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A Fugitive Christian Public:

Singing, Sentiment, and Socialization in Colonial Korea

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Well-known songs of colonial Korea such as "Kagop'a" and "Pongsŏnhwa" appear to be secular songs, but their origins lie in the complex intersection of North American Christian missions, Korean cultural life, and Japanese colonial rule. This article explores the historical significance of secular sentimental songs in colonial Korea (1910–45), which originated in mission schools and churches. At these sites North American missionaries and Christian Koreans converged around songwriting, song publishing, and vocal performance. Missionary music editors such as Annie Baird, Louise Becker, and their Korean associates relied on secular sentimental songs to cultivate a new kind of psychological interior associated with a modern subjectivity. An examination of representative vernacular song collections alongside accounts of social connections formed through musical activities gives a glimpse into an intimate space of a new religion in which social relations and subjective interiors were both mediated and represented by songs. The author argues that this space was partly formed by Christianity's fugitive status in the 1910s under the uncertainty of an emergent colonial rule and traces the genealogy of Korean vernacular modernity to the activities of singing in this space, which she calls a fugitive Christian public.

Keywords: Christianity, colonial period, modernity, missionaries, music

"Kagop'a" ("I wish I could go," 1933) by Kim Tongjin (1913–2009) is widely cited as an exemplar of the Western-style Korean art songs known as *kagok*. "Kagop'a" begins in an idyllic mood and builds in intensity via dramatic harmonic shifts and recitative phrases, conveying a mournful nostalgia characteristic of the *kagok* genre. Its lyrics pine for home, described as a town near the South Sea and later imagined as a time of childhood innocence, "a time when there were no tears" (*kŭnal kŭ nunmul ŏptŏn ttae rŭl*). Given the secular lyrics of "Kagop'a," what is usually not known is that its creation was nurtured in Protestant institutions in colonial Korea (1910–45). Indeed, mission schools—schools established and often run by North American

missionaries—and churches provided the resources necessary for the creation of "Kagop'a" and Kim's other *kagok* compositions.

A pastor's son, Kim studied at Sungsil School, an all-male mission school in Pyongyang where many aspiring Korean musicians had their first training during the colonial period. There, Kim obtained the musical and literary education necessary for marrying Western music and Korean literature. He studied Western music theory, including harmony, counterpoint, and composition, with Dwight Malsberry (1899–1977), an American missionary from California.[1] Equally influential was his Korean literature teacher Yang Chudong (1903–77), who introduced Kim to the poem "Kagop'a."[2] This secular poem was itself a product of mission school education. Its author, Yi Ŭnsang (1903–82), was a graduate of a mission school in South Kyŏngsang and taught Korean literature in Christian colleges in Seoul. Kim Tongjin also stumbled on the melody of "Kagop'a" in a space marked by Protestant Christianity: "I was composing music for the lyrics in our family home at the church. The melody came to me almost by chance, and that's how the theme of 'I can't forget it, wherever I am' [*ŏdi kandŭl ijŭriyo*] was created."[3]

During Korea's colonial period, Protestant institutions were one of the main conduits for obtaining the resources, inspiration, and connections necessary for creating Western-style vocal music, both Christian and secular. Indeed, to read through archives pertaining to Korean composers and performers of Western music from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries—essentially, the first generation of Western music practitioners in Korea—is to be overwhelmed by the extent to which they were products of Protestant institutions. This secular formation in religious space is illustrated by, for example, Kim Insik (1885–1963), regarded as the very first Korean composer of Western-style songs. Kim's distinguished position in (South)

Korean music history and the predominantly secular contents of his works have overshadowed his origins in the Protestant community of northwestern Korea. Kim was a protégé of An Ch'angho (1878–1938) and Samuel A. Moffett (1864–1939) and studied the organ with the wives of missionaries.[4] According to an autobiographical essay from 1934, he learned Western music by rummaging through the print materials he found at the homes of missionaries in Pyongyang: "I would visit missionaries' homes and copy all the music scores I could find. I made sure that there wasn't one left uncopied."[5] Similarly, Kim Yŏnghwan (1893–1978), the first professional pianist to emerge from Korea and a native of Pyongyang, also became interested in playing keyboard when he saw a female missionary—"a beautiful-face, big-nosed Western woman," as he recalled—play the organ.[6] He recalled that when he was a student in Sungsil his only joys were "singing [*ch'angga*] class" and "playing organ at the home of the missionary."[7]

Protestant channels mattered even for Yun Isang (1917–95), whose reputation as an exiled socialist composer in Germany has masked a similar beginning. His 1977 interview with the German writer Luise Rinser (1911–2002) demonstrates how his childhood musical education was born within the coterminous institutions of church and mission school. He learned to understand Western-style songs by listening to the melodies coming out of a neighborhood church and learned to play the organ when his father withdrew him from a traditional village school (*sŏdang*) and enrolled him in a nearby mission school.[8] This account shows that the new religion from North America was transforming the acoustics of even peripheral towns like T'ongyŏng, Yun's hometown. Interestingly, Yun also held the same positive perception that many of the colonial-period Korean musicians had about missionaries. When Rinser asked him whether the songs in mission schools were in Korean, Yun responded: "[These songs] were in

Korean. Western Protestant missionaries did not collaborate with the Japanese, but rather they stood with us. During the entire colonial period they supported our resistance."[9]

The list of musicians trained in the church-mission school complex is long, encompassing even more unlikely figures. It includes, for example, An Kiyŏng (1900–1980), one of North Korea's establishment composers in the 1950s. Before leaving for the north in 1946, An studied music with graduates of mission schools and taught at Ewha, a Christian college in Seoul.[10] Even Kim Il Sung (1912–94) was deeply influenced by his childhood experience as a church organist, which was facilitated by his family's Christian background. His understanding of music as an effective tool of cultural change was based on his recognition that the "religion's profound influence on Korea stemmed in part from musical techniques."[11]

As the examples above show, Protestant institutions in Korea during the colonial period housed musical activities whose influence exceeded understandings of religion that are shaped by the modernist division between the secular and the sacred.[12] The worldly music that thrived in an ostensibly religious space provides a glimpse into the formation and experience of modern Korean subjectivity, yet this aspect of Korean Protestantism has been almost entirely overlooked in scholarship on both Korean Christianity and Korea's colonial period. This article, by concentrating on sentimental secular songs that originated from the Protestant community, seeks to join a number of recent studies that have explored the meshing of the secular and the sacred in colonial Korea, particularly around the issue of modernity.[13]

Much of this article focuses on the 1910s, when the outset of colonial rule and the colonial government's initial persecution of Christian institutions transformed churches, mission schools, and related organizations into a social space that I call a "fugitive Christian public." I conceptualize this as an outwardly religious space that came to house Korean secular initiatives

that could no longer continue with certainty after colonial annexation. The wide range of cultural activities that took refuge and subsequently thrived suggests that it was a space where Korean actors could imagine and act on a self-conscious sense of Korean personhood and community. It was in this particular context that sentimental secular songs became a cultural fixture.

I argue that secular songs in this fugitive Christian public were a pervasive cultural medium for socializing Koreans to emerging notions of modern subjectivity. Central to my argument are common tropes of sentimentalism that appeared across the secular songs of North American missionaries and Korean musicians of mission-school background. This body of music mediated and represented new forms of personhood and community, deploying psychological interiors associated with modern subjectivity to depict what it meant to be a Korean person or community during a time of political disenfranchisement. Critically, these songs, which predate the major literary texts that are usually pointed to as landmarks of new forms of subjectivity in Korea, trace the genealogy of the modern to the aesthetic, associational, and intimate activity of singing in a fugitive Christian public.

This article proceeds in three sections, exploring the prehistory, representations, and socialization surrounding the songs in question. First, I trace the material and ideological genealogy of sentimental secular songs to musical projects undertaken in turn-of-the-century Protestant institutions in Korea. These projects included the first Korean-language hymnals compiled by North American missionaries and their secular appropriations by Christian Koreans. The second section discusses tropes of sentimentalism that came to pervade the musical culture of Protestant institutions, especially Pyongyang's mission schools and churches, after Japan's annexation of Korea. This section looks closely at *Ch'yanggajip*, a little-known missionary-edited songbook that I suggest was a foundational text within the larger ecology of sentimental

songs composed by churchgoing Korean musicians. Third, I discuss the proliferation of social ties that materialized alongside music-textual linkages, arguing that secular songs (and songs and singing in general) constituted a cultural medium of social practice.

THE BEGINNINGS: CONTRAFACTAL PRACTICE AND COLLECTIVE SINGING

The first Korean-language hymnals involved the work of translating North American hymn lyrics into Korean, molding the Korean lyrics to fit the corresponding hymn melodies.[14] This work was undertaken by a number of missionaries with Korean helpers, who were almost never named in the final publications. Over the course of the 1890s, three hymnals were in circulation.[15] *Ch'anmiga* (1892), which also carried the title *A Selection of Hymns for the Korean Church Published by the Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, was created by a number of Methodist missionaries primarily based in Seoul. *Ch'ansyŏngsi* (*Poems of Praise*, 1895) bore the influence of Presbyterian missionaries in northwestern Korea, particularly Annie L. Baird (1864–1916).[16] The third, *Ch'anyangga* (1894), also titled *Hymns of Praise*, was directed by Horace G. Underwood (1859–1916), a leading missionary of Presbyterian circles in Seoul. *Ch'anmiga* and *Ch'ansyŏngsi* printed only the texts of hymns.[17] *Ch'anyangga* placed the Korean texts under four-part music notation, following the standard format of late nineteenth-century North American hymnody. As the first book that juxtaposed modern Western music notation with Korean writing, *Ch'anyangga* is considered a document of great historical significance today, but archival sources tell us that the congregations and the mission board initially favored text-only editions over *Ch'anyangga*.[18] *Ch'anmiga*, *Ch'ansyŏngsi*, and *Ch'anyangga* circulated in different quarters loosely shaped by denominational, regional, and class identities until a unified hymnal called *Ch'ansongga* was adopted in 1908 for use across

denominational lines. The new hymnal, like Underwood's hymnbook, also printed four-part music notation.

The missionary-edited hymnals came to have immense social significance not only because they introduced new types of collective singing but also because the lyrics were rendered in *ŏnmun* (Han'gŭl), a vernacular script long associated with the untutored, women, and "low" genres. The missionary community came to prefer *ŏnmun* as the official script of Christian literature over long-standing elite forms borrowed from Chinese, thus redeeming the vernacular script from within "a complex ecology of spoken and written language"[19] associated with what Ross King has labeled a "Sinographic cosmopolis."[20] This move was no doubt motivated by the ideal of evangelical outreach common to late nineteenth-century North American missionaries, but also influential were contemporary Western-centric ideas about what constituted a "modern" system of writing (i.e., alphabetic/phonetic rather than "ideographic").[21] Importantly, the validation of *ŏnmun* in missionary circuits had the effect of galvanizing Korean sociolinguistic nationalism, which promoted and modernized *ŏnmun* as a "national" script, in addition to activating associations between Korean linguistic nationalism and evangelical Protestantism. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Yi Kwangsu (1892–1950), the quintessential colonial intellectual, counted the missionaries' revitalization of the vernacular script as one of the "graces" (*ŭnhye*) of Protestant Christianity even though he spurned the emphasis on spirituality that he associated with the new religion.[22]

The linguistic feature of the hymnals may have been revolutionary, but this is not to argue that choosing a vernacular writing system guaranteed a smooth process of translation. Some of the missionaries who were actively involved in hymnal translation pointed out semantic and metric incongruities between English and Korean, tensions between "high" (Sino-Korean)

and "low" (vernacular) registers of communication, and differences between local speech patterns and the iambic proclivities of the North American hymn repertory.[23] Similarly, some missionary editors came to doubt the practicality of using Western tunes, given the pervasive presence of the seven-note (diatonic) scale not found in local musical traditions; others noted how some Koreans were deterred by the foreignness of collective singing. Yet, even critical assessments were often mixed with attestations of the overwhelming enthusiasm on the part of many Koreans to learn to sing the hymns.[24]

Where missionaries were trying to improve hymns as religious artifacts, Koreans who were active in churches and mission schools began to reappropriate them for a number of purposes. These reappropriations often took the form of contrafaction, in which the original melody of the hymn is kept but the lyrics are replaced with new ones.[25] The most notable type of contrafaction involved nationalist substitutions. An early forum for this type was *Tongnip sinmun* (1896–99). The first newspaper in Korea to consciously use *ŏnmun* as a national script, *Tongnip sinmun* represented the intersection of Christian bourgeois reformism, campaigns for Korean sovereignty, and the US Methodist mission. During its active years, it published a number of nationalist verses that were intended to be sung to hymn melodies known to churchgoing Koreans. An interesting example is a five-verse text marked with the heading "Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry official Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn, independence song" ("Nongsyang kongbu chyu Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn tongnipka") from 1896.[26] As Korean literature scholar Kwŏn Oman pointed out, Ch'oe's text interposed the refrain of the sixtieth hymn of *Ch'anmiga*—"Kippŭn nal kippŭn nal" ("Happy Day, Happy Day")—with newly written verses that celebrate Korea as a sovereign nation.[27] *Tongnip sinmun* also promoted and reported on popular rallies during which such songs were sung. For example, two articles from 1896 give

accounts of a mass meeting in an unidentified church in Seoul, where the attendees sang independence songs (*tongnipka*) and prayed for the prosperity of the Korean nation.[28]

After 1905, nationalist substitutions largely disappeared in print media due to increasing Japanese censorship, but archival records trace their continuity outside Japanese surveillance.[29] Moreover, other types of lyric substitution were tested and formulated at the hands of new Christian devotees of vernacular literature, often men from the lower ranks of the late-Chosŏn scholar-gentry class. They wrote moralistic lyrics and new pious verses for existing hymns or forms of versification commonly found in hymnals, sometimes exhibiting a sense of literary play with a script that was beginning to be perceived as national.[30]

Missionary and Korean Christian archives suggest that hymns and their secular renditions were sung in a variety of meetings that took place in Protestant spaces. These meetings, which would be transformed into a fugitive Christian public by the early 1910s, encompassed Sunday services, prayer meetings, Bible study meetings, Sunday school sessions, mission school rallies, secular events in the churches, YMCA concerts, and other social activities. The most prevalent type of singing was congregational singing, wherein the entire congregation sang the same melody in unison. But by the mid-1910s some of the meetings had student choirs sing hymns and associated secular songs in four-part harmony for the enjoyment of the assembly. Such choirs were being formed from the ranks of musically inclined mission school students, who were characterized in missionary discourse as promising minds who would bring about "the uplift of the country" by reaching "the town and village life" with their musical gifts.[31] These student choirs exemplified the tendency of Protestant institutions to cross fluidly into knowledge and practices not directly connected to religious faith. For example, it wasn't unusual for them to sing a mixed repertory of religious and secular songs in concerts that were advertised as religious

events or held in churches.[32] They also embodied the churches' intimate connections to their sister institution of mission schools, which constituted an ambivalently religious sphere. For example, by the mid-1910s the same set of student singers staffed the choirs of Changdaehyŏn Church and Sungsil School, two linked institutions in Pyongyang.[33]

Overall, the archives capture the rise of singing (and listening) communities across generation, gender, and class in and through social events associated with Protestant institutions, notwithstanding the issue of the foreignness of the new songs. This active embrace of a new musical culture may be explained via arguments already proposed for the successful adoption of Protestant Christianity in Korea: Korean singers may have been attracted to the promise of social mobility through access to some of the hallmarks of modernity such as literacy;[34] the participatory nature of congregational and choral singing may have resonated with the emerging ethnonational consciousness in the context of Japanese imperialism;[35] and at least for the commoners, the experiential dimension of singing may have appealed to their frame of experiencing the sacred, especially when the sung message confessed an intimacy with God.[36] While all of these explanations shed light on the active reception and uptake of collective singing associated with North American Protestantism, here I highlight the significance of new forms of singing in Korea in a historical context of emergent nationalism. Hymns and their adaptations constituted a genre of communication that ritually created a community of national subjects at a time when such nationalism was beginning to be invoked and mobilized in the context of Japan's imperialism. The new singers sung aloud the same "national" script in unison or harmony with one another (rather than, for example, drawing on improvisational traditions not moored to visual symbols), their singing amplifying and amplified by the voices of the others present in the same space. I suggest that in these settings the collective vocalizations collapsed the personal, the

social, the visual, and the acoustic under the sign of the nation, layering religious sentiments with notions of modern national subjectivity.

Ch'yanggajip, a Book of Songs for Social and Other Occasions (1915)

From the early 1910s, singing in Christian communities expanded in new directions. In part, these changes were shaped by the accumulation of literary-musical experiences over the previous decades. A number of missionaries and Christian Koreans began to reformulate a wider range of songs, including American gospel songs and parlor songs; moreover, not only missionaries but also some Koreans began to compose original songs, with a deepened understanding of Western music theory. But equally important was the Japanese colonial government's victimization of Christian communities. Even before 1910 Japanese authorities had looked at Protestant Christianity with suspicion as a "bastion of Western-inspired, anti-Japanese nationalism,"[37] and on formal annexation they sought to contain this religion's strong connections to nonreligious publications, assemblies, and education. The colonial government (the Government-General of Korea) had to tread carefully in imposing control as it was sensitive to perceptions of the missionaries and of Westerners in Korea in general, yet because there was significant overlap between missionary and Korean Christian activities by 1910, new policies were bound to outrage at least some missionaries.

Tensions began to rise with the First Education Ordinance (1911), which imposed a number of linguistic and curricular restrictions on mission schools.[38] The 105 Incident (1911), during which the Government-General arrested over six hundred suspected Korean nationalists, was most likely viewed not only as an affront to Koreans but also as an indirect warning to the missionaries, as some of the arrested Koreans were well-known associates of American missionaries, such as An Ch'angho and Yun Ch'iho. Tensions resurfaced in 1915 with the

Regulations on Private School (Shiritsu gakkō kisoku), which sought to bring the curriculum of mission schools in line with that of the colonial public schools (*futsu gakkō*) and ordered mission schools to ban religious education within ten years.[39] With new restrictions on mission schools also came the Japanese administration's curricular materials, which presented emblems of modernity to which missionaries had previously had a near-exclusive claim in Korea. For example, in the sphere of music education, in 1914 the Government-General published *Sinp'yŏn ch'anggajip/Shinpen shōkashū* (*A New Collection of Songs*), a bilingual (Japanese and Korean) songbook with Western music notation. This new textbook, which displayed Japanese proficiency in Western music, sought to position public singing as a link between Japan and the Korean colony by introducing Korean students to Japanese imperial ritual hymns, as well as Japanese language and cultural symbols.[40]

The Japanese colonial government's persecution of Christian institutions galvanized certain Christian circuits, transforming them into a fugitive public. Religious institutions in Pyongyang and the surrounding region of northwestern Korea formed a nucleus of this public; there, particularly energetic Korean Christian formations were in place by the 1900s, resulting from the work of the Northern Presbyterian mission in the previous decade.[41] Some scholars have strongly linked this public to political resistance against Japanese colonialism,[42] but the overall picture suggests that it interfaced with resistance politics unevenly and intermittently. Instead, it housed secular initiatives involving popular assembly and publications in Korean language, which could no longer continue with certainty under the new colonial regime. There was a much wider orientation toward cultural programs, including music, literature, sports, leisure activities, rural revitalization, and social campaigns.[43] Tellingly, sentimental secular

songs embodied the fugitive orientation of this public: they were evocative and affirmative yet ambiguous and oblique, especially with regard to the issue of Korean independence.

In what follows, I position the missionary-edited *Ch'yanggajip* (1915) as a foundational text in this new musical culture.[44] *Ch'yanggajip*, which also carried the English title *Book of Songs for Social and Other Occasions*, was at the center of this musical production. A book of sixty-five songs, it was compiled by Annie Baird and Louise Becker (?–1961), influential educators and wives of missionaries who taught at Pyongyang's Sungsil School, with the contribution of other musically inclined missionaries and Korean students in their midst (more on this below). Heralded in the *Korea Mission Field* as "a first attempt to give the Koreans something apart from ordinary Western hymns and hymn-tunes,"[45] it was the first missionary songbook to present itself as a music textbook rather than a hymnal. Forty-six songs with no or minimal religious focus make up part 1, labeled "Ch'yangga" in the book's table of contents (listed in the appendix). A smaller section of nineteen Christian songs make up part 2, loosely linking previous secular songs to a broad Protestant piety. The songs of *Ch'yanggajip* carry both Korean and English titles and are either newly composed songs or borrowings of existing American secular and religious songs. Almost all of them were rendered in four-voice setting, which meant that the students could use *Ch'yanggajip* for unison singing in the classroom as well as for four-part singing in performance.

Ch'yanggajip, produced in Pyongyang but meant for distribution throughout Korea, reflected the northwestern Protestant community's self-understanding as the heart of Korean Protestantism. Much of the Korean lyrics are rendered in northwestern (P'yŏngan) spelling. This linguistic choice, observed in some of the other print literature originating from Protestant Pyongyang, was a conscious attempt to assert a P'yŏngan regional identity within the ecology of

Christian vernacular publications.[46] At the same time, the makers of *Ch'yanggajip* also presented the book as if it represented the union of mission schools across Korea. For example, in it we find the official songs of seven actual mission schools in different parts of Korea, modeled after a handful of alma maters of American universities.[47] These borrowed alma maters represented the mission schools as parts of a proud union, in contrast to the nostalgic sentimentality that otherwise pervaded the book. March-like in musical affect and laden with the exclamation *manse* ("long live Korea"), they were a self-grounding visual and sonic emblem of the confraternity of mission schools, and as such they bear comparison with the Japanese imperial ritual hymns in the newly printed colonial music textbook from 1914.

Below, I discuss in detail three pervasive tropes found in *Ch'yanggajip*: sentimental self-awakening, folkloristic nostalgia, and traumatic separation. They mediated and represented new forms of personhood and community, deploying tropes of psychological interiors associated with modernity to depict what it meant to be a Korean person or community during a time of political disenfranchisement.

Sentimental Awakening

In *Ch'yanggajip* we find evocative representations of Korean personhood and belonging. Throughout, there is a pervasive mood of melancholia toward the loss of a more authentic time. In one typical formulation, the sense of loss is figured as a kind of temporal alienation, with scenes of one's childhood standing in for an idyllic past that is cast as no longer available. For example, the lyrics and the tender music texture of "The House Where I was Born" ("Na ŭi ŏryŏssŭl ttae il ŭl saenggakham," no. 16) invoke romantic details of one's childhood environment—"a ray of morning sunlight shone from the East" (*tongch'yang enŭn ach'im haepit*), "sparrows bidding good morning" (*ch'yŏmhwa kkŭt h'e ch'amsaedŭl ŭn*), and "smiling

flowers greeting me" (*hwageu e unnŭn kkot ŭn*). The first verse ends with a poetic question: "How can I forget the house where I was raised?" (*nae ka chyangsyŏng handyŏ chip ŭl nijŭl su ka issŭlka*). "Memories of Childhood" ("Ilchyang ch'yunmong han syesyang," no. 17), in a serene E-flat major setting, is another example of such nostalgic recasting of the past (figs. 1 and 2). In this song, one's immersion in the surrounding flora and fauna, such as "the lunar eclipse" (*wŏlsik*), "silence of the sleeping birds" (*ttŭl namge chanŭn sae chamjam hago*), and "the murmur of a distant spring" (*mŏn saemmul sori nŭn toltol handa*), brings about memories of childhood, as if by magic. By describing one's bodily experience of romanticized landscape and establishing an immanent connection between this experience and a bygone era, the song imagines a sensuous bond among the self, the surroundings, and the past.

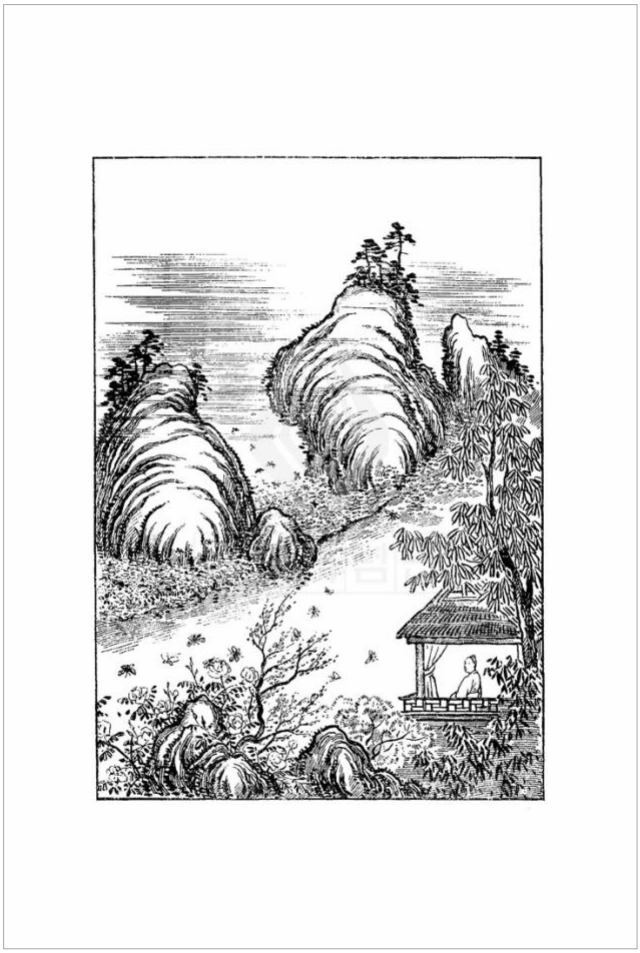

Figure 1. Illustration, “Memories of Childhood,” Ch’yanggajip (1915). Independence Hall of Korea.

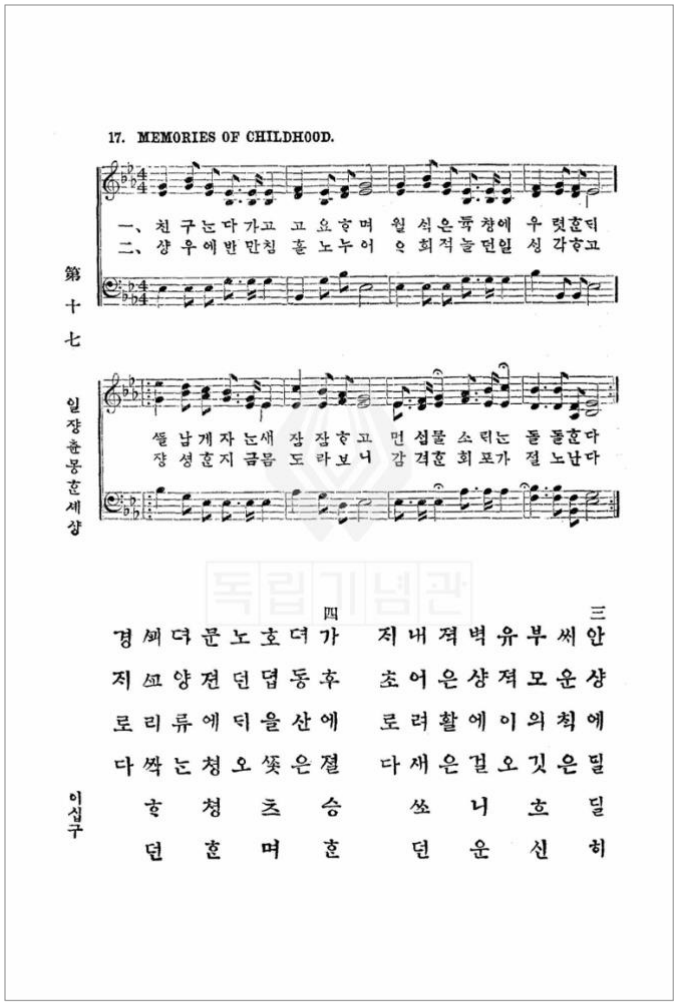

Figure 2. "Memories of Childhood," Ch'yanggajip (1915). Independence Hall of Korea.

What we see in these redolent songs are the tropes of romantic nationalism generally attributed to the nineteenth-century West, in which the awakening of the national subject is connected to a reflexive experience of space and time. With regard to Korea, this kind of representation is typically traced to "national" literature emerging in the early twentieth century, particularly Yi Kwangsu's *Mujŏng* (*The Heartless*), but what is intriguing is that *Ch'yanggajip* predates *Mujŏng* by two years. *Mujŏng*, no doubt a product of Yi's studies in Japan, nevertheless exhibits considerable overlap with the self-reflective songs in *Ch'yanggajip.* As Michael Shin

has argued, national literature for Yi meant the discovery of interiority through the "process of imbuing a landscape with *chŏng*,"[48] and the songs described above perform a comparable process of discovery.

Ultimately, what ties together these works of the 1910s is a grounding in a realism that emerged in Korea and the broader region of Northeast Asia since the late nineteenth century as a result of the region's opening to Western thought[49]—what Kōjin Karatani called "a form of perspectival inversion" in one of his formulations.[50] They hinged on the (perceived) instrumentality of the vernacular/phonetic writing to "authenticate" an inner being behind the written texts and to "narrat[e] the discovery of interiority as if it has a real and objective existence," in the process "obscur[ing] its origins as an effect of language."[51] Collective singing of melodies (either in unison or in harmony) was arguably a more naturalizing and forceful medium than the act of reading for authenticating psychological interiors. Its phatic and embodied dimensions, in addition to the affective techniques particular to modern Western music (i.e., tonality), would have elicited a greater immediacy to both the singers and the listeners.

Folkloristic Imagining

In a number of songs, the mood of melancholic nostalgia is articulated with the logic of modern folklore, in which what is authentically Korean is displaced onto what was vanishing or what was felt to be vanishing. Particularly interesting in this regard is "Boat Song" ("Pae ttŏna kanda," no. 11; see figs. 3 and 4), a newly composed song attributed to the musically talented missionary Paul L. Grove. Boat songs, varieties of work songs tied to the ecology of preindustrial boat transportation, became the object of folkloristic fascination in the late nineteenth century, appearing, for example, in the writings of the missionary Homer Hulbert.[52] Grove's "Boat Song" marks itself as a kind of ersatz Korean boat song. A close examination shows that, while Grove

kept intact the verse-refrain structure of Western hymns, he made a number of melodic and prosodic adaptations to evoke Korean boat songs, particularly their speech-like quality. These adapted features include a modified minor-pentatonic scale; the use of unison texture rather than harmonized texture for the first phrase (measures 1–4); melismatic singing for *kan* (measure 2) and *e* (measure 6); the high-pitch position of the starting note; the use of stressed-unstressed syllabic pattern, a reversal of the predominantly iambic setting of North American vocal repertory; and the inscription of the nonlexical vocables *ehiya* and *ehi* (measures 3, 7, 9, and 17). At least one word—*mabaram*—seems to be an argot of the northwestern boatmen, true to the song's folkloristic consciousness.

Figure 3. Illustration, "Boat Song," Ch'yanggajip (1915). Independence Hall of Korea.

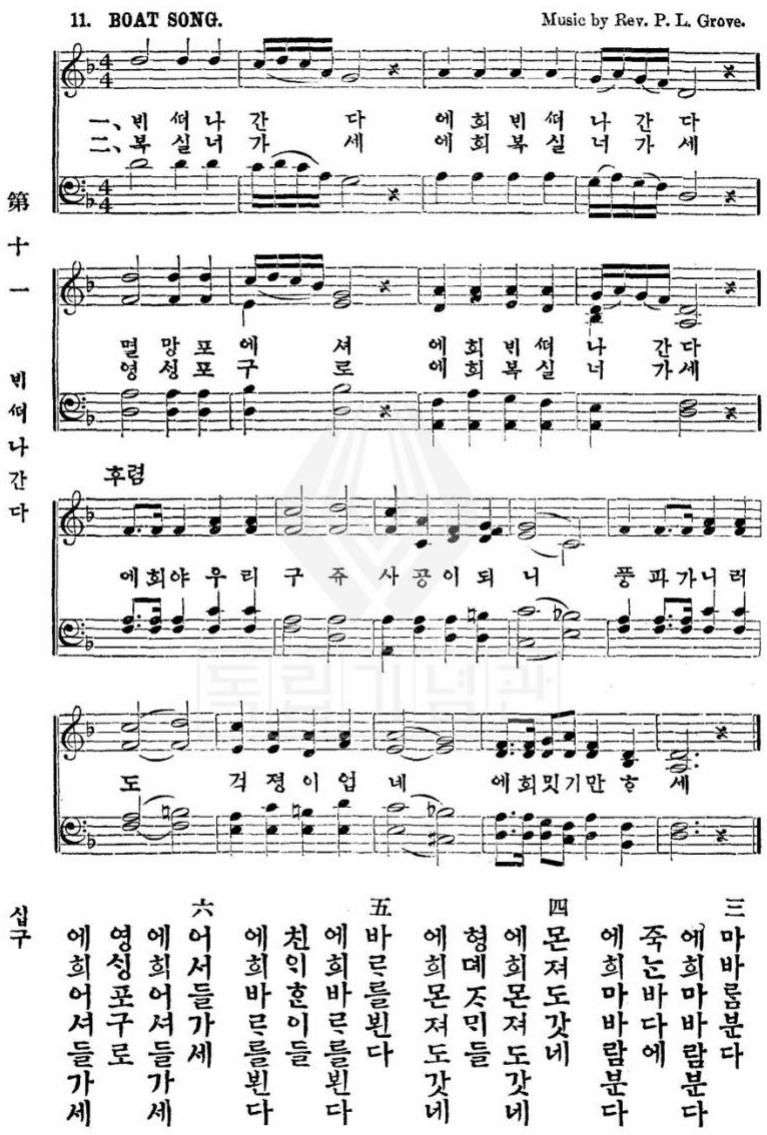

Figure 4. "Boat Song," Ch'yanggajip (1915). Independence Hall of Korea.

The folkloristic consciousness of *Ch'yanggajip* crosses into self-conscious syncretism. Most notably, the imagery of a boat departing "the port of destruction" (*myŏlmangp'o*) and the recasting of "the lord" as the boatman (*uri kujyu sagong i toeni*) may be read as an attempt to

narrativize Christian belief through the preexisting Buddhist iconography of seafaring to paradise. Self-conscious references to preindustrial forms indeed abound in the book: a number of songs are framed as songs of the seasons, especially the spring song varieties (nos. 1–4), and the woodblock images that illustrate the songs' messages index themselves as modernized water-and-mountain landscapes (*sansu*), the prized pictorial tradition of premodern China, Korea, and Japan. The devices not only reify the division of "traditional" and "modern" but also disturb a simple relationship of "Korean" and "Western," as they inject interiority and realism—modern frameworks of signification—into preindustrial forms and, conversely, conceptualize received forms as a site of modern representation.[53]

The folkloristic and syncretistic preoccupations of "Boat Song" position the song in a register close to the nativist and modernist literature and visual art in Korea, rather than a specifically Christian practice. Theodore Hughes usefully defines this literature and art as forms that were mediated by the metropolitan gaze, which seeks to "locate space other than that produced by capitalist relations."[54] Also similar to Hughes's discussion of the colonized artists via Rey Chow's notion of "coercive mimeticism," "Boat Song" can be seen as participating in a much broader trajectory of ethnicized essentialisms that began to circulate via music, literature, and arts upon colonial-global relations.[55] In this regard, a poetry contest in 1913 was conducted via *Yesugyo hoebo*, a vernacular-script newspaper that was dominated by missionaries in northwestern Korea, including Annie Baird. The announcement states that prizes would be conferred to Koreans who send in verses that are "not in the style of Western poetry but Eastern one, suitable for Korean melodies, and in the dialect of each region."[56] While there is insufficient evidence to establish a concrete connection between this announcement and the making of *Ch'yanggajip*, it does index some missionaries' interest in collecting "folk" materials during the

time leading to the songbook's publication. It also betrays the Korean readers of *Yesugyo hoebo* as moderns with consciousness of "Western" and "Eastern" expressive possibilities.

The Trauma of Separation

The image of an afflicted community is another salient trope articulated in *Ch'yanggajip.* Songs in this category typically narrativize a scene of separation. There is no explanation as to why the participants must go separate ways in the first place, only a poignant depiction of separation as a traumatic event that instills the subjects with feelings of mutual belonging. For example, in "Don't Forget Me" ("Chakpyŏlga," no. 12), the singers/students promise not to forget one another after they go separate ways even if "big waves block our view of one another" (*k'ŭn mulkyŏl i karomakhyŏ anboil ttae nitchi malge*). The music, mimicking the gloom of separation, starts in the bright key of G major but ends in E minor. A similar narrative is told in "Farewell Song" ("Chakpyŏlga," no. 14), which is a borrowing of the pentatonic American tune "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." Singers affirm that "our minds will be in communion while we don't see each other" (*sŏro mot pol tongan e uri p'ich'a kyot'ong hagenne*). "Farewell to a Friend" ("Ribyŏlga," no. 15) is particularly evocative in depicting an all-consuming confraternal bond upon tragic separation:

> nae ch'inae han pŏttŭl ibyŏl ŭl tanghani
> nae mam i simhi sŭlp'ŏsyŏ kyŏndigi ŏryŏpta
>
> nŏ wa na son chapko aejŏng ŭl mot igyŏ
> sŏro mungmuk parabol che kyŏndigi ŏryŏpta
>
> Having suffered separation from my beloved friend
> My mind is so terribly sad that it is unbearable.

You and I hold hands, unable to overcome love

As we look at one another in silence, it is unbearable.

"Far from the Homeland" ("Pon'guk saenggak," no. 38) ventriloquizes a person who has left his homeland after the separation. The departed Korean, who still suffers with his compatriots at home, sends them "the sounds of my sighs" from abroad:

Pon'guk innŭn tyŏ ch'in'gu yŏ

na ŭi hansum nwinun sori

pujyŏl hayŏ kurŭmp'yŏn e

ta putch'yŏsyŏ p'yohamnida

Friends in the homeland

The sounds of my sighs

Are incessant. Through winds

I send them to you.

Overall, the songs of separation and other types discussed above presented some of the early evocative models of sentimental Korean subjectivity in colonial Korea. *Ch'yanggajip*'s publication year of 1915 suggests that the sentimentalism typically associated with the art and literature of the so-called cultural rule period (1920s to the late 1930s) may have started earlier. Moreover, the details of its production point to a Christian origin of the trope of the modern sentimental subject, which would be sedimented later in music, literature, and arts. They also point to songs as a site at which such tropes were first forged and to missionaries as "editors" of this modern Korean subjectivity.

COPRESENT VOICES

As the analysis above suggests, *Ch'yanggajip* was an ideological text that responded to a historical circumstance that both missionaries and Koreans were confronting: the persecution of Christians under colonialism. In considering this songbook's significance in this specific context, it is important to note the fact of Korean collaboration. Although the attribution of editorship to Baird and Becker gives the appearance of a missionary endeavor, *Ch'yanggajip* is marked by a multivocality that characterized the broader Christian print materials of the 1910s. These materials (e.g., journals and newspapers) were often published under the leadership of missionaries, but much of the unattributed writing in them suggests extensive collaboration between missionaries and Korean assistants. Such diffusely authored materials coexisted with pieces explicitly authored by named Koreans, as well as missionary editions of Korean materials. These signs of multivocality also mark *Ch'yanggajip*. For example, the preface states that some of the lyrics were "borrowings [*ch'ayong*] of the writings of the Korean students [*chegun*] which had been previously published in newspapers and magazines."[57] In addition, the preface names one Korean who made contributions in lyric writing, editing, and illustrations (Ch'oe Chagyŏng). Moreover, the songs of separation in *Ch'yanggajip* are thematically linked to at least one contemporaneous songbook project, *Ch'oesin ch'anggajip* (*A Collection of New Songs*, 1914), a collection of secular and religious songs compiled by Christian Koreans living in north Kando.[58] This link advances the possibility that Baird and Becker were familiar with Korean-authored materials originating from Christian spaces in and around northern Korea. Overall, such multivocal and intertextual qualities affirm a degree of copresence of missionary and Korean materials in the creation of *Ch'yanggajip*, with varying levels of attribution.

The remainder of the article further examines the multilayered connections that materialized through singing, listening, playing instruments, and composing—in short, musicking—in a fugitive Christian public. The archives describing musical activities in churches and mission schools reveal concrete social relations between missionary teachers and their students, as well as among the graduates. Reading these accounts alongside musical texts gives a glimpse into an intimate space of a new religion in which social relations and subjective interiors among students, teachers, and listeners were both mediated and represented by songs.

Social Connections

The entirety of the social connections forged through musical activities is outside the scope of this article. Here I offer a partial view by focusing on Sungsil School and the surrounding churches in Pyongyang. Sungsil, composed of elementary, secondary, and college-level schools, was not only an emblematic institution of Pyongyang but also home to the Bairds and the Beckers and the fulcrum of Western music education in colonial Korea. As musicologists Min Kyŏngch'an and Yi Yusŏn have established, many of the first Korean male performers or composers of Western music either studied at Sungsil or with a graduate of Sungsil.[59]

Some of the autobiographical writings by Sungsil musicians highlight a number of American women in Pyongyang as memorable teachers. These women are linked with the Korean musicians' first encounters with Western music or their first private music lessons. The names of these music teachers were typically not disclosed in such writings, but they were most likely missionaries' wives who would have played the organ or the piano in Pyongyang's churches and taught keyboard and singing in Sungsil in various capacities. Such figures include Bertha V. Hunt (?–1905), wife of William Hunt, who played a leading role in what is now known as the Pyongyang Revival of 1907; Louise A. Becker, wife of Arthur Becker, who taught

science and physical education at Sungsil; Grace Z. Soltau (1886–1982), wife of David L. Soltau, who taught physics at Sungsil; and Lenove Lutz (1886–1979), wife of Dexter Lutz, who taught agriculture at Sungsil.

An illustrative account of the musical relations between Sungsil students and American women in Pyongyang is found in a newspaper piece written by Kim Yŏnghwan. Recalling his early years in turn-of-the-century Pyongyang, Kim wrote:

> I saw this thing called "organ" for the first time at the home of an American missionary who was at a church in Pyongyang. When this beautiful-face, big-nosed Western woman touched a white key and made a sound, my eyes opened wide. After that, I got interested in singing along the hymns at church, and I couldn't wait to go to church. I also waited for the chance to visit the missionary's house again. . . . Finally, my dad arranged for me to learn organ with the wife of a missionary in the neighborhood. . . . I learned to play the organ and the accordion, which was also called "hand organ," and explored whatever instrument I could get my hands on.[60]

This account conveys the sense of newness, romanticism, and fantasy that some Korean students felt in their early relations with American women in Pyongyang.[61]

At least one newspaper article suggests that by the early 1920s Korean students were performing with their female American teachers. This 1922 piece in *Tonga ilbo* reports on a large concert that featured "first-rate Eastern and Western musicians from Sungsil School" and that was organized by "Pyongyang Sanjŏnghyŏn Church Youth Evangelistic Society."[62] The concert featured a variety of music—secular, religious, vocal, instrumental, solo, and group—and highlighted Mrs. Lutz, Mrs. Soltau, and a handful of male Korean musicians affiliated with Sungsil (e.g., Pak Kyŏngho, Tokko Sŏn, and Pak Yun'gŭn), as well as a "Sungsil College vocal

quartet" and a "Sungsil College western band." According to this report, Lutz played a solo piano piece and accompanied a vocal duet, and Soltau played a solo piano piece, sang a song, and played a piano duet. Outside this report, it is difficult to know exactly how often the missionaries and the Koreans performed side by side in formal concerts, but it is not hard to imagine missionary-Korean collaborations in informal, unreported meetings, such as church services and Bible studies. Moreover, female missionaries would have played the role of facilitating the organization and funding of Korean students' concerts by linking these events to religious meetings in which they had much say, such as Bible studies and special sermons featuring visiting missionaries from abroad.

Judging from the writings of Korean musicians, male missionary teachers organized music activities in more public capacities than their female counterparts. One noted figure was Eli M. Mowry, who was incarcerated by the Japanese authorities in the late 1910s.[63] In Korean-language records, Mowry figures as a beloved teacher who was sympathetic to the cause of Korean nationalist movement (he received an order of recognition from the South Korean government in 1950).[64] An illustrative account comes from composer Kim Sehyŏng (1914–99), also a native of Pyongyang. This essay from 1967 details how Mowry mobilized musical activities as a site of Korean socialization during the 1910s: he established a men's choir at the Changdaehyŏn church and another at Sungsil; created Korean-language choral materials through lyric substitution; ran a weekly program that taught organ to students from different parts of Korea, who in turn started their own music groups in their hometowns; and organized a band of string and brass instruments and led band tours.[65] Notably, Kim's essay also connects one of Mowry's musical projects to the March First demonstration in Pyongyang: "After the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed during the March First Movement, the band of

Sungsil College walked at the front of the procession as people poured out to the market crying out 'manse.'"[66] Kim noted that Mowry was "always dissatisfied that Japanese politics were oppressing Korean nationals [*Han'guk kungmin*]" and that the participation of the band during the demonstration was preplanned.[67] Kim's testimonial was most likely filtered through the nationalistic lens of the 1960s, but it nevertheless captures the closeness between a missionary teacher and his Korean students.

Musical activities in and around Sungsil also instilled fellowship among students who had musical aspirations. These students sang together in the choirs of churches and mission schools and collaborated as singers and instrumentalists in concerts that made up crucial components of the fugitive Christian public. Beginning in the early 1920s, as the colonial state permitted vernacular publications to run under the banner of "cultural rule," these concerts were regularly announced and reviewed in Christian and secular vernacular newspapers such as *Tonga ilbo*, *Maeil sinbo*, and *Kidok sinbo*. As mentioned above, these concerts fluidly crossed the division of the secular and the religious in multiple ways: they offered a repertory of religious and secular pieces, and they were held in both religious spaces such as churches and in parareligious spaces such as mission schools. The concerts of the 1920s and 1930s were also promoted in new ways—as concert tours, charity concerts, music lectures, music services, spring music concerts, and so on. Judging by a number of reports, they were well attended; particularly in northern Korea, there were reportedly audiences ranging in the hundreds.[68]

Socialization via musical activities not only provided fellowship for the participating Koreans but also formed the basis for attaining professional mobility. Most important, social ties were shaped into particular professional genealogies among Sungsil graduates. A subset of Sungsil students furthered their education in Japan. This Pyongyang-to-Japan trajectory was

exemplified by Kim Yŏnghwan, the first professional pianist of Korea (see above), and An Ikt'ae (1906–65), the composer of South Korea's national anthem, as well as the famed poets Yun Tongju (1917–45) and Mun Ikhwan (1918–94). Another trajectory involved studying in the United States after Sungsil. This was the path taken by Pak Kyŏngho (1898–1979, pianist and composer), Pak T'aejun (1900–1986, composer and conductor), Hyŏn Chemyŏng (1903–60, vocalist and conductor), and Kim Sehyŏng (see above), among others. This track was especially coveted because it could lead to posts in one of the mission schools: three of the four musicians mentioned above obtained teaching posts in Yŏnhŭi, a prestigious Christian college for men in colonial Seoul (present-day Yonsei), upon returning from the United States, while Kim Sehyŏng obtained a position at Ewha, the all-women counterpart of Yŏnhŭi.

Overall, these connections shed light on the particular qualities of the fugitive Christian public. By granting psychological and professional connections to its participants, this public operated as if it were a separate sphere—as if it were a channel of sociality and mobilization that could not be completely subsumed under Japanese colonial rule. However, it should be stressed that this public did not conceive of itself as a completely oppositional space either. The cultural orientation of the fugitive Christian public was not only liberational but also accommodating to the world where the colonial government had the final say on the terms of cultural legitimacy and social mobility. Sungil, as well as other mission schools across Korea, came to be intertwined with the structures of social mobility that were being defined by the Japanese empire, already in the 1910s and especially after 1920. The most illustrative example of this linking of Japanese and Christian spheres is the subset of Sungsil students who pursued education in Japan.

Textual Connections

In this final section, I explore the music-textual connections in the works of Christian Korean composers, returning to the tropes presented in *Ch'yanggajip.* In the 1920s and 1930s, Koreans of mission-school backgrounds composed secular songs across the genre lines of school songs, art songs, and children's songs. In this body of music, we find the tropes of sentimentalism that trace back to *Ch'yanggajip*: the sentimental mourning of the past and home, narratives of tragic separation, and nativist descriptions of nature. This continuity attests to the diffusion of the tropes of sentimentalism and modern frames of representation through socialization in the fugitive Christian public. In what follows, I discuss a sample of works from numerous examples, with short biographical sketches of the artists.

"Manghyangga" ("Song of Longing for My Hometown," 1921), Yi Sangjun

Yi Sangjun (1884–1948) was born in Chaeryŏng, home to the central station of the Northern Presbyterian mission in Hwanghae Province. As one of the first Korean practitioners of Western music, he moved between mission schools in Seoul and Pyongyang: he studied the organ in a Bible school in Seoul and came to Pyongyang to teach music at Taesŏng School, established by An Ch'angho. In the early 1910s, he returned to Seoul as a protégé of the Sungil graduate Kim Insik—both Yi and Kim served as deacons of Horace Underwood's Saemunan Church—and taught music in a number of mission schools.[69] Yi's publications included tracts on Western music theory, transcriptions of folk songs, and songbooks. Together, they made up the kinds of musical translations that Yi thought were necessary in creating a new culture of vernacular singing.

The tropes in question can be found in a subset of *P'unggŭm toksŭp chungdŭng ch'anggajip* (*A Songbook for Organ Self-Study, Intermediate Level*, 1921), one of Yi's mission

school songbooks that contained songs about the seasons, the flora and the fauna, hometowns, and school life. Among them, "Manghyangga," a song in a modified pentatonic scale, is about the alienating and traumatic experience of discovering one's condition of homelessness. It is framed as the confession of a subject who wakes up in the middle of the night to find that "home, which I saw in my dream, has disappeared" (*kkum e podŭn kohyang i kan kot ŏptoda*). Unable to go back to sleep, the subject gazes at the moon in nostalgia and calls upon the wild goose to "bring back the news of home" (*uri chip e sosik ŭl arajulssonya*).

"Pongsŏnhwa" ("Balsam Flower," 1926), Kim Hyŏngjun and Hong Nanp'a

"Pongsŏnhwa" is now associated with Hong Nanp'a (1897–1941), but it actually resulted from Hong's connection to another musician active in the mission school community, Kim Hyŏngjun (1885–?). Kim, the lyricist of "Pongsŏnhwa," was a native of Hwanghae, a graduate of Sungsil, an avid collector of folk music, and a widely known vocalist. According to a testimony, Kim penned "Pongsŏnhwa" "as a metaphor for the pathetic state of the nationless people."[70] Hong Nanp'a has occupied a central position in South Korean music history, first as a celebrated "father of Western music" and subsequently as a symbol of tarnished collaborators. But what is less known about him is his deep connections with the mission school community. His father was a Korean teacher for the Presbyterian missionary Horace Underwood, and he learned Western music while studying at the YMCA as a secondary school student.[71] While there is no detailed record of Kim and Hong's relationship, it is known that they were also both deacons of the Saemunan Church.[72]

"Pongsŏnhwa," perhaps the best-known art song in twentieth-century Korea, reinforces the sort of piteous imageries found in *Ch'yanggajip* by romanticizing the balsam flower—a common flower that was widely used as a natural dye—as the object of pity. It reminisces about

the spring and summer days when the garden balsam used to blossom, declares that it was destroyed brutally by autumn winds, and finally expresses a desire for the flower's rebirth after winter. The words "destroyed brutally" (*mojilge to ch'imno hani*) are set to a climatic melodic phrase in which the singer must make a dramatic leap to the highest note of the song. This stirring song about a suffering flower can be read as an example of the trope of the native feminine as a colonized body, and because of this suggestive text, it has generated myths of Japanese censorship (see conclusion).

Kayogok sŏnjip che 2-chip (*A Collection of Selected Songs,* Volume 2, 1929), Tokko Sŏn

Tokko Sŏn (1899–1971) was born and raised in Sŏnch'ŏn, a northwestern town where the missionary presence was particularly strong in children's education. Tokko's career followed the Pyongyang-to-Seoul trajectory: after completing secondary education in Sungsil, he studied piano with Kim Yŏnghwan (see introduction) at Yŏnhŭi. Tokko was an early champion and a music teacher of the Chungang kindergarten, which was devoted to the creation of educational materials in the Korean language.[73] In the 1920s and 1930s he also accompanied vocalists of sentimental songs such as Hong Nanp'a and An Kiyŏng in concerts.[74]

Tokko published a number of collections of art and parlor songs from Europe and the United States with his own lyrics in Korean. Although these collections borrowed songs foreign to Korea, they elude typical notions of translation as he appropriated the original materials with considerable freedom. For example, *Kayogok sŏnjip che 2-chip*, a collection of twelve songs for voice and piano, reconfigured romantic musical materials from Europe and the United States by supplying them with lyrics in the sorrowful mode of *Ch'yanggajip*. These lyrics articulate and fuse the tropes of the traumatized subject, separation, and sentimental landscape. In "Sau" ("Thinking of a Friend"), a borrowing of the American parlor song "Molly Darling" by William

S. Hays, the subject is standing "beneath the clear, blue moon" (*malko p'urŭn talpit area*) and is "moved to tears" (*nunmul chinnŭn kŭ sŏrum*), reminiscing about the old days of playing with a friend near "the green valley and river" (*p'urŭn tongsan sinaekka*). A similar narrative fusing the figure of the moon, a forlorn past, and the dreamlike vision of a departed friend is paired to Robert Schumann's "Träumerei," originally a piano piece with no lyrics. This song is titled "Hwansang" ("Fantasy"). The borrowing of Franz Schubert's "Der Wanderer" in this collection seems far from gratuitous as the original material is about a suffering subject in search for home. Titled "Pangnang" ("Wandering"), this song performs the suffering of a subject who wanders through an alienating landscape. The trance-like middle section concludes with the question, "Where is my home, where this body used to live in the past?" (*na ŭi chip ŏdemenyo nyennal ŭi imom i saldŭn kohyang*). Interestingly, Tokko's collection also included an art song attributed to the Japanese composer Fujii Kiyomi, a selection that harnessed the overall feel of sentimentalism through resource to musical orientalism. Tokko's lyrics supply a sensuous depiction of the night, portraying a paulownia tree, moonlight, and grass wet with dew.

CONCLUSION

In this article I have argued that Christian and Christian-affiliated institutions were the primary site for the creation of secular Korean-language songs in early twentieth-century Korea. This article considers how *Ch'yanggajip*, a songbook edited by two female missionaries, was a nodal point within a body of secular songs that originated from this marked religious space. Through a reading of archival materials, I have also shown that songs, especially sentimental secular songs, constituted a cultural medium of socialization from the 1910s to the 1930s. These songs, which helped collapse associational membership and affective subjectivity, emerged and circulated

within the context of the persecution of Christian communities in the 1910s, which transformed Protestant organizations into a fugitive Christian public.

Foregrounding the medium of songs points toward a refined theorization of the place of Protestantism in colonial Korea at least up to the early 1930s, and I discuss three generalizable characteristics in this conclusion. First, Protestantism in colonial Korea was a transpacific formation, shaped by a complex networking of American and Korean interests. The copresence of missionary and Korean participation I have emphasized here points to a more nuanced conceptualization of agency, challenging both critical stances toward missionaries as decontextualizing agents of Western modernity and the heroicizing narratives that paint them as savior-like figures of the colonial period. For South Korea–based musicology, this copresence highlights the need to refine the lens of transnational history, particularly transpacific history, while tempering nationalist historiography, which can depict the history of Western music in Korea as a Korean project.[75] As a parallel, Ross King's discussion of Korea-based scholarship of Korean historical linguistics is instructive. King, in examining the relationship between Chu Sigyŏng and James S. Gale, observed that this scholarship has tended to underestimate Anglophone missionaries' influence on Korean linguists and language reforms.[76]

Second, Protestantism in colonial Korea was a fugitive space where Korean-language publications could be nurtured, where imageries of victimhood could be performed, and where Koreans of middling sorts could access cultural materials associated with modernity away from Japanese colonial institutions. However, as I have emphasized, it is important not to conflate fugitive with oppositional. Singing sentimentally about Korean landscapes and about communities in havoc was hardly a political statement of nationalism; it actually overlapped with the terrain of cultural representations permitted by the Japanese authorities beginning in 1920

and even came to resonate with the increasing Japanese orientalism of Korea as a land more archaic and primitive than Japan. Moreover, Japanese-derived materials were not entirely external to the ecology of songs I have described in this article. As mentioned above, Tokko Sŏn included an art song written by a Japanese composer in his 1929 songbook, and even *Ch'yanggajip* contained a song whose profile was clearly influenced by the Japanese genre of school song, *shōka*. Even more revealing is how "Pongsŏnhwa" by Hong and Kim crossed over to Japan in the early 1940s. This song was actually performed by the Korean soprano Kim Ch'ŏnae at an "All-Japan New Musicians Concert" in Tokyo in 1942 and was received enthusiastically by the Japanese audience, rather than becoming the object of Japanese censorship.[77] Examples like these suggest that the American and the Japanese spheres in Korea were much closer than it has seemed in post-1945 historiography and raise the question of whether the widespread perception of opposition between Korean Christianity and Japanese imperialism is an ideological projection.[78]

Third and last, the Christian community was a generative space, with a range of practices developing in this sphere, including singing, that were affirmative for not only Korean elites but also an increasing number of aspiring Koreans who came to this community from all walks of life. Some critical studies of Korean Protestantism have tended to generalize what were multilateral relationships in lived reality as a one-way process of globalization. But such a framework elides the multiplicity of stories in the Christian archive, which look more like Koreans' creative appropriation of Western practices than enforced entry into a global modernity. Moreover, the musical culture that emerged in this community became the basis of a new vernacular—an increasingly pervasive form of expression that framed aesthetic judgment and sensual appreciation. In considering this dimension, I ask what the young women and men of

the mission schools got out of a concert of sentimental songs at a town church. There are no easy answers, but such experiences were most likely connected to how they acted out the micropolitics of everyday life and derived pleasure in colonial Korea.

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APPENDIX

Ch'yanggajip, a Book of Songs for Social and Other Occasions, Songs in Part 1

No.	Title	Type	Source Information
1	Song of the Seasons	Nature	* Music adapted by Mrs. Becker
2	May Song	Nature	
3	Song in Praise of Spring	Nature	* Music adapted by Mrs. Baird
4	Song of Spring	Nature	
5	Mountain Song	Nature	
6	Hush, My Child Lie Still and Slumber	Lullaby	* American folksong "Nettleton"
7	Lullaby	Lullaby	
8	Harvest Song	Work song	* Music by Rev. P. L. Grove
9	Song of the Prodigal	Religion	* Music by Rev. P. L. Grove
10	Arbor Day	Work song	
11	Boat Song	Nature/work song	* Music by Rev. P. L. Grove
12	Don't Forget Me	Separation	* Music adapted by Mrs. Becker
13	Students' Farewell Song	Separation	
14	Farewell Song	Separation	* Words by Rev. P. L. Grove. Melody: "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot"
15	Farewell to a Friend	Separation	
16	The House Where I Was Born	Nature/past	
17	Memories of Childhood	Nature/past	
18	Ten Things Not Known to the Christian	Religion	
19	Books of the Bible	Religion	* Music adapted by Mrs. Becker
20	School Song for Social Occasions	Separation	* Music adapted by Mrs. Becker
21	Song for Opening of Primary School	School life	"Lightly Row"
22	Song for Closing of Primary School	School life	
23	The School Clock	School life	
24	Song in Praise of Teacher	School life	"When the Roll Is Called up Yonder"
25	School Song, Women's Academy School, Seoul, N.P.M.	School hymn	
26	Song of Union Christian College Pyengyang	School hymn	"Battle Hymn of the Republic"
27	Holston Institute Song, Songdo	School hymn	

28	The Anglo-Korean School Song, Songdo	School hymn	"Marching through Georgia"
29	School song, J. D. Well's Training School for Christian Workers, Seoul, N.P.M.	School hymn	"Annie Lisle"
30	School Song, Women's Union Academy, Pyengyang	School hymn	
31	Try, Try Again	Ethics	
32	Little Drops of Water	Ethics	
33	Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star	Play	"Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star"
34	The North Wing Doth Blow, Motion Song	Play	
35	Burial of Moses	Religion	* Music arranged by Mrs. Baird
36	The Spider and the Fly	Play	
37	Here's a Ball for Baby, Motion Song	Play	
38	Far from the Homeland	Separation	
39	Road Song	Separation	
40	Watch Your Words and Thoughts and Actions	Ethics	
41	To the Summer Wind	Nature	* Music adapted by Mrs. Baird
42	Farm Song	Work song	* Buddhist melody, adapted by Mrs. Baird
43	My Heavenly Home	Separation	
44	Song of the Flood	Religion	* Chinese melody, adapted by Mrs. Baird
45	This Is the Way We Wash Our Clothes, etc.	Work song	* Music adapted by Mrs. Becker.
46	School Song Girl's Academy, Taiku	School hymn	

Asterisk (*) indicates source information as annotated in the book.

NOTES

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[1] Min, *Sungsil kwa*, 150.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Chŏn, *Kim Tongjin*, 26.

[4] Min, *Sungsil kwa*, 102–3.

[5] Kim I., "Sori annanŭn k'onet yŏnju," 33.

[6] Kim Y., "Namgigo sip'ŭn iyagidŭl."

[7] Ibid.

[8] Rinser, *Yun Isang*, 43.

[9] Ibid., 45.

[10] Kim Ch'anguk, *Hong Nanp'a ŭmak yŏn'gu*, 68–71.

[11] Cathcart, "Song of Youth," 95.

[12] See Asad, *Formation of the Secular*, 1–20.

[13] See, e.g., Em, *Great Enterprise*; Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*; and Park A., *Building a Heaven on Earth*. Outside historical scholarship, Nicholas Harkness's *Songs of Seoul*

demonstrates Korean Protestantism's ritual function within contemporary South Korean society through an ethnographic study of European-style classical singing (*sŏngak*) in Seoul.

[14] Sung-Deuk Oak argues that preexisting Chinese hymns were crucial reference materials for Korean-language hymns. While Oak raises an important point, I emphasize the final rendering of Protestant lyrics in vernacular Korean script and its sociopolitical significance. See Oak, *Making of Korean Christianity*, 263–70.

[15] See *Han'guk ch'ansongga chŏnjip*, 1:3.1–3.3. Also see Howard, "Korean Music," 322.

[16] Baird was an active translator and writer; she authored *Fifty Helps for the Beginner in the Use of the Korean Language* (1898) and *Daybreak in Korea* (1909).

[17] Each hymn was annotated with the information of its North American source, such as the starting phrase, the title of the corresponding hymn, the name of the hymn tune, and the poetic meter.

[18] *Han'guk ch'ansongga chŏnjip*, 1:4.1.

[19] King, "Ditching 'Diglossia,'" 1.

[20] Ibid., 6. Also see Silva, "Western Attitudes toward the Korean Language."

[21] See, e.g., Underwood, *With Tommy Tompkins in Korea*, 27.

[22] Yi K., "Yasogyo ŭi Chosŏn e chun ŭnhye," 17.

[23] A 1915 issue of the *Korea Mission Field* devoted to the topic of music discusses such problems. See, in that issue, Pieters, "Translating Hymns"; and Grove, "Adequate Song-Books." One seasoned missionary, James S. Gale, became increasingly skeptical of the suitability of North American hymns as source materials altogether. See Purinton, "United We Sing," 45.

[24] See, e.g., Mowry, "Korean Church Music"; Grove, "Adequate Song-Books"; and Noble, *Journals of Mattie Wilcox Noble*, April 3, 1892.

[25] See Bloechl, "Editorial."

[26] Ch'oe, "Nongsyang kongbu chyu Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn tongnipka."

[27] Kwŏn, "Kaehwagi ch'angga e," 14–15.

[28] *Tongnip sinmun*, "Taejyosyŏn syŏul"; *Tongnip sinmun*, "Nonsyŏl."

[29] See Zhang and Shin, "Kat'ŭn sakŏn tarŭn norae." Also see Kendall, *Truth about Korea*, 29–30. I am grateful to Eujeong Zhang for pointing out this source.

[30] Newly created religious verses by Koreans were notable features of *Yesugyo heobo* (1910–14), a Presbyterian paper under the direction of James S. Gale.

[31] McGary, "Music in the School," 103.

[32] See, e.g., *Tonga ilbo*, "P'yongyang ŭmak."

[33] See Min, *Sungsil kwa*, 35–36, 70.

[34] Baker, "Sibling Rivalry," 290–91.

[35] Kane and Park, "Puzzle of Korean Christianity"; Wells, *New God, New Nation*; Park C., *Protestantism and Politics.*

[36] Baker, "Sibling Rivalry," 291–93; Chang H. K. H., "Singing and Praying among Korean Christian Converts," 465.

[37] Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea*, 161.

[38] See Yi S., *Miguk sŏn'gyosa wa Han'guk kŭndae kyoyuk.*

[39] Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea*, 156–75.

[40] Chang H. K. H., "Colonial Circulations," 161–65.

[41] On northwestern and northern Christianity, see Clark, "Missionary Presence in Northern Korea before WWII"; C. B. Kim, "Preaching the Apocalypse in Colonial Korea"; King, "Dialect, Orthography, and Regional Identity"; and Oak, *Making of Korean Christianity*.

[42] See, e.g., Chang K., "Christianity and Civil Society in Colonial Korea"; and Yi M., *Hanmal Kidokkyo wa minjok undong*. In Korean-language musicology, No Tongŭn's article "1910-yŏndae Kidokkyogye hakkyo ŭi ŭmak kyoyuk kwa kŭ yŏnghyang" conceived mission-school music education as a site of anti-Japanese resistance.

[43] See, e.g., Park A., *Building a Heaven on Earth*; and De Ceuster, "Wholesome Education and Sound Leisure."

[44] Two South Korean musicologists, Min Kyŏngch'an and Kim Sarang, have written about *Ch'yanggajip* as part of their extensive research on music in Pyongyang's churches and schools. See Min, *Sungsil kwa*; Kim Sarang, "'Munmyŏng' ŭi norae"; and Kim Sarang, "Saeroun ŭmank munhwa." This article has greatly benefited from the detailed documentation of sources in their published research.

[45] G. B., "Book Review," 119.

[46] See King, "Dialect, Orthography, and Regional Identity."

[47] These schools were, as indicated in the book, Chyŏngsin, Sungsil, Hosyudon, Hanyŏng Syŏwŏn, Kyŏngsin, Syungŭi, and Taegu Sinmyŏng (nos. 25–30 and no. 46; see the appendix).

[48] Shin, "Interior Landscapes," 257.

[49] Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea*, 34.

[50] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 27.

[51] Shin, "Interior Landscapes," 253.

[52] Hulbert, "Korean Vocal Music." To this day, boat songs are objects of folkloristic fascination, as attested by the opening ceremony of the P'yŏngch'ang Winter Olympics of 2018.

[53] On the semiotics of *sansu* in the early twentieth century, see Karatani's analysis of *sanguiga* in Japan: *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 18. Also see Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 85–92.

[54] Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea*, 21.

[55] Ibid., 36.

[56] *Yesugyo hoebo*, "Syang ŭl talgo mojipham."

[57] Baird and Becker, *Ch'yanggajip*, 2.

[58] In particular, a lament by An Ch'angho included in this book resonates with the songs of separation. This song is known as *kŏgukhaeng* or *kyŏkkŏm*. See Zhang, "Tosan An Ch'angho chaksa kyemong kayo ŭi yangsang kwa t'ŭkching," 309–10.

[59] Min, *Sungsil kwa*; Yi Y., *Han'guk yangak paengnyŏnsa.*

[60] Kim Y., "Namgigo sip'ŭn iyagidŭl."

[61] For other examples, see Min, *Sungsil kwa*, 61, 73, 87–88.

[62] *Tonga ilbo*, "P'yongyang ŭmak."

[63] *Maeil sinbo*, "Sŏn'gyosa Mauri ŭi kongp'an."

[64] Kim Sehyŏng, “Han’guk esŏ sŏyang ŭmak ŭi”; Chin, “Sungsil Hakkyo sŏnsaeng Mauri Moksa.”

[65] Kim Sehyŏng, “Han’guk esŏ sŏyang ŭmak ŭi,” 17–18.

[66] Ibid., 16–17.

[67] Ibid., 17.

[68] See, e.g., *Maeil sinbo*, “Pogo tŭrŭl kŏt”; *Tonga ilbo*, “Ŭmak chŏndo”; and *Kidok sinbo*, “Masan Ŭmakhoe.”

[69] Kim Ch’anguk, *Hong Nanp’a ŭmak yŏn’gu*, 34.

[70] Ibid., 49.

[71] Ibid., 26.

[72] Ibid., 34.

[73] The kindergarten was founded by Pak Hŭido, a Christian nationalist who was one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence.

[74] See, e.g., *Tonga ilbo*, “Sinŭiju Ŭmakhoe.”

[75] For a recent work that takes such an approach, see Huh, *Cheguk sok ŭi cheguk*.

[76] King, “Western Protestant Missionaries.”

[77] Kim Ch’anguk, *Hong Nanp’a ŭmak yŏn’gu*, 50.

[78] Also see Howard, “Korean Music,” 324; and Lee, “Ilche sigi sŏyang ŭmak munhwa wa Ilbonin ŭi yŏnghyang.”

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