension school. She remembers how she had to interrupt the programs of current students, forcing them to graduate early and only able to offer them an extension school certificate instead of a bachelor’s degree (167–168). Kim explains that many parents objected to their daughters ending up in such work and deciding not to send them to Ewha. Instead, parents married off their daughters:

이렇게 해서, 공부를 하면서 꿈과 희망을 키우다가 좌절된 채
마음에도 없는 결혼을 울며 울며 해버린 가엾은 지식녀가
많이 생겼다. 말 그대로 세대의 희생물이 된 것이다. (218)

¹⁷¹ “참으로 견딜 수 없는 슬픔이었다... 나는 가슴 속으로 눈물을 흘렸다” (167).

¹⁷² “나는 각오가 되어 있었다. 최후가 어떠하든, 내가 마지막 이화 식구가 되는 한이 있어도 끝까지 버티고 지킬 심산이었다” (167).

Because of this situation, many pitiable, intelligent women married sobbing, against their intention and in frustration, even though they had studied hard nourishing dreams and hopes. They literally became the victims of this generation.

Kim describes her students in the same position as Korean women were when Ewha College first began its work in 1910, forced to marry and give up their dreams (see introduction and chapter 1). Only now, the cause is the colonial dictatorship rather than Korean patriarchy, the decision to leave school and marry rather than participate in state propaganda seeming the lesser of two evils. Writing in 1965, Kim doesn't seem to notice the irony that her students made a decision that she could not, choosing to leave Ewha at great personal sacrifice rather than contribute to Japan's militarist plans.

Kim even portrays Ewha students as victims when they were forced to contribute to Japanese propaganda campaigns in the countryside, although she implies that they subverted Japanese propaganda just as she herself was doing. She laments in *Bitsoge* the way graduates were compelled to spread pro-war propaganda in the countryside, but she adds that they also taught the Japanese language, and “infusing the ideology that Japan would be the master of Asia, furthering its world empire”¹⁷³ in addition to calling for Koreans' assistance in the war (168). The English text portrays graduates successfully subverting Japanese propaganda efforts in their rural work:

¹⁷³ “일본은 아시아의 주인, 나아가서 세계의 왕국이 될 것이라는 이념을 주입시키고” (168).

The girls who graduated and went out to the villages were very specifically instructed to carry on classes composed of young adult women under the supervision of the Japanese principals of the public schools. Their classes were all to be conducted in the Japanese language. The girls reported to us after a year that they had wonderful experiences in their work. When they visited the students in their homes, they could talk in Korean and communicate their real purposes. (100)

Kim narrates a situation where students toed the line of Japanese pro-war propaganda in their classes for rural Korean women but undercut these very messages by using Korean when they spoke with students in private. This approach parallels Kim's own strategy of making public, Japanese-language speeches and then privately sharing her true feelings afterwards with her students, as we have seen. According to Kim, the results of this strategy were "wonderful," perhaps implying that readers should likewise be convinced of the wisdom of her own collaboration strategy.

Finally, Kim's Korean-language autobiography depicts the erasure of the Ewha school song and its name as yet another victimization. The English text explains briefly that "We were ordered to change the name of the college since the name Ewha was associated with so many 'bad traditions'" (100). In contrast, the Korean version reads:

‘이화’ 라는 학교 이름을 바꾸라는 강력한 명령이 내렸을 때는 모두들 가까운 사람 사랑하는 사람을 잃은 듯이 허전한 마음을 가늠하지 못했었다. 이화라는 이름은 함축성을 지닌

것으로서 그들에게 거슬렸을 것이다. 한국적인 정신 한국적인 전통을 연상하게 되는 모양이어서 아무래도 견딜 수가 없었던 모양이다. (218–219)

When the order came to change college name “Ewha,” we could not control our sense of emptiness, as if we had lost a precious and beloved person. The implications of the name “Ewha” were offensive to them [the Japanese]. It seemed to remind them of the Korean spirit and Korean traditions, so it must have been somehow unbearable to them.

Instead of 이화 Ewha (“pear blossom”), the college was to be merely 경성 Gyeongseong (“capital city”), using the Japanese term for Seoul.¹⁷⁴ As elsewhere, the Korean version emphasizes the emotional pain endured by Kim and the Ewha community due to the colonial government’s oppressive policies. This pathetic appeal is calculated to win the sympathy and goodwill of her Korean readers. The Korean passage also depicts the school’s name as a defiant thorn in the side of the Japanese, somehow representing Korean identity in the face of their attempts to Japanize the peninsula. Kim leverages the name-change command not as yet another sign of Ewha’s betrayal but of its patriotism. Similarly, *Bitsoge* employs pathos in recounting the way Japan’s war mobilization had eliminated the Ewha school song completely.

¹⁷⁴ The Japanese imposed a new name on Seoul itself, using the Chinese characters 京城 “capital city,” written けいじょう *Keijo* in Japanese and 경성 *Gyeongseong* in Korean. Before colonization, Koreans had used other names for the capital, including the native Korean word 서울 *Seoul* (its name today) or the Chinese terms 한성 *Hanseong* and 한양 *Hangyang*.

교가(校歌)도 없애라고 위협했다. 비록 교가 가사가 일본말로 번역된 것이기는 했지만 그나마도 마지막으로 교가를 합창할 때에는 모두가 목메어 부르다가 못해 흐느껴 울고 말아서 울음바다를 이루었었다. (219)

They also intimidated us into getting rid of our school song. Although the lyrics of school song had been translated into Japanese, when we sang it together for the last time, everyone's voices were choked with sobbing, and stopping [our singing], we made a sea of tears.

In chapter 1, I noted how the Japanese had forced Ewha to translate its school song into Japanese in 1938. At the time, the Korean text appeared too threatening to Minami Jirō's assimilation goals. But in 1943, Kim recalls, even the Japanese version proved problematic to the state's war mobilization campaign. However, in this passage, Kim uses powerfully emotional images of the school community dissolving into tears during a last performance of the song to convince her readers that she and Ewha deserve sympathy rather than condemnation.

B. Confession

Having presented her theory of patriotism in the form of women's education and rationalized her decision to keep the school open, Kim shifts tactics to confess a sin that could not be justified and details her expiation for it. This confession narrative is included only in the Korean version, revealing her particular effort to win her South Korean readers' goodwill.

The changes at Ewha may have been justifiable, but Kim acknowledges that she had done wrong as Ewha's president by participating in the Japanese draft campaign. The Korean text includes a passage entirely missing from the English version. *Grace Sufficient* had only addressed her pro-Japanese speeches made at Ewha, but in fact, Kim also went on speaking tours and published articles (government writer-authored, I have argued) to raise support for the draft of Korean men into the Japanese army, as we saw in chapter 2. *Bitsoge* acknowledges her role in these tours, though this passage still defends her decision:

이렇게 하면서 전쟁은 그대로 수행되어야 했고 우리들에게
부과 되는 고통은 점점 커졌다. 一九四四년 여름, 나는
그들에게 끌려서 징병유세를 다녀야 했다. 내가 일본정부에
의해서 고통을 받은 것은 헤아릴 수도 없는 것이었지만
이때만큼 나의 심신을 그르쳐 놓은 사건은 없었다. 숨을 턱턱
막는 폭양과 그보다 더 기세 등등한 감시와 강요하에 나는
살이 떨리고 양심이 질식할 징병유세를 하지 않을 수 없었다.
한 마디 한 마디가 나의 영혼을 새까맣게 물들이 듯 나를
어둡게 해 주었다. 나는 그렇게 질질 끌려 다니면서 그때까지
그렇게나 이화를 지켜보겠다고 바둥거리며 남아있다가 이러한
일마저 하지 않을 수 없게 된 나의 처사를 거의 후회하기까지
했다. (225–226)

The war went on in this way, and the pain imposed on us became
bigger and bigger. In the summer of 1944, I was forced by them [the

Japanese] to make campaign trips for the draft. The pain I received from the Japanese government was incalculable, but there was no incident that ruined my mind and body as much as this time. Being under pressure and overbearing surveillance, a force greater than a scorching heat that quickly cuts off the breath, there was no way I could avoid the draft campaign, which [nevertheless] suffocated my conscience and made my body tremble. Each word darkened me as if dyeing my soul pitch black. When I was being miserably dragged around [on the campaign], I almost even regretted my decision¹⁷⁵ to say I would defend Ewha by remaining [there at Ewha] and struggling, and then I even had to do work like this.

In this passage, Kim both reaffirms the necessity of participating in the draft campaign *and* her guilt for doing so. She does not attempt to justify her contributions to war mobilization by arguing that it had empowered women in some way, as Kwon Insook and Choi Hyaeweol have suggested (see introduction). Of course, she would doubtless not have used such reasoning in this rhetorical situation, writing in 1965 for her post-colonial Korean audience, even if that *had* been her belief at the time. Nevertheless, focusing on her educational rhetoric, Kim's narrative reveals how Japan's war-making compelled Ewha College's leaders and graduates to make sacrifices that they believed were both necessary and reprehensible.

¹⁷⁵ The word 처사 literally means "treatment" or "measure, policy." In this context, however, "decision" or perhaps "strategy" seem better choices.

When the moment of direct confession arrives, *Bitsoge* also narrates the way Kim had been punished and purified for the guilt of the draft campaign. She recounts how, in the winter of 1944, she nearly lost her sight to a serious eye disease. Doctors treated her without effect, and one physician at Korea's best hospital warned her that she would probably go blind. She remembers a dreary evening at her residence on the almost-empty Ewha campus after hearing this news, her eyes bandaged, the thick woods surrounding the house filled with the weeping sound of wind in the trees. Kim sat bleakly at the piano, afflicted with feelings of guilt:

...죄책감으로 쫓기는 나의 황량한 가슴은 겨울바람보다도 더
씨늘하기만 했다. 나는 끝없이 적정한 마음으로 “블루
헤븐”의 곡조를 뜯어보았다. 그러면서 나는 위로받을 수
없는 죄인이라고 스스로 단정했다. 광명을 가리우는 나의
병은 당연한 형벌처럼 느껴졌다.

“내가 남의 귀한 아들들을 죽는 길에 나가라고
권고했으니 나 장님되어도 억울할 것 없지…… 남의 밝던
마음 어둡혀 주고……”

[나는 나 스스로에게 선고나 하듯이 계속해서
중얼거렸다.

“당연한 형벌이니 장님되어도 할 말 없지……”]¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Intriguingly, this bracketed section was omitted in the 1999 version. The editors might have intended to reduce (literally) the impact of Kim's confession, or they might have simply felt the lines were redundant.

나는 하나님 앞에 나의 죄를 고(告)하는 마음으로
그렇게 각오하면서 더듬거리는 손으로 피아노의 건반을
어루만졌다. (226–227)

Pressed by a sense of guilt, my bleak heart was colder than the winter
wind. I played “Blue Heaven” with an endlessly lonely heart. As I did
this, I concluded that I was a sinner who could not be consoled. I felt
that my disease, covering up my hope, was a just punishment.

“Since I urged other people’s cherished sons to go to die, it is
only fair that I go blind... Since I darkened others’ bright hearts...”

[I kept muttering as if I sentenced myself.

“Since it is a just punishment, I have nothing to say about
becoming blind...”¹⁷⁷

With my heart telling my sin before God, I determined [to bear
my disease] like that while stroking the piano keys with fumbling
hands.

Remarkably, Kim directly confesses her guilt here, admitting that her draft campaign
lectures and essays were sinful, and that her eye disease was a fitting punishment.
This rhetorical risk was so great that Kim devoted much of her memoir to limiting the
potential damage of the confession by explaining and defending her choices, as we
have seen. But at the moment of the confession, Kim makes herself quite vulnerable,
fully admitting both her sin and the agony it was causing her.

¹⁷⁷ This bracket section was omitted in the 1999 version – see previous footnote.

Conclusion

The confession passage above includes a further intriguing detail. By “Blue Heaven,” Kim means the American song “My Blue Heaven,” made popular by Gene Austin’s recording in 1927.¹⁷⁸ The song describes a man returning home to his wife and child in the evening, enjoying there the love of his family in the safety and comfort of their home.¹⁷⁹ A hit in the US during 1928, it was remade the same year in Japan with Japanese text and the title “Aozora” (Kanji: 青空, Japanese: あおぞら), and it was probably this version that became popular in Korea (Mitsui 71, 77). Kim’s brief reference thus hints at Japan’s growing connections with the West, its appropriation of Western technologies and cultural forms, and occupied Korea’s place within the Japanese imperial system. But it was certainly the song itself that had appealed to Kim as she sat in that gloomy room: the contrast between the cozy family scene pictured in the song lyrics and Kim’s forlorn reality are striking. Further, even if her Korean readers’ knew the song in its Japanese version, Kim probably knew the American version as well, since she had lived in New York from 1930 to 1931 during the song’s initial popularity (see chapter 2). Indeed, she gives the song’s *English* title in her Korean text. By referencing this song, therefore, Kim reveals her familiarity with American culture, emphasizing the incongruity of her impressive life experience

¹⁷⁸ Listen to a recording on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2MUy2uOesw>

¹⁷⁹ Day is ending, birds are wending / Back to the shelter of each little nest they love /
Night shades falling, love birds calling / What makes the world go round? Nothing but love
When whippoorwill calls / And evening is nigh / I hurry to my blue heaven /
I turn to the right / A little white light / Will lead you to my blue heaven
A smiling face, a fireplace, a cozy room / A little nest that's nestled where the roses bloom /
Just Molly and me / And baby makes three / We're happy in my blue heaven
Fly birdie back home. (Nicolaides vii)

with her present circumstances, cut off from the rest of the world and compelled to work for a fascist regime at war. But it also strengthens her ethos for Korean readers: even at what is perhaps her life's lowest moment – guilty, blind, almost wholly alone – she can impress with her foreign experience. Kim's confession of guilt, therefore, becomes more pathetic and persuasive, as readers imagine her physical and moral suffering, and as they contemplate Kim's remarkable record previous to the war.

This chapter has worked to analyze Kim's postcolonial educational rhetorics, identifying her 1965 autobiography as a confession offered win back her South Korean readers' favor. I have identified, however, a series of defenses and explanations that Kim places before her confession, which detail her perspective on the proper relationship between her school, Korea, and the Japanese state: working for women's education *was* patriotic, Appenzeller expected the school to remain open, Ewha *had* resisted Japanese assimilation, Kim remained true to Korea despite her speeches, and she and the Ewha community were victims of Japanese exploitation. The rhetorical effect of her memoir, therefore, was probably mixed for her Korean audience: her strong pathetic appeals could have softened some feelings of resentment, although Kim's characterization of her school's patriotism no doubt rang false for readers like Im Yeongsin. I have so far not located any contemporary Korean responses to Kim's memoir, but the fact that no further criticisms of Kim seem to have been made until the 1990s suggests that she was on the whole successful in consolidating her reputation. In any case, Kim died in February 1970, just five years after the text's publication, and twenty years after the death of Alice Appenzeller.

Conclusion

Collaborators, Resisters, and Schools



Figure 15: Protagonist *고애신* Go Ae-sin (in blue and white *한복* hanbok facing camera) studies English with "Ewha" student (wearing red and black *한복* hanbok). *Mr. Sunshine* (2018), episode 10, 1:10:10, Netflix.

The 2018 South Korean historical TV series *미스터 션샤인* *Mr. Sunshine*¹⁸⁰ fictionalizes Korea in the period just before Japanese colonization – the generation before “School, State, and Nation.” Capturing the complexity of Korea in the early 1900s, the show includes Koreans, Japanese, and Westerners – soldiers, politicians, and missionary educators. As is true in my dissertation, America’s role in *Mr. Sunshine* is often ambiguous: one Korean laments US financial support of Japan during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War (see introduction), and American characters range from supporters of Japanese colonization¹⁸¹ to those who gradually come to love Korea. What is *unambiguous* is the politically and culturally pro-Korean

¹⁸⁰ Produced by Netflix.

¹⁸¹ Including Horace Newton Allen, the first American missionary to Korea, which this series portrays quite negatively.

character of the fictionalized version of Ewha Academy. The protagonist 고애신 Go Ae-sin, an aristocratic young Korean woman who leaves her life of privilege to become a resistance fighter against growing Japanese power, begins going to “Ewha” for tutoring in English (figure 15). Importantly, there is no mention of Ewha as a *Christian* school: for Ae-sin, and *Mr. Sunshine* in general, Ewha represents English learning, and English signals Korea’s modernity and progress and thereby resistance to Japan (see chapter 1 for similar connotations of English). With the learning she acquires at “Ewha,” Ae-sin is able to undertake one of her most dangerous missions, posing as the American wife of an army officer going to Japan. Moreover, *Mr. Sunshine* depicts one American missionary teacher (given only the first name “Stella”) who bravely resists Japanese aggression in and outside the classroom. In one



Figure 16: American missionary school teacher (back row center) defies Japanese military with “Ewha” school students (front row, second from left, wearing red jacket) and Korean commoners. *Mr. Sunshine* (2018), episode 24, 1:27:00, Netflix.



Figure 17: Japanese soldiers prepare to fire on “Ewha” American teacher, school students, and Korean commoners. Mr. Sunshine (2018), episode 24, 10:40, Netflix.

scene, she is arrested and imprisoned for teaching her Korean students to be proud of themselves despite Japan’s apparent technological dominance. In the series’ last episode, this American teacher and her “Ewha” students join a group of Korean commoners to protect protagonist Ae-sin from a squadron of Japanese soldiers. Figure 16 shows Stella (back row center), defiantly linking arms with four of her students (to her right, wearing red jackets¹⁸²) to conceal Ae-sin behind them (not pictured). Following the instructions of their commander, the Japanese soldiers aim their weapons and prepare to fire (figure 17), but the Korean-American group remains firm. After a long, tense encounter, the Japanese lower their weapons and retreat, thwarted by their defiance.

¹⁸² The *한복* *hanbok*-style red jacket and black skirt are accurate for this period – see 김윤 Kim Yun 25.

I suggest that *Mr. Sunshine* imagines the way some modern observers (at least in South Korea) *wish* Ewha had supported Koreans against Japanese occupation. Ewha certainly provided a relatively modern education, including English, that may have indirectly helped Korea in the long term. The school also helped preserve Korean identities, as is suggested in figure 14 by the characters' 한복 *hanbok* Korean dresses, 한옥 *hanok* traditional Korean building, the floor desks and cushions, brushes for writing, and posters in the rear of the classroom featuring both the English and Korean alphabets. However, as this dissertation has demonstrated, Ewha leaders did *not* support Korea *politically*: the dramatic showdown between Stella, “Ewha students,” and the Japanese soldiers is – to my knowledge – completely fictional. My research so far has revealed *no* Ewha leaders who supported Koreans’ *political* independence against Japan – indeed, Ewha leaders like Lulu Frey actively *discouraged* their students from political activism. But what if they had? *Mr. Sunshine* reveals that the debate at the center of this dissertation about the relationship between Ewha, the Japanese state, and the Korean nation, is one that is still playing out in new ways in South Korea. In a way that was not true of its historical inspiration, this fictional “Ewha” serves Korea both culturally *and* politically, openly defining Japan as an enemy to be resisted physically and politically. Interestingly, *Mr. Sunshine* does *not* depict any Korean teachers at “Ewha,” although there were several on staff at this time (Conrow 7). As is true in the differing legacies of Alice Appenzeller and Kim Hwallan in South Korea today (despite their near-identical strategies negotiating Japanese power, the former has attracted no criticisms like those of Kim, as far as I’m aware), Ewha’s American teachers are evidently more

“salvageable” for modern usage than Koreans like Kim. Real-life Americans brought Korea English and modern knowledge: if they failed in reality to support Korean independence, they can be forgiven as outsiders. In contrast, Ewha’s Korean teachers – especially Kim – seemed to betray her own people, and as a result, she is expunged from this fictionalized, politicized “Ewha.”

This dissertation has taken contemporary South Korean debates about Kim Hwallan’s colonial-era collaboration with Japan as its starting point, exploring the historical and rhetorical context of Ewha College and women’s education during and after Japanese colonization. Through an analysis of Kim’s *rhetorical* environment, “School, State, and Nation” has complicated modern understandings of her decision by revealing the constraints on her rhetorical work and identifying strategies that Kim, her mentor Alice Appenzeller, and Ewha women in general used to defend both women’s education and Korean identity. I have labeled these rhetorical strategies “educational rhetorics,” defining them as the ways these women constructed a strategic apolitical patriotism to negotiate both Japanese colonial power and Koreans’ opinions as they pursued their own educational goals to empower women and preserve Korean identity. Ewha women used performance and arguments about education’s utility during the colonial era to negotiate Japanese assimilationist policies and Korean hostility toward and attempts to control women’s education, while in the postcolonial era, Kim used confession as another iteration of educational rhetoric to defuse Korean anger at her collaboration with Japan.

As I have shown in chapter 1, Kim’s cooperation with Japan built on the approach of Ewha College’s American staff, especially Alice Appenzeller, who

attempted to remain politically neutral to protect the school and students. This neutrality did not imply Appenzeller's indifference to Korean identity, however: she and Ewha women under her leadership strategically used performances to define their relationship with the Japanese state as apolitical while resisting colonial assimilation through performances of their Korean, Christian, and American identities. In fact, despite their attempts to remain apolitical, Ewha women's performances of non-Japanese identities proved too threatening to colonial authorities, who silenced these performances as Japan went to war. Chapter 2 explored Kim's own rhetorical work during the colonial era, arguing that this work revealed a constant – though often subtly-expressed – concern with the welfare of the Korean nation as well as with women's equality. I argued that she referenced debates about the utility of liberal arts and vocational education in different contexts throughout her career in pursuit of these dual concerns, responding to shifts in audience and sociopolitical situation to find the most persuasive means available to her. In particular, I tracked how she increasingly leveraged her growing authority and prestige both to assert women's right to pursue public careers and to criticize Japanese educational policies. The sudden reversal of this utility rhetoric in the pro-Japanese propaganda articles published under her name during World War II tells us more about the inescapable constraints of fascism than any change of heart on Kim's part. Finally, chapter 3 showed how Kim responded to postcolonial Korean criticisms by other women educators like Im Yeongsin through the educational rhetoric of confession in her Korean-language memoir. While her English-language autobiography emphasizes her Christian faith to maintain the support of the American Christian community for her

school, the Korean text both defends her educational work at Ewha as (apolitically) patriotic and ultimately confesses her pro-Japanese speeches and articles in attempt to gain her Korean readers' sympathy and forgiveness. Together these three chapters have demonstrated the value of a rhetorical study of the development of women's education in colonial and postcolonial Korea by identifying the power and limits of these women's persuasive efforts.

Attending to these women's educational rhetorics – to the way they negotiated colonial power and national interests in an incredibly complex and hostile environment – extends and complicates scholarship on comparative/non-Western rhetorics, rhetoric and education, and rhetorical studies of performance, educational utility debates, and confession. As the three body chapters have shown, Ewha women's rhetorics were deeply complex in the multinational, multicultural identities that they performed, the different languages and media that they used, and the diverse audiences that they appealed to. Kim and Appenzeller particularly embodied this complexity. How do we categorize these two women as they move between languages, nations, and value systems? "School, State, and Nation" encourages (especially Anglophone) rhetoricians to look for such transnational, cross-cultural connections as they study persuasion and composition in other environments to deepen our understanding of how humans network and seek resources amidst even the harshest conditions.

In addition to extending work in comparative/non-Western rhetorics, "School, State, and Nation" has built on scholarship on rhetoric and schools to demonstrate how women's schools in colonial Korea were powerful sites of identity formation and

political engagement much as rhetoric scholars have observed for US schools, especially for marginalized populations. As in America, schools like Ewha College had great potential to promote resistance to or acceptance of Japanese rule, and this potential made them objects of particular concern for Japanese colonial authorities, Korean reformers, and American missionaries. This project has analyzed the way this complex, three-way struggle played out across more than two decades of colonial rule, with Japanese militarization ultimately tipping the balance of power in their favor, while Americans evacuated, and Koreans survived in whatever ways they could. However, unlike the United States, the unique combination of Americans as *non-colonizers* – and therefore as potential allies of the colonized population to some extent – together with the dramatic constraints of Japan’s wartime mobilization, distinguish Ewha’s experience from US schools to some degree.

Beyond these broad contributions to comparative/non-Western rhetorics, and rhetoric and schools, chapter 1 built on studies of performance to highlight the *rhetorical* implementation of state power at Ewha, and Ewha women’s rhetorical accommodation of and resistance to that power. It revealed how Appenzeller and Ewha women both accommodated and contested Japanese colonial power through physical, musical, visual, and epideictic performances. On the one hand, these performances signaled Appenzeller’s willingness to partner with the Japanese state to some extent and to follow colonial laws. On the other hand, they enacted non-Japanese identities – Korean, Christian, and American – that resisted Japanese assimilation objectives. I also noted how the Japanese colonial environment, unlike schools in US colonies/occupied territories like the Philippines, Hawaii, and at Native

American schools – rendered performances of not only Korean but also Christian and American identities as subversive symbols of freedom. The Japanese government clarified the rhetorical threats that these performances posed to its agenda by acting to silence them – by erasing the school seal and canceling musical performances and pageants – or counteract them with its own performances such as the 1926 Japan tour, or the translation of the school song into Japanese.

Chapter 2 illustrated how debates about women’s education’s utility – both in its content and in the kinds of careers it should prepare women for – served as a second educational rhetoric. As rhetoric scholars have shown for schools in the United States, some educational stakeholders in colonial Korea sought to use vocational education to limit women’s career choices and leverage their work for patriarchal and nationalist ends. Also like the United States, violence against marginalized groups shaped what could and could not be said in discussions about education’s content and goals. However, as chapter 2 revealed, the educational rhetorics of Korean men and Japanese colonizers sometimes overlapped in a common goal to confine women to the home, while they disagreed on *whose* nationalist/imperialist project women’s work would serve. Kim used arguments about utility to appeal to and resist both groups’ values and objectives. She also increasingly used her growing authority and prestige to reject both Korean criticisms and Japanese policies. Like in the US, Japanese colonial violence and censorship shaped what Kim felt comfortable saying directly, leading her to make subtle and indirect critiques, particularly through detailing the education most useful for women and the careers they should pursue. But here again, the colonial Korean environment differs

somewhat from the one experienced by advocates of women's and African Americans' education in the US. First, by *leaving* Korea for her PhD work, Kim temporarily found freedom to openly voice her criticisms of Japanese educational policies. Second, after returning to Korea and experiencing the militarization of the late 1930s, Kim felt that she lost *all* freedom to voice her own thoughts, and she resigned herself to fixing her name to Japanese propaganda.

Chapter 3 contributed to our understanding of confession as a rhetorical strategy. In conversation with scholarship describing how confessions in the United States succeed and fail, I speculated that Kim's postcolonial collaboration confession was probably less persuasive to some readers in part due to the text's packaging: the prefaces of both the 1965 and 1999 editions lauded Kim as a patriotic leader, counteracting Kim's actual confession in the memoir. Combined with Kim's extensive explanations and defenses of her actions, these prefaces no doubt made some South Korean readers feel her confession was insincere. At the same time, the rhetorical situation of South Korea's social, political, and economic development played another major role in this text's reception: given that much of South Korean leadership in the first decades after liberation had benefitted in one way or another from Japanese rule, the perceived sincerity of Kim's perception mattered much less in 1965 than it did in 1999.

Coming back to Kim and the collaboration debate, this study has shown how paying attention to these women's educational rhetorics complicates any simple characterization of Kim as a pro-Japanese traitor. While she followed Japanese laws and cooperated with the colonial state, Kim was following the precedent of her

American mentor Appenzeller. But both women asserted Korean *identity* in the face of colonial assimilation policies. Moreover, while Kim did not engage in *political* activism, she used her *rhetorical* work for her country's welfare, though in subtle ways that "School, State, and Nation" has worked to uncover. In identifying Kim's consistent concern for her nation's welfare, my project has questioned recent English-language scholarship that has defended Kim in a way that seems both unhelpful and inaccurate to me. While scholars such as Kwon Insook and Hyaeweol Choi have rightly urged us to recover the complexity of Kim's situation before judging her actions, both seek to excuse her by theorizing that she actually believed that participating in Japanese war mobilization would empower Korean women. Instead, the evidence I've considered here suggests that Kim did *not* believe in the Japanese cause but felt she had no choice but to sign her name to Japanese propaganda, believing it was her duty to keep Ewha operating at any cost. Despite this conviction, moreover, her collaboration tormented her conscience, further suggesting her *lack* of belief in Japanese objectives.

2. *Further Research*

This study has been merely a first foray into the complex topic of women's education in colonial and postcolonial Korea, and into the challenging work of extending Anglophone rhetorical studies into this region. Much remains to be done even for better a understanding of Kim and Appenzeller, not to mention Ewha College – and then the many other women's schools in Korea. For developing a still fuller picture of Kim's rhetorical career, an analysis of her other extent Korean-

language essays from the 1920s and 1930s is necessary. These texts were not accessible to me in America, nor was I able to consult them in my brief archival work in South Korea – this remains an important task for the future. Additionally, invaluable to rhetoric scholars would be a consideration of Korean reviews and other evidence of Koreans’ responses to Kim’s writings before, during, and after World War II. Alice Appenzeller also left more published and unpublished materials than I have considered here – my narrow focus on Ewha women’s negotiation of Japanese state and Korean national constraints led me to exclude a fair amount of fascinating material. Of even more importance for scholars of rhetorical education, I discovered only in the last few weeks of this project several Korean- and English-language Ewha College student publications, at least some of which survives.¹⁸³ These would likely prove valuable evidence of the writing and rhetorical education provided in both languages to Ewha students during the 1920s and 1930s. More directly for my own project, they would shed light on how Appenzeller and Kim’s educational rhetorics trickled down to – or met resistance in – the general student body.¹⁸⁴

Closing Thoughts

In general, what this study has tried to demonstrate is the value of rhetorical analysis and the importance of grappling with the complexity of past “presents”

¹⁸³ See 맹문재 (Maeng Mun-jae) and 박지영 (Bak Jiyeong) for the Korean-language publication 이화 Ewha; for the English-language publications *Ewha College News Sheet* and *Ewha College Girl*, see 황영순 (Hwang Youngsoon) 215.

¹⁸⁴ Further, while Ewha was the only women’s college in Korea until 1938, there were many other private and public girls’ schools providing liberal arts and industrial training. Further research into the rhetorical work of these schools would round out our knowledge of how women beyond Ewha were negotiating the constraints of the Japanese state and Korean nation.

before dealing out judgments on historical figures. In his 2007 essay “Giving the Past Its Dignity,” ethnohistorian Greg Dening wrote that, as a historian, “I owe the past and the other the dignity of being able to be their own selves in my representations of them.... My principle ambition... has been to enter into the believing selves of those whose lives I am replaying” (135). Dening reminds historians that, as presenters of the past, we are entering the worlds of real human actors. Elsewhere, Dening advocates “returning to the past its own present,” arguing that “We disempower the people of the past when we rob them of their present moments. We dehumanise them, make them our puppets. We owe them more, it seems to me. We have to write history in the human condition and share their presents. We have to be as humble about the past as we are about the future” (“Return to the Past” 204). For rhetoricians, Dening’s comments might suggest *καιρός* *kairos*, the quality of the time that shapes what a speaker or writer can and cannot say.¹⁸⁵ I cannot pretend to have perfectly achieved this goal, but I have attempted to remain sensitive both to the “present” of the past *and* to the past’s present-day implications.

But I hope that, ultimately, this study of educational rhetorics suggests the flexibility and productivity of rhetoric as a discipline for engaging both with present-day and historical problems. Rhetoric provides a framework for enriching our understanding of historical forces – gender, education, colonialism, nationalism – as they played out in particular times and places, and in the lives of real people. By drawing attention to past rhetors’ persuasive objectives, environments, audiences, and strategies, we learn much about those broad historical forces *and* the particular people

¹⁸⁵ See Kinneavey and Eskin, for example.

involved that other analytical lenses might overlook. In investigating the complex, transnational identities of women educator rhetors like Appenzeller and Kim, this project encourages rhetorical scholarship to reflect intersections, connections, and conflicts in addition to identifying the rhetorical features of individual traditions. It highlighted one women's school in Korea as a primary location for this kind of complex identity formation and as a site for producing or suppressing political activism. Most of all, it identified the "educational rhetorics" that the women at this school used to negotiate a hazardous, complex, and changing world through performance, utility debates, and confession. I hope my examination of these educational rhetorics plays a small part both in enlivening our discipline's growing diversity and in promoting reconciliation in Korea.

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