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Between Nationalism and Internationalism; Yun Ch'I-ho and the YMCA in Colonial Korea

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BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM;
YUN CH'I-HO AND THE YMCA IN COLONIAL KOREA

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A modicum of footnotes occasionally implies more significant influence than it appears to credit. Compare the scholarly trajectories of two authors. One may perceive instantly who is the upstart benefiting from the decades-long and painstaking scholarship of another. My master's thesis investigated the practices of women missionaries. The present venture veers toward the biography of one man. At this point, mission historians might experience déjà vu in recalling Professor Dana Robert's *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* and her subsequent *Occupy Until I Come: A.T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World*. Just as Young J. Allen's Anglo-Chinese College and the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (廣學書館) tell a lot about Yun Ch'i-ho's Anglo-Korean School and *Kwanghak Sōpo* (廣學書鋪, the Society for Christian Knowledge), the orientation of a work often tells more about the pioneer than what the footnotes credit.

With perspicacious eyes, Professor Robert has for decades chronicled missionary practices that others have abandoned. Such seasoned scholarship dictated her two-word comment, "very important," right next to "YMCA" in the marginalia of my paper. The comment flung the door wide open to an entirely new terrain by prompting my quest for unearthing the history of the YMCA. Owing to the YMCA travel fellowship from the University of Minnesota and the help of its archivist Degmar Getze, I could dive into the archives that had been relegated to a dark depository, though finally relocated to the

Kautz Family YMCA Archives. Previously shrouded by my prejudice, the newly discovered YMCA has been transformed for me from a banal gym to a repository of gold.

Along with Degmar Getze, Ryan Bean guided me to important documents and sent a box of their copies to Boston when I had to leave the archives earlier than scheduled on account of a family funeral. Stacey Battles de Ramos and Kara Jackman at Boston University School of Theology Library, Lee Hyang and Nobohiko Abe at Harvard-Yenching Library, Martha Smalley at Yale Day Missions Library, and Laura Carroll and Sarah Quigley at Emory Manuscript, Archives & Rare Book Library also offered invaluable help to retrieve important sources.

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Regretfully, I refrained from serving Dr. Brown's course so as to quickly finish my dissertation writing within a semester. Instead of writing, however, I was embroiled for years in a chain of heartbreaking events, probably to incise into my soul what Dr. Brown called the historian's requisite—empathy. Clambering out of the battle and finally crossing over the dike of defense, I find that those sore wounds have been miraculously healed. Through all those years of throes, Dr. Robert commanded me never to give up. In

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Still, the best companion and interlocutor for my urge to converse about history, society, and politics in Christianity, my husband, Rev. Park Chan-soo, is a walking Wikipedia. Not very authoritative, yet profuse knowledge that has accumulated through his learning over the course of decades comes instantly out of his brain. Our beloved daughters, Seong-kyul (“holiness”) and Han-kyul (“consistence” and “pen”), have been unmatched gifts from God that have taught me how to embrace the world with the Father’s heart. Our brothers and sisters, their spouses, and many more children of theirs are all God’s gifts that have taught us how to live with our neighbors as with our extended families.

Remiss would I be without mentioning my father, Lee Hyo-ŏn, who loved to banter jolly talks with merchants at stinky fish markets on piers; it was his favorite pastime between his varied duties as a professor of economics at Seoul Agricultural College. Through his eyes, I could better understand Yun's agro-industrial project for the poor and marginalized in Korea. I wonder how much he acclaimed Horace Underwood and Oliver Avison during his studies at Yonsei University. There on a hilltop, he dubbed my name as "research (研)" and instilled in it his wish that my future research would "lighten the world like the rising sun (昇)." I repay him in this study with a small tribute to Underwood and Avison by exploring their contributions to the agricultural work of the Korean YMCA, and to my father with my unmitigated love of research.

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ABSTRACT

Studies of the Korean YMCA during the Colonial Period (1903–1938) have revolved around the popular theme of nationalism, solidifying the view that the YMCA was the paragon of a patriotic organization. Research on its first Korean General Secretary as well as longtime President, Yun Ch'i-ho, however, has shown a proclivity to echo the judgment of the Institute for Research in Collaborationist Activities in Korea that Yun collaborated with Japanese colonial schemes. Such studies polarize interpretations of one historical phenomenon by separating the institution and its key player, thereby either promoting or vilifying the two entities. In response, this study investigates the common ground between the two seemingly paradoxical topics, the Korean YMCA and Yun Ch'i-ho. This approach illumines the interplay of mission history and Korean history, giving voice to the YMCA missionaries and to Yun Ch'i-ho, both of whom have often been sidelined by historiographies that emphasize collaboration

with colonialism. Archival sources reveal that the Christian internationalism of both the YMCA and Yun Ch'i-ho promoted Korea's national reconstruction, even under Japanese colonialism.

In order to understand the development of Yun Ch'i-ho's Christian internationalism, this study begins by examining his interactions with Christian missionaries and missionary statesmen in China and the U.S. It also details the way in which Yun's vision of national regeneration was integrated with his newly-absorbed Christian thought. The next chapter examines how Christian internationalism shaped Yun's national reconstruction enterprises. The dissertation then analyzes the methods, messages, and dilemmas of the Korean YMCA as a Christian missionary organization consistent with Yun's aspirations for Korean reforms, first manifested in the *Kapsin* Coup (1884) and then in the Independence Club (1896–1898). The final chapter briefly portrays the paralysis of the YMCA and Yun under a deified Japanese nationalism that ousted the YMCA missionaries from, and dismissed Christian internationalism in colonial Korea. The dissertation demonstrates how Christianity, through the vehicle of the YMCA and Yun Ch'i-ho, mediated both Koreans' aspiration for national reconstruction and international missionaries' vision for building the kingdom of God.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The YMCA was the only organization that operated in autonomy and circulated international resources for the fulfillment of reform impulses in colonial Korea (1905–1945). Overseas Korean nationalist organizations in Manchuria, Russia, China, and America functioned as a centrifugal force, transferring Korean resources out of the country for the noble cause of Korean independence.¹ Conversely, as a centripetal force the YMCA brought in international resources for the reconstruction of the homeland. Hand in hand with suffering people, the YMCA spread throughout the nation, empowering young generations under the bondage of Japanese colonial constraint. Unlike other institutions under the tight purview of the colonial regime, the YMCA secured autonomy, with which Korea sent delegates to international conferences and cultivated leadership and national strength in preparation for an independent state. The paradox of the YMCA, however, was that its Christian internationalism provided a canopy for nationalist activities during this turbulent period of Korean history.

¹ Yong-ha Sin, *Ilje kangjŏm gi han'guk minjok sa* (A national history of Korea under the Japanese occupation), vol. 2 (Seoul: Seoul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2001), Chapter 4.

Driven primarily by a missionary impulse from its birth in London to its American variants, the YMCA was a pioneer vehicle of Christian internationalism.² It enlisted 800 members barely two years after its foundation in Korea in 1905. Spreading vitality, hope, confidence, and visions of world fraternity to hundreds of villages, the YMCA linked Korea with the nations of the world despite colonial constraints. In 1906, the Korean YMCA crossed borders and launched student YMCAs in Japan and China. Within ten years of its foundation, the city and student YMCAs in Korea consolidated into the National YMCA.³

Young men from aristocratic heritages, who had initially shunned the churches, sought the YMCA and pledged for baptism. The *yangban* scholars and officials tucked up their trousers and exposed their arms, ready to run with the international secretaries and people of lower classes. Rank and file people of various walks of life, as well as national leaders (including the future first President, incumbent Minister of Education, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Home Affairs, the first Korean Methodist Bishop) found their niches along with local pastors and foreign missionaries at the YMCA. The YMCA expanded its reach to farms and factories, utilizing national resources. Seemingly banal products to modern eyes such as bars of soap, candles, furniture, wicker baskets, leather shoes, bicycles, skates, eye glasses, and rubber balls were transformed into state of the art

² Kenneth Scott Latourette, *World Service: A History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada* (New York: Association Press, 1957), 24. Latourette argues that the Young Men's Christian Associations were "children of the Evangelical Awakening" and their spread was "a specialized form of the Protestant missionary enterprise."

³ P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1905," YMCA Archives.

products to strengthen the nation. The YMCA libraries infused knowledge of the world into ordinary people through books and magazines. People in spacious halls and small classrooms heard ardent debates and lectures from national luminaries. The YMCA in colonial Korea was perceived as the last civic space where prominent patriots and emerging intellectuals could express their hope for an independent nation and anchor their nationalistic efforts in international fellowship.

As the YMCA began to take root in the harsh colonial soil, it made an indelible impression on the history of modern Korea. Min Kyöng-bae, an authoritative church historian, contends that unless one knows the history of the YMCA, one does not fully understand the history of modern Korea.⁴ What then were the factors that rendered the YMCA such a forceful movement of the Christian missionary impulse? What roles did it assume in the transformation of modern Korean history? How did it provide the basis for both nationalism and internationalism? How did its first Korean General Secretary and President, Yun Ch'i-ho (1865–1945), in his thoughts and practice, embody the spirit of the YMCA?

This study of the YMCA movement focuses on its central figure, Yun Ch'i-ho. The Young Men's Christian Association, a collective enterprise, was hardly dominated by any one charismatic figure. However, probing the movement through the life of its most dedicated member reveals the enormously complex struggles hidden behind the façade of the organization. In this study, therefore, the analysis of the thoughts and

⁴ Kyong-bae Min, *Seoul YMCA undong paengnyön sa* (A centennial history of the Seoul YMCA) (Seoul: Sangrok Munwha, 2004).

activities of Yun Ch'i-ho provide a lens through which to look at the characteristics of both his own life and the YMCA. The study attempts to rehabilitate Yun and to reconstruct the national as well as ecclesial history of modern Korea.

Why should this study of the YMCA focus on Yun Ch'i-ho? First, Yun Ch'i-ho best represents the function and role of the YMCA both as a mission organization and as a nexus of nationalism and internationalism. From the inception of the YMCA in 1903 to its phenomenal growth in cities and schools, its spread to farmlands and factories, its attrition, and the forced merger with the Japanese YMCA and secession from the International YMCA in 1938, Yun Ch'i-ho remained a central figure as secretary and President while struggling to hold together nationalism and internationalism within the Korean YMCA. As one who possessed a keen perception of international politics and history, while deeply engrossed in love of his own history, language, land, and people, Yun strived to connect Korea with the world through the YMCA.

In Yun's life, benchmark events in both secular and ecclesial history were inextricably intertwined. As an associate of the Progressive Party and President of both the Independence Club and the YMCA, Yun provided a vantage point to illuminate the continuity and innovation of the YMCA with prior reform efforts in the *Kapsin* Coup of 1884 and the Independence Club in 1898. Therefore, an analysis of the YMCA in light of Korea's reform movements skewed in Yun's life will enhance the understanding of the commonalities among them overlooked in the traditionally separate historiographies of national history and church history.

Another advantage of studying Yun is that he illuminated the role of local Christians and their reciprocity with Western missionaries for the advancement of the kingdom of God. In the YMCA, the partnership between Korean secretaries and a handful of Western missionaries was a prominent feature. Shifting the angle of research from Western missionaries to local inhabitants, however, complements the conventional historiography dominated by Euro-American initiatives. Kenneth Scott Latourette's recognition of the massive contributions of local leaders in this worldwide movement of the YMCA has not seen much progress beyond the study of the achievements of a relatively meager number of Western YMCA secretaries. Research based on an understanding of partnership and mutuality in the expansion of Christianity, and a balanced use of sources from the West and Korea, will produce a new picture of Christian growth in Korea. This study shifts scholarly attention from the unilateral flow of influence from the West to the East to bilateral exchange.

The proper understanding of the development and contribution of the Korean YMCA will begin with an understanding of colonial Korea. It also requires an understanding of the conflicts and tensions among the Korean secretaries of the YMCA, the policies of the Japanese Government General, the American YMCA missionaries, and the American government's foreign policy of non-intervention in political issues. The motives and methods differed between Korean cultural nationalists and political nationalists; the agenda of the American YMCA missionaries and the Korean secretaries did not always align. What aggravated the dilemma of the YMCA was the perception that

both its origins in Korea and the forces that eventually drove out Christian internationalists were intertwined with both American and Japanese imperialism. The American and Canadian YMCA secretaries, tainted by the influence of imperialism, had to cooperate with their secular compatriots whose primary concern was their own national interests. Such circumstances put the YMCA secretaries at risk of wholesale rejection by Korean nationalists. Unless one probes the struggles of the YMCA through the labyrinth of mutually fractious and antagonizing bodies of Korean, Japanese, and American nationalists, any study of the YMCA in colonial Korea will not do justice to its implications. Keeping such a complex context in view, this study investigates the intersection of nationalism and internationalism, a liminal space that both created opportunity for and caused oppression of the YMCA.

This study also examines the methods the YMCA adopted and the messages it sought to deliver in its efforts to connect the gospel message with the needs of the people. The YMCA as a Christian organization was prominent in mobilizing both laity and clergy while it also garnered the cooperation of secular organizations. The unity the organization sought to establish between Western missionaries and local lay leaders, as well as clergy, was in turn instilled into society; this created parity and harmony between polarized sectors of society such as old and young, literati and factory workers and farmers, male and female, and *yangban* and commoners. The reform force in democratizing society was also infused into individuals, cultivating hand and body as much as enlightening mind and spirit. The YMCA transcended the mainstream

Confucianism that had belittled science, technology, manual labor, and physical training. The success of the YMCA—as it grew to be a national organization in such a short period of time under the harsh grip of the colonial government—owes mainly to its capacity to bridge the traditionally polarized sectors of Korea with a holistic mission strategy.

This study begins with the formation of Christian internationalism in China and America in preparation for Yun's role as General Secretary and President of the Korean YMCA. Yun's spiritual awakening at the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, various Christian institutions, and Vanderbilt University and Emory College, will demonstrate how the missionary impulse was nourished in the future secretary of the YMCA, thus illuminating how Christian internationalism unfurled in Yun's life. The missionary dimension will be examined through the analysis of Yun's Christian service in China and America, his educational mission at the Anglo-Korean School, and pioneering efforts for both the Songdo Christian Village and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The question of nationalism will be addressed through the analysis of Yun's role in the Independence Club (1896–1898), the first Korean modernist-nationalist organization, and the *Independent*, its public intellectual forum. This study will demonstrate how the Independence Club inherited the reform tradition germinated by *Sirhak* scholars and attempted in the *Kapsin* Coup in 1884. The parallel activities and figures of the Independence Club and the YMCA demonstrate how the leaders of the club channeled their aspirations into the YMCA, and how the YMCA created a framework for patriots who mobilized young people. Studies of the Independence Club, the Korean Conspiracy Case, and the YMCA have only been conducted separately, without deeper

analysis of their relationships. Yun's involvement in these historical events as a major player provides a link connecting disparate histories that address the same event.

Finally, this study will explore the beginning, development, success, and crisis of the YMCA in Korea. The motives and roles of the international secretaries will be illuminated as an essential link to Christian internationalism in Korea. This study examines the core messages of the YMCA and its methods of educational and religious programs, industrial programs, and rural reconstruction in connection with the Jerusalem International Missionary Council of 1928. The analysis of those means will show how they contributed to the regeneration of the nation. This study will ultimately reveal that the YMCA implemented the dreams of cultural nationalists, which had been attempted in a long tradition of reforms anticipated by the *Sirhak* scholars, the *Kapsin* Coup in 1884, and the Independence Club.

The main focus here will be placed on the hard-won autonomy of the Korean YMCA. In doing so, securing leadership training was possible through its beneficial affiliation with the international body and the central place it crafted in the history of modern Korea. Therefore, the persecution of the YMCA, as seen in the incident of the Korean Conspiracy Case and the conviction and ten-year imprisonment of Yun Ch'i-ho, his role as an arbiter and consultant at the YMCA, the relations between the Korean secretaries and the American YMCA, and the final merger of the Korean YMCA with the Japanese will be analyzed in light of its unique role in colonial Korea.

As Yun Ch'un-byŏng points out in his *A History of Methodist Church Growth in Korea*, Yun has not been studied adequately in light of his Christian faith.⁵ Faithful to the vision of the YMCA, Yun was more than just a local magistrate, an interpreter of the American Embassy, Minister of Education, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, all factors that have monopolized historical research. Thus, this study seeks to probe into the lost terrain where Christianity worked for nation-building, by examining Yun's mission encounters and enterprises and in particular his role in the YMCA.

Nationalism in historical scholarship in Korea has worked as a wedge, dividing patriots from collaborators and at times nationalists from Christian missionaries. One hundred years after Korea's loss of national sovereignty by the Japanese protectorate, nationalism still operates as a consolidating force to build the nation, but at the expense of internationalism. The issues of Shinto shrine worship and collaboration with Japan have turned into daggers to convict numerous Koreans and divide the nation between villains and heroes. Division among the people has also been escalated by the recent polarization in Korea between the progressives and the conservatives, surrounding the issue of national unification with North Korea. Perhaps to some nations, focusing on national interests at the risk of nuclear threat might appear more critical than maintaining international friendship. The situation underscores the importance of reestablishing a relationship between nationalism and internationalism.

⁵ Ch'un-byŏng Yun, *Han'guk kamnigyo kyohoe sŏngjang sa* (A history of the Korean Methodist Church growth) (Seoul: Kamnigyo Ch'ulp'ansa, 1997), 73.

Christian internationalism, which inspired the YMCA missionaries to seek unity and cooperation among nations, was anathema to the Korean political nationalists who fought against both unity and cooperation with Japan and Western infringement on the nation through missionaries. In the turbulent 1920s, the nation was enmeshed in a web of rejections: Korean nationalists against the Japanese, the Japanese against internationalists, and Korean nationalists against internationalists. Yun's stance, based on his belief in Christian missions, guarded the YMCA and its international secretaries, lending support to both nationalists and internationalists. The significance of this study lies in the dual analysis of Yun Ch'i-ho and the YMCA, in which one can see Christian internationalism providing inspiration and resources for nation-building, rather than jettisoning one for the other. While scholars have strived to highlight the contributions of the YMCA in terms of nationalism and modernism in colonial Korea, Yun has been conspicuous by his absence from these accounts even when he worked as a primary agent in particular landmark events. Such a dismissal intensifies the exclusivist tendencies of national historians. Until recently, the minimal scholarly attention on Yun has only revolved around his collaboration with the Japanese regime towards the end of his life in the 1940s.

Social Darwinism has been a major interpretative tool in the attempt to understand Yun's "collaboration."⁶ These scholars hold that Yun, influenced by social

⁶ Koen De Ceuster, "From Modernization to Collaboration: The Dilemma of Korean Cultural Nationalism: The Case of Yun Ch'i-ho (1865-1945)" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universitet Leuven, 1994); Yang Hyön-hye, *Yun Ch'i-ho wa Kim Kyo-sin* (Yun Ch'i-ho and Kim Kyo-sin) (Seoul: Hanul, 1994); Ryu Kye-mu, "Yun Ch'i-ho üi sahoe chinhwaron yön'gu: aeguk kyemong sigirül chungsimüro" (Understanding

Darwinism, espoused the logic that “might is right.” The premise that Yun was a collaborator, however, automatically dismisses or overlooks Yun’s own conviction that “right is might.” For instance, Yang Hyŏn-hye compares Yun Ch’i-ho and Kim Kyo-sin in light of their understanding of historical legacy, concept of identity, essence of Christianity, and location of God’s presence, with the premise of the social Darwinism theory. Yang explains Yun’s collaboration as an action of succumbing to the colonial logic of superiority at the expense of national identity, while she highlights Kim Kyo-sin’s faith that the nation would restore its identity through its indomitable will for independence. Her excessive reliance on the theory to maintain the coherence of her argument results in an internal contradiction in her work, setting Yun against his own statements.

Kenneth M. Wells argues that colonial Korea displayed more than one type of nationalism.⁷ He maintains that cultural nationalists mostly associated with Protestants and typically assumed gradualism in their approach to nationalism. Their concentrated efforts on education, as well as ethical and moral regeneration of Korea were aligned with Protestant ethics. The idea of a Protestant world order, Wells claims, characterized their efforts as pacifists for nation-building. Wells’ work shows remarkable sensibility to subterranean movements of major nationalists in Korea; his position approximates most

social Darwinism of Yun Ch’i-ho during the period of his national enlightenment efforts) (M.A. diss., Yonsei University, 2004).

⁷ Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).

closely the approach of this study. His attention to Protestant influence on Yun and other reformers, however, disregards a missionary commitment, the key feature in Yun's spiritual formation, international activities, role in the YMCA, and humanitarian and missionary activities.

Like other scholars, Koen De Ceuster's attention is centered on Yun's collaboration in his dissertation, *From Modernization to Collaboration: the Dilemma of Korean Cultural Nationalism: The Case of Yun Ch'i-ho*. Unquestionably the most comprehensive biography of Yun in both Western and Eastern hemispheres, Ceuster pays a cursory look at Yun's association with the YMCA, passing by the crucial period when Yun worked as the first Korean General Secretary of the YMCA. This excessive absorption of scholarly attention on collaboration has not only rendered historical scholarship on the subject monochromatic, but has also overlooked the crucial contributions of both the YMCA and Yun in nation-building. National history has failed to do justice to Yun's devoted efforts for the nation, when such efforts were made through Christian missionary vehicles. This study argues that Christianity—through both locals and missionaries, the laity and ordained, and with both holistic and evangelistic methods—played a decisive role in transforming society and history, as seen through the exploration of the YMCA and Yun.

This study will employ historical analysis primarily through examination of archival sources, published works by contemporaries, and established scholarship. It includes investigation of both exogenous and endogenous elements of the subject matter,

contextual variants, causal factors, changes and developments of movements, and interrelations of historical incidents and social sources. This research depends on four sets of sources. The first is Yun's own voice expressed in his diary and personal correspondence. The diary of Yun Ch'i-ho (spanning six decades), despite its inevitable bias and subjectivity, provides an unparalleled source for understanding Yun's own thoughts and experiences. His experiences in Europe, the United States, and Asia, as well as deep concerns for international affairs, render his diary replete with his thoughts about politics, education, history, society, civilization, culture, Christian missions, and religions. Yun's correspondence with foreign missionaries and statesmen, especially his friendships with Young J. Allen and Warren A. Candler, are also well-documented in his correspondence over the decades, revealing information about his own life as well as national and Christian events. As Vipin Chandra has pointed out and proved by his own writing, a "prodigious" amount of sources of and on Yun has daunted the research of scholars, resulting in discussion on Yun revolving around a few theories and repeating the established scholarship, rather than exploring primary sources.⁸ Such a practice has repeated a cycle of bromide interpretations, regardless of their veracity, revolving around the topic of collaboration.

The second source is *The Methodist missionary files*, housed in the Boston University School of Theology Library. Personal correspondence and annual reports of

⁸ Vipin Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988).

missionaries in Korea, Japan, and China, preserved in microfilm, reveal hidden stories related to the Songdo Christian Village and Yun Ch'i-ho and the contemporary perceptions of missionaries regarding Yun's role in the YMCA.

The third source is periodicals and newspapers. *T'ongnip Shinmun* (*the Independent*), for which Yun worked as editor-in-chief, contains ample information for understanding the nationalist efforts of the Independence Club. The *Ch'öng-nyön* (*Young Men*), published monthly by the YMCA, reveals Christian, social, political, ethical, and philosophical thoughts as well as economic, agricultural, educational, national, historical, and literary issues, in addition to several articles written by Yun Ch'i-ho and other association leaders. The *Korea Mission Field*, a monthly published from 1905 to 1942, is a repository, carrying immense information of missionary movements, including the YMCA. In addition to annual reports and statistics of denominational missionaries and the YMCA secretaries covering most of the colonial period, the periodical offers invaluable information on both Yun and the YMCA. Yun's involvement in so many national events, in addition to various educational projects, resulted in hundreds of newspaper clippings and articles in such magazines as *Korean Repository*, *Kidok Sinbo* (*The Christian Messenger*), *Kamni Hoebo* (*Methodist Reports*), *Taedo* (*The Great Way*), *Samch'ölli* (*Korea*), *Byölgöngon* (*Heaven and Earth and Stars*), *Tong-gwang* (*Eastern Light*), *Kaebyök* (*Revolution*), *Sin-min* (*New People*), and numerous national newspapers.

The fourth source is the Kautz Family YMCA Archives at the University of Minnesota. Annual reports, personal correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, minutes,

pamphlets, Association Press publications, and biographical files constitute the main structure of this study for the reconstruction of the history of the YMCA. Personal correspondence uncovers missing links, causes, dilemmas, struggles, and processes of important events that official annual reports often omit. Biographical files contain a wealth of information about the missionaries themselves, which illuminate their motives and preparation process for mission work with the YMCA abroad. Most sources simply wait for researchers because—as chief archivist, Degmar Getz, says—the putative notion of the YMCA mostly as a fitness center has not attracted many researchers. Archives at the University of Minnesota complement the immense number of sources related to the YMCA, preserved at Day Missions Library at Yale Divinity School and its John R. Mott collections, and invaluable papers on Yun Ch'i-ho, Young J. Allen, and Warren Candler at the Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL) at Emory University. The information in these primary sources will be measured against the scholarship in secondary sources.

Despite the admirable work of the international secretaries of the YMCA, the current need to look at mission histories in light of the indigenous roles, perspectives, and sensibilities has dictated the focus of this inquiry as well as its limitations. Moreover, Yun's missionary dimensions in relation to the YMCA, particularly in line with his reform efforts, have barely received scholarly attention, so exploration of the missing dimensions has limited this study. The overlap between the life of Yun Ch'i-ho and the YMCA, where the themes of nationalism and internationalism interact under the bondage

of a colonial government, naturally determines the parameters of this research. The time frame focuses from 1903, when the YMCA was launched in Korea, to the forced merger with the Japanese YMCA in 1938.

This study moves between the two interpretive frameworks of nationalism and internationalism. The definitions of the two terms, however, are contested. When national sovereignty was infringed upon by the unfettered imperial schemes, the consciousness of nationalism was bolstered for the assertion of national sovereignty and internal cohesion. Nationalism was thus primarily associated with the political independence of a nation. However, the means of political independence varied: direct political involvement in revolutionary activities that sought immediate consequences versus indirect cultural activities that laid the foundation for future independence. Unlike the prevalent use of nationalism to connote political independence in Korea's national history, this study uses "nationalism" as a broader aspiration and cumulative effort for the strength and self-reliance of the nation, which ultimately contribute toward political independence. Cultural nationalism concerns the comprehensive welfare of the people through religion, education, economy, and ethics, and thus is not narrowly limited to political activities.⁹

The term "internationalism" was coined by the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson after World War I. No less than five years after the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference celebrated the Christian advance in unity and progress, the same Christian

⁹ Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937*.

nations rose against one another, bringing as many ruptures and much destruction as they had previously united and constructed in the world. Wilson then proposed internationalism as a corrective measure to heal the wounds of the world in order to move beyond self-interests toward fraternity among nations, based on the ideals of peaceful brotherhood and human equality under God. Internationalism thus was promoted to reconstruct the world through international coalitions, in particular the League of Nations, for unity, peace, justice, and good-will.¹⁰ This study claims that the archetype of internationalism emerged in the prior crossroads of Christian missions and nations. Called Christian internationalism, it promotes unity and cooperation between nations based on Christian values such as compassion and altruism that transcend national egoism. With such a premise, this dissertation traces how Christian internationalism had driven the missionary movement of the YMCA and Yun Ch'i-ho for national reconstruction in colonial Korea.

¹⁰ Some systematic attempts to implement internationalism during the post-war period include such organizations as the League of Nations, the League to Enforce Peace, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, the World Court, and the National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War. See Dana L. Robert, "The First Globalization: The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement Between the World Wars," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 2002), 50–66; William Pierson Merrill, *Christian Internationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1919).

CHAPTER TWO
TOWARD CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONALISM
(1885–1894)

Every spiritual man is a man universal. Christ was the Son of Man because He did not belong to any particular age or race. Every great spirit, therefore, is in some measure a Son of Man unconditioned by time and circumstances.¹

Yun Ch'i-ho (1865–1945), escaping the wrath after the failure of Korea's progressive reform, encountered Christianity in China and the United States. Through his interactions with Western missionary teachers and appropriation of their Christian values, benevolence and service in particular, Yun experienced a transformation in which he transcended his own parochialism, realigned his identity, and consolidated a broader vision for Korea's regeneration in the global community.² This chapter examines how the ideas of reform that Yun carried abroad began to be inexorably intertwined with newly adopted values of Christianity and one of its vital components— Christian internationalism. Following the trajectory of Yun's education at the Anglo-Chinese College, Vanderbilt University, and Emory College, the chapter investigates the shift of

¹ Diary, October 25, 1892.

² Yun Ch'i-ho, "Ch'angsang pan baeknyön e saenggak nanün saramdül (Reminiscence of the people in the turbulent five decades of the past)." *Samch'ölli* (One Thousand Miles) 8, no.8 (August 1936): 40.

Yun's worldview from what he had maintained within the Korean peninsula to the one infused with Christian internationalism.

The *Kapsin* Coup (December 1884) and the Progressives in Korea

On 4 December 1884, an international celebration of the first modern post office in Seoul—comprising the United States, Britain, Germany, Japan, and China, along with the Korean progressives—turned a fiasco.³ The ruined banquet signaled an inauguration of the *Kapsin* Coup and the Progressive Party's reform cabinet. A cadre of intelligent young men in their twenties—Kim Ok-kyun (1851–1894, a leader of the coup, 33 years old at the time of the coup), Pak Yŏng-hyo (1861–1939, 23), Sŏ Kwang-bŏm (1860–1897, 24), and Sŏ Chae-p'il (1863–1951, 21)—orchestrated the overturn of the stagnant government, impatient at the emerging currents of modernization in China and Japan. The young progressives stationed soldiers in the hall of the banquet and directed arson and assassination of the conservative ministers. In the midst of the coup's terror, the progressives proclaimed the collapse of the old government, informed the king of the

³ The banquet was attended by American consul Lucius Foote, American secretary Scuttle, British consul Aston, Chinese consul Chinsuchang, Chinese secretary Taokwanghyo, Japanese secretary Och'ongu, interpreter Ch'onsang, and German Custom House consultant Möllendorf. Korean Progressives included the host Hong Yong-sik, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Kim Hong-jip, Han Gyu-jik, Min Yŏng-ik, Yi Cho-yŏn, Sŏ Kwang-bum, Min Pyŏng-i, Yun Ch'i-ho, Sin Nak-kyun, and Kim Ok-kyun. See, Kim Ok-kyun, *Kap-Sin Il-Rok*, trans. Cho Il-mun (Seoul: Kŏnguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1977), 83. Min had a lethal injury for which Horace Allen, the first missionary doctor and first Minister to Korea, offered medical treatment. The healing of Min's injury opened the way in Korea for Protestant missions by ensuring royal sanctions and increasing the credibility of Christianity.

calamity, and established a new reform cabinet for modernization in Korea.⁴ The new cabinet along with the coup, however, lasted only three days.

The Progressive Party attempted, first of all, to sever Korea's ancient tributary relationship with China and to remove a subservient conservative party called *Sadaedang* (a party serving the great power, China).⁵ The next stage of the reform would eradicate class distinctions between *yangban* (gentry) and *chŏnmin* (the ordinary), as well as eliminate nepotism among officials, the troublesome institution of eunuchs, vain formalities, defunct administrations, obsolete military organs, and exorbitant taxation. The restructuring of the ruling systems aimed to relieve the Korean people from malfunctioning officials and to create an efficient government conducive to fostering national strength.

The Party members were about to implement these landmark reforms in Korea when the Chinese commander Yuan Shih-k'ai—in assertion of suzerain—marshaled his 600 soldiers in the palace and stationed 1,500 more in the vicinity. The combined military force of Kim Ok-kyun and the Japanese Minister Takejoe Shinichiro, who had designed

⁴ Kim Ok-kyun, *Kap-Sin Il-Rok*, 41, 85, 91, 92. Yi Cho-yŏn, Yun T'ae-jun, Han Kyu-jik, Min T'ae-ho, Cho Yŏng-ha, and Min Yŏng-mok were assassinated. The reform cabinet consisted of Chancellor (former Yŏngŭijŏng and Uŭijŏng Yi Chae-wan, an elderly Confucian scholar as well as the Taewŏngun's nephew), Senior Vice-Minister (former U-ŭi-jŏng, Minister of Right, Hong Yŏng-sik), Foreign Minister (Sŏ Kwang-bŏm), Minister of Ceremony (Yecho, Kim Yun-sik), Minister of Military (Yi Chae-wan), Minister of Punishment (Yun Ungnyŏl, Yun Ch'i-ho's father), and Hansŏng P'anyun (Seoul Governor Kim Hong-jip). Kim Hong-jip (former Minister of Foreign Office) and Kim Yun-sik (former Vice Minister of Foreign Office) were reappointed.

⁵Chai-sik Chung, *A Korean Confucian Encounter with the Modern World: Yi Hang-No and the West* (Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1995). Chung portrays how the Yi society—exemplified in the case of a conservative, Yi Hang-no—observed Chuhŭi Confucianism and resisted Western currents of modernization to the extent of showing contempt for Ch'i-ng China's efforts of Westernization.

the coup with Kim, was no match for that of the Chinese. Upon the advance of Yuan Shih-k'ai, the reformers were only beginning to clean their rusty guns; Takejoe and his soldiers fled.

The failure of the Coup brought an immediate tragedy. As a consequence, the host of the banquet, Hong Yong-sik, was executed with his family and all his belongings were confiscated. The reformers, Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Sŏ Kwang-bom, and Sŏ Chae-p'il, took flight on 13 December 1884 on the Japanese steamship, Chitoshi Maru, together with Takejoe. The Japanese consulate was burned down.⁶ Whereas Sŏ Chae-p'il successfully boarded the ship, all his family members were executed. Pak Yŏng-hyo's father was deposed and died in prison in 1884.⁷ The coup agents, Yi Ch'ang-gyu, Sŏ Chae-ch'ang, and O Se-mo, were beheaded. The conservative government confiscated the possessions of Kim Ok-kyun, burned down his house, and punished his family members to slavery.⁸ Some of the reformers died before they could see another reform in the nation in 1894. Kim Ok-kyun was assassinated in Shanghai in 1894 and Sŏ Kwang-bom died in America in 1897. Korea was left with the old stagnant government while

⁶ Pak Yong-hyo, "Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn " in *Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn Hoego Rok*, ed. Cho Il-mun, Sin, Pok-ryong (Seoul: Kŏnguk Taehak Ch'ulp'anbu, 2006), 208. Chŏng Gyo erroneously records in his *Taehan Kyenyŏnsa* that Yun Ch'i-ho fled in shaven heads and Western attires along with the reformers, when Takejoe fled to the port in Inchŏn. Chŏng's records show discrepancies with other sources, indicating that his source should be taken with caution. Chŏng Kyo, *Taehan Kyenyŏnsa, 1864-1910*, 10 vols. (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'ansa, 2004), 130; Diary, 19 January 1885. As for Yun's departure, his own diary is more reliable; Yun left for China, separately from the reformers, on 19 January 1885, when Lucius Foote left for the U. S.

⁷Kim Ku, *Paekpŏm ilgi* (Diary of Kim Ku), ed. To Chin-sun (Seoul: Tolbeagae, 1997), 228.

⁸ Chŏng, *Taehan Kyenyŏnsa, 1864-1910*, vol.1, 163, 164. In Japan, Kim Ok-kyun led a debauched life for five years, consigned to an island by the Japanese government. See Diary, December 7, 8, 1884.

Japan waged the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Japan's colonization would eventually supplant China's suzerainty over Korea two decades later.

Andrew Nahm's analysis of the *Kapsin* Coup failure reveals fundamental problems of late-nineteenth-century Korean society. These include the staunch Confucian conservatism hostile to Western ideology, the Min faction who sought family supremacy and power monopoly at the expense of Korea's independence from China, and the Chinese resolution to maintain its prerogatives in Korea. Nahm claims that the reformers underestimated the Korea's geo-political role in relation to both China and Japan. Because of their poor view of the country, Nahm argues, the reformers hardly expected that China would prioritize its old suzerainty of Korea over fighting for Indo-China with France, a stance that awakened Japan to the importance of Korea for the security of Asia. Nahm also points to the problem of the traditional premise of the reformers for a top-down elite reform, despite their laudable aspiration for modernizing Korea.⁹

The Progressive Party and its exclusive elites conducted the reform without grassroots support. The Progressive Party strived to emulate the Meiji Reform as its model of modernization but overlooked crucial elements of the process where military and merchant middleclass support played the key role. In addition, the *Kapsin* reformers had not yet realized the idea of a democratic procedure—a pivotal element of modernization.¹⁰ Kim Ok-kyun's final decision on the execution of the coup was made

⁹ Andrew Changwoo Nahm, "Kim Ok-Kun and the Korean Progressive Movement, 1882-1884" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1961), 324–330.

¹⁰ Kim Ok-kyun's *Journal of Kapsin* reveals that the Japanese consul Takejoe intimated on the plan of the Sino-Japanese War and the changed political landscape in Asia. After the conversation with Takejoe, Kim made a final resolution for the coup.

with the single agreement of Takejoe. In reading *Kapsin Ilrok* by Kim Ok-kyun, modern readers will be alarmed by the degree to which Kim relied exclusively on Takejoe (Minister of Japanese Legation), and Kim's assumption that Takejoe would draw the entire Japanese military force.¹¹ Pak Yŏng-hyo explained that such a reliance on the Japanese force was unavoidable in order to withstand the intervention of the immense Chinese army.¹² Both Yi Kwang-rin and Nahm Ch'angwoo, along with Sŏ Chae-p'il, affirm that the failure of the coup resulted from the top-down approach implemented by the Progressive Party. This point is critical in understanding the approach of the Independence Club and *the Independent* over a decade later, which will be addressed in Chapter III. The survivors of the *Kapsin* Coup, Sŏ Chae-p'il and Yun Ch'i-ho, would later apply this lesson to an inclusive reform among the masses by the Independence Club.¹³ Until then, Sŏ and Yun would be trained at international schools in China and the United States.

Yun Ch'i-ho and the Kapsin Coup

The youngest of the progressives, Yun Ch'i-ho (1865–1945, age 19 at the time of the coup) partook in the post office banquet as an interpreter for Lucius H. Foote, the first

¹¹ Kim Ok-kyun, *Kap-Sin Il-Rok*; F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (New York, Chicago, London, Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919), 28–41.

¹² Pak., *Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn Hoegorok* (Recollection of the Kapsin Coup), 204, 205.

¹³ Yi Kang-rin, "Sŏ Chae-p'il kwa tongnip sinmun (Sŏ Chae-p'il and the *Independent*)," *Tong A Ilbo* (Tong A Daily), January 1975.

American Envoy to Korea.¹⁴ Yun Ch'i-ho was appointed as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, his father, Yun Ung-nyŏl, as Minister of Punishment in the progressives' reform cabinet. Yun and his father, both sympathizers of the Progressive Party, however, opposed the revolutionary methods of the coup that involved the overthrow of the royal leadership. They yearned for social progress, yet held that it should come by way of conciliatory and orderly construction within the established system. Yun and his father bemoaned that the reformers did not implement their plan with the concerted efforts of the court and the populace.¹⁵ Such a stance of theirs would persist throughout subsequent national incidents.¹⁶ The causes of the coup failure, as they viewed, were recorded in Yun's diary:

1. The King was threatened, which infringed on a moral principle.
2. Since the coup relied on foreign force, the effects of reform would not last long.
3. The people did not sympathize with the revolutionary method of the coup, a fact which might incite revolts.
4. Chinese troops, numerically stronger than the Japanese soldiers, were induced to fight with the numerically weaker Japanese soldiers.
5. By killing subjects of King and Queen, the reformers would be subject to the wrath of the court and the premiers of the nation.
6. A handful of reformers would not suffice for the reform cabinet, and would lose through the coup the favor of King, Queen, ministers, people, Korean soldiers, Chinese soldiers, and all factions.¹⁷

¹⁴ Kim, *Kapsin Illok*, 47; Diary, November 10, 1884. References to Yun appear beginning on this day in Kim's *Journal*. Foote's formal title was Minister Plenipotentiary, Envoy Extraordinary.

¹⁵ Diary, December 19, 1884; Yŏng-hŭi Kim, *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-ho sŏnsaeng yakchŏn* (A biography of Yun Ch'i-ho) (Kyongsong: Kidokkyo Chosŏn Kamnihoe Ch'ongniwon, 1934), 33, 41; Harold F. Cook, *Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-Kyun's Elusive Dream* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Taewon Publishing Company, 1972), 161.

¹⁶ Diary, December 8, 1884. King Kojong mentioned that Yun and his father were not guilty of the coup. Yun was in deep anxiety over the potential criticism by the king and the people because of his close association with the progressives. See Diary, December 7, 1884.

¹⁷ Diary, December 7, 1884.

Yun in particular, as an interpreter between the first American Envoy and the Korean Palace, was all the more reluctant to aggravate Korea's nascent foreign relations.¹⁸ Regardless of procedural infelicity or the immediate abortion of the coup, however, the reform impulse of the *Kapsin* Coup cast a long shadow over the modernization of Korea. The impact of the coup on Yun's life and thought, as with other progressives, was indelible. Having undergone the coup and fleeing to China in December 1884, Yun continued to cherish the reform ideals for Korea. Yun learned more from the glaring failure of the *Kapsin* Coup than from its promising blueprint.

Yun's Father Yun Ung-ryöl (1841–) and Susinsa (May 1880)

Until he sailed to China, Yun identified himself as a progressive and an associate of the Progressive Party. What, then, was the condition in which the Progressive Party was formed and Yun was associated with the Party? How did the progressives gain their understanding of Korea's role in the international structure of East Asia? Answering these questions requires stepping back to the immediate past of the *Kapsin* Coup in late-nineteenth-century Korea.

Breaking the long-secretive policy of the Taewöngun and the standing suzerain relationship exclusively with China, Korea contracted the unequal *Kanghwa* Treaty with

¹⁸ Diary, November 3, 4, 7, 13, 19, December 5, 6, 1884. Yun's record of Min Yöng-ik's association with the Chinese commander, Yuan Shih-k'ai, corresponds to Pak Yöng-hyo's view of Min's stance. See Pak 202. Yun apprehended that Min had developed an association with Yuan for personal profits rather than for national benefits despite Yuan's retrogressive influence in Korea.

Japan in February 1876, which would consecutively open Korean diplomatic relations with other countries.¹⁹ As a gesture of amicable diplomacy, the Korean palace sent a group of emissaries called a *Susinsa*, headed by Kim Ki-su, Vice-Minister of Ceremonies (*Yejo Ch'amŭi*). The first *Susinsa* inspected modernized Japanese institutions for two months beginning in May 1876. Spurred by the *Susinsa*'s promising reports, yet under complex duress of diplomatic hitches and economic interests, the Korean palace sent the second *Susinsa* headed by Kim Hong-jip, Minister of Ceremonies. From July to November in 1880, the group of 58 attendants—scholars of classics and literature, a language specialist, interpreters, soldiers, a painter, and other clerks—inspected Japanese institutions.²⁰

From this second mission, Kim Hong-jip brought back a provocative book, *Chao-hsien ts'e-lüeh* (朝鮮策略, A Policy for Korea), written by Huang Tsun-hsien (黃遵憲), a Chinese consulate in Japan. Huang advocated the introduction of Western technologies for the economic and military development of Korea and the formation of a trans-Pacific alliance among China, Japan, Korea, and the United States to fend off the southward expansion of Russia. When Kim Hong-jip, upon his return to Korea, presented this book

¹⁹ Under the Kanghwa Treaty, Korea began to open the major ports of Wŏnsan and Inchŏn, the reason why the two cities later became important ports for international commerce. Korean merchants had a long history of transactions with Japanese merchants in Pusan since the Imjin War in 1592. After the Kanghwa Treaty in 1876, the gravity of power between the two nations fell toward Japan, which had succeeded in the Meiji Reform for modernization in 1868.

²⁰ Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 51-61. From April 4 to June 1, 1876, the *Susinsa*, composed of 76 attendants, inspected the Japanese Bureaus of Home Affairs, military, navy, industry, education, museums, and development. Kim Ki-su was particularly impressed by the Japanese's techniques in photography, military discipline, and the telegraph.

to King Kojong, it aroused not a little commotion, but revolts among Confucian scholars of the Korean government. These first two royal commissions to Japan, boosted by the subsequent emissaries, formed a strong camaraderie and a spirit of pioneer among the members yearning for the modernization of Korea during their journey of inspection. These cohered to form the progressives and the Progressive Party.

Yun Ung-nyŏl, a major influence on his young son, Yun Ch'i-ho, accompanied the second *Susinsa* in 1880.²¹ Father Yun, a soldier, was naturally impressed by the systematic discipline of the Japanese army, its modern weapons, and their advanced steam ships.²² As a consequence of the second *Susinsa*, the Palace organized the Army of Special Skills (*Pyŏlgigun* 別技軍) in 1881, an endeavor to modernize military equipment and soldier discipline. Yun Ung-nyŏl, who reported to the king on the system of the Japanese army, was appointed as the master (左副領官) of the special army.²³ Yun Ung-nyŏl thus became an associate of the progressives, proven in his appointment as Minister of Punishment and Defense in the Progressive Party's reform cabinet. This relationship with the progressives made the fate of Yun Ung-ryŏl fluctuate with that of the Progressive Party and eventually subjected him to a life of exile. After the failure of the *Kapsin* Coup he had to flee in disguise, wearing commoners' attire, with the

²¹ Kim Yong Heui, ed., *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-Ho Sonsaeng Yakchon* (Kyŏngsŏng [Seoul] Kidokkyo Chosŏn Kamnihoe Ch'ongniwŏn, 1934), 12; Kim Ul-han, *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-ho chŏn* (Seoul: Ulyu Munhwasa, 1978), 37.

²² Ibid. The two biographies aforementioned record that Yun's father petitioned King Kojong to organize a new army and to invite a Japanese cadet in order to train soldiers as in the Japanese army. The authors also claim that Yun Ung-nyŏl ordered 20,000 new guns along with the Japanese training officer, Horimoto Reizo (堀本禮造), who would be killed by the Soldiers' Mutiny in 1882.

²³ Kim, *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-ho chŏn*. 38.

progressives.²⁴ He was restored to the position of Asan Pyöngsa (芽山兵使) only when the progressives received remission in 1894. Yun Ung-nyöl, with his unforgettable impressions from the second *Susinsa* in 1880, encouraged his son, Yun Ch'i-ho, to accompany his teacher Ö Yun-jung in the third observation envoy to Japan in 1881, *Sinsa Yuramdan*.²⁵ Yun was only sixteen when he left for Japan in the royal commission of *Sinsa Yuramdan*.

The Third Gentlemen's Observation Envoys (Sinsa Yuramdan), April 1881

Sinsa Yuramdan, the Gentlemen's Observation Group of 38 envoys and attaches, investigated such modern institutions of Japan as Administration of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Military System, Legislation, Industry, and Customs House.²⁶ While Yun was the attaché of Ö Yun-jung, Yi Sang-chae (who would become Yun's right arm at the Independence Club as well as the YMCA), was an attaché of Pak Chöng-yang within the *Sinsa Yuramdan*. Pak Chöng-yang later would be the strongest sponsor of the *Independent*, the literary organ of the Independence Club.²⁷ According to Pak Yöng-

²⁴ Yi Kwang-rin, *Kaehwadang yön'gu* (A Study of the Progressive Party) (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1996). Yi states that Yun Ung-nyol, a proponent of the progressives, was not involved in the Progressive Party.

²⁵ *Wönhoch'ö Tongnip Undong sa* (A history of the Independence Movement), vol. 9. The group consisted of twelve members; Cho Chun-yöng, Pak Chöng-yang, Öm Se-yöng, Kang Mun-hyöng, Cho Pyöng-jik, Min Chong-muk, Yi Hyön-yöng, Sim Sang-hak, Hong Yöng-sik, Ö Yun-jung, Yi Wön-hoe, and Kim Yong-wön. Each of the twelve delegates accompanied one interpreter and one attaché, so the total number of attendees was thirty-six. In reality, sixty-two members formed this inspection troupe. Chong. Vol. 1, 76.

²⁶ Later in the same year (1881), *Yöngsönsa*, a group of thirty-eight, was sent to Tientin (天津) headed by Kim Yun-sik. See Kwang-rin Yi, *Han'guk Kaehwa Sa Yon'gu* (Seoul: Iljokak, 1969). 278.

hyo's memoir of the *Kapsin* Coup, the Progressive Party was formed within the *Sinsa Yuramdan*, where yearning for modernization bound together the attendants, such as Sŏ Kwang-pŏm, Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Hong Yŏng-sik, Yun Ch'i-ho, and Yi Sang-chae. These progressives, challenged by the neighboring country's progress, conceived an aspiring scheme for Korea's reconstruction.²⁸ Given Korea's need of strengthening its military and economic force in order to counter the Western incursion, what impressed the first *Susinsa* in March 1876 seemed only reinforced by the ensuing emissaries of the second *Susinsa* and the third *Sinsa Yuramdan* respectively in 1880 and 1881.²⁹

Education in Japan (June 1881–April 1883)

After completing *Sinsa Yuramdam*'s observation in June 1881, Yun Ch'i-ho was enrolled at Tonginsa (同人社), a modern school founded by Chungch'on chŏngjik (中村正直), and studied English as its first Korean student.³⁰ During this time, Yun built

²⁷Vipan Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988), 97.

²⁸Pak; *ibid.* *Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn Hoegorok* (Recollection of the Kapsin Coup), 197; Yi, *Kaehwadang Yon'gu*, 18. Yi Kwang-rin argues that the Progressive Party was formed in 1879, based on Min Tae-won's *Kapsin Chongbyon kwa Kim Ok-kyun* (1925) and its unidentified sources. This study follows the more reliable chronology of the *Taehan Kyenyŏnsa*, which records that the *Tongni gimusamun* was instituted in January 1882 after the commissioning of *Sinsa Yunramdan* and *Yŏngsŏnsa*. Yi claims that *Tongnigimamun* was organized in 1880. Yi Sang-chae was an attaché of Hong Yŏng-sik. See, Chandra, 97.

²⁹Deuchler., 101, 102. Chong. Vol. 1: 73.

³⁰Deuchler 101; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Ch'angsang pan baeknyŏn e saenggak nanŭn saramdŭl (Reminiscence of the people in the turbulent five decades of the past)." *Samch'ŏlli* (One Thousand Miles)8, no.8 (August 1936): 38.; Kim, ed., *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-Ho Sonsaeng Yakchon*, 25–27. Yu Kil-jun, who composed the famous *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* (What I have seen in the West) written after his inspection of America

a close relationship with Kim Ok-kyun on the latter's visit to Japan as the fourth royal emissary in 1882.³¹ Yun stayed at Kim's residence in Japan for over a week and Kim gave Yun a watch. This relationship would last until Kim's death in Shanghai in 1894.³² The fellowship between Kim Ok-kyun and Yun, sometimes including Sŏ Kwang-bŏm, was extended to Fukuzawa Yukichi, a renowned reformer in Japan. Yun and Kim Ok-kyun had frequent conversations with Fukuzawa, Yun mostly interpreting for Kim on Fukuzawa's views on international relations and social progress.³³ Kim in particular had

and study at Governor Dummer Academy, and Yu Chŏng-su were also attachés of Ŏ Yun-chung, as was Yun Ch'i-ho. These three started studying soon after their arrival in Japan. Yun Kil-jun studied at 慶應義塾 (Keio University) founded by Fukuzawa Ukichi (福澤諭吉). Yi, *Kaehwadang Yon'gu* 24. Tonginsa offered courses in English, mathematics, and Chinese. Yun Kil-jun's son, Yu Ok-kyŏm, served at the YMCA and Yŏnsei University with Yun Ch'i-ho.

³¹ Pak Chŏng-sin, "Yun Ch'i-ho yŏn'gu; kŭ ũi ilgirŭl chungsimŭro [a Study of Yun Ch'i-ho, centering on his diary]," *Paeksan Hakbo* 23, no. (1977). See Park's analysis of the associates with whom Yun interacted from 1 January 1883 to 16 January 1883, based on *Imo Ilgi*.

³² Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sae chŏngwŏl e saenggak nanŭn saramdŭl, Sanghae esŏ yŏngbyŏlhan Kmokkyunssi (People remembered in the new year's day: Kim Ok-kyun assassinated in Shanghai)." *Pyŏlgŏngŏn* (New Heaven and Earth) (January 1929): 38. 39; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sanghae saenggak (Reminiscence of Shanghai)" *Samch'ŏlli* (One Thousand Miles) 10 (May 1938): 63 -66; Diary, September 2, 1897. In January 1883, Yun stayed for over a week at the Kim's residence in Japan. Yun always carried a watch that was a present from Kim Ok-kyun, and gave to his wife another watch that was a present from Queen Min, the enemy of Kim Ok-kyun. The two watches, presented to Yun by two enemies, symbolized Yun's life-long predilection to hold both seemingly opposite ends of circumstances. The fourth emissary sent by the Korean palace consisted of Pak Yŏng-hyo, Kim Man-sik, Sŏ Kwang-pŏm, Kim Ok-kyun, and Min Yŏng-ik; Pak. *Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn Hoegorok* (Recollection of the Kapsin Coup), 196, 202. The emissary was sent after the Soldiers Insurgence of 1882 (*Imo Gullan*). Among these delegates, Min Yŏng-ik later parted with the progressives. Although Min desired national reform, he—as a relative of Queen Min—fell into enmity with the progressives. The progressives abominated the Min faction's monopoly of political power and reliance on retrogressive China. Min kept the royal prerogatives and did not associate with the other progressives. His brotherly relation with the Chinese Yuan Shih-k'ai especially repelled the progressives, who sought independence from suzerainty to China.

³³ Harold F. Cook, *Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-kyun's Elusive Dream* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972), 64, 75, 106.

solidified his plan for national reform by 1883, which displayed his keen interest in Japanese military training and its Western models and methods.³⁴

Not only did Yun associate with Kim and Fukuzawa, their relationship more remotely also provided a network for the introduction of Christianity. A link between Yun and Kim was extended to Lucius H. Foote, the first American Envoy to Korea who would enter Korea, based on the Korean-American Treaty (*Hanmi t'ongsang choyak*) drawn on 22 May 1882.³⁵ While in Japan, Kim introduced Yun to Lucius H. Foote; this encounter allowed Foote to enter Korea with his interpreter, Yun, in April 1883. Foote, the son of a Congregational minister, also met in Japan Rev. Robert Maclay, a missionary to China, who transferred to Japan as a Methodist bishop. Foote and Maclay thus encountered Yun in Japan, eventually facilitating the opening of the Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Korea in June 1884. Kim Ok-kyun, having established relationships with Yun and Foote in Japan, and now Minister of Foreign Affairs (外部承旨) in Korea, helped Maclay gain the favor of King Kojong toward Protestant mission in 1883.³⁶ Bishop Maclay thus had gained permission to bring Christianity to Korea three months before H. Allen's arrival in 1884.³⁷ The progressives favored the

³⁴ Diary, January 1, 2, 3, 1883.

³⁵ Kim, *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-ho chŏn*. 47.

³⁶ Yur-bok Lee, *Dilomatic Relations between the United States and Korea, 1866-1887* (New York Humanities Press, 1970), 52, 70, 71. As for the role of John D. Goucher, see 60. Kim, *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-ho chŏn*. 47.

³⁷ Chu-sam Ryang, "Ch'ongrisa ūi p'yŏnji (A letter from the General Superintendent)," *Kamri Hoebŏ* (The Korean Methodist) (February 1934): 1, 2. The Methodist Episcopal Church celebrated the fiftieth year of Maclay's mission in 1934.

advance of Christian missionaries, understanding Christianity as the religion of progress and modernization of the West.

Yun, returning to Korea from Tokyo with Foote in May 1883, and Kim, also from Tokyo in the summer of 1883, converged with the emerging reformers, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Hong Yŏng-sik, O Yun-jung, Yu Tae-ch'i, Pyŏn Su, and Sŏ Kwang-bŏm, who had been shaping their reform plan at Pak's house in Korea.³⁸ In Korea, Yun interpreted the king's request to Foote for three American teachers who would teach English and give agricultural advice for the experimental American farm.³⁹ The king's request for English education and agricultural development did not bring immediate and significant results in Foote's response, but it would be later implemented in Yun's own Anglo-Korean School and its agricultural and industrial education, along with English courses. As a court interpreter, Yun watched the diplomatic handling of international ministers such as P. G. Möllendorff, former German Consul at Tientsin; Aston, former British Consul at Kobe; E. Zappe, German Consul General at Yokohama; and Harry Parkes, the British Minister to China, all of whom vigorously contended to secure treaties in ways to maximize the advantages of respective states.⁴⁰ Yun also watched how W. D. Townsend, the representative of the American Trading Company of Yokohama in Korea and later a

³⁸ Yi Kwang-rin, *Han'guk Kaehwa Sa Ui Chemunje* (The problems of the history of enlightenment in Korea) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1986), 46–63. Pak. *Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn Hoegorok* (Recollection of the Kapsin Coup), 204, 205. Yi states that the first students in Japan were Yu Kil-jun, age 26, Yu Chong-su, age 25, and Yun Ch'i-ho, age 17. Yu Kil-jun and Yu Chong-su probably studied politics and economy at Keio Gijuku Daigaku (Keio University 慶應義塾) founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉) in 1858.

³⁹ Foote, to Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, September 10, 1884.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

member of the Municipal Council of the international settlement in Inch'ŏn, rose to a commercial tycoon with his monopoly over rice-cleaning businesses. Yun's sympathy with the king's struggles for the modernization of Korea can probably be ascribed as much to his court experiences of interpreting on behalf of the king as to his prior Confucian education. The exogenous factors, mostly through international interactions in Japan, thus formed the Progressive Party and their reform vision. As the endogenous element of their reform vision, the *Kapsin* Coup and the Progressive Party inherited the legacy of the remote past, without which the exclusively external influence would not bring a genuine rebirth to Korea.

The Progressive Party and Sirhak

The Progressive Party inherited the reform impulse of *Sirhak* (實學) scholars, who championed pragmatism in their scholarship for cultivation of national resources and practical benefits of the common people.⁴¹ Pak Kyu-su, a grandson of Pak Chi-wŏn, who was one of the patriarchs of *Sirhak* scholars, was an important link between *Sirhak* scholars and the Progressive Party, the core members of which discussed the scholarship of Pak Chi-wŏn at the house of Pak Kyu-su. Spearheading with Pak Kyu-su and Pak Che-

⁴¹ Major scholars include Yi Su-gwang (1563–1628), Yu Hyŏng-wŏn (1622–1673), Yi Ik (1681–1763), Yi Chung-hwan (1690–?), Yu Su-wŏn (1695–1755), Pak Chi-wŏn (1737–1805), Hong Tae-yong (1731–1783), Pak Che-ga (1750–?), Yi Tong-mu (1741–1793), An Chŏng-bok (1721–1791), Han Ch'i-yun (1765–1814), Yi Kŭng-ik (1736–1806), Yi Chong-hwi (1731–1797), and Yu Tŭk-kong (1748–1807). Among these scholars, Chŏng Yak-yong was the titan of *Sirhak* scholarship in the Yi Dynasty. Other terms used for the Progressive Party are the Liberal Party and the Enlightenment Party. The terms have often been used to designate the reformers of Kim Ok-kyun's informal political group, but they also designated those reformers whose activities for the modernization of Korea spanned the period from 1876 to 1898. Kim, *Kap-Sin Il-Rok*. 16

ga, the *Sirhak* scholars read such Chinese books as *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* (Illustrated Treaties on Nations across the Sea) and *Ying-huan chih-lüeh* (A World Cultural Geography) and advocated trade relations with foreign countries and an open stance toward Western technology.⁴² The confluence of ideas, *Sirhak*, from the homeland and from overseas (including Fukuzawa Yukichi) helped those progressives move from the conventional frame of thoughts to a creative exploration of new spheres that would bring practical benefits to the people.⁴³

A critical component of *Sirhak* scholarship was enabled by a hereditary class of people called *Chungin*, who were subordinate to the *yangban* class.⁴⁴ *Chungin* were engaged in such important sectors of modern society snubbed by their *yangban* contemporaries: medicine, commerce, translation, astronomy, meteorology, accounting, law, documentation, and the arts. Agriculture, architecture, communication, military, and manufacture—which had been treated as secondary in importance to philosophy, history, and literature for five centuries—now received the main attention by *Sirhak* scholars. *Sirhak* scholarship encompassed these specialties of *Chungin*, since the marginalized position of *Sirhak* scholars allowed frequent contact with marginalized people and the

⁴² Yi Wan-chaeh, *Pak Kyusu yŏn'gu* (a Study of Pak Kyu-su) (Seoul: Chipmundang, 1999), 86; Yi Kwang-su, "Pak Yong-Hyo " *Tong Kwang* (March 1931); Lee Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea*, 267,268; Yi Kwang-rin, *Kaehwadang yŏn'gu*. Yi Kwang-rin argues that the Progressive Party found its ideological sources in *Sirhak*.

⁴³ Wan-chaeh. 243–245.

⁴⁴ Yi society consisted of four classes of people: the literati, farmers, artisans, and merchants (士農工商). The *yangban* (兩班, Korean aristocrats) were subdivided into military and civic officials, the latter enjoying higher prestige over the former. Such stratification later became more subdivided between the "Seoul *yangban*," who monopolized the political clout in the capital, and the local *yangban* who had incurred royal disfavor.

discovery of their interests of vital importance for daily living. While *Sirhak* scholars reinterpreted the traditional fields of the human condition, government, family, history, and language, they expanded the horizons of scholarship by exploring the fields of *Chungin*. Because of *Chungin*'s secondary status in society, their achievements barely received recognition by mainline scholars in the traditional Chosun Dynasty. Yu Hong-gi (1831–1885, with penname Yu Tae-ch'I, a herbal medicine specialist), O Kyöng-sök (1831–1879, a translator-interpreter), Yi Tong-in (1849-1881, a Buddhist monk) belonged to the *Chungin* class.

Sirhak scholars furthermore suggested an alternative society ruled by egalitarianism and empiricism, unlike the ruling ideologies of formalities and orthodox Confucianism. *Sirhak* scholars' occupations thus constituted a direct challenge to the mainline *yangban* culture and metaphysical *Chuhŭi* Confucian scholars. *Sirhak*'s pursuits appeared as an antithesis to neo-Confucianism, although the former in a profound way reclaimed the latter, since the fundamental value of both strands met at one point: rule by virtue of righteousness (經世治民).⁴⁵ Hence *Sirhak*'s pragmatism and scholarly approaches were stigmatized as a strain of heterodox by the metaphysical *Chuhŭi* neo-Confucian scholars. *Sirhak* scholars, rather than rehashing the classical texts of history and literature from China that did not reflect current Korean situations, started with their Korean field observations. As a consequence, they produced critical scholarship with

⁴⁵ Lee Ki-Baik, *Han'guk Sa Sillon* trans. Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). chapters 9, 11. Passim. These scholars championed abolishing social classes, employing competent officials, and achieving equal educational opportunities. *Yangban* made significant contributions to social progress in the Yi Dynasty despite the fact that they only held top public offices, observed Chinese classics, and defined the culture and laws of society. Criticism of *yangban* was a natural corollary of the disenfranchised classes, such as *chungin*.

special attention to agriculture and farmers who had been sidelined as a secondary class, yet accounted for 85 percent of the nation's production.⁴⁶ As for methodology of scholarship, *Sirhak* advocated observation of reality, substantiation with evidence, and a bottom-up approach, similar to the Baconian methodology of deductive inquiry. Their field knowledge enabled them to use an inductive approach, transcending the limitations of *Chuhŭi* Confucianism and thereby pioneering the way for enlightenment and modernization in Korea.

Yangban, who basked in the status quo and speculated on Chinese philosophy while neglecting manual work, became a target of severe criticism by *Sirhak* scholars. *Yangban*'s impotence in practical matters and dependence thereby on the labor of other people made them look as social parasites. *Yangbanjŏn* (A tale of yangban) by Pak Chi-wŏn, for instance, reveals how *yangban*—the honorable literati—monopolized social prestige, yet were thoroughly incapable of performing practical tasks of daily life, dependent on the help and labor of non-*yangban* people.⁴⁷ Yun's scathing criticisms of

⁴⁶ On the open stance toward the foreign countries, see Wan-jae Yi, *Pak Kyusu Yŏn'gu* (A study of Pak Kyusu) (Seoul: Chipmundang, 1999). Contrary to the Taewŏn'gun's closed-door policy toward foreign countries, Pak Kyu-su, one of *Sirhak* patriarchs, advocated a radically open stance to the West. On *Sirhak*'s emphasis on agriculture, see Choi Hong-gyu, *Uhayŏng ŭi Sirhak Sasang Yŏn'gu* (A study of U Ha-yŏng's *Sirhak* thoughts) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1995); Yong-ha Sin, *Chosŏn hugi sirhakpaui sahoe sasang yŏn'gu* (A study of social thoughts by *Sirhak* scholars in the late Yi Dynasty) (Seoul: Chisik Sanŏpsa, 1997). On *Sirhak*'s pragmatism and open stance toward Western scholarship, see Chang-tae Kum, *Han'guk Sirhak Sasang Yŏn'gu* (A study of *Sirhak* in Korea) (Seoul: Han'guk Haksul Chŏng-bo, 2008). On divisions among the *Sirhak* scholars between those who stood for accepting both Western technology and religion and those who argued for accepting only Western science and technology but not religion, see Sŭng-sun, Pak, *Chosŏn yuhak gwa sŏyang kwahak ŭi mannam* (An encounter of the Confucianism of Yi Dynasty and the Western science) (Seoul: Gozŭwin, 2005).

⁴⁷ Pak Chi-wŏn, *Yangbanjŏn* (A story of yangban), trans. Richard Rutt.

the dependence structure generated by Confucianism and Korean literati corresponded to that of *Sirhak* scholars on the practices of *yangban*.⁴⁸

Sirhak's rise also related to the defunct Confucian scholars around the time of King Sunjo's ascent at the age of ten in 1800, when the bureaucratic government of the Yi Dynasty degenerated into a ring of power struggles, dominated by a few royal in-law families (*sedo chŏngch'i*). The government, divided into a number of factions, turned into a hotbed of intrigues and counter-intrigues.⁴⁹ While the cabinet divided along the various centers in these power struggles, the country's land lay fallow, with farmers exploited by local officials. Peasants and merchants were engulfed by deprivation in waning commercial forces, while the Korean court was entangled in internecine frictions. During this time newly imported knowledge from China stimulated the marginalized *yangban*, providing inspiration for social change toward what they regarded as the ideal state.⁵⁰

Capitalizing on the new currents of thought from contemporary China, *Sirhak* scholars integrated them into their reinterpretation of *Chuhŭi* Confucianism, rather than merely rehashing the latter. Unlike mainline *Chuhŭi* Confucianism and its stance of *Chŏksa wijong* (rejection of Western civilization as barbarian encroachment), *Sirhak* had a positive attitude toward Western science and technologies.⁵¹ They also received a

⁴⁸ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Cholŏpsaeng ūi ch'w'ijik munje: Obaengnyŏn yuraeŭi sahwansimŭl pŏryŏra (Problems of getting jobs by the graduates: discard the mentality of office seekers)" *Sinmin* (New People) 23 (March 1927) : 15-18; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Samhŏrŭl pŏrira (Let's get rid of three vain practices)," *Sinmin* (New People) (January 1929): 2-3; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Kumi in ūi chosŏn in kwan ūl pyŏng ham (Criticism on the Westerners' view of Koreans), *Sinmin* (New People) 56 (February 1930) : 7-9.

⁴⁹ Lee, *Han'guksa Sillon* 247.

⁵⁰ Yi, *Han'gukkKaehwa sa yŏn'gu*. 7.

Western religion, Catholicism, which had been introduced from China, and produced prominent Catholic *Sirhak* scholars such as the brothers of Chung Yak-yong and Chung Yak-chŏn.⁵² The religious persecution of Catholics in early-nineteenth-century Korea only served the growth of Catholicism because the marginalized *Sirhak* scholars, in the crevice of fragmented social structures, turned to Catholicism in their pursuit of the nation's enlightenment.

Along with the influence of *Sirhak*, Yun, striving to pass the civil service examination from the age of eight up to sixteen, assimilated *Chuhŭi* Confucianism, the ideals and values of which undeniably took root in his worldview.⁵³ Although Yun detested subjugating Korea to Confucianism and its Chinese ramifications, his position reflected the central tenets of Confucianism, called the Five Relations, and their

⁵¹ As to “Ch’ŏksa Wijong” Confucianism, see Chung, Yu-han Won, *Choson Hugi Sirhakui Saengsong Palchon Yon’gu [a Study on the Origin and Development of the Late Yi Dynasty Sirhak]* (Seoul: Hyeon, 2003). 19–75; “Sirhak ihae palgyŏn ŭi whaktaerŭl wihan siron- Sirhakcha chungsimesŏ yŏksajŏk sanghwang chungsimŭro (A study of the historical context of *Sirhak*),” *Chosŭn hugi Sirhak yŏn’gu hyŏnhwang gwa gwaje* (Issues in the Study of *Sirhak* of the Late Yi Dynasty) (Han’guksa yŏn’guhoe, 1999), Han’guk Sirhak Ihae sigak hwaktaerŭl wihan siron (A study of *Sirhak* on a broader perspective), *Han’guk Sirhakŭi Saeroŭn Mosaek* (A search for new methods of *Sirhak* study in Korea) (Han’guksa yŏn’guhoe: Kyŏngin munhwasa, 2001), 9–89.

⁵² Lee, *Han’guk Sa Sillon* 234. Chŏng Yak-yong (1762–1836)—the preeminent *Sirhak* scholar as well as a noted Catholic—with his brother Chŏng Yak-chŏn was banished for eighteen years and forced to retire for seventeen more as a result of the Catholic Persecution of 1801.

⁵³ In order to understand Yun’s own education in Korea for his first twelve years, we have to rely solely on the biography of Yun written in 1934 by Kim Yŏnghŭi, one of the first ginseng hut students at the Anglo-Korean School. Kim recorded that Yun learned *T’onggam* (通鑑), a history textbook, from the age of four with a private tutor, Chang. By age ten, Yun left home for the town of Andong in Kyongsang Province in order to learn from Kim Chŏng-ŏn. Kim Yŏnghui recorded that the intensive study at the tutor’s house enabled Yun to read *Samgukchi* (三國志, A history of three ancient Chinese kingdoms) and *Suhoji* (水滸誌, A novel of chivalries in Ming Dynasty) at the age of thirteen. Yun’s great vision at that time was to become a provincial governor. The curriculum of his twelve-year education, from 1869 until 1881 when he went to Japan, was not particularly distinct from other typical *yangban* children: the Confucian course of *Ch’ŏnjamun* (a primer of one thousand Chinese characters), four books, and five classics. Kim, ed. *Chwaong Yun Ch’i-ho sŏnsaeng yakchŏn*, 21–25.

prescriptions of morality, goodness, and sainthood (君子, 賢人); his endeavor for national reform (even after his studies at American institutions) was inclusive of the Crown and the country at the macro level, while he simultaneously showed intense faithfulness to his family and friends at the micro level.⁵⁴ Because of those shared values with other Korean compatriots, Yun was in an advantageous position to execute the reform of Korea.

Although Yun was deemed a progressive, his preference of pacifism to achieve national progress set him apart from other members of the Progressive Party and the *Kapsin* Coup. Hence all the other survivors of the *Kapsin* Coup escaped to Japan, along with Takejoe Shinichiro, while Yun fled to the Anglo-Chinese College established by Young J. Allen in China, holding the reference of Lucius H. Foote, probably an indicator of distance between Yun's stance and that of other progressives.⁵⁵ As the court translator

⁵⁴Yun Ch'i-ho, "Ingyök Suyangüi Yoso (Elements of character formation)," *Ch'öngnyön* (The young man) 5 (October 1925): 4; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Urido naeilül alja, minjung ege ponaeün sich'un meseji (Preparation for the future; message for the people in the new spring)," *Pyölgöngon* (New Heaven and Earth) 26 (February 1930): 2-4; Cha Sang-ch'an, "Inmul wöldan: naega pon Yun Ch'i-ho sönsaeng (A character sketch of Yun Ch'i-ho)," *Hyesöng* (Comet) 1 no.2 (April 1931): 106-111; Yi, Kwang-su. "Mobömüi in Yun Ch'i-ho ssi (A model man, Yun Ch'i-ho)." *Tong-gwang* (The Eastern Light) 10 (February 1927): 212-214. As for the educational curriculum of the Yi Dynasty, see Son, 261–272. After *Sohak*, a rudimentary course, follows *Tae-hak* (대학, 大學), which teaches reason and honesty for self-cultivation and government of the people; *Non-o* (논어, 論語, Lun-yun), which teaches humanity, "jen" (仁), and self-respect; *Mencius* (맹자, 孟子), which teaches how to distinguish justice from self-interest and how to follow the rules of nature, not human desire; the *Book of Median* (중용, 中庸), which addresses how to cultivate the virtue of one's own nature, to mature his way of thinking, and to improve one's dignity; the *Book of Odes* (시경, 詩經), which teaches how to distinguish justice from evil, good from bad, while encouraging good and justice. The *Book of Civility and Etiquettes* (I-ching, 예경, 禮經) teaches how to behave cordially. The *Book of History* (서경, 書經) teaches the system of laws and politics with which the two great Chinese emperors and three great Chinese kings ruled their people.

⁵⁵ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Ch'angsang pan baeknyön e saenggak nanün saramdül (Reminiscence of the people in the turbulent five decades of the past)," *Samch'ölli* (One Thousand Miles) 8, no.8 (August 1936):

among the king, ministers, and Foote, Yun broadened the range of his acquaintances including other foreign ministers such as Paul Georg von Möllendorff, and Foote's secretary, Charles L. Scudder.

Once Yun left Korea in December 1884, the door to Korea would open again to him only with the 1894 reform. Yun's life of exile, interlocked between two landmark reform attempts in Korea, could be seen as a preparation for the renewed effort of the reform in 1894.⁵⁶ Between the *Kapsin* reform in 1884, the *Kabo* reform in 1894, and the democratic reform attempt through the Independence Club in 1897, Christianity in general and Methodism in particular prepared Yun in China and the U.S. for future reforms in Korea. The international schools would thence graft Christian internationalism into the heritage of *Sirhak* Yun had carried.⁵⁷ Yun's life, therefore, showed the convergence of three strands of thought: orthodox Confucianism manifested in two moral tenets of loyalty and filial piety, *Sirhak* and its emphasis on populism and pragmatism, and Methodism with its upward mobility and democratization. The following section will explore how Christian internationalism was grafted into Yun's Confucian worldview through American Christian education in China and the United States.

40 – 48; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sanghae saenggak (Reminiscence of Shanghai)," *Samch'ŏlli* (One Thousand Miles) 10, no. 5 (May 1938): 63 -66.

⁵⁶ Michael Finch, *Min Yŏng-hwan: A Political Biography* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 2. Finch records Yun as "a fringe member of the reform party, yet throughout Yun's life reform was the heart of his nationalistic efforts."

⁵⁷ As with most Korean boys, Yun's orthodox course of Confucian learning was cut short by the surge of foreign forces. His fate became entangled with national affairs, just as the life of his father drifted with the waves of national events. Yun desired to take the customary civil service examination, but the investigation mission to Japan drastically changed the course of his life. Yun never had another chance to take the famous civil service examination; when he returned to Korea in 1895, the civil service examination had been abolished in the *Kabo* reform in 1894. Diary, December 15, 1935.

The Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in China

Influence of American missionaries in China and other missionary teachers in the United States left indelible imprints in the names of Yun's beloved children. His first son, Yǒng-sǒn, had an anglicized name, Allen, as the first tribute to Yun's teacher, Young J. Allen. The second son was named Reid Candler (Kwang-sǒn), which combined the names of his teacher at Emory, Warren A. Candler, and the first Southern Methodist missionary to Korea, Clarence F. Reid. Yun named his first daughter Laura after Laura Haygood, the first woman missionary to China from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The adoption of such names, especially as a high-profile public luminary, was a courageous proclamation of the values and priorities in his life. By such missionary names, Yun probably hoped to spread the visions of those missionary teachers not only through his children, but also through his descendants. Young J. Allen, Warren Candler, Clarence F. Reid, and Laura Haygood—who laid foundations of Southern Methodist missions in China, America, and Korea—deserve more than the cursory and occasional references of historians in discussing Yun's life. For Yun, Young J. Allen was an archetype for missionaries and Warren A. Candler a prototypical mission promoter, whose influence forged a mission statesman for Korea in Yun. This decisive influence on Yun during his formative years in the U.S. and China explains how Christian mission intertwined with the reform spirit at the heart of Yun's life.

Young John Allen (1836–1907)

Young J. Allen (Lin lo-chih or yao-chih, 林樂知 1836–1907, born in Georgia) was commissioned by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in December 1858 as the seventh missionary to China. As a missionary in China, Allen's influence on Yun's life was a model of a lay Christian dedicated to the work of the kingdom of God, encompassing the spheres of both sacred and secular.⁵⁸ Allen also established the model of consistent service by his decades-long persistence in adversity. Unlike his predecessors in China who had to return to the U.S. because of poor health or death in their family, Young and Mary Allen were the first couple to survive long enough to establish a school, a periodical, and a printing press in the treacherous conditions of the land.

Orphaned at two weeks old, Allen was brought up by his mother's sister, Mrs. Wiley Hutchins. Because of his upbringing, his fifty-year service in China and eventual death there, Allen was called "Moses." His spiritual journey began when he was seventeen, deeply convicted of his sins from about 1853. Around this time, he was strongly convinced of a call to preach and pursue missions beyond the provinces of the Southern U.S., under no immediate external influence by his family or relatives. Allen

⁵⁸ Walter N. Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), 50. Charles Taylor and Benjamin Jenkins were sent to China by the M. E. C. South in 1848, but Taylor returned to the U.S. in 1853 on account of poor health. W. G. E. Cunnyngham arrived in China in 1852; in the same year Benjamin Jenkins had to return to the U.S. due to his wife's critical health. On their way back to the United States, Mrs. Jenkins passed away. After getting married a second time, Jenkins returned to China in 1854. He died in 1862 after a nine-year service. Along with Jenkins in 1854, D. C. Kelly, James L. Belton, and James W. Lambuth arrived in China. Belton left for the U. S. after one year and Kelly in a little over one year, both of them due to health issues in their families. Young J. Allen, Hand-written, Young J. Allen Papers, MARBL.

shared his vision to be a missionary with his dear friend Atticus Haygood, brother of Laura Haygood, while studying at Emory College from 1855 to 1858. Allen finally set sail to China on 18 December 1859.⁵⁹

A year-long intensive preparation and a seven-month voyage finally landed Allen in Shanghai on 13 July 1860. The Civil War broke out, however, in the United States the next year, leaving only Allen and James W. Lambuth in China in 1866.⁶⁰ Partly because of apathy toward overseas missions and largely because of the turmoil of the Civil War, neither support nor communication from the Board of Foreign Missions reached Allen for almost twenty years. Allen's financial support from home continued to be contingent on the post-war condition of the United States, where Southern Methodist ministers had to be engaged in temporal affairs for livelihood amid the shockwaves of the war.⁶¹ During those years, Allen was also forced to rely on various means to furnish his family and missions, such as selling coal, rice, or cotton, which he collected from China's inland and shipped to England. Allen's career shifted from a peddler to a teacher when Li Hung-Chang proposed to the Chinese Emperor that Allen work at the T'ung-wen kuan (School of Combined Learning, Interpreters' College), a government school in Shanghai.

Allen initially resisted the teaching occupation at the secular Chinese government school, believing it unfitting for a missionary. Finding neither support from the home

⁵⁹ C. O. Jones, ed. "A Page Dedicated to American Methodism, 50 Illustrious Georgia Methodists," *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, 7. Young J. Allen Papers, Box 26, MARBL. This column records that Allen attended racially mixed schools in the neighborhood of his uncle's plantation from 1842–1850. In 1851 at the age fifteen he attended a boarding school, the Brentwood Institute, Grange. Young J. Allen papers, Unpublished writing, YJA & MHA autobiographical files, 1876, Box 22, FF12, MARBL.

⁶⁰ Lacy, *China Methodism*, 50. 52.

⁶¹ Briane K. Turley, *A Wheel within a Wheel : Southern Methodism and the Georgia Holiness Association* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1999).

church nor desire to quit the missionary work in China, however, Allen continued his teaching work at the government school for seventeen years, repeatedly striving to relieve himself from the government institute. His work in the government center, nonetheless, honed his sensitivity to Chinese history and culture. The government work provided him an opportunity to immerse himself in Chinese life, language, and thoughts, deepening his understanding of the Chinese. Most of all it offered him access to the Chinese literati, laying the foundation of his educational and literary missions.

While Allen engaged himself as a full-time employee of the secular government, he opened a mission in Soochow in 1864, preached on Sundays, and baptized the first Chinese convert in the first year of the mission.⁶² Carrying his work both as a layman and a cleric, Allen found himself often agonized by conventional notions of missionary obligations. Driven by spells of depression, he longed for a missionary life fully devoted to evangelism and relieved from what he thought as secular work for profits. Ironically, his engagement in government work broadened and diversified his perspectives on Chinese culture and brought him proficiency in the Chinese language, precipitating his full involvement in government service from 1871. His government work was expanded to editing periodicals and translating foreign documents, papers, and scientific books, which stimulated his investigation of the relationship between such subjects as science and Christianity. Allen was thus forced to lead the life of a layman, yet with a missionary

⁶² Ibid. The first Chinese baptized was Nyoh Laux, at the house of a native preacher, Liew.

calling.⁶³ His life as a layman as well as a missionary, however, set the model of what Yun chose to be in Korea.

The Wan Kwoh Kung Pao (The Globe Magazine: A Review of the Times, 萬國公報)

While Allen's missionary work was seemingly in doldrums, he pressed on in 1868 with one of the most daunting enterprises by American missionaries: publishing a magazine in Chinese.⁶⁴ Based on his prior experience in editing a tri-weekly Chinese gazette from the year of 1866, Allen started a weekly magazine titled *Chiao-hui hsin-pao* (*The Church News*) in 1868, which he renamed as the *Wan Kwoh Kung Pao* (*The Globe Magazine*, or *A Review of the Times*, 萬國公報) in 1874.⁶⁵ Expanding the horizons of the *Chiao-hui hsin-pao*, yet still maintaining its pivot on Christian perspectives, the *Wan Kwoh Kung Pau* addressed vast fields of knowledge. It covered "geography, history, civilization, politics, religion, science, art, industry, and general progress of western countries." One issue of *The Globe Magazine*, costing two cents, put together news from the Chinese Peking gazettes as well as world news.⁶⁶ Its articles attracted Chinese elites by an articulate and balanced treatment of the news. Attracted first by the engaging

⁶³ Ibid. "Relation of Science and Civilization," Addresses and Sermons, Handwritten, Box 22, FF6, MARBL.

⁶⁴ Although James W. Lambuth returned to China in 1865, Marquis L. Wood left for the U.S. in 1866, leaving Allen and Lambuth working for the Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Shanghai for years.

⁶⁵ Sung Yueh Kway, MARBL. Sung Yueh Kway helped Allen with *Wan Kwoh Kung Pau* and also helped establish the Anglo-Chinese College.

⁶⁶ *The Wan Kwo Kung Pau*, May 1875, Vol. VII, No. 338, Young J. Allen papers, Box 24, MARBL

articles and contemporary news, the Chinese elites then found themselves gradually comfortable with and converting to Christianity. The cardinal lessons of Christ permeating the magazine also informed the subscribers of Christianity.⁶⁷ The magazine targeted Chinese leaders across the nation, rather than just Christian leaders who were already within the church. The magazine, despite being deeply embedded in Christian values, did not draw a distinction between Christian and non-Christian affairs at the foreground. Articles from such an approach provided a public arena for dialogue for the Chinese Christian elites on the pressing world affairs. Non-Christian Chinese elites were challenged to consider the role of Christianity in their own contemporary issues. The magazine premised that the world, not the churches, was the parish of missionaries.

The periodical suffered a five-year (1883–1888) suspension when Allen was deeply immersed in founding the Anglo-Chinese College and took the responsibility of Superintendent of the Southern Methodist Mission. The periodical otherwise fared well, as its management was self-supporting from the outset, attracting wide subscription among the Chinese. The *North China Daily* reported, “Wherever the Chinese have gone, the *Wan-kwoh kung-pao* has followed them.”⁶⁸ The secret of such success rested on Allen’s cooperation with “the most intelligent and scholarly” among a host of missionaries. Alexander Williamson, in Chefoo, Shantung, especially helped increase circulation in its third year of publication from 25,000 to 35,000 copies per annum. It was

⁶⁷ Young J. Allen Papers, Box 26, clippings, MARBL.

⁶⁸ Young J. Allen, “Historical Statement of the Wan Kwoh Kung Pao,” March 14, 1903, Young J. Allen Papers, MARBL; Warren A. Candler, *Young J. Allen: "The Man Who Seeded China"* (Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press, 1931), 166.

fitting, considering Williamson's dedication to the paper, that Williamson took charge of the press after Allen became the President of the Anglo-Chinese College and occupied with the Textbook Committee.⁶⁹ Allen, such a seasoned missionary, journalist, and sinologist, encountered Yun at the Anglo-Chinese College. The "stout and radiant attitude and flashy eyes" of Allen impressed Yun on his first day at the Anglo-Chinese College in February 1885. Their unruffled fellowship would last from that day for twenty-two years, to the last year of Allen's life on earth.⁷⁰

The School for the National Christian Reformers: Yun's Study at the Anglo-Chinese College in China (26 January 1885–October 1888)

Having gained in-depth knowledge of Chinese culture and people through his long exposure and the publication of *The Globe Magazine*, Young J. Allen's next project was the establishment of the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai in 1881.⁷¹ By then, Allen, in his forties, had persisted twenty years through the treacherous trials of cross-cultural and financial hardships in China, for which his total service time would eventually amount to 47 years. Dedication of his life to China with remarkable fortitude, however, did not always secure recognition from his fellow missionaries. Some casted aspersions, while others lavished accolades such as "God's chosen vessel for China" and a "giant against

⁶⁹ Young J. Allen, "Historical Statement of Wan Kwoh Kung Pao," Young J. Allen Papers, MARBL.

⁷⁰ Diary, February 12, 1885.

⁷¹ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Kūdül ūi ch'ōngnyōn hakto sijöl (When they were young men)" a newspaper article, 1 January 1937, Yun Mun-hwi scrapbook, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, 1883–1943, Box 20, MARBL.

the sky.”⁷² One of the reasons for such polarized appraisal of Allen’s work in China pertained to his educational mission. Unlike other American mission schools, the Anglo-Chinese College aimed at raising national Christian leaders who would serve the nation beyond the walls of the church. Called “a college of a new order,” the mission school offered broad course selection ranging from Chinese history, literature, customs, chemistry, and medicine to customary subjects of mission schools such as the Bible, mathematics, and English.⁷³

Partly on account of Allen’s comprehensive approach to educational mission, D. L. Anderson, President of the Anglo-Chinese College in Soochow (later Soochow University), praised Allen as “the Prophet, the Seer of modern missionary enterprise.”⁷⁴ The following portrays Anderson’s sympathy with Allen’s vision for the transformation of China through educating Chinese Christian national leaders who would work not merely for the church, but for the four hundred million Chinese:

His aim was never shut in by the actual progress of mission work. He did not draw his inspiration from accomplished results. But living in this great Empire with its 400,000,000 souls— confident that in the gospel of Jesus Christ there was power capable of transforming the whole mass— he looked into the future, and all

⁷² W. W. Royall, “A Card Questions on Allen in 1887,” Young J. Allen Papers, Box 26, FF2, MARBL; Warren A. Candler, “Young J. Allen, God’s Chosen Vessel for China,” handwritten, Warren Candler Papers, Box 99, MARBL; Alfred Pierce, *Giant Against the Sky*.

⁷³ Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese YMCA, 1895-1926* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970), 9. 10. Garrett argues that Allen in Shanghai—along with Calvin Mateer, Alexander Williamson, Joseph Edkins, John Nevius, and William A. P. Martin—was a missionary “insurgent” who attempted to overcome the stereotypical method of missionaries revolving around “preaching the gospel to the almost complete exclusion of other activities.” She points out that other missionaries understood education as in tension with Christianity, so therefore confined their education to primary education and heavy religious instruction. Allen saw broader education a countermeasure to the lack of Chinese converts.

⁷⁴ D. L. Anderson, “Dr. Young J. Allen,” *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, July 4, 1907, Young J. Allen Papers, Box 26, MARBL.

his work and plans were influenced more by the vision than by existing circumstances or accomplished results. China's millions were always in his view. His efforts were addressed to their enlightenment and regeneration. While he realized the value of the work that was being done by his fellow missionaries in a narrower field, yet he felt that his call was to the Nation, and his work to further the kingdom of God in the Empire taken in its broadest sense.⁷⁵

The tribute from local Chinese leader Sung Yueh Kway, a long-time assistant of Christian missionaries, also confirmed the consequence of Allen's policy for building Chinese Christian national leaders. A host of Chinese Christian leaders, Sung recalled, included a Chinese minister to Germany, H. E. Yang. Through the inspiration of Allen's teaching were raised up Chinese officials of honor and influence in the country's customs, foreign affairs, translation, consular, postal service, railway, industry, commerce, hospitals, and churches.⁷⁶ Allen pioneered an educational mission that fostered Christian leaders not only for immediate, contemporary use, but for the generations to come in China.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Sung Yieh Kway, "A Tribute of Respect to Rev. Y. J. Allen, D.D., LL, D., Written by a Chinese Gentleman one Hundred Years of Age," *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, August 22, 1907, 31. Young J. Allen papers, Box 26, MARBL. Allen recorded in his notes the careers of the Anglo-Chinese College graduates and their fields of employment: (1) foreign nations minister, charge de affaire, secretary, attaches, commissioner, foreign officer of the government and provinces; (2) consular or business intercourse-consul, vice-consul, interpreter, consular, clerk; (3) commercial intercourse-business manager, clerk; (4) domestic affairs, customs, telegraph, naval and military stations, railways, factories, mining, surveys; (5) translator, school teacher, professor, examiner in mathematics and sciences; (6) medical doctor, surgeon, physician, hospital, dispensaries; (7) preacher, teacher, translator in the churches, doctor in hospitals and dispensary. "Chung Si Shu Yuen – students-field of employment," Handwritten, Young J. Allen Papers, Box 24, FF 3, Class Roasters, MARBL.

⁷⁷ Sung and D. L. Anderson's articles. Sung, at the age of one hundred years old and after having worked with many Western missionaries, confessed, "Of all the missionaries who have been sent from the West to China, none have been superior to Dr. Allen."

D. L. Anderson's understanding of Allen, more than anything else, is reflected in the connection of the Anglo-Chinese schools. Anderson's Anglo-Chinese College founded in Soochow (Soochow University) in 1901 followed the model of Allen's Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai built in 1885, both institutions catering to the needs of flourishing local Chinese of all classes for Western learning.⁷⁸ Allen and his assistant, Sung Yueh Kway, with their acumen accumulated from their prior experience of the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, offered much help in founding the Anglo-Chinese College in Soochow.⁷⁹ As sister colleges with shared goals, both colleges collaborated with local Chinese supporters, partnered with American churches, offered broad course selection, and aimed at fostering national leaders. Chinese officials and gentry donated USD \$20,000 for the purchase of the Soochow property, while the New Orleans Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in the U.S. took charge of the main building in 1901. As with the self-support policy of the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, students at the Soochow College paid full tuition as well as all other expenses.⁸⁰

Despite student financial obligations, broad course selection was a great strength of the two colleges, attracting more students than the government schools with their lure

⁷⁸ D. L. Anderson, "The Soochow University – An Opportunity," *Go Forward*, May 1908, 11, 12; Lacy, *China Methodism*, 145, 146. Lacy claims that the third Anglo-Chinese College, established in Soochow in early 1896, grew with a strong impetus for self-support and became self-sufficient within three years of its establishment (except for President Anderson's salary).

⁷⁹ Kway, "A Tribute of Respect," 31.

⁸⁰ The A.C.C. in Shanghai had over 200 boys when Yun visited in April 1897. Diary, April 11, 1897.

of free tuition and boarding. Both the colleges offered courses in the humanities, sciences, and English, subjects that were favored more by the Chinese than by American missionaries. Soochow University, drawing on enthusiasm from its local natives, outgrew the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai that had provided the comprehensive educational policy of the former. Students at the Anglo-Chinese College at Shanghai had the option of enrolling in one of seven different departments: Chinese, English, business, mathematics, science, geography, medicine, and theology.⁸¹ The range of course selections, which seem ordinary today, was an innovation of Allen's time that brought the school the reputation of "a new college." Allen's vision for raising national leaders allowed students to practice patriotic speeches at the school from a Christian perspective. The college, however, set boundaries on such activities to avoid developing violent expressions among the students. One comment on the Soochow University describes well the ethos of the two colleges: "The government schools are training anarchists; the

⁸¹ Fees were charged as follows: English and Chinese departments, \$12; English, Chinese, and business, \$25; English, Chinese, mathematics, and scientific departments, \$40; English, Chinese, and medicine, \$25. Lutz states that the school also offered classes in history, geography, algebra, physics, chemistry, astronomy, and mechanics. She also maintains that a student could graduate in six years. If the student wanted to go on in further studies, he/she could choose to major in navigation, survey, international laws, physiology, or economics (among others). She also claims that in 1881 the college was called Linhua College. In 1882, Allen founded the second division of the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai. The length of schooling was eight years for the three stages. In the Theology Department, students learned Mortin's *Evidences of Christianity*, Bible history (the Pentateuch, Isaiah, First and Second Samuel), exegesis of the synoptics, Rolston's *Elements of Divinity*, Binney's *Complines*, homiletics, written sermons on reformation, books of reformers, Wesley's sermons, repentance with special reference to the return of the prodigal son, Corbett's *Church History*, harmony of the Gospels, discipline using the articles of religion and general rules, and exegesis of Matthew's Gospel—all within three years. In the English and math departments, the morning hours were devoted to grammar and writing (Tuesday and Wednesday), geography (Thursday), and arithmetic (Friday). In the afternoons, classes were offered on Chinese marriage customs (Tuesday), writing so as to review grammar (Wednesday), writing letters describing Shanghai (Thursday), and "What I bought" as a practice of arithmetic (Friday). Monday was reserved for writing in journals on their past work. Saturday and Sunday were set apart for Sunday schools at local churches. See, Box 24, FF11, Curriculum Notes, undated, Handwritten, Young J. Allen Papers, MARBL.

Soochow University is training intelligent reformers.”⁸² Indeed, intelligent reformers were nursed at the Anglo-Chinese College, as the dream of its founder, more in Yun than in anyone else.

The comprehensive vision of the Anglo-Chinese College would cast a long shadow on Yun’s educational enterprises in Korea. Yun described Allen’s educational mission as preparing for China’s future generations by preaching “broad and universal principles of Christianity, never concerning himself about the statistical results of his labor.”⁸³ Yun’s experience of self-support at the Anglo-Chinese College inspired a vision of the Anglo-Korean School on the principle of self-support, and with a creative curriculum in response to the pressing needs and strengths of the natives that would affect the entire nation. Even after Yun’s graduation from the school, Young J. Allen, as a mentor at the Anglo-Chinese College and a publisher of *The Globe Magazine: A Review of the Times*, conversed with Yun on a broad range of issues such as philosophy, culture, history, religion, personal concerns, and politics.⁸⁴

What bonded their relationship, besides decades-long exchange of thoughts in correspondence, was an affinity of their experiences. Both of them experienced conversion in higher educational institutions and commitment to missionary cause at

⁸² D. L. Anderson, “The Soochow University,” 11, 12. The school admitted only 218 students, the number of dorm rooms. Allen was also instrumental in bringing the McTyeire Home and School, founded in March 1892, to a much stable institution by 1900, by helping Laura Haygood. See Lacy, *China Methodism*, 149.

⁸³ Diary, January 6, 1897.

⁸⁴ Yun Chi-ho, to Young Allen, December 18, 1893. Yun confessed that he viewed Allen as his spiritual “father in the Gospel.”; Yun Ch’i-ho, *The Collected Letters of Yun Tch’i-ho*. Seoul: National History Compilation Committee, 1980.

college, in particular at Emory.⁸⁵ The two kept a habit of keeping detailed notes in their diaries on the extensive books they read.⁸⁶ Just as Allen plunged himself into various societies and fraternities at college, Yun was an active participant in clubs and societies at colleges and thereafter. As much as Allen devoted himself to the language and history of China, Yun dedicated himself to Korean language and history. During times of ordeal, financial embarrassments, and social isolation—when the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, virtually abandoned Allen for two decades—Allen was beckoned to change his denomination. Allen, nonetheless, remained with the Southern Methodist Mission until he died. His faithfulness to his denomination never reduced to factionalism, as Allen was remarkable in ecumenical cooperation. Yun showed a remarkable spirit of ecumenism as well, remaining faithful to the Southern Methodist Church. Yun's belief in the unity of the church, however, led him to take an active step for uniting the two churches into the United Korean Methodist Church in 1930.

As aforementioned, education and literature were the two vehicles that Allen served China and Yun served Korea in Christianity. Part of their commonality in ministry stemmed from the exchange of their thoughts; Yun had asked for Allen's advice as he developed the idea of a school.⁸⁷ Allen's response followed:

Mr. Yun solicited suggestions from me, and I have ventured to urge upon him the wisdom of avoiding the evils which have so greatly embarrassed Japan in that

⁸⁵ Just as Allen converted to Christianity at Looney's high school in Georgia and studied at Emory College, Yun converted to Christianity at the Anglo-Chinese College and also studied at Emory College.

⁸⁶ Candler. 28.

⁸⁷ Yun Chi-ho, to Allen, June 3, 1896

from the very first she was afflicted with ungodly men as teachers in her schools. There were not missionaries enough to leaven the lump, and the demand overleaped into the infidel ranks, and to this day the hurt remains. Now Korea has the advantage of Japan in that she has a Christian and scholar and statesman at the head of her educational department who is known abroad and who will be able to command the resources of our Christian Church as far as regards its scholarship and its Christian integrity of character. Korea need not blunder, therefore, and fall into outer darkness of infidelity if only our Christian Churches do their duty at this hour when the Far East is again in travail and about to give birth to a new nation—a nation born in a day—Americans gave Japan her educational systems, while England gave her the navy, and France and Germany her army. If American Churches are wise, they will give Korea not only our education, but our religion at the same time.⁸⁸

As seen from this letter in Candler's biography, Christian teachers at mission schools were a decisive element Allen would not compromise on grounds of integrity. Subsequently, Allen's belief was given expression when Yun became Principal of the Anglo-Korean School and President of Yonsei College. While Christian missionaries were chosen as principals at the Anglo-Korean School under Yun's purview, the appointment to Yonsei faculty was beyond his jurisdiction during the colonial regime. When Yun was later appointed as the President of Yonsei in 1941, he requested to the Board of Directors one condition be vouchsafed for his acceptance: employing Christian professors at Yonsei. By ignoring this only request, the Japanese authorities made clear their goals for Yonsei's secularization and establishment of a religion of imperialism in the 1940s.⁸⁹

Allen's theological inclinations also resonated with Yun's understanding of Christianity. Adrian Bennett points out that Allen's interest in broader socio-political and

⁸⁸ Candler; *ibid.* *Young J. Allen: "The Man Who Seeded China."* 164.

⁸⁹ Diary, April 13, 1941.

scientific topics did not conflict with his evangelical faith in the Bible, human predicament by sin, and biblical soteriology through the redemption of Jesus Christ.⁹⁰ Both Allen and Yun appeared to concern themselves more with reflecting on Christianity's dialogical relation to the world concerning civilization and commerce rather than on direct theological discourse. This stance is expressed in Yun's preference of literature infused with Bible lessons to that of overt theological discussion. Yun maintained that "a clean white shirt need not have soap smeared all over it to show that it has been made clean and white by the grace of soap."⁹¹

Allen's vision for the national welfare of China did not conflict with his belief in the primacy of individual salvation over social change. Reform of the nation would start with men of character, not with political revolution. Allen's primacy of individual character resonated with Yun's priority on morality. His empathy for Yun's concerns furthermore formulated within him a vision for national reform in Korea, which had a more hopeful outlook than Yun's vision for reform in Korea. Allen unfurled his vision that Korea would soon be the international hub of East Asia where railroads, crossing Pusan and Seoul, would connect Tokyo, Shanghai, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.

The pen, for Allen, was a method of influencing people for character formation and social change from the grassroots level. He once imparted to Yun his conviction on the importance of literature on the nation as the most effective means to reach the masses:

⁹⁰ Adrian Arthur Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China : Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1983). 226–238.

⁹¹ Diary, January 16, 1897

I advise you to write a book calculated to stir up the patriotism of your nation by showing what great men have made of small states. If you have any means of support freeing you from anxiety, I would advise you to retire to a quiet place, devoting your time to giving your people some high ideals through writing.”⁹²

It is hard to measure the influence of Allen’s exhortations or Yun’s literary contribution to the reform of Korea in an English dictionary and a Chinese primer (*Yahak Chachi*) that Yun produced. It is still harder to measure the impact of Yun’s essays on social and international issues in magazines and periodicals, especially his editorials in the *Independent* on the reform of Korea. Like John Wesley, Yun’s forte might be identifiable more in his activism than in producing book-length literature.

Allen’s Chinese literature, on the other hand, effectively supplemented the dearth of Christian literature in Korea, where even Catholic literature from China for *Sirhak* scholars in the late eighteenth century was scanty. In particular, Allen’s *The Globe Magazine*, published in China, was instrumental for the conversion of Ryang Chu-sam to Christianity who would become the first Methodist Superintendent and missionary to Manchuria. Through reading *The Globe Magazine*, Ryang Chu-sam resolved to pursue studies at the Anglo-Chinese College in 1901. By then, Yun’s Chinese classmate at Emory, Chong, became a teacher at the Anglo-Chinese College and welcomed Ryang, and Dr. Parker baptized Ryang in 1902. The Anglo-Chinese College was thus responsible for the baptism and education of the “two tops” of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

⁹² Diary, June 1, 1897

South, in Korea: Yun and Ryang. Ironically, Allen's dream of raising up national Christian leaders was realized more in Korea than in China.⁹³

The conviction of Allen that the pen was a primary means of reaching the wider sector of society for both moral and religious change influenced not only Yun's *Independent*, but also the church monthly *Tae Do* (*The Great Way*), started and edited by Ryang Chu-sam in San Francisco in 1907.⁹⁴ Both the Chinese *Globe Magazine* (*Wan Kwoh Kung Pao*) and *The Great Way* (*Tae Do*) endorsed Methodism's maxim that the whole world is a parish for Christians under the sovereignty of God and that Christians are stewards of the world.⁹⁵

Allen's personal care of Yun, his consistent effort to lead him to the church and baptism, and his mediatory role between Yun and God, worked again as a match-maker between Yun and his Chinese wife, Sientsung. Allen was instrumental in Yun's conversion, nurturing of the Christian worldview, engagement in various ministries, and

⁹³ Ryu Hyōng-gi, *Paeksadang Ryang Chu-sam paksa sojōn* (A brief biography of Ryang Chu-sam) (Seoul: Kyongch'ōn ae in sa, 1939), 3–6.

⁹⁴ San Francisco was a ministerial depot for Ryang, who was caught between his plan to pursue theological studies at Vanderbilt University and the urgent call from the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church, founded by An Chang-ho in 1903. The church had undergone a critical setback by the time Ryang visited. With the support of the Women's Home Mission, Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and C. F. Reid (the first missionary to Korea from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South), Ryang revived the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church. This ministry held up Ryang from taking up his theological studies for three years, beginning in 1906. Ryang edited the Monthly Magazine *Tae Do* (Great Way), exhibiting his own interests in and statistical analysis of world affairs, targeting Koreans in Asia, the United States, and Mexico as its potential subscribers. The monthly reported statistical analysis of Christian practitioners, denominations, missionaries, countries, children, women missionaries, and mission societies. It also featured substantial news of mission reviews, reports of the state of missions to Koreans in Manchuria, Siberia, Hawaii, Shantung, and Mexico in all Korean denominations.

⁹⁵ *Tae Do*, July 1912. Ryang's internationalism in this monthly was succeeded by ensuing editors when Ryang left for Vanderbilt University in December 1909. The monthly was reduced to a bimonthly and finally stopped in July 1912. The final edition reported the arrest of Yun and the appeal of American luminaries to the Japanese government on account of the Korean Conspiracy Case.

visions of resuscitating the nation through education and literature. It was Allen who wrote a letter for Yun to study at Vanderbilt University and Emory College, Allen's alma mater. The twenty-two year fellowship between the two men provided Allen a remarkable prescience for what modern historians discuss about Yun's life. Allen made once his observation on the mistakes of fragmentary and partial understanding of Yun:

Mr. Yun has a most interesting history, scraps of which have appeared from time to time, but written mostly by persons who were not acquainted with the consecutive facts, and hence full of mistakes, from lack of knowledge.

As Allen foretold, Yun's multifaceted life had invited as many controversies as possibilities for interpretation. The fact that Allen's death in 1907 terminated Yun's connection with China indicates the role of caring people, more than ideology, in building Christian internationalism.⁹⁶

Conversion to Christianity (3 April 1887)

One month after Yun arrived at the Anglo-Chinese College, he was led to a Protestant church for the first time in his life. On 15 February 1885, his "American

⁹⁶ Diary, June 14, 1893. Besides Allen, Professor W. B. Bonnel (who taught chemistry) was the most influential for Yun at the Anglo-Chinese College. Like Allen, Bonnel used to invite Yun to his house for meals or teas, and, right before Yun's baptism, explained to him the meaning of baptism in the Christian life. Later, when Yun received the "Allen medal" as one of five finalists at a debate league, he wrote a letter to W. B. Bonnel, "It is but a fair tribute to you whom the tribute is due to thank you for the medal. Whatever improvement I might have made in my knowledge in English, it has been built on the sure foundation you have laid for me." Yun taught English for eight years when he returned to the Anglo-Chinese College in 1894.

teacher” invited Yun to his house and then to the church the next day.⁹⁷ It was the beginning of the long array of hospitality and friendship by American missionaries. Yun’s first attendance at a Protestant church was followed by his foray into a French church, an English church, and an American church—all guided by his American teacher.⁹⁸ Allen’s ecumenical spirit probably led Yun to visit a variety of churches so that Yun could decide his preferred church. These visits, however, did not help him settle into a Christian life. It was Young J. Allen’s invitation of Yun to his house three months later, after the formation of a caring relationship with a Christian, when Yun’s lifelong commitment to the church began to take root, culminating in his baptism.⁹⁹

Under the office of Rev. W. B. Bonnell, Yun received baptism on Easter Sunday, 3 April 1887. Yun’s baptism in 1887 enrolled him into a handful of first Christians, as

⁹⁷ Diary, February 1, 24, 1885. Yun did not mention the name of the teacher, but considering the situation, the teacher must have been Young J. Allen. The following visit was also to Allen’s (January 27, 1885).

⁹⁸ Diary, February 15, March 1, 1885.

⁹⁹ Allen opened his personal life to Yun, a foreign student, to an amazing degree. Church attendance: Diary, May 19, 24, June 28, July 1 (Wednesday), July 5 (to Union Chapel), July 11 (Saturday), July 12, July 18 (Saturday), 19, September 13, September 30, 1, October 4, 7 (Wednesday), October 11, 14 (Wednesday), 18, 21 (Wednesday), 25, 28 (Wednesday), November 4, 11, 15, 29, December 13, 20 (Friday; reading the Bible for one and half hours), 27, in 1885.

In 1886, January 3, March 7, 21, 27 (reading the Bible), 28 (worship), April 4, 11, 18, 24, 25, May 1, 2, 8, 9, 15, 16, 22, 23, 29, June 19, 20, 27, July 4, 10, 11, September 4, 5, 12, 25, 26, October 2, 3 (Bible study, hereafter recorded as B; and cell meeting, hereafter recorded as C) October 8 (temperance society), 9, 10 (B+C), 16, 17 (B+C), 23, 24 (B+C, B), 30, 31 (B+C+C), November 6, 7 (B+C+C), 13, 14 (B+C, C with Bishop Wilson), 20, 21 (B with Bishop Wilson), 27, 28 (B, Yun became Secretary of the Sunday School; C+C), December 4, 5 (B+C, C; temperance speech was offered by an American woman), 12 (B+C; American woman’s temperance speech, + C, wrote a temperance resolution), 14 (Laevitt from American Temperance Society spoke on temperance), 18 (B on Buddhism), 19 (B, C, C) 26 (B+C+C), February 13 (B +C)

In 1887, January 2 (B+C, C), 4 (decision to write in diary on breaking any resolution), 6 (listening to lectures by Americans and British at the American-Chinese Book Store), 8 (B), 9 (B+ C), 16 (church attendance while on travel), 23 (B, C), 24 (Lunar new year prayer meeting), 30 (B+C), February 4 (Friday temperance meeting, C), 6 (C), 20 (B+ C), 26, 27 (B+C+C, temperance pledge on drinking), March 8 (listening to a lecture on Sabbath keeping).

even in 1889 the total number of Korean Protestants would barely reach one hundred.¹⁰⁰ In the spring of 1885 Korea began receiving its first Protestant missionaries, Horace G. Underwood, Henry Appenzeller, and Mary Scranton, who struggled to find a contact point with Koreans through educational or medical missions for evangelism. Yun's role as the pioneer convert was significant for the history of Korean Christianity, as it prepared in Shanghai for his future collaboration with Horace G. Underwood both as chairman and president at the YMCA and with Appenzeller as co-editors of the *Independent*. Appenzeller gathered in 1886 only a few boys for the first modern school, Paejae Academy, which would soon grow to be a nursery of junior Independents for the Independence Club and the YMCA.¹⁰¹ Yun recorded on the day,

At ten in the morning, I received baptism. Clear sky with no clouds, warm and breezy—it was the most auspicious weather of these days. I've made my decision to convert to Christianity and believe in the Lord. Indeed, it is the greatest day of my life. I belong to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.¹⁰²

Yun's baptismal confession presented to Rev. Bonnell shows his deep awareness of human predicaments.¹⁰³ Yun converted to Christianity while Korea was still pervaded by the two thousand-year tradition, *Chuhŭi* Confucianism that was a ruling ideology of Korea as well as crucial strand of his worldview. Confucian teachings, which had bred

¹⁰⁰ Diary, March 29, 1889. Yun records, "It is amazing and delightful to read that the Mission Newspapers and a letter from a missionary in Korea report approximately one hundred Protestants in Seoul."

¹⁰¹ Horace Allen started a hospital in Korea called Chejungwon in Chŏngdong only seven years before Yun's conversion; Henry Appenzeller started a school and the Methodist Church in the same city in 1885; Mrs. Scranton started her mission by starting Ewha girls' school; Underwood started an orphanage which would be later the Underwood Hakdang in 1886.

¹⁰² Diary, April 10, 1887.

¹⁰³ Yun Ch'ihŏ, "The Conversion of Yun Ch'i-ho," *The Gospel in All Lands* (June 1887), 274–275.

Yun in an aristocratic culture, however, would neither satisfy his spiritual thirst nor enable him to desist from perceived sins. In particular, because of human impotence to lead a sinless life or to execute good, any level of progress in refraining from those tenacious sins, for Yun, had been achieved only through external consumption of Christian truths by way of Bible study, piety books, sermons, and lectures. While ethical and moral rectitude still remained his central concern, Yun found their practicability only in Christianity.

Before baptism, Yun had led a debauched life, trying to forget the anxiety about his family and his own future, knowing that his father was exiled to Nŭngju as with other progressives in exile. Occasional drinking had developed into a weekly habit and eventually settled into a daily ritual. Yun wasted money on prostitutes. Consequently, he sometimes could not pay his tuition.¹⁰⁴ He made resolutions not to drink, only to be broken. People eschewed Yun. When he visited the residence of Min Yŏng-ik, Queen Min's relative in Shanghai, Min kept on making excuses not to meet Yun. It was because of Yun's association with the *Kapsin* Coup and moreover his conversion to Christianity, according to the candid words of Hyŏn Hŭng-taek who would later donate his house for the Korean YMCA building.¹⁰⁵ Despite Yun's clear awareness or fear of "persecution

¹⁰⁴ Diary, March 14, 1886. Prostitute visits in February 6, 7, 10 (gift of fragrance to Nakrang), 13, 16, 17, 21, 27, August 14, 1886 (resolution of prohibiting prostitutes).

¹⁰⁵ Diary, July 1, 1886; July 3, 1886; July 9, 1886. He also heard from his acquaintance that Min Yŏng-ik shunned Yun because of his Christian conversion (October 22, 1886). As Min Yŏng-ik showed strong suspect of Yun, even people around Min shunned fellowship and communication with Yun. See February 11, 1887.

and mockery” from his acquaintances, he converted to Christianity in order to “live a useful life for myself and for my brethren.”¹⁰⁶

As a gift for Yun’s baptism, Young J. Allen gave Thomas A Kempis’ *In the Image of Christ*. After baptism, Yun began the struggles with his soul for a holy life, recording meticulously rules of purification, whenever resolved or broken.¹⁰⁷ The extent and disposition of his moral pursuits paralleled those of the Puritans. Yun sometimes endured derision from his school associates for his abstinence from drinking and gambling.¹⁰⁸ Yun’s own spiritual discipline inspired other students, however, forming a circle of friends for promoting piety at the Anglo-Chinese College, just like Wesley had formed the Holy Club at Oxford. The college had a small street chapel adjacent to it; at the beginning of 1887 the members of the chapel were only three Chinese and one Japanese student. Among four probationers enrolled in 1887, only Yun was baptized; by September, the total members of the chapel became three Chinese, one Japanese, and one Korean (Yun). Of the three probationers, one left the school. The annual report of Young J. Allen for the year 1887 and his evangelism at the school appeared unimpressive. His account of Yun, however, was emphatic:

¹⁰⁶ Yun Ch’i-ho, “A Korean’s Confession: A Synopsis of What I was and What I am,” *The Gospel in All Lands* (June 1887): 274–275; *Han’guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of the Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul: Kidokkyo taehan kamnihoe ch’ongniwŏn kyoyukkuk, 1975). 100; Kim, Yŏng Hŭi, ed. *Chwaong Yun Ch’i-ho sŏnsaeng yakchŏn* (A biography of Yun Ch’i-ho) (Kyŏngsŏng (Seoul): Kidokkyo Chosŏn Kamnihoe Ch’ongniwŏn, 1934). 55.

¹⁰⁷ Diary, March 12, 13, 16, 25, 29, April 1, 2, 7, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, May 14, 18, 1887. Yun recorded his resolution of abstinence. See December 17, 1886. “Determined, not to have any adulterous intercourse with the “night selling” girls, to whatever nation they may belong, at least during my stay in Shanghai. May God encourage and help me to persevere and successful in carrying out this or any other virtuous determination, under all circumstances, at all times, and in any place I may live! Witnessed by conscience the Holy Image of God’s doctrine.” See Diary, August 15, 1886

¹⁰⁸ Diary, September 2, October 7, 1888.

The Korean Mr. Yun is diligently studying for the ministry and is exercising a much excellent influence with the College. The young men informed me the other day that a number of them had formed a Temperance Society among themselves, also that they met together some their times to work for Bible Study, leading a prayer; several of them too are regular attendants at the Thursday night prayer meeting so that altogether there seems to be a decided interest among the pupils on Christianity and Religion.¹⁰⁹

Yun's conversion to Christianity and zeal for a spiritual life after his baptism stirred communal gatherings for spiritual renewal, leading to a spiritual awakening to the apathy of the Anglo-Chinese College.¹¹⁰

Yun's eager attendance at Bible study and cell group meetings in the spring of 1886 displayed the typical Methodist regimen of the Wesleyans: regular attendance at worship services every Sunday morning and evening, group Bible study on Sunday mornings, evangelistic services, offerings, charity service at a penitentiary, Wednesday prayer meetings, and attendance at the Holy Club (수신회) every Friday.¹¹¹ On the lunar new year day in 1887, Yun attended a new year prayer meeting, contrasting his prior practice of celebratory drinking several days in a row. At this meeting of ten people, he delivered a brief testimony of his changed life and new habits. Later Walter Lambuth and Warren Candler at Emory College equated Yun's religious enthusiasm with that of Wesley and Luther.

¹⁰⁹ Young J. Allen, Annual Report, 1887, Handwritten, Box 24, FF 2, Young J. Allen Papers, MARBL.

¹¹⁰ Young J. Allen, to Yun, Shanghai, January 16, 1903, Handwritten, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, MARBL.

¹¹¹ Diary, December 17, 1887.

Yun strived to correct his bad habits by paying meticulous attention to his behavior. Yun recorded any humiliating practices that transgressed his moral radar. Some of those rules included prohibiting siesta, late rising, and wasting money. In addition to frugality and diligence, his discipline included integrity.¹¹² Once Yun sojourned in Paris for two months when he completed his mission to attend the Russian czar's coronation with Min Yǒng-hwan on the Korean king's commission. Yun seemed to fall into some extreme temptations that he believed would disappoint his most trusted group of missionaries in China and America, including Candler and Bonnel. He confessed,

My former life was a sort of a hothouse plant; no sooner it was exposed to the rude elements of the world than it withered. I hope the new plant now set in a heart broken up with grief and compunctions, right in the midst of temptations attractive and accessible, may take root all the more firmly because of the storms which it is experiencing. I have decided to make my stay in Paris, the vortex of seductive pleasures, a period of probation. I believe that a month or two of test here is worth more than the usual Methodist probation of six months.¹¹³

At the apex of his political life, representing the Korean king to the emerging Russian czar, Yun experienced the unrelenting temptation to ruin his Christian life. The temptation came from within his inner life, despite the most comfortable external conditions. In deep humility, Yun sent the above letter—a vigil to the fall of his soul—to those trusted missionaries. Never before or after did Yun make such a scathing and watchful confession of a severe temptation. The letter was a desperate cry against spiritual corruption, an indication of his life to feel guilt, and his new identity as a Christian.

¹¹² Diary, May 7, 1887

¹¹³ Yun, to Ladies and Gentlemen, Paris, October 25, 1896, Young J. Allen Papers, Box 8, FF1, MARBL.

Conversion for Communal Salvation

On attending church and hearing the name of God for the first time in his life, Yun resolved to pray twice a day for those who commanded his life-long concern in Korea. Absolute entities like parents, the king and queen, royal family and relatives, and the nation that had defined Yun's world back in Korea were now grafted into his Christian life under the sovereign God.¹¹⁴ Yun's Christian conversion was the turning point from which his concern for the nation was integrated into the Methodist movement of the nineteenth century to transform the world. Koen de Ceuster maintains that Yun's Christian life, launched from his baptismal confession, was mostly limited to his "personal salvation."¹¹⁵ Customarily understood as a confession of personal commitment to a religion, baptism for Yun, conversely, was tantamount to a commitment to communal salvation as his confession sent to *The Gospel in All Lands*.¹¹⁶ Yun's Christian life—characterized by its singular vigilance against spiritual corruption—developed into his yearning for communal regeneration of his nation in Christian morality. As he began to experience personal transformation through the power of Christianity, he expanded his

¹¹⁴ Diary, February 15, 1885.

¹¹⁵ Koen De Ceuster, "From Modernization to Collaboration. The Dilemma of Korean Cultural Nationalism: The Case of Yun Chi-Ho(1865-1945)" (Ph. D. disser., K.U.Leuven, 1994). 76. "From it, we learn that he was mainly concerned with personal salvation."

¹¹⁶ Yun Ch'i-ho, "A Korean's Confession: A Synopsis of What I was and What I am," *The Gospel in All Lands* (June 1887): 274–275; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sanghae saenggak (Reminiscence of Shanghai)." *Samch'ŏlli* (One Thousand Miles) 10, no. 5 (May 1938): 63 -66. Here Yun reinforced his prior record that he wanted to live both for his own life and for others through his conversion to Christianity.

vision to the Christianization of the entire nation of Korea. The combination of his communal understanding of Christianity with traditional customs of reciprocity among Koreans prompted Yun to spontaneously serve religious and secular communities in Shanghai right after his baptism.¹¹⁷

One year after his baptism in 1888, Yun served as a secretary of the Methodist Quarterly Meeting.¹¹⁸ He was a charter member of the Holy Club (修身會, 勸誡會) and the Bible society, and devoted to the Christian Temperance Society. Yun regularly participated in prayer meetings and Christian mission societies such as the Christian Gentlemen's Association (信士會),¹¹⁹ the American-Chinese Book Distribution (美華書館), the Unity Club (忠一會), the British Bible Society (大英聖書公會),¹²⁰ the Brothers' Society (兄弟會),¹²¹ and the Chinese Gospel Club (中國福音會).¹²² Every Sunday evening, Yun attended the Missions to Seamen (海人福音會).¹²³ These societies

¹¹⁷ Chung. 45.

¹¹⁸ Diary, March 17, 1888.

¹¹⁹ Diary, March 8, April 12, 14, November 17, 1887. Allen guided Yun in various ways to broaden his perspectives as a Christian. He was not only instrumental in leading Yun to church, but also invited him to a meeting of “gentlemen” held at his house every month. The Chinese name for the meeting, Christian Gentlemen's Association (信士會)—at which sermons such as “How to observe Sundays” were given—seems to indicate an alternative group to the YMCA. Bonnel also opened his home for these meetings.

¹²⁰ Diary, May 18, 1888. A Bible society was organized on that day; Yun was one of the charter members. On May 28, 1888, Yun and his friends (Nakamura, Jong Wongwang, Po Yong Hang, and Jong Juajin) discussed starting a Bible society.

¹²¹ Diary, May 19, 1888. The Brother's Society was organized on this day with about thirty members.

¹²² Diary, June 10, 1888.

and clubs provided communities of intimacy to nurture Yun's Christian piety as well as outlets to channel Yun's desire to serve other communities. Yun's devotion to Christian community extended to his regular visits to a penitentiary. Yun's *modus operandi*, collaborative operation through benevolent organizations, was solidified in China and America.

The Holy Club (修身會, 권계회/勸誠會)

Two weeks after Yun's baptism, Yun and Ring In Gwang, a Chinese student, organized a prayer meeting for world missions at the Anglo-Chinese College.¹²⁴ The missionary teachers at the Anglo-Chinese College tried to place its primary emphasis on edifying the spirituality of students, yet it was only with Yun's baptism that the collective goal gave birth to a group. In the fall, another meeting for promoting spirituality was

¹²³ Diary, November 13, 20, December 4, 11, 1887; January 1, 8, 15, February 6, 19, March 4, 1888.

The mission society was founded by John Ashley, a minister in the Church of England. Ashley started this mission by using a cutter with a built-in chapel under the deck; he engaged a crew and anchored wherever churchless seamen were serving. The mission led worship on over ten thousand vessels and sold five thousand Bibles in fifteen years. His ministry started in 1835 and developed into a formal organization, the Missions to Seamen, in 1856. The innovative approach to lonely seafarers was a great success, reaching home and abroad and founding branches throughout the world. The mission reached China when Imperial Britain forced the opening of five Chinese seaports, as well as when the 1858 Treaty of Tientsin enforced the opening of eleven new ports. The mission was characterized by humanitarian concern for the welfare of both the insular residents of islands and seamen. It also connected people in Britain, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Singapore, and China with those working on the seas. The Mission to Seamen thus built a service network among lonely seamen and their families throughout the world. The tract issued by the mission read, "Sailors are the representatives of our national Christianity in every part of the world, and by the lives they live in Ports aboard must be either the greatest help or the greatest hindrance to missionary work. Every sailor won for Christ is a missionary." The Archbishop of York supported the mission as "The main agency by which the Church of the English nation tries to do its duty to the sailors of all nations." The mission provided chaplains and lay workers, proving to be the center of spirituality for seamen and sailors away from home in ninety-six seaports worldwide. L. A. G. Strong, *Flying Angel: The Story of the Missions to Seamen* (London: Methuen & Co., LTD, 1956), Chapter II.

¹²⁴ Diary, April 27, May 4, 11, 18, 25, June 1, 8, 22, 29, July 6, September 8, 15, 21, 22, 29, 1887.

organized. The professors and the students of the college gathered as the Holy Club (修身會) to promote spirituality. The prayer meeting and the Holy Club were akin to what the Wesley brothers did at Oxford with their Holy Club; their members in Shanghai and London focused more on legalistic discipline than on spiritual experiences. The Holy Club renamed itself after six months to the Exhortation Society (*Kwŏnkyehoe*).¹²⁵ About thirty members signed pledges for spiritual discipline. Yun, as a charter member and its secretary, not only focused his efforts on organizing the club for several days, but also printed religious tracts and pledges, named the club in English, and invited students to the club.¹²⁶ Both the prayer meeting and the Holy Club, to which Yun was instrumental, thrived so much that they put a Christian spin on the school strong enough to cause some prospective Chinese students to hesitate with their applications. They wavered in their decisions for fear of the reputed Christian propagation at the college. Regardless the popularity of the school usually prevailed over such fears.¹²⁷

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union

¹²⁵ Diary, October 16, 1887; March 2, 1888.

¹²⁶ The Holy Club: Diary, October 16, 17, 20, 22, 27, 28, November 4, 11, 18, 25, December 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, 1887; January 1, 6, 11, 13, 20, 27, February 10, 14, March 2, 1888 (gathering of the charter members and sharing about what happened to each member), March 29, 30, April 13, 27, May 10, 25, June 8, 22, July 6, 1888. The club gathered every other week for one semester; Yun never missed a meeting. After the summer vacation, no more records appeared in Yun's diary about the club; it probably failed to continue.

¹²⁷ Diary, January 15, 1888.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was another means for Yun to channel personal piety for the benefit of communities, although scholars have yet to pay attention to Yun's commitment to this society. Beginning at the early age of ten, Yun's drinking habit escalated until it reached its peak while studying in Japan. His drinking was aggravated at the Anglo-Chinese College, ironically in proportion to his increased frequency of church attendance. Sometimes, he showed obscene behavior of a drunkard while maintaining first place in academic records.¹²⁸ His remorse of drunkenness arose at first mostly in light of violating Confucian precepts such as filial piety for parents, loyalty to the king and queen, and laudable character for scholars.

Yun began to understand the incompatibility of his drinking habit with Christian piety as he began to attend the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1886.¹²⁹ After attending the Temperance Union for three months, and after the repeated cycle of resolving not to drink, signing pledges, and praying for the grace of God, he finally succeeded two months before baptism.¹³⁰ Overcoming the habit of drinking, Yun

¹²⁸ Diary, June 24, 1886. On hearing the news of his father's life in exile, Yun fell into a deep depression. His diary records his drinking habit: In 1885, July 25, August 13, 15, 22, 25, 31, September 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 21 (drinking ten bottles of sake), 23, October 10, 27, November 3, 6, 7, 14, 21, December 4, 5, 11, 12, 19. In 1886, January 2, 4, February 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 19 (after drinking, fight with the police), 21, 23, 26, 27, 28 (started a resolution against drinking), March 7, 19, 27 (reassigned his drinking resolution), April 1, 3, 4 (remorse for drinking in light of faith and God; prayer for quitting drinking), 13, 20, 23, 25, May 3, June 5, 6, 9, 11, 27, September 13, 15, October 10, 17 (climbing over the wall of the college dormitory after drinking), 22 (climbed over the wall again), 30, November 6, 19. In 1887, January 12, February 2 (breaking the rule; drank over ten cups).

¹²⁹ Diary, January 4, 1886. April 1, 1886. He records his remorseful prayer: "You drink so much wine, because it seems to be a very great pleasure, but sharp remorse smites you inwardly while your physical strength decays away, then what is the food of what apparent pleasure? What is the whole world to him who loses his soul? O God forgive me this time, I shall never commit such miserable sin I did last night again. O God forgive me and help me to love Bible as the nutritious food of my soul. O God forgive now."

subscribed to the Union newspapers and helped to prepare its temperance programs.¹³¹ His first service at the Temperance Union was his English speech to a Western audience consisting of men, women, and children. The title of his speech was “We are obliged to rely on God’s help.”¹³² The speech testified to human inability to achieve holiness, seen in the case of his experience of temperance only through his prayer for God’s help. Yun’s speech at the Temperance Union was the first of his decades-long career of delivering English speeches in China and the United States. Yun’s seemingly negligible experience of liberation from alcohol toxin, however, convinced him of the possibility of social change of corruptions in Korea as the temperance movement in the U.S. had infused American women with hope for social betterment. The vision of Frances Willard for America and Britain to reform the public domain through legislative amendments was spreading in China, inspiring Yun’s personal as well as public aspirations for the reform of Korea.¹³³

¹³⁰ Diary, February 17, 1887, March 20, April 6, 1888. At the Anglo-Chinese College, the temperance movement was directed by both male teachers and students. Despite this, an occasional female missionary teacher might make a speech. For instance, Miss Hamilton spoke on “Why alcohol is harmful to humanity;” however, a male student, Nakamura, made a complementary speech.

¹³¹ Diary, March 1, May 11, 1887.

¹³² Diary, November 24, 1887.

¹³³ Dana L. Robert, “Adoniram Judson Gordon 1836-1895, Educator, Preacher, and Promoter of Missions,” Gerald H. Anderson et al. eds., *Mission Legacies, Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement* (New York: Orbis, 1996), 19. Robert points to the ecumenical spirit of A. J. Gordon in championing the cause of the women’s temperance movement by transcending his friends’ evangelical bias against prohibitionists. Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission* (Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1997), 250. Another case of crossing the evangelical bias is introduced here in the influence of the women’s temperance movement on a holiness Methodist, Virginia Moss, who founded the Beulah Heights Bible and Missionary Training School. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992). 295–298. Noll states how women took a leading role in reforming society as well as families, the WCTU’s ecumenical cooperation between conservatives and liberals, Francis Willard helping found the British counterpart to

The National chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) of Korea was organized four decades later on 18 September 1923, as a result of hard working by a female missionary to China, Christine I. Tinling.¹³⁴ The ecumenical and international cooperation, particularly cooperation between foreign women missionaries and Korean women including the WCTU's appointed field organizer, Mary Song, in addition to financial assistance of honorary Korean male members, led to the organization of the national chapter of the WCTU. Cooperating with all temperance organizations already at operation and newly installing unions, the WCTU addressed the issue of alcohol, tobacco, and morphine addiction, which had been poisoning families and society, especially fanned by the macabre condition of colonial Korea. The temperance movement tackled the carcinogenic viruses of society that intoxicated the sensibilities and abilities of individuals, families, and the nation.¹³⁵ Holding the motto, "For God and Home and Every Land," Song carried arduous itineration through sixteen

the WCTU, and the two goals of the movement: "self-discipline by individuals" and a "Christian communal discipline in society." He also argues that the temperance movement corresponded to the anti-slavery movement; one against slavery as a social institution and the other against personal slavery to alcohol. Noll maintains that Willard's efforts sought Victorian values in America; "domestic purification and personal order." Yun's observation of the temperance movement in the southern U.S. illuminates how the movement faced tougher objections than the one in China because of the lobby of the U.S. liquor unions and the eloquence of mercenary lawyers defending alcohol consumption.

¹³⁴ Alice R. Appenzeller, "Bits of China, Christine I. Tinling," *The Korea Mission Field* (August 1925): 175. Here, Appenzeller introduced Tinling's *Bits of China* (Revell and Co., 1925), which described the appalling conditions of intemperance and the use of drugs in China. B. W. Billing, "Temperance Work in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* (October 1928), 206–207.

¹³⁵ Cordelia Erwin, "The W.C.T.U. Movement in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* (February 1925): 31, 32. Erwin, a Southern Methodist missionary, recorded the staff of the Korean WCTU: Anna Chaffin served as president; Emily Winn, E. A. McLellan, and A. S. Dories as vice-presidents; Cordelia Erwin as corresponding secretary; D. A. Bunker as treasurer. Mary Song facilitated with great vigor the cooperation and extension of disparate local temperance movements. Her itinerant tours through provinces in Korea resulted in 1,508 members in sixteen local unions by the end of 1923. The WCTU distributed tracts and pamphlets, published articles in the *Christian Messenger* and Korean newspapers, held discussions, and received pledges and membership fees.

provinces and many more villages. Sometimes using visual demonstrations of alcohol burning in an egg in a fixed booth followed by a short sermon and explanation of the harm of liquor, the WCTU developed fifty-two societies with a total membership of 3,217, in addition to twenty-six male temperance societies by 1928.¹³⁶ Strongly linked to social reform, the Woman's Christian Temperance Movement certainly left its mark both on Yun and Korean society.

Publisher: The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge

While Yun was studying at the Anglo-Chinese College, Young J. Allen in Shanghai launched another monumental enterprise with his colleague Timothy Richard. In addition to the two memorable achievements of the Anglo-Chinese College and *The Globe Magazine*, Allen established the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (SDK, 廣學書館) in 1887, which later would be renamed as the Christian Literature Society for China (CLS, 廣學會). The editorial staff was comprised of Young J. Allen, W. A. CorNaby, Donald MacGillivray, W. Gilbert Walshe, and Timothy Richard.¹³⁷ As with the Anglo-Chinese College, the SDK responded to the needs of and

¹³⁶ C. A. Clark, "A Korean Temperance Leader," *The Korea Mission Field* (June 1935): 125, 126. Clark introduced how the WCTU expanded through its support of Korean agents. Song Sang-suk, for instance, seemed to have helped the work of Mary Song as a minister in the Presbyterian Church, just like A. J. Gordon's support of Francis Willard. He used various means of publicity such as magazines, parades with banners and flags, distribution of tens of thousands of tracts, speech and essay writing contests, and putting up posters. He also traveled throughout many areas in order to form a network for the temperance movement. Within a year, he delivered about one hundred speeches and addressed 47,027 people.

¹³⁷ Young J. Allen, to Warren Candler, October 4, 1906, Warren Candler Papers, Box 13, F8, MARBL.

appealed to Chinese elites to gain Western knowledge through translated literature. At this publisher, Allen's two most memorable literary products were printed.

History of the War between China and Japan, *History of Women in All Lands*, and *China and Her Neighbors* were the most prominent among publications at this press. In particular, Allen's *History of the War between China and Japan*—a ten-volume masterpiece in Chinese—drew a great deal of response from Chinese elites who craved for the “honest and intelligible accounts of the humiliation of their government by Japan,” and who desired to see the wars explained from an unbiased angle (instead of the government's self-eulogizing publications). The history volumes were regarded as “the greatest single achievement” of Allen and became the standard Chinese authority on the war.¹³⁸ The Korean king also sent a letter of recognition and appreciation of the *History of the War between China and Japan* to Allen, in the name of the Minister of Household, Yi Chai-sun. Yun Ch'i-ho brought the volumes to Korea and translated the letter of Kojong for Allen into English.¹³⁹

Yun later became a founding member of a Korean publisher named Kwangmunsa (廣文社) for the diffusion of both Christian and general knowledge in Korea after the model of the SDK. Initiated and founded entirely by the Koreans in 1921, the publisher was renamed as Chosŏn Kidokkyo Ch'angmunsa (the Korean Christian Publishing House,

¹³⁸ “Death of Young J. Allen,” *Christian Advocate*, Newspaper Clippings, Obituaries and Tributes, 1907, Young J. Allen Papers, Box 26, FF5, MARBL.

¹³⁹ “A Letter of Thanks from the King of Corea,” July 20, 1897, written by Yi Chai-sun, Minister of Household, Young J. Allen Papers, Box 8, F.2, MARBL. Yi Chai-sun presented a copy of the book, which Yun Ch'i-ho brought to the king, who “greatly praised it and instructed – to send you [Young J. Allen] an embroidered screen.”

創文社) in 1923. The establishment of the Anglo-Chinese College, *The Globe Magazine*, and the SDK were American responses to needs of the Chinese. These models inspired Yun and led to his definitive roles for the Anglo-Korean School, the SDK, and the *Independent* in Korea that had been implemented by the initiative and for the support of the Koreans. In particular, Yun persisted to the end of the last two institutions as a guardian of both the *Independent* and the Ch'angmunsa, when the founding members all gave up, facing obstacles.¹⁴⁰

Publications

Young J. Allen, Chief Editor of the SDK, cooperated with many native translators in translating Chinese sources to English and English sources to Chinese. At the press, Yun and Allen published three volumes of *O kuo cheng su t'ung kao* (Russia and Her Peoples, 俄國政俗通考) into Chinese in 1900.¹⁴¹ In 1887, Yun and Scott, a British official and former secretary of the British Consulate in Korea, also worked together to

¹⁴⁰ For Yun's role in founding the Kwangmunsa, see Diary, 14 June 1921, December 11, 1921, January 31, 1921, Pak and Yu Söng-jun, the charter members, were beginning to recoil from their responsibilities in the publisher, when facing difficulties, just eight months after the official launch of the Ch'angmunsa. See September 15, 1923, February 26, 1924, May 27, 1924; June 23, 1924; August 19, 1924; September 30, 1924; October 2, 1924; June 22, 1927; Yun's role for the *Independent*, see Diary, 19 July 1897; Yun appears as president of the Ch'angmunsa from 1925 on and as advisor throughout the life of the publisher. The records indicate that the shareholders of the Ch'angmunsa were mostly such YMCA Board members as Cynn Hüng-wu, Yi Sang-jae, Yu Ök-kyöm, Hong Pyöng-sön, Ku Cha-ok, and Ryang Chu-sam. Yi Sang-jae remained in the Ch'angmunsa until he died in 1927. *Chosön ünhaeng hoesa yorok* (Records of Chosön Bank Incorporated), August 1923, August 1925, June 1927, March 1929, March 1931, April 1933. <http://db.history.go.kr> HOI : NIKH.DB-hs_001_1929_03_14_6590, accessed on March 30, 2011.

¹⁴¹ *O kuo cheng su t'ung kao* (俄國政俗通考, Russia and its peoples), trans. Young J. Allen and Yun Ch'i-ho, 3 Vols. (Shanghai: Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, 1900).

produce 韓英對話 (한영대화, *Hanyǒng Daewha*), an English-Korean conversation manual for foreigners in Shanghai.¹⁴² When Yun went to the U.S., he continued to translate essays from *The Global Magazine* and the *Shanghai Daily* into English for American readers.¹⁴³ The Chinese language had been for centuries intertwined in Koreans' ordinary life; while in Korea in 1909 Yun compiled a primer called *Yuhakchach'wi* (幼學字聚, *A Chinese/Korean Dictionary*). Unlike the traditional Chinese primer, *Thousand Letters*, which opens with such words as heaven, earth, black, and white for young readers, Yun arranged the Chinese characters in a children-friendly order and for practical use.¹⁴⁴

Yun's translations also extended to the Bible and to the hymns of Wesley and Watts.¹⁴⁵ Partly on account of his sympathy arising from his own experience translating the Bible and hymns, Yun greatly respected another missionary involved in such work, James S. Gale.¹⁴⁶ Gale was commissioned to Korea by the student YMCA of Toronto University directly under the missionary currents of the Student Volunteer Movement.

¹⁴² Diary, April 18, 1887. Yun also introduced another Korean helper, Yi Hun, at the request of Scott. Diary, March 23, 30, April 5, 6, 20, 30, May, 1, 25, June 8, 22, July 6, 20, 1888. Yun, Yi, and Scott translated Chinese classics at Mackintosh's house.

¹⁴³ Diary, December 28, 1889, April 19, 1890. Yun translated an article, "Family and School" by Laura Haygood, printed in the *Shanghai Daily*, into English. On 20 September 1890, he also translated an introduction of the Anglo-Chinese College into English for a missionary report.

¹⁴⁴ Yun Ch'i-ho, *Yuhak jach'wi* (유학자취), Chongdae Yusŏ, Yunghŭi 3 nyŏn (1909).

¹⁴⁵ Diary, February 5, 24, March 21, May 1, 1888; April 27, 1897. Horace G. Underwood had about 15 hymns translated into Korean by 1895. Yun might have added to Underwood's collection of hymns for Koreans. In 1905, Yun published Hymns with National Anthem in Kwanghak sŏgwan.

¹⁴⁶ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Taepaksikka (Great Man of Knowledge— On James S. Gale)." *Chokwang* (Morning Ray), no. 4 (1937): 96. In addition to Yun's essay on Gale, this issue of Morning Ray introduces Gale's translation works and contribution to Korean studies.

Gale was a prominent linguist and a master of Korean, although not many people in Korea have appreciated Gale's translations of Korean literature into English. Yun and Yale University, however, recognized the invaluable work of Gale for Koreans and Korean literature, evidenced in the correspondence between Gale and Yun housed in the archives of Emory University.¹⁴⁷ Appreciating the invaluable worth and painstaking efforts involved in the translation of the Bible, Yun became a life-long patron of James Scott Gale. When Gale finished after twenty years his translation of the Bible into the Korean vernacular in 1925, Yun furnished the entire expense of ten thousand dollars, publishing the Bible at his own publisher, Ch'angmunsa.¹⁴⁸

Vanderbilt University (November 1888–June 1891)

Yun's matriculation at Vanderbilt University (Nashville, Tennessee, USA) was arranged by the professors of the Anglo-Chinese College. W. B. Bonnell and Young J. Allen wrote recommendations to Dr. Hannon, Rev. Leuise, Bishop McTyeire, Dr. Tillet, and Mr. Leohr.¹⁴⁹ At Vanderbilt, Yun continued the devotional life that he had acquired in China: Bible study at Sunday schools, two services on Sundays, and Wednesday prayer meetings. He continued to give speeches at Vanderbilt and his devotional life grew,

¹⁴⁷ James Gale, to Yun, January 1916, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, MARBL.

¹⁴⁸ Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Volume I 1884-1934* (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education 1934). 414.

¹⁴⁹ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young J. Allen, November 5, 1888; Diary, September 12, October 27, November 5, 6, 8, 23, 1888; Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young J. Allen, November 7, December 3, 1888.

as seen in one of his testimonies on “life filled with God’s grace.”¹⁵⁰ Yun studied systematic theology (under Dr. Tillet), biblical history (under Dr. Hoss), preaching (under Prof. Alexander), elocution, declamation, moral philosophy, church history, and English (under Dr. Sims) at Vanderbilt.¹⁵¹ Yun could not afford the tuition and educational expenses at Vanderbilt, yet Dr. Tillet secured Yun’s boarding fees from the sustentation fund.¹⁵² During the summer vacation, the fund was suspended. Yun at his wit’s end prayed for God’s help and experienced on the next day a supply of funds from an anonymous person, leading him to confess the greatness of God.¹⁵³

Wesley Hall Mission Society and Robert Wilder

Yun’s transfer to the United States coincided with the organization of a Student Volunteer Mission Society at Vanderbilt, where Yun became one of its five charter members. As soon as Yun arrived at Vanderbilt on 6 November 1888, the theological department invited Robert Wilder, “pioneer and pathfinder of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.”¹⁵⁴ Wilder was discharging his responsibility of

¹⁵⁰ Diary, November 21, 1888.

¹⁵¹ Yun Ch’i-ho, to Young J. Allen. December 3, 1888; to Young J. Allen, September 18, 1889; Diary, 21 November 1888.

¹⁵² Yun Ch’i-ho, to Young J. Allen, December 3, 1888; Letter to Young J. Allen, June 19, 1889.

¹⁵³ Diary, July 3, 4, 1889. July 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Yun began yard work for ten hours a day. He described how Americans spurned him, believing him to be Chinese because he was doing such manual labor.

¹⁵⁴ Diary, January 15, 1889. John R. Mott, *The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, vol. I (New York: Association Press, 1946). The epithet is Mott’s description of Robert Wilder in the preamble of his book.

systematically organizing the Student Volunteer Movement from the fall of 1888, igniting missionary zeal across theological colleges in the United States. Wilder's speech on 15 January 1889 at Vanderbilt propelled the birth of the Mission Society in the Wesley Hall at Vanderbilt, harnessing itself to mobilize students for world missions. A cosmopolitan figure, Wilder belonged to many countries. He was born in India, carried the fresh waves of the Student Volunteer Movement throughout the U.S. and Canada, transferred the fire for the birth of the British Student Christian Movement in London, returned as a missionary to India, and died in the Netherlands. A citizen of the world, Wilder pursued only one purpose in life: spreading the Gospel to students. Such missionary fervor, gushing from the volcanic Mt. Hermon, Massachusetts, was about to flow into Vanderbilt as a new "evangelical heartland" with the arrival of Robert Wilder.¹⁵⁵

Yun had just unpacked his luggage when Robert Wilder arrived at Vanderbilt on 15 January 1889. Southern students could not yet imagine that they would be part of the great history of students that molded America into such an important missionary-sending force. As one of the wheels that drove the Student Volunteer Movement, Wilder traversed the North American continent, visiting 176 colleges and divinity schools with his Princeton classmate, John N. Forman, while the prayers of his sister Grace Wilder at home and later in India supported the two theological students. The duo's campus crusade brought in over two thousand volunteer pledges before the year 1887 ended.

¹⁵⁵ Elizabeth Ann Underwood, *Challenged Identities: North American Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1934* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Korea Branch, 2004). 35.

After a year-long break, the student volunteers modified its approach from seeking individual pledges to founding the systematic support bases of collective mission societies, particularly in the colleges and theological seminaries of America and Canada. Wilder would come to represent the commission of the Canadian Intercollegiate and the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance; John R. Mott would represent the student YMCA, and Nettie Nunn the YWCA. With the aim of organizing a sustainable support and training base for the Student Volunteer Movement, Wilder visited Vanderbilt—and encountered Yun.

Regarding Wilder's speech at Vanderbilt, Yun penned to Young J. Allen, "We had a few days ago some missionary lectures delivered here by a young man from India and they awakened zeal in many a bosom, though the effect of the meetings remains to be seen."¹⁵⁶ The missionary awakening of students indeed coalesced into a weekly students' missionary meeting within a few weeks, in the name of the Wesley Hall Mission Society.¹⁵⁷ Once the society was formed in 1889, it gave birth to overseas missionaries such as Fletcher S. Brockman, R. C. Dickson, Bruce, T. A. Hearn, and O. E. Brown. Professors at Vanderbilt also encouraged overseas missions. For instance, Mr. Loehr, a close associate of Young J. Allen, lectured on missions in China.¹⁵⁸ Dr. Tillet suggested that Vanderbilt put a premium on sending missionaries over producing preachers or

¹⁵⁶ Diary, January 15, 1889. "At night, [Yun] listened to the lecture of Mr. Wilder, a missionary, who went to India." Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young Allen, January 18, 1889. Yun's letters on April 3 and October 10, 1889 record his attendance at the monthly missionary meetings.

¹⁵⁷ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young Allen, February 21, 1889.

¹⁵⁸ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young Allen, May 18, 1889. Mr. Loehr's son was probably married to the daughter of Young J. Allen, considering her last name being Loehr and Allen's frequent correspondence with George R. Loehr. Loehr also attempted to write a biography of Allen. Young J. Allen Papers, Box, 5-16, MARBL.

biblical scholars.¹⁵⁹ Concerted efforts of the Student Mission Society and theological professors thus nourished overseas student missionaries. While Yun was still at Vanderbilt in 1890, he saw his classmates leave the U.S. for China and Brazil. Hearn, Yun's classmate at the theological department for two years, left for China. Bruce and Dickson went off to Brazil and Brown to China.¹⁶⁰ Yun also saw how the Wesley Hall Mission Society and the YMCA supported R. C. Dickson.¹⁶¹

Yun's commitment to the Wesley Hall Mission Society was so zealous that he hardly missed meetings even when sore toes and examinations tempted him away.¹⁶² His zeal was partly attributable to the mission education central to the activities of the society. The participants enjoyed lectures on history of missions, reports of mission societies, information on relief work, Islam, missions to China, Japan, Korea, and Brazil. The narratives of foreign missionaries moved Yun deeply, yet he did not pledge to be a foreign missionary himself; probably his status as an exile made him forgo the thought. Instead, Yun encouraged his friend, Mackintosh, to become a missionary to China.¹⁶³ When Yun was deeply touched, for example, by a subject like "John, a missionary to

¹⁵⁹ Diary, June 15, 1890. Dr. Tillet became famous in Korea through translated publications of his works in Korean. David Lee, who would become secretary for the youth department at the YMCA, wrote sections of Tillet's book in a series from August 1911 to July 1912 in *Tae Do*, edited by Ryang Chu-sam and C. F. Reid.

¹⁶⁰ Diary, April 27, 1890.

¹⁶¹ Diary, April 23, 1890.

¹⁶² Diary, November 1, December 1, 1889.

¹⁶³ Diary February 7, April 3, October 10, 1889.

China,” he pledged for a life thoroughly dedicated to Christianity.¹⁶⁴ What Yun could do for missions as an exile was the consecration of his life, rather than going to a foreign country with the Gospel. An increasing number of students pledged for overseas missions at the Wesley Hall Mission Society; G. S. Fish was another volunteer who testified to his decision to go to Korea as a missionary. The Kansas College YMCA diverted the country of his service, however, commissioning Fish to Japan. Yun, cooperating with Fish at the Vanderbilt YMCA, would again work with him in Korea two decades later.¹⁶⁵ Unity between the YMCA secretary in Korea and that in Japan was thus formed in the Wesley Hall of Vanderbilt University before the YMCA landed in Korea.

Fletcher Sim Brockman confessed his own decision for cross-cultural missions to China on March 30, 1890.¹⁶⁶ It was a great change in Brockman’s life who had been reluctant to participate in Christian service, although one might consider the influence by his mother, a daughter of a Methodist preacher, who prayed for her four sons to be Christian workers. Moreover, Brockman in high school had attempted to dissuade Laura Haygood from going to China.¹⁶⁷ On hearing that Haygood desired to establish a high

¹⁶⁴ Diary, December 15, 1889; March 16, 22, 25, 26, April 4, 22, 27, 1890.

¹⁶⁵ Diary, October 1890.

¹⁶⁶ Fletcher S. Brockman, *I Discover the Orient* (New York, London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1935); *ibid.* 9.

¹⁶⁷ Laura Haygood was the founder and principal of the Girls’ High School in Atlanta and the first woman sent to a foreign country by the Women’s Missionary Society of the Methodist Church. She had introduced Brockman to the church and its Sunday school. Brockman and Haygood worked for Atlanta’s poverty-stricken community, providing the poor with food and shelter. Brockman, *I Discover*, 7. Haygood founded the McTyeire Home and School in Shanghai and would mediate Yun’s encounter with one of her students, Shientung—later Yun’s spouse. Yun would name his first daughter Laura. Laura Haygood’s establishment of an industrial school for the poor in Atlanta provided a model for Yun’s emphasis on industrial education at the Anglo-Korean School.

school for upper-class girls in China, Brockman ventured an aggressive, albeit fruitless, visit to her house with the adamant goal of dissuading her. Even Haygood's subsequent report on her educational mission in China only made Brockman pray not to be deceived by her speech. The Wesley Hall Mission Society, however, caused a dramatic change in Brockman's heart. He asked for prayer support with resolve to become a missionary to China. Listening to Brockman's confession, Yun hardly imagined that he would work with him for the Korean YMCA, and much less with his brother Frank M. Brockman, for many years until the latter's death in Korea. Brockman recorded his cooperation with Yun, his dormitory mate, for the launch of the Korean YMCA in his *I Discover the Orient*.¹⁶⁸ Brockman now stood on the podium of the 1890 Northfield Student Summer Conference, appealing for a student secretary to work in the southern states of the U.S. Finding no volunteer, Brockman himself volunteered to be the first Student Secretary of the International Committee for the Southern States from 1891–1897.¹⁶⁹

Fletcher S. Brockman facilitated the core meetings of a volunteer band in his dorm room at Vanderbilt. Yun, a charter member of five students, saw the growth of the volunteer band to twelve members.¹⁷⁰ In Brockman's dorm room, missionaries to China (Walter R. Lambuth) and Brazil talked about their experiences. These volunteers

¹⁶⁸ Brockman, *I Discover*, 12.

¹⁶⁹ Brockman, Fletcher Sim, Biographical Files, ""; *ibid*. He continued to serve as traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement (1897–1898), the first YMCA secretary in Nanking, China (1898–1901), the first national General Secretary of the YMCA in China (1901–1915), Associate General Secretary of the National War Work Council during World War I and of the International Committee of YMCA's (1915–1924), and Administrative Secretary of the Foreign Work Committee for the Far East (1924–1929).

¹⁷⁰ Diary, April 14, 1891.

discussed methods to mobilize students on campus for foreign missions and expand the kingdom of God in foreign countries. They wrote articles on missions for conference papers, sold missionary magazines, distributed tracts, assigned students to write on missionary subjects during their vacations, and received missionary columns for conference papers. These volunteers pressed hard to spread among college students the imperative of foreign missions.

The Wesley Hall Mission Society, which had propelled the volunteer band among a handful of students, thus became a nursery for the national YMCA secretary and the international secretary who would later bridge the U.S., China, and Korea. Student volunteers in their college dorm rooms were thus pilots of Christian internationalism, making up the matrix of international networks that promoted awareness of foreign countries in their periodicals and nurtured foreign students as Christian leaders, such as in the case of Yun. Yun was thus integrated into the steadily growing currents of Christian internationalism among college students in late-nineteenth-century America.

Consistent Commitment to Educational Mission

The American Christians in Nashville, including Rev. Louise who had sponsored the Anglo-Chinese College, welcomed Yun as fruit of their mission in China.¹⁷¹ Yun perceived himself, however, as more than a recipient of the Gospel. By this time, he had solidified his vision of evangelistic and educational missions in Korea, a vision borne of a direct and personal relationship with God. When he started studying at Vanderbilt, he

¹⁷¹ Diary, November 23, 1888.

prayed that God would help him to be useful for his nation and the kingdom of God.¹⁷²

After mulling over the Korean situation—in which servile people and corrupt officials surrounding the king drove the country into a spiral of corruption—Yun concluded that only Christianity and education would regenerate the nation.¹⁷³ Reflecting on the implications of Christianity on his life in China and the United States, Yun determined two areas to which he would devote his life: evangelism and education of the nation.

This morning a thought flashed into my mind in the shape of this question: Could it be merely a chance or blind accident or succession of chances and blind accidents that have guided me through many dangers, toils and snares” to this day?” No! It is neither chance nor designless accident. This God and his Providence that has had protected and guided me. I have a mission to fulfill: and my life will be either a failure or a success according as how well or ill I may discharge my duties. What is this mission? It is this: preaching the Gospel and giving education to my people.¹⁷⁴

Contemplation of such immense projects as building a school and Christianizing the nation were to be premised on one crucial condition: endurance for decades. Without such commitment for decades, no tangible consequences would be expected. The Wesley Hall Mission Society planted this lesson of vital importance in Yun with ambivalent memories of both admiration and disappointment. When O. E. Brown went to China, Yun was amazed that such a prominent student, who qualified for a faculty position at Vanderbilt, declined both the offer and financial security only to become a missionary to

¹⁷² Diary, 29 December 1888. “My mission is to dedicate my life and serve my nation to the full of all my heart and with the help of God, even if I may not see my country as flourishing as other countries during my lifetime. May God help me with my weakness and guide me to be useful for the good of my nation and the kingdom of God. When I leave this vanishing world and enter the heaven, what a joy will it be in such a place as there is no worries.”

¹⁷³ Diary, March 30, 1889. “My greatest desire is to work for Christ and my soul by dedicating my life for Christianity and education to revive the nation.”

¹⁷⁴ Diary, December 14, 1889.

the Chinese. This was especially remarkable since the Chinese were called “rats” by the citizens of Nashville and were denied citizenship by the U.S. government in the late nineteenth century. Regarding this commitment, Yun wrote,

O. E. Brown is the best theologian that the Hall has ever sent out. He has, by real and deserving merit, won the esteem and affection of the Professors and the boys. He is a fine everything. If he will not make a first class missionary, I do not know who will. His prospect here is bright. May his self-denial for the work of Christ be rewarded by his success in the field he is going to!¹⁷⁵

The “self-denial” of Brown in China, however, lasted only two years, since he eventually accepted the position offered by the theological department of Vanderbilt University, much to the dismay of the Nashville Christians who supported him.¹⁷⁶ Mrs. Bonnell, the mother of W. B. Bonnell in China as well as Mrs. Allen, wife of Young J. Allen, all expressed deep regret when Brown chose professorship over a missionary career. They regarded the expense and time spent on studying Chinese a waste. Brown’s decision, they said, was “shaking the faith of the church,” and “depriving the mission of an invaluable worker.” Only Mrs. Hoss, editor of the *Nashville Advocate*, vindicated Brown’s choice, pointing that both his aptitude and the fragile health of Mrs. Brown made him better fit for teaching in the U.S. Hoss’ thoughtful defense, however, was hardly supported by the school community.

Yun learned from the case of Brown the importance of consistent commitment to educational mission. In order for communities and nations to see the benefits of education,

¹⁷⁵ Yun Chi-ho, to Young Allen, June 21, 1890.

¹⁷⁶ Diary, September 10, 21, 1892.

consistency was crucial. The difference between the missionary work in China rendered by O. E. Brown and Young J. Allen was that between two and fifty years. Yun engraved in his heart the lesson of consistency in serving the people long enough to bring about tangible results. This lesson held Yun for fifty years in Korea, just as Young J. Allen had stuck to China for fifty years. The belief led Yun to hold on to the Independence Club until its debacle, while the founder of the Independence Club left Korea after only two years. Because of the belief, Yun held on to Ch'angmunsa, when the other founding members all gave up. Despite his full ability to leave Korea and live in the U.S. with the U.S. broad network of support, Yun remained in Korea, devoting his life to educational institutions under the entire colonial clutch. The long residence at the end of the colonial era caused him to live through the period that stigmatized his name with its inescapable military demands. Yun remained in Korea as long as he was not expunged into exile. While the Wesley Hall Mission Society integrated Yun into the widening global network of Christian internationalism among the American students, Yun personally engaged himself in a descending movement toward one of the lowliest sectors of society.

Prison Ministry

Reciprocity characterized Yun's Christian formation, which compelled him to serve a local penitentiary every Sunday. At a prison in Nashville accommodating about six hundred inmates, Yun discovered that only one local church served the prisoners with

preaching, teaching the Bible, and comforting sick inmates.¹⁷⁷ For Yun, self-abasing service to prison inmates living in the most degrading conditions proved the superiority of Christianity to Confucianism, the latter which primarily championed scholarly elites and their moral rectitude.¹⁷⁸ Care for the poor and the ordinary in need, and accompanying actions of benevolence, persuaded Yun of the authenticity and superlative quality of Christianity. With this conviction, he started weekly services at the penitentiary with other Sunday school teachers.¹⁷⁹ His friends, Nath and Harris, accompanied Yun to the Newton County Poor Farm, where the three students sang, talked, and prayed with the prison inmates living in abject conditions.¹⁸⁰ On his first visit, Yun delivered a short talk on Christianity in Asia. Prioritizing the ministry, Yun did not miss prison services unless he was deterred by illness or other speaking engagements.¹⁸¹ Yun's service in the prison included his speech on the comparison of religions in Asia and Christianity.¹⁸² The brief

¹⁷⁷ Diary, December 9, 1888.

¹⁷⁸ Diary, December 7, 1888.

¹⁷⁹ Diary, September 15, 1889.

¹⁸⁰ Diary, April 10, December 21, 1892; March 26, 1893. That winter, Yun visited the Poor Farm with a Chinese classmate, S. H. Bell, who used to be jealous of Yun. The two brought the inmates gifts such as oranges, cakes, and candies for Christmas cheer. The service at the Poor Farm sometimes made him "thoroughly worn out."

¹⁸¹ Diary, September 15, 22, 29, October 6, 13, 20, 27, November 3, 10, 17, December 22, 29, 1889. On November 24 and December 8 he could not go to either penitentiary or church because of his sore foot: "[I] am very sorry that I cannot go to Church on account of a sore foot." January 19, 26, February 2, 9, 16, 23, March 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, April 6, 13, 20 (illness), 27, May 4, 11, 25, June 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, July 20, 27, August 8 (he had a meal at the jail-keeper's house), September 28, October 19, 26, November 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, December 21, 28, 1890. January 11, 18, 25, February 8, 22, 1891. In February, Yun wrote to his teachers in China regarding his study at Vanderbilt University and received a letter from Young J. Allen that his place was secured at Emory College. Letter to Warren A. Candler on February 19, 1891.

¹⁸² Diary, June 30, 1889.

but recurring phrase, “taught the Pen. S.S. as usual,” indicated his commitment to prison ministry, which lasted for one and a half years at Vanderbilt and continued at Emory.

Contrary to the popular understanding of Christian spirituality as a solitary retreat with the divine, Yun’s activism was the primary means and expression of his spirituality. For Yun, service to the community through prison ministry was an emanation of his devotional life. In addition to prayer and Bible reading, Yun regarded religious conversations with both Christians and non-Christians and service to his neighbors as nutrients for one’s soul, bringing vitality to spiritual apathy. Spirituality for Yun, therefore, rested not only on “coming out of the world” by subjective meditation on God, but also on “going into the world” through active engagement with and service to the poor.¹⁸³ Conversion at a mission school and formation of spirituality through communal service eventually formed a life orientation in which Yun would devote his life to the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), the locus of Yun’s deepening spirituality in Christian internationalism.

The YMCA

The history of the Korean YMCA records erroneously that Yŏ Byŏng-hyŏn (1867–?) was the first Korean to participate in the YMCA in Great Britain, before the YMCA was introduced into Korea.¹⁸⁴ Yun Ch’i-ho, however, was an active member of

¹⁸³ David J. Bosch, *A Spirituality of the Road* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1979). 9–24.

the YMCA in 1890 even before Yŏ set off to London in 1896, before Korea requested a chapter from the international YMCA in 1899, and before America sought the first international secretary to Korea in 1900. The American missionaries in China requested to the international headquarters for the establishment of the YMCA for Chinese as well as missionaries in 1891 and 1894. The official Chinese YMCA was finally launched by the arrival of the first YMCA secretary, David Willard Lyon, in Shanghai in December 1895.¹⁸⁵ Some societies, called the Brother's Club and the Christian Men's Society that Yun had joined in China, show an affinity with the YMCA, but the exact term "YMCA" first appears in his diary at Vanderbilt on 28 February 1890. While in the United States, Yun was quickly appointed as the deputy of the Vanderbilt and Emory College YMCAs, probably owing to his zeal. The intercollegiate conferences had harnessed Yun with the qualities of the YMCA secretary in the U.S. by the time he took up the roles of president, general secretary, and board member of the Korean YMCA.¹⁸⁶

On February 28, 1890, Yun attended the welcome meeting of the YMCA convention. A typical course of songs and an ice cream social was followed by the central feature of the YMCA, evangelism, by the keynote speaker. Yun learned through the address that Christian evangelism was the most effective when delivered in love, power,

¹⁸⁴ See the official web site of the Korean YMCA, <http://www.ycakorea.org/peaceon/15994/page/37>; T'aek-pu Chŏn, *Hanguk Kidokkyo Ch'ongnyonhoe Undong Sa* (Seoul: Pomusa, 1994), 63.

¹⁸⁵ Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese YMCA, 1895-1926*, 44, 53, 56.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. No book addressing the history of the YMCA in Seoul or Korea pays attention to this fact, probably owing to a disregard of Yun's diary in relation to the YMCA.

and an authenticity as seen in the legal court.¹⁸⁷ At the YMCA, Yun also saw love and power of Christianity expressed in a variety of means. For example, the Glee Club of the college YMCA met the affective needs of young men, quelling their thirst for zest in life. Lectures of diverse topics stimulated their intellectual desires and broadened perspectives. The YMCA was a channel through which Yun could connect with the international YMCA, broadening his intercultural horizons. Revival services of the gospel tent orchestrated by the Vanderbilt YMCA showed Yun a new dimension of Christianity.¹⁸⁸

The acquaintances made at Vanderbilt laid the groundwork in Yun's heart for Christian internationalism that bound Korea, America, China, and Japan. Through the long process of understanding the motivations, struggles, resolutions, barriers, aspirations, and sacrifices of individual missionaries, Yun built global friendships that transcended national and cultural barriers. His fellowship with other YMCA members (such as the volunteer band) consolidated through the revival services and strengthened international bonds in Christian faith. While he cultivated Christian internationalism at Vanderbilt, it was simultaneously tied to his national identity as a Korean. Nothing expressed more clearly the yearning of his heart than his speech on Korea delivered at the YMCA on his commencement of Vanderbilt University, 14 June 1891.

Emory College (July 1891–October 1893)

¹⁸⁷ Diary, February 28, September 19, 1890.

¹⁸⁸ Diary, May 1890.

Yun's matriculation at Emory College in September 1891 was enabled by the sponsorship of the Emory YMCA with its fund of \$260. Yun would later give \$200 to Emory for educational missions when he graduated from the college. Emory's support of Yun resumed at his launch of the Anglo-Korean School in 1907 by their building of his Emory House in Korea. With his typical habit of reciprocity, Yun, while in Korea, spearheaded fundraising for Emory in the 1920s. Emory conferred upon Yun an honorary Doctor of Law in 1930.¹⁸⁹

The Emory YMCA was prominent in philanthropic activity and prayer meetings when Yun matriculated in 1891.¹⁹⁰ During regular prayer times, the YMCA encouraged students to come up to prayer alters and make public decisions for God and the church.¹⁹¹ The revival services at Emory lasted for about three to four hours every evening for two weeks.¹⁹² The protracted revival services, rather than boring Yun, quickened his desire for spiritual growth. For Yun, the Emory YMCA seemed more infused with religious fervor than the Vanderbilt YMCA, which seemed geared toward socialization. Such a distinction of religious fervor between the two college YMCAs reflected in part Yun's growing concerns for religious matters over time. In addition to spiritual nurturing, the YMCA provided opportunities for inter-seminary and inter-state Christian conferences,

¹⁸⁹ Diary, January 26, 1891; Han'guk Paksa Taesajŏn (Encyclopedia of Korean doctors) (Han'guk paksain sajŏn pyŏnch'an hoe); News, *Uraky* (Rock); Cha Sang-ch'an, "Inmul wŏldan: naega pon Yun Ch'i-ho sŏnsaeng (A character sketch of Yun Ch'i-ho)," *Hyesŏng* (Comet) 1 no.2 (April 1931): 106-111.

¹⁹⁰ Diary, October 20, 1892.

¹⁹¹ Diary, November 4, 1892.

¹⁹² Diary. The fall term revival services lasted from 23 October to 6 November 1892.

where students met across schools, provinces, and nationalities. Warren A. Candler, Dean of Emory, was the Young J. Allen of China for Yun, who edified him with Christian teachings and a model Christian life.¹⁹³

Warren Akin Candler

Reading Yun's careful records of Candler's speeches and sermons, one gets the impression that Candler's influence on Yun rested more on illustrations of Christian life than on administrative skills or theological scholarship, which anyone would expect from a cursory look at his position of president at the college. Candler's influence on Yun started with the former's individual care of the latter. The hospitality of Candler and his wife, Nettie, and their example of a Christian home informed Yun of a new concept of community. The Christian community extended its care beyond the traditional family to strangers, foreigners, and the broader kingdom community, where Christ leads each member and incorporates one another into the global household of God. Strangers and foreigners, who belonged to the estate of barbarians in the Confucian worldview, were now incorporated into the children of the kingdom of God.

On Yun's early arrival to Atlanta, he lodged at Candler's house until the school year started.¹⁹⁴ The frequency of Yun's visits to their house afterward (every other week) and the habit of storing his dormitory luggage at Candler's over the summer was strong

¹⁹³ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Ch'angsang pan baeknyŏn e saenggak nanŭn saramdŭl (Reminiscence of the people in the turbulent five decades of the past)." *Samch'olli* (One Thousand Miles) 8, no.8 (August 1936): 40 - 48.

¹⁹⁴ Diary, September 10, 1891.

evidence of their genuine hospitality.¹⁹⁵ The Candler couple often provided meals, took walks together, and played games with Yun. Their hospitality to Yun was a spontaneous Christian *modus vivendi*, equally applied to many other guests in their house. The Candlers, thereby, succeeded in balancing their academic influence with the example of their personal lives in the late nineteenth century. On commencement day, Dr. Candler's house took a semblance of a hotel full of lodgers. Nettie in particular had a remarkable talent in making guests feel at home with her "unaffected good nature, genial hospitality, and personal attraction."¹⁹⁶ The model of their cooperation, along with Candler's wholesome lessons of Christianity, effectively infused lessons on Christian faithfulness and unity.

The Candler couple did not offer hospitality amidst affluence, since Candler had already incurred a significant amount of debt during his presidency.¹⁹⁷ On frequenting the Candlers' house, Yun learned that Candler—president and university-builder—had poured out his private wealth for the development of the college.¹⁹⁸ More than any other at Emory, the model of sacrificial commitment to the college community, hospitality,

¹⁹⁵ Diary, June 9, 1892.

¹⁹⁶ Diary, June 8, 1892.

¹⁹⁷ Diary, March 16, 1892.

¹⁹⁸ "Dr. Candler is laboring under a debt of \$700. In his childish simplicity John said, "Papa, why don't you quit being the President?" "Seeing in what simple style he lives I don't doubt that the Dr.'s pecuniary embarrassment is due to his unselfish devotion of his means to the good of the college." Diary, March 18, 1892. Also see, Mark K. Bauman, *Warren Akin Candler: The Conservative as Idealist* (New Jersey, London: The Scarecrow Press, 1981). Chapters 4, 6.

simple life style, and sermons in word and deed by the Candler couple instilled in Yun a refreshed worldview.¹⁹⁹

While Candler offered hospitality to Yun to visualize Christian community, Candler's lectures on world missions solidified Yun's vision that led to his life-long support of Christian missionaries. Candler maintained that "the human heart has never conceived a nobler interest than that of foreign missions. It is a world encompassing passion for the salvation of all mankind."²⁰⁰ As a typical conservative idealist, Candler contended that skepticism of biblical authority, diffidence in the uniqueness of Jesus Christ, rationalism, and liberalism had extinguished evangelical revivals at home, quenched missionary zeal, and contaminated Christian converts on the mission fields. According to Candler, it was evangelical faith that fed vital passion for foreign missions and Christian life. The Southern Methodists, Candler insisted, should guard evangelical faith, which would in turn fuel missional fervor.

Candler regarded Young J. Allen as a model of a missionary ablaze with missional fervor. Candler deemed Allen a partner missionary who would carry out his missional vision for Asia. Candler's unwavering support of Allen is well-portrayed in his book-length biography of Allen and a number of treatises on his missions in China.

¹⁹⁹ Diary, October 4, 1892. "It is a high privilege to hear Dr. Candler preach so often in Oxford. This is a luxury that many a good man and woman wish in vain to taste. I have seen in Dr. Tillet, an exact man; in Dr. Hoss, a good man; in Dr. Smith [A.C.], a wise man; in Dr. Martin, a scholarly man; in Dr. Kirkland, a broad man; in Dr. Dudley, a magnetic man; in Dr. Candler, a great man."

²⁰⁰ Warren A. Candler, "What has cooled Zeal for Foreign Missions?" Warren A. Candler Papers, Box 96, F. 1, MARBL.

Candler's support for Allen hence was extended to the support of Yun, as will be explained in the next chapter in Candler's pamphlet on Yun's project of Songdo.²⁰¹

As for the evangelicalism or conservatism of Candler, Yun raised no questions and uncritically assimilated his teaching. Yun immensely respected Candler's hospitality and conviction on foreign missions. Yun's respect for Candler, however, showed ambivalence, a typical disposition in his thoughts and perceptions. Despite Yun's respect of Candler, Yun did not endorse Candler's support of American foreign policy. Yun found discrepancy in Candler's advocacy of the American expansionism toward Cuba with a prospect of gaining mercantile benefits thereof and his denunciation of the American Chinese Exclusion Act that had been made on the pretext of expediency. Yun sensed the emerging imperialistic stance of America and Candler when the issues were related to American status in the world and American civilization. Yun was also critical of Candler's opposition to the woman's fight for suffrage.²⁰² Yun praised the democratic social order of America, but he suspected its claim of inalienable human rights to be discrepant to American practice. He commended the order and progressivism of Japan while denouncing its duplicity and cruelty in Korea, just as he had both defended and denounced customs of China. Yun had a binary perception of Candler, of regret and respect. In addition to the personal influence of professors such as Warren Candler, an inter-seminary conference, a collective device of Christian formation, widened Yun's

²⁰¹ Warren A. Candler, "On to Songdo;" "Young J. Allen: God's Chosen Vessel for China;" Warren A. Candler Papers, MARBL.

²⁰² Diary, October 4, 1892.

world view, while he would make an important mark on the history of Christianity in Korea.

The American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance (October 1891)

Yun's definitive role in introducing the Southern Presbyterian Mission to Korea has barely been recognized by historians. George Thompson Brown, in his *Mission to Korea*, a history of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, marked the year 1892 as the opening of the mission in Korea.²⁰³ While Brown did justice to the importance of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance's convention at Vanderbilt in 1891 that germinated the mission, he never paid attention to two important figures that opened the way for the mission in Korea: Yun Ch'i-ho, the only Korean at the convention, and Mattie Samuel Tate, sister of Lewis Boyd Tate (and more importantly the first female missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Mission to Korea). At this convention, Horace G. Underwood, the Northern Presbyterian missionary, shared missional speeches with Yun Ch'i-ho, the Southern Methodist. Historians have paid attention to Underwood for the beginning of the Southern Presbyterian Mission and to Lewis Boyd Tate in tandem, yet have overlooked the role of Mattie Tate and Yun.

After only a couple of months at Emory, Yun received a telegram from Abbie Hoss, wife of professor Hoss at Vanderbilt as well as editor-in-chief of the *Nashville*

²⁰³ George Thompson Brown, *Mission to Korea* (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education, 1962). The first chapter, "The Hermit Nation Before 1892" and the second chapter, "The Founding of the Mission" are periodized by the landmark event of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance.

Advocate. She asked Yun to come over to Vanderbilt where the twelfth annual convention of the American Inter-Seminary Alliance was to be held.²⁰⁴ Hoss' invitation was not exceptional, since Yun and Fletcher Brockman were the two delegates of Vanderbilt for the eleventh convention in the previous year. Yun, attending the twelfth convention as well, observed that Brockman had over the past year become a "thoroughly competent" Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alliance. At this convention, Yun met Robert Speer, two years his junior. He found Speer "a young man of unfeigned piety, great business tact, and of an indomitable will."²⁰⁵ The convention thus stimulated and forged leading figures of world missions such as Yun, Brockman, and Speer.

On the second day, the convention addressed the topic of Asia missions. The first Presbyterian missionary to Korea, Horace G. Underwood, on his first furlough in the United States, talked about the organization of the McKendree Epworth League in Korea. Underwood's speech was followed by Yun Ch'i-ho's short talk. In response, Harlan Beach, a returned China missionary, described Koreans as remarkably dirty and shabby, based on his short tour in Korea. Beach's comments humiliated Yun so extremely that all of his senses suddenly bristled under the stealthy glances of the audience. Yun felt "miserable, lonely, and unhappy" all the rest of the day.²⁰⁶ Beach's jeremiad on the third

²⁰⁴ Diary, October 20, 1891. Mrs. Abbie Hoss provided Yun boarding at her house. The traveling fund of \$14 was collected by thirty friends of Yun at Vanderbilt. Mrs. Hoss was a long-standing sponsor of Yun with her model of hospitality, sensitivity, and intelligence and continued to support Yun even after the conference (Diary, October 30, 1891). Mrs. and Dr. John, Mrs. Ashford, Dr. Coke Smith, Drs. Dudley and Kirkland, Brother Pos and his wife, Dr. Tillet, and Dr. and Mrs. Baskerville also provided hospitality to Yun.

²⁰⁵ Diary, October 25, 1891.

²⁰⁶ Diary, October 23, 1891. He wrote, "Oh, the exquisite torture my whole soul then experienced!" Yun's dejected feeling continued into the next day.

day of the convention proceeded to the topic of Chinese disadvantages such as poverty, population overflow, disease, ignorance, and immorality. Yun deplored Beach's rant with a burning indignation, saying that the "Reverend Doctor of Divinity seemed to be one of those who go to a mission field for no other purpose than for having a little 'fun' and adventure among the poorer classes and coming home to brag on how heroic and devoted they are."²⁰⁷

Beach's introduction of China was followed by Underwood's missionary call to Korea.

Every man in our theological seminaries, if he is true to his God, if he is true to his Savior, must be a foreign missionary. Every one of them must go to the foreign field. If they are not ready to go, there is something wrong in our churches, there is something wrong in our seminaries. Let us stare the question straight in the face, and let us not blink. Some of them refuse to face the question of foreign missions-and why? Because they would have to answer the question, why don't I go?²⁰⁸

Underwood's speech echoed that of Royal Gould Wilder, the father of Robert Wilder and thirty-seven-year India missionary who founded the *Missionary Review* in 1878, passing on the torch of world missions to his Indian-born children. Until he died in 1887, Royal Wilder used to ask, "The question is not why you would go, but why should you not go where the need is greater and the laborers fewer than in the home-land."²⁰⁹ Underwood reasoned that one lay worker in America served forty people, yet one missionary in

²⁰⁷ Diary, October 23, 1891.

²⁰⁸ *Report of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance*, (Pittsburgh Murdoch, Kerr and Co. , 1892). 53, 54.

²⁰⁹ Robert P. Wilder, "The Beginnings of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions," (The Student Movement 1912); Robert P. Wilder, *The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions: Its Origin and Early History* (New York: S.V. M. , 1935).

Korea had to serve five hundred thousand. Foreign missions, therefore, were an imperative.

Wrapping up the four-day convention, Robert E. Speer offered a final speech on the student volunteer movements and the parallel significance of prayer. Following his address, Speer gave an opportunity for an informal talk. Yun stood up right away and made an impromptu speech. Somewhat hurt by the comments of Harlan Beach, but simultaneously stirred by Underwood's earnest call for volunteers for Korea, Yun made a passionate appeal.

Yun's appeal focused on both the challenges and rewards of missions in Korea. The challenges arose from the twelve million souls in Korea who would neither welcome nor appreciate the gospel of missionaries. The missionaries would have to live with those unwelcoming and even hostile people instead of with their beloved family and friends. He also pointed to the challenges of the foreign cultures and languages missionaries would have to tackle. He then underlined the reward of missionary work, fundamentally, obedience to God's command and the Holy Spirit's drive. The life and light of missionaries, however small they might be in America, would increase in Korea proportionately to its darkness. Just as the ordinary bricks in America would turn to "a cornerstone built in the church of Christ" in Korea, the ordinary life, he asserted, would turn to "the most useful and Christ-like" in Korea.²¹⁰ With this speech, Yun did not claim inherent superiority of Western missionaries and civilization, but augmented value of the missionaries in relation to the utmost needs of the mission fields. Foreign missions were a

²¹⁰ Diary, October 25, 1891.

casting refinery through which the ordinary would transform into the extraordinary.

Ultimately, foreign missions were an enterprise beneficial for the participants.

“The common cause of winning Korea for our Lord,” as Yun reinforced in his speech, foreshadowed his own missional life that would be devoted to the national salvation of Korea through Christianity. The depth of darkness in colonial Korea would only enhance the value of Christianity. No one could conceive more intensely the situation in Korea vis-à-vis the comforts of living in America than Yun, who had already led a peripatetic life and had compared living conditions in Korea, Japan, China, and America. He based the rationale and imperative of foreign missions not on the call or needs of Korea, but on the call of Christ to his people. Shifting from the obsession with national boundaries and wretched conditions of the mission fields, Yun drew the attention of the audience to a much higher calling and bound it with God’s kingdom and his people. Foreign missions were the kingly battle for the winning of souls and royal advance of the kingdom. For Yun, foreign missions were ultimately a participation in God’s creation and plan for the world.

Twenty-four-year-old Robert Speer, a shrewd observer of the silent movement in the hearts of the audience, seized the moment and asked for volunteers for Korea. James Edward Adams (age 24, 1867–1929, Northern Presbyterian), Lewis Boyd Tate (age 29, 1862–1925, Southern Presbyterian), and Mattie Samuel Tate (age 26, 1865–1940, Southern Presbyterian) pledged at once, leading them to eventually become the first Southern Presbyterian missionaries to Korea. Other students pledged for China, Japan, and Chile. There was also stirring in the hearts of more reticent students in attendance.

On that day, Cameron Johnson and William Davis Reynolds (age 24, 1867–1951, Southern Presbyterian) resolved to become advocates for Korea mission by organizing a Southern Presbyterian Mission Society for Korea.

Johnson and Reynolds carried the missional fervor to Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. In response, William McCleery Junkin (age 26, 1865–1908, Southern Presbyterian) readily joined Johnson and Reynolds, as the three students had already shared a missional vision for China. The Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance simply changed the direction of their focus to Korea. They implemented their convictions into concrete actions, first in their collective daily prayer for Korea, and then in their proposal to the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Board for a mission to Korea. The board, however, turned a cold shoulder to them, holding the pretext that the church was not prepared. Undaunted, yet realizing the need for promoting general understanding of the importance of missions to Korea, they proceeded to invite Underwood to the churches in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Junkin and Reynolds wrote articles for church papers; in *The Missionary*, for example, they wrote an article titled, “Why we wish to go to Korea.” Their prayers lead to changes in little over a month: the Executive Committee for Foreign Missions began to seek an opportunity for a Korea mission. Fortunately, Underwood’s brother triggered the mission by donating a significant amount of the funds.²¹¹

While Yun was still detained in America, William McCleery Junkin, Mary Leyburn Junkin, William Davis Reynolds, and Patsy Bolling Reynolds, sponsored by the

²¹¹ Cameron Johnson, Horace Underwood, *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908).

Underwood fund, boarded a steamship to Korea in 1892. Junkins would work in a southern province for sixteen years and Reynolds for forty-five years.²¹² On the same steamship, Lewis B. Tate and his sister Mattie Samuel Tate accompanied Reynolds and Junkins. Lewis Tate worked in Korea until heart disease forced him to stop in 1925. Mattie also dedicated her life to developing Sunday schools and to Korean women until 1935. The decision of the two at the Alliance led to their dedication in Korea for evangelism, church building, Sunday schools, girls' school, women's ministry, seminary, and a Bible institute. James Edward Adams left for Korea in 1895, four years after the convention. Until he retired in 1923, Adams poured his entire life and assets into Korea by founding a church, a school, and for the future generations the Adams Evangelism Fund.²¹³

Yun's impromptu speech at the end of the conference was unpolished and unprepared, unlike the pre-arranged speech of Underwood. Yet, the crass expression of Yun's deep grief and passion for his own nation—which had crushed the reform of progressives and rejected his return—pelted the hearts of young seminary students with such urgency that it led them to finally launch the first Southern Presbyterian Mission for Korea. It was a fitting arrangement that these pioneers of Korea mission represented Korean Christianity at the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. Reynolds

²¹² Brown. 21, 22, 239.

²¹³ His service spawned a generation of missional dedication by his four children. Edward A. Adams, born in Kansas right before James, boarded a sampan for Korea succeeding his father's mission in 1921, two years before his father retired. Edward Adams served in schools, hospitals, charity organizations, and farms in Korea until he retired in 1958. In 1923, the second son, Benjamin N. Adams, and in 1932, the third son, George Adams, continued the mission for twenty-seven years; his daughter, Dorothy, served in Pyöngyang.

would represent the Southern Presbyterian churches of Korea, while Yun, next to Reynolds, represented the Korean church. While Yun was instrumental in sending the Mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church to Korea, he prepared himself unwittingly for the future role of the first general secretary and president of the Korean YMCA in Georgia, Atlanta.

The Georgia State YMCA Convention in 1892

Yun's role as an Emory YMCA delegate at the Georgia State YMCA convention in 1892 would be extended to his role as a leading advocate, consultant, and executive of the Korean YMCA, persisting throughout its birth and crisis in colonial Korea. Equipped with wisdom offered directly by the American YMCA leaders' training convention, Yun would be, along with the international YMCA secretaries, a national arbiter between the international YMCA and the Korean YMCA. Historians discussing Yun's life hardly mention this YMCA convention in 1892, where Yun's otherwise concise diary entry extends to seven pages, indicating his scrupulous attention to its detail.²¹⁴

Fletcher Brockman had Yun in mind in seeking a "strong" Emory YMCA delegate for the Georgia state YMCA convention, considering the important events they had attended together.²¹⁵ Earlier in 1889, Yun and Brockman were with Robert Wilder at Vanderbilt in the seminal conference that gave birth to the Wesley Hall Mission Society. In 1890, Brockman and Yun represented Vanderbilt University at the Inter-Seminary

²¹⁴ Diary, February 27, 1892. De Ceuster. 234.

²¹⁵ Diary, February 24, 1892.

Missionary Alliance.²¹⁶ In the following year, Yun as an Emory delegate attended the same Missionary Alliance conference with Brockman once again. Naturally, Brockman found no better alternative than Yun for the Georgia State YMCA convention. Although Brockman urged Yun to represent the Emory College YMCA, Yun hesitated this time on his decision. The nature of the grand conference seemed to Yun more pretentious than edifying, and the sore memory of Harlan Beach in the previous year was still rankling in his memory. Brockman's appeal, particularly his faithfulness, nevertheless encouraged Yun to attend the convention.²¹⁷ More than any other at the convention, Brockman with his forceful speech on the College Associations in the United States and the Student Volunteer Movement, inspired Yun's vision for the young men in Korea.²¹⁸ Six years after the unforgettable Student Summer Conference in Massachusetts, the heartbeat of the Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was clearly felt at the Georgia Baptist Church, the venue of the convention. The YMCA convention thus harnessed Yun with the high-caliber training necessary for a national YMCA secretary.

The convention consisted of three divisions: reports of the YMCA's activities, business considerations, and Bible study. In three panels addressing city work, college work, and railroad work, the leaders touched on issues such as methods of evangelism, reasonable uses of finances, and qualifications of secretaries such as integrity, credibility, and mutuality. Yun was mostly interested in the college student sessions, which dealt

²¹⁶ Diary, November 7, 1890.

²¹⁷ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young John Allen, May 7, 1892. Yun recorded that he was a "delegate from the Emory YMCA to the state."

²¹⁸ Diary, February 28, 1892.

with specific questions of young men such as youth culture for the kingdom of God, temptations of students, the benefits of brotherly love, personal ministry and experiences, the importance of Bible study, the problem of loneliness at campus, and young men of Asia. Yun was also intrigued by city work, its difficulties and advantages, and the YMCA secretaries' impact on city evangelism. Following these sessions, Yun envisioned small towns of Korea revitalized by the YMCA and Korean young people.

The convention focused on training Christian leaders for diverse activities appropriate for young men. The YMCA encouraged its secretaries to gain business tact including cordiality and executive ability, and to build strong interpersonal relationships. In that Convention, Yun first learned a leadership model of mobilizing people for cooperation. The convention also paid careful attention to the easily neglected aspect of secretaries' attitudes, such as wide smiles, that would build confidence in young people. The convention emphasized that the secretaries should be not only be knowledgeable in the YMCA's work in all its dimensions, but also well-rounded in understanding general and daily topics. Leadership training of the YMCA included in-depth knowledge of biblical truth, piety, vulnerability, abiding in Christ, willing to do chores, persistence, and a cheerful and natural spirit. Probably following these lessons, Yun strived to maintain such attitudes towards young men as well as strangers throughout his life to an extent they were his typically characteristic demeanor.²¹⁹ As in prior conferences, Yun delivered a speech on the young men of Korea at the YMCA convention.

²¹⁹ Cha Sang-ch'an, "Inmul woldan: naega pon Yun Ch'i-ho sŏnsaeng (A character sketch of Yun Ch'i-ho)," *Hyesŏng* (Comet) 1 no.2 (April 1931): 106-111; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sŭlp'ŏ hanŭn sarami toiji malja (Do not be a man of sorrow)," *Samch'olli* (One Thousand Miles) 7, no.9 (October 1935): 42-45.

The 19th Annual Georgia State Sunday School Convention in 1892

While at Emory, Yun attended the American Sunday School Convention in 1892 and 1893. The Emory campus, as the venue of the convention, was transformed into a vibrant complex for Christian nurturing of men, women, and children who gathered with their horses and mules from the cities and towns of Georgia. The convention featured exhibitions and sessions in which sermons, exemplar lessons, and contests for gospel evangelism were conducted, while equipping teachers with cardinal Christian messages. The Sunday School Union from its inception in 1824 had produced weekly lesson materials and other complementary teaching aids, in inter-denominational cooperation, investing millions of dollars for their production, to be used for scholars throughout the United States.²²⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, the Sunday School Union's Bible schools constituted the largest force of Christian education in the U.S.²²¹

More than a reservoir where church teachers and administrators obtained and circulated teaching materials, the Sunday School Convention was an engine for the moral regeneration of society, extending its purview over the corrosive culture of American

²²⁰ Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids (MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 229; Warren A. Candler, *The History of Sunday-Schools: A Brief Historical Treatise, with special reference to the Sunday-Schools of America* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1880), 69, 70. From 1824 to 1879, the number of Sunday schools in the United States swelled to 67 to 154, with 435,456 teachers and 2,869,872 scholars.

²²¹ Warren A. Candler, *The History of Sunday-Schools: A Brief Historical Treatise, with special reference to the Sunday-Schools of America*, 63–71. According to Candler, the American Sunday School Union was founded in January 1791 by Bishop White. Tributaries of the Sunday School Union included the Sunday School Society of Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union, the Male Adult School Society of Philadelphia, the Auxiliary Evangelical Society of Philadelphia, the Sunday and Adult School of Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Sunday School Union was launched in 1824, when the American Sunday School Union adopted its constitution, President Alexander Henry, and other officers.

society.²²² For instance, Warren Candler contrasted the blessings of Sunday school and the benefits of Christian education with the harms of whiskey consumption that had drained creative energy from young men and undermined a healthy society; nine out of ten Vanderbilt students drank and gambled while youth and intelligence on campus were giving way to intoxicating whiskey.²²³ Candler's attack on drinking was directed to the conspiracy of commerce and legislature that protected saloon profits and preyed on human weakness.²²⁴ His attack went further to the ironical attitude of some people who effused jingoistic rage against the loss of a few Americans in other parts of the world, but simultaneously showed boundless tolerance to drinking, which caused even greater loss of human resources within the United States. The Sunday School Convention thus induced social reform.²²⁵

The convention extended its attention to home frontiers as well as overseas missions. The Sunday School Union formed both a national and an international hub connecting people across rank, class, gender, age, denomination, race, and nation. Paying primary attention to the home frontier, the Sunday School Union organized the Foreign

²²² Diary, May 5, 1893.

²²³ Diary, April 21, 1892.

²²⁴ Warren A. Candler, "The Whiskey Business in Politics," Warren A. Candler Papers, Box 96, F.7, Series III, MARBL. Candler argued in his article that "The liquor business is not legitimate at all. It is the most fruitful source of crime, and for a state to license the business and then undertake to suppress the crime to which it gives rise is something worse than absurd. And local option is indefensible. If the sale of liquor on one area is wrong the State should prohibit it on all areas. Local option is a sort of polka dot prohibition."

²²⁵ Warren A. Candler, *The History of Sunday-Schools: A Brief Historical Treatise: with Special Reference to the Sunday Schools of America* .

Sunday-School Association as its specific task force.²²⁶ Through this network, student volunteers as Sunday school teachers penetrated the “darkest and most remote nooks and corners of the country,” delivering missional messages to the hearts of young children. In a way to promote missional awareness, the convention incorporated sessions for overseas missionaries and Asian nationals in its program. In the world mission session, Yun spoke on Korea and China “to a very appreciative crowd” for two days.

The Korean chapter of the World Sunday School Association was organized on 19 March 1908, after H. M. Hamil of Nashville visited Korea in the spring of the same year, carrying a letter from Chairman of the Executive Committee of the World’s Sunday School Association.²²⁷ Unsurprisingly Yun assumed its first president and championed the association. Aware of the significance of the Sunday School Association, he remained an executive member of the World Sunday School Association for decades.²²⁸ Yun was a Korean delegate to the World Convention of the Sunday School Association held in Washington D.C. from 19 to 24 May 1910. At the convention, Yun commended the pioneering work of Dr. H. M. Hamill and his wife, who trained Sunday school teachers in Korea and would be succeeded by no other missionaries or natives for a decade. Yun suggested that the Korean church establish a training center with professional trainers, as the Hamill couple had done, for the Sunday school teachers who in turn taught 142,724

²²⁶ Candler, 70, 71.

²²⁷ Nak-chun Paek, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1971). 409.

²²⁸ “Another Notable Movement, Officers and Committees of the Korea Branch of the World’s Sunday School Association,” *The Korea Mission Field* 4 (March 1908): 34, 35.

scholars. In 1910, he insisted that a national chapter should be organized for the 1,847 schools to collect and share information.²²⁹

Yun's idea in 1910 was realized through F. L. Clerke in 1920, who established a training school for Sunday school teachers in Chinju. Furthermore, her article in *The Korea Mission Field* prompted a movement for training Sunday school teachers.²³⁰ As with Yun, her article pointed to the need for a resource bank so that children may effectively be educated by trained teachers with the aid of circulated resources. Owing to her efforts, the first National Sunday School Convention was organized in 1921, where 897 delegates and 1,300 participants gathered from all over the country. The second quadrennial convention in 1925 had doubled the number of delegates.²³¹ With about 2,000 delegates across the country, including some from as far as Manchuria, it was rendered the largest Christian rally ever held in Korea. Some women walked 200 miles to the convention and the Sunday morning pulpits in Seoul, the venue of the convention, were filled with convention speakers.²³² While a host of mission schools would be closed

²²⁹ "Worldwide Sunday School Work: the Official Report of the World's Sixth Sunday-School Convention, held in the city of Washington, U.S.A., May 19-24, 1910" (Chicago: The Executive Committee of the World's Sunday-School Association, E.K. Warren, Chairman, 1910); George Herber Jones, "The Word of God in Korea," 320–326; George Herber Jones, "The field and the Need of Korea," 327–332; Yun Ch'i-ho, "The Needs and Opportunities of Korea," 333– 335.

²³⁰ F. L. Clerke, "Possibilities of the Sunday School Movement," *The Korea Mission Field* 16 (February 1921): 27, 28. More articles on the theme of the Sunday School Movement are found in *The Korea Mission Field* 16.

²³¹ J. Gordon Holdcroft, "The Sunday School Convention," *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (December 1925): 265–267. The convention attracted a great number of people, resulting in the Sunday morning pulpits in Seoul to be filled with convention speakers. The zeal for the convention was to such an extent that ten women walked 200 miles to attend.

²³² At the third convention in 1929, 2,330 delegates; at the fourth convention in 1933, 2,713 delegates convened. The second convention featured a host of international speakers. Aside from H.

under the private educational regulations promulgated by the colonial government in 1915, Sunday schools would prove to be critical in providing an alternative channel for teaching the growing generations of Christians.

Speaking tours in 1892 and 1893

Apart from participating in inter-seminary and state Christian conventions, a notable process of developing Christian internationalism at Emory occurred through Yun's speaking events. Yun had begun to make public speeches in China, but his speaking tours in the U.S. resembled more of a Methodist itinerant preacher and a missionary exponent of Christianity and culture in Asia. Less than a month after his arrival at Vanderbilt, Yun was invited to an American women's missionary meeting.²³³ Starting with his testimony of his own Christian conversion, Yun spoke about the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, the American role in overseas missions, religions, customs, and missionary work in China, Japan, and Korea.²³⁴ On the day of his commencement in

Namkung (who reported on the World's Sunday School Convention), Horace E. Coleman (Secretary of the World's Sunday School Association for Japan), Elwood G. Tewksbury (Secretary of the World's Sunday School Association for China), and Henry Sweet (Southern Presbyterian Committee on Education) delivered evening speeches for the Second National Convention in Korea. J. Gordon Holdcroft, "Korea Sunday School Convention," *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (October 1925): 228; J. Gordon Holdcroft, "The Sunday School Convention," *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (December 1925): 265-267.

²³³ Diary, November 4, December 1, 1888.

²³⁴ Yun Chi-ho, to Allen, January 18, March 25, April 8, August 7, 10, 1889; May 9 (on the topic of China), 18, 27, September 6 (at McCain's Church); June 24, 1891 (Yun talked about Korea at a Methodist church). The audience varied in number, from tens to hundreds. The Women's Missionary Society and the Mission Society of Culleoka held the meetings for young adults, college students, and the mission band at Emory in the interest of the Scarritt Bible Training School, and the Children's Missionary Band (April 24, 25, 1891). Although a small hamlet of between two and three hundred inhabitants and having only two dry goods stores, four family groceries, one school, and two churches, Culleoka showed much compassion with a collection of a gift of \$5.10 for Yun. For his speech at the mission band of Emory, see Diary, December 17, 1891.

1891, Yun spoke on Korea at the Vanderbilt College YMCA, and at both commencements (Vanderbilt in 1891 and Emory in 1893), Yun delivered graduation speeches about Korea. At Emory College, Yun's speech at the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in October 1891 was instrumental in the introduction of the Southern Presbyterian Church to Korea. Beginning in April 1892, Yun delivered addresses almost every week, especially during winter and summer vacations.²³⁵

Summer vacations, during which students retreated to their homes, was an embarrassing and lonely time for Yun whose home in Korea was an off-limit place.²³⁶ One year after his study at Emory, with the support of the school's YMCA, Yun decided to prepare his tuition for the next school year through speaking tours. With some temerity, in 1892 he mailed thirty-two letters to ministers in north and south Georgia, making an inquiry of opportunities for lectures in their churches.²³⁷ The next summer, he sent fifty letters to churches in North Carolina.²³⁸ The responses of the local pastors varied from indifference to warm welcome.

²³⁵ Diary, December 24, 25, 1891. At Thomaston, Yun gave "a short prayer meeting talk." On December 24 and 25 he gave a short talk to the Sunday School folks about Korea, and in response people gave him \$8.55. On December 28, he talked nearly one and a half hours to a small but interested group of people. At a Culloden Church, an old Methodist Church in Georgia, he delivered a speech in the evening to a "good audience." On December 30 Yun spoke to a large audience, led by Nath, which became a very moving prayer meeting. Yun talked to a good and appreciative audience on 30 October 1892. At a meeting on 25 December 1892, he delivered a short missionary talk.

²³⁶ Diary, July 6, 7, 8, 9, 1890. Once he tried to sell hymnbooks under the summer heat, dust, and sweat, knocking at the doors of twenty-one or twenty-two houses without selling a single copy.

²³⁷ Diary, June 2, 1892.

²³⁸ Diary, June 2, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25 (a short talk to a full house), 28 (to a good audience), 30 (at a fully packed house), July 2 (to a good crowd), 3 (to a good crowd in Maxton), 5 (to the "women's monthly missionary meeting," to a good and responsive audience in Wilmington), 9 (in the central Methodist Church of the State Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Raleigh, and to a large audience in Brother Cole's

Following the welcome invitations, Yun, as an Asian, assumed the role of Western missionaries who disseminated information on American missions in the East. During the tours, Yun hazarded treacherous weather, extreme fatigue, embarrassing advice and requests, indifferent local pastors and congregations toward foreign missions, bedbug attacks, and anxiety concerning his insecure lifestyle and the unpredictable future. The discomfort and embarrassment, nonetheless, were assuaged with heartwarming reception by audiences. Not knowing the interests of his audience, Yun had little confidence in his speech topics and even less in his appearance, which was strikingly different from the rest. He reckoned the attitudes of southern Americans in the late-nineteenth-century toward the issues of Asia and their attitude against “flat eyes and yellow faces” as irritating parochialism. Yun felt very out of place with these seemingly indifferent audiences, especially when accounting what he deemed as the antiquated customs of East Asia.

Only five years before, Robert Wilder and his college friend, John Forman, visited American colleges as traveling secretaries of the Student Volunteer Movement in

Church), 11 (to a fair audience in Wilson), 12 (at the YMCA in Goldsboro), 13 (to a good audience in Kinston), 14 (to a large crowd in Newborn), 16 (at a packed house of encampment in Morehead), 17 (Grifton, to a good crowd), 18 (Greenville, to a good house), 19 (Washington), 21 (Tarboro), 22 (Conetoe), 23 (Rocky Mt.), 24 (Halifax), 25 (Littleton), 27 (Warrenton, Henderson), 29 (Franklinton, to the Raleigh District Women’s Missionary Society, he delivered a whole night lecture), 30 (Franklinton, to the Sunday School, he preached at the main service), August 1 (Oxford), 2 (Durham, Hillsboro, he was “too weak to speak, but I had to”), 3 (Burlington), 5 (Trinity Congregation in Durham, Main Street Church in the evening, both with full audience, famous embarrassment at the Main Street Church because of Rev. Bishop’s inappropriate attitude), Durham (a humiliating experience on account of culture differences), 7 (Boxboro), 13 (Bradford, Lynchburgh to a mixed congregation in the YMCA Hall composed of all denominations), 17 (Summer field and Valey Home, he talked in the open air in a forest), 18 (Mt. Airy), 20 (Winton to a large Sunday school of the Centenary Church and the Grace Church), 21 (Kernersville), 23 (High Point), 24 (Lexington), 26 (led the Saturday night prayer meeting in Concord), 27 (Concord, the Forest Hill Church, and Dr. Pool’s church), 29 (Statesville), 30 (led the prayer meeting in Morganton), 31 (Moranton), September 1 (Marion), 3 (Bryson City), 4 (Murphy), 1893. May 5, 1893.

a similar manner to Yun. Both Wilder and Yun suffered from frail health, yet they proceeded in unbending determination. Wilder's fund was provided by one generous benefactor, but Yun was supported by his audiences. Wilder visited as many colleges as possible, spreading the news of the Mount Hermon 100, whereas Yun visited churches, informing them of Christian missions in Asia. Unwittingly, Yun was engaged in the ministry of the YMCA traveling secretaries, like those of Methodist circuit riders, who had led a peripatetic lifestyle despite fatigue, and who were compelled to go to as many places as possible.

John Wesley employed itinerant evangelism as one of his most prominent means of reaching people.²³⁹ Itinerant evangelism was a decisive factor, especially in the United States, bringing about the unparalleled growth of American Methodism with its expansive territory and frontiers.²⁴⁰ While Protestant reformers laid the groundwork for world missions by simplifying Christian doctrines and making the Gospel easily understandable, Methodists directed the method of missions by sending itinerant preachers to the frontiers and setting the boundaries of outreach in the world.²⁴¹ With the

²³⁹ Albert C. Outler, ed. *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press 1964). 4, 26. Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995). 134–140.

²⁴⁰ John H. Wigger, "Fighting Bees: Methodist Itinerants and the Dynamics of Methodist Growth, 1770-1820," in *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture*, ed. Nathan Hatch and John Wigger (Nashville, Tennessee: Kingswood Books, 2001). 87–133. While respectable seminary-graduate ministers settled mostly at Congregational churches in New England with high remunerations, Methodist itinerants penetrated in the deep hinterland with much less payment and at the risk of more dangers and difficulties. Ibid. Itinerancy can be traced back to St. Paul, who traveled extensively around the Mediterranean bay for the expansion of Christianity. See John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York Oxford University Press, 1998). 48.

²⁴¹ Regardless of bureaucratization and the establishment tendency of American Methodism in the late nineteenth century, itinerancy remained an ideal for Methodists who strived to reclaim the legacy of Wesley, the progenitor of their religious brand, and other revivalists who swept the American Eastern

precedents of the itinerant preachers of American Methodism, the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in America owed its explosive growth largely to traveling secretaries.

The speaking tours incidentally bound Yun to the YMCA. Whenever Yun found neither a friend to bridge nor a church to speak at during his speaking travels, he simply visited the YMCA, where he could rest and shower, soothing his fatigue and loneliness as a foreign student. He recorded, "All blessings to the YMCA – the home of the stranger, the guide and protector of the young."²⁴² Yun, who benefited from the YMCA, later became the lifelong guardian of the organization in Korea. By the time he left the U.S., his speaking tours had covered Texas, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee.²⁴³ The speaking tours strengthened his conviction of "God's Providence" and his resolution to prove himself to be true to God and his church.²⁴⁴

Hospitality

districts. Mary Scranton, at over fifty-five years old, made an evangelistic tour of all Korean provinces two times, founding a women's church.

²⁴² Diary, June 18, 1892.

²⁴³ Diary, May 27, 1890. The responses of pastors to his letters of inquiry with passivity or with negativity deepened his despair, yet Yun managed to find churches that offered him speaking opportunities. Yun was neither confident about the importance of the topics he specialized in, nor about his appearance among white audiences. He recorded in his travel log that at certain churches, pastors displayed negligence, austerity, coldness, apathy, and sluggishness, while their wives filled the shortcomings of those pastors with compassion, missionary zeal, and vitality. Diary, June 22, 1892; June 30, 1893.

²⁴⁴ Diary, September 6, 1893.

Yun occasionally fell into spells of loneliness and depression not only during his speaking tours, but also during his life at Emory. These episodes augmented over the years in proportion to his exposure to bitter experiences related to his racial identity. Sometimes the pleasure of an outdoor picnic was destroyed by racist comments by his company or passersby on the street. Although the term “Korean” would not have evoked particularly favorable images from southern people in the late nineteenth century, Yun was often mistaken as “Chinese,” a name coterminous with such derogatory epithets as “rascals who eat rats” or “cruel men.”²⁴⁵ Missionary conferences, which Yun had attended with great expectations, were not exceptions in encountering pejorative comments about Asia. Hyperbole on the abject condition of mission fields, used in some missionary reports, could have aroused sympathy and charity for those countries, but it deeply offended Yun’s sense of honor as an Asian representative in the midst of American citizens. Yun vehemently protested of the missionaries’ fragmentary and superficial descriptions of Korea.²⁴⁶ Such long-simmering protest caused Yun to conceive more complex than pride concerning Korea, which was deemed by Americans as no more than a negligible heathen country. He reflected in his diary,

Talked with Yoshioka about my subjectivism-love of solitary musing and aversion to company. What is it that makes me to shun company like a plague? What is it that keeps me often in melancholy and solitary meditations? What is it that often makes me feel thoroughly disconsolate? What is it that makes me exceedingly sensitive to the slightest sign of slight or contempt? It is this: the consciousness of my national disgrace and shame.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Diary, June 19, 1892.

²⁴⁶ Diary, February 9, 1891.

²⁴⁷ Diary, February 2, 1891, an exact quotation of Yun’s diary.

Yun's sensitive perception seemed to exacerbate his frequent melancholia. He would easily recoil at casual comments of contempt. This morbid outlook on his native country weighed upon his life with gloom, loneliness, and depression.²⁴⁸

Despite such a destitute condition, hospitality—offered in abundance at the homes of professors and friends—was a catalyst that nourished Christian internationalism and strengthened Yun's wavering Christian faith. Hospitality involving good-will and warm welcome never happened at a distance. Shared time, goods, attention, and life, along with the inevitable exposure of the hosts' private lives, made hospitality one of the most difficult, yet effective, elements of Christian missions at home as well as abroad. Hospitality worked best when offered with the concerted efforts of all family members—old and young, husband and wife, and sometimes even accompanied by one's neighbors, illuminating Christian community. Yun's diary reveals how family hospitality proved to be one of the most effective balms to cure depression and loneliness, while providing nourishment for the growth of Christian faith, without which Yun's new Christian life would be blighted. Beginning from the practice of the apostolic church in first-century Jerusalem, hospitality has constituted the hidden arms of Christian service, underappreciated and unaccredited.

Young J. Allen, Warren A. Candler, and A. B. Hoss were all strong practitioners of Christian hospitality. Allen and Candler's open-door lifestyle and self-sacrifice was in significant contrast with the self-indulgence of foreign government officials back in Korea. Such officials regarded distance-keeping as indispensable for comity, natives as

²⁴⁸ Diary, October 23, 1891. "Miserable, lonely and unhappy all the rest of the day."

“dirty uncivilized,” and contact with Asian strangers as negligible. Missionary teachers, on the other hand, lived unfeigned lives for their students. Usually wives of ministers and professors were highly effective in rendering incarnational mission through their hospitality. With the provision of their home and care along with unassuming kindness and intelligence, hospitality proved to be a source of strength and renewal for the embattled stranger.²⁴⁹ Nonetheless, Yun’s growing depression (associated with national issues) during the latter part of his American life indicates that hospitality, no matter how powerful it might be, played a limited role in resolving his anguish over Korea.

Literary Education

Yun could dive into vast volumes of Western Christian literature accessible in the United States incomparable to the meager library equipped at the Anglo-Chinese College in China, let alone to a handful of translated Western books in late-nineteenth-century Korea. Only a limited number of Koreans benefited from the opportunity of gaining international perspectives and legacies through English books, biographies, and periodicals. Yun’s reading included *Ben Hur*, *Imitation of Christ*, *The Christian Secret of a Holy Life*, *Help to the Reading of the Bible*, and *The Life of George Muller*, along with the *Nashville Advocate*, which was regularly sent to Yun by its editor Abbie Hoss. Young J. Allen sent *Joseph Hardy Neesima: A Biographical Sketch*, to Yun when he was at

²⁴⁹ Diary, June 1, 1890 (Tillet). 1891: January 16 (Candler), 31 (Candler), February 2 (Candler), 17 (A. R. Hoderly), March 15 (Candler), 16 (Candler), 20 (Candler), May 15 (Mrs. Belchers), 17 (Mrs. Tucker), 18 (Mrs. Dunwody), 20 (Mr. Faw), 21 (Davis), 22 (Mosley), 28, June 3 (Martin), 5 (Candler), 8 (Candler/Steimond), 9 (Candler, summer luggage), 13 (Stype), 15 (Berry/Tucker), 17 (Dr. Barnett), 19 (Mrs. Camp), 21 (Fletcher Brockman), 24 (Mrs. Underwood). October 1, 8 (Candler), 1892.

Emory College.²⁵⁰ Yun was also deeply moved by the biography, *Dr. Gordon's Life*, exclaiming that it was “one of the loveliest biographies.”²⁵¹ Reading biographies of missionaries who sacrificed their lives for people in other parts of the world, Yun often suffused with devotional ardor, inspirations, and resolutions. While in the U.S. Yun read the biography of John Ross (1842–1915), his encounter with Yi Ŭng-ch’an in New Chiwang, Manchuria, their monumental translation of the Bible into the Korean language, and the infiltration of Christianity through the “Corean Gate” even before Western missionaries officially entered Korea. Such a biography convinced Yun of the value of his cooperation with missionaries by translating Christian literature in China.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Diary, February 4, May 12, June 3, 14, 16, September 27, 1888; December 3 (*Joseph Hardy Neesima: A Biographical Sketch, or Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*), 1891; January 16 (*Advocate*), February 22 (*Henry Martyn*), 1892. He recorded that *Neesima* was one of the most stimulating books he had ever read. On his way to the U.S., Yun met Neesima, founder and President of Doshisha College, who advised him to win the confidence of colleagues “not by feigned or eye-serving conduct but by real and solid character.” See Diary February 28, 1890. Yun first applied to Doshisha, but was rejected. See December 3, 1891. Yun regarded Neesima and Fukuzawa the two most important figures in Japan.

²⁵¹ Diary, May 8, 1897. Yun’s exposure to Western literature included Thomas B. Macaulay’s *The History of England* and Edward Gibbon’s *The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*. Literary works he read included *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Shakespeare*, *Les Miserable’s*, *Looking Backward*, *Buffalo Bill*, *Adam Bede*, *Maltese Cross*, *Pathfinder*, *St. Elmo*, *Emerson’s Work*, *Western Etiquette*, and *Travel to Africa*.

²⁵² John Ross was commissioned to China in 1872. While he attempted to pioneer a mission succeeding J. MacIntyre in the region of Shantung Peninsular, Manchuria, in 1876 he encountered a Korean merchant, Yi Ŭng-ch’an, and started to learn Korean. The cooperation of Ross and Yi Ŭng-ch’an led to a monumental production of a Korean language manual written (the first by a Westerner), *Corean Primer*, published in 1877 in Shanghai, the city where Yun would attend the Anglo-Chinese College eight years later. In 1878, Ross and Yi translated the gospels of John and Mark into Korean. In 1879, Ross wrote a book entitled *History of Korea*. By 1882, they finished the first Korean translation of the New Testament in Manchuria. Korea started to establish the first unilateral and modern treaty forced by Japan in 1876, and subsequently with the U.S. in 1882. Ross’ work therefore preceded the first missionaries to Korea, who arrived in 1885. James H. Grayson, “A Spark in North East Asia: A Personal Hagiography of a Scottish Missionary to Manchuria: John Ross (1842-1915),” *Sainthood Revisioned*, Clyde Binfield (ed.), (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 93–106.

Henry Martyn was another source of inspiration for Yun. He found in reading about Henry Martyn's life, the “most intense pleasure and fascination and sympathy.” Yun was especially moved by Martyn’s character, portrayed in the biography as “gentleness,” and full of “refinement,” “moral courage,” “faith,” “love,” “modesty,” and “devotion;” he also saw a man denied a life of ease and comfort. Yun regarded Martyn as offering saint-like self-denial for the service of God.²⁵³ Reading the biography, Yun used to pray that the God of Paul, Luther, Wesley, and Martyn help him also to “abandon all petty worldly ambitions and to devote [his] life and work to God’s cause.”²⁵⁴

Missionary biographies also enabled Yun to realize distinctions between the motives of imperial companies and Christian missionaries. The oppression of the East India Company versus the sacrifices of Henry Martin and William Carey in India illuminated the divergent goals of Christian missions from those of the imperial company. Yun also regarded the intensity of disturbance by the imperial companies as evidence of the credibility of these missionaries’ Christian witnesses.²⁵⁵ Yun’s distinction between missionaries and government agents also led him to see the stance of Horace Allen—the ex-missionary diplomat in Korea—as promoting “the interests of America,” thus having to support occasionally the corrupt Korean officials.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Diary, February 10, 1892.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Bennett. In Chapter III, Bennett describes the Chinese’s inability to discern the goals of the Western commercial agents from those of missionaries.

²⁵⁶ Diary, January 15, 1898.

Spirituality for the outsider

For Yun, Christianity pertained to matters of the heart.²⁵⁷ His concept of heart, however, was different from what John Wesley meant in his strange heart-warming experience at Aldersgate, seen in Yun's camp meeting experience. When Yun was invited to address approximately 1,500–2,000 people gathered in camp meetings, he watched most preachers seem to rant jeremiads and pour tirades with frequent references to death, heaven, and hell.²⁵⁸ Yun characterized the heated scenes of the camp meetings more with frivolous gestures than with commendable spirituality. His reaction to the camp meetings might have reflected his training at Emory and Vanderbilt, aligned with upward mobility and pursuit of social respectability in American Methodism. Education at Emory may have more reflected the characteristics of Methodism: subdued emotionalism, increased bureaucratization of the ecclesial structures, attenuated messages of hell and judgment, and rationalized sermons.²⁵⁹ As a Methodist, Yun never recorded an experience of the second blessing of Wesley or the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which increasingly characterized Methodism during the first decades of the nineteenth century in the United States. Although he would sometimes be called "Wesley," such an alias attached to Yun was attributable more to the characteristic displayed during Wesley's former career at Oxford than the life subsequent to the Aldersgate experience.

²⁵⁷ Diary, January 10, 1892.

²⁵⁸ Diary, September 6, August 22, 1892. Yun records, "On the whole, I was not much captivated by the camp meeting."

²⁵⁹ Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America 1776-1990* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992). Chapter V.

To Yun, the heart was an existential core of humanity, the center of morality, and a reflective chamber through which character was percolated into its purified state. However, purity of heart—resulting from the grinding repentance of sins and motives, and being replenished by the Holy Spirit—arose from critical soul searching and reflections on morality for Yun.²⁶⁰ Such an understanding of heart, enjoined with morality, is seen in his critique of one student: “intelligent, bright, and studious, yet unspeakably proud, deeply skeptical in, and perfectly indifferent to, high moral or spiritual experiences, and therefore heartless beyond degree.”²⁶¹

The strength that sustained Yun’s spirituality, therefore, came not merely from metaphysical, subjective, and secluded meditation on religious beliefs and the scriptures, but also from action. Yun acquired a joyful heart filled with healthy vitality through communal service for God. Prison ministry at Vanderbilt was a means of gaining spirituality, and his visits to the Poor Farm at Emory followed as a corrective to his realization of spiritual atrophy. Such an understanding of spirituality, tied with communal service, prepared Yun to become more of an activist than a theorist in Christian missions.

Yun’s activism related also to his preference of fellowship with both Christians and non-Christians.²⁶² His activism and communal service as a means to preserve spirituality made him disappointed with his colleagues’ failure to action. As much as Yun had been vigilant in behavioral consistency with his Christian confession, he was deeply

²⁶⁰Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770-1810* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

²⁶¹ Diary, November 2, 1892.

²⁶² Diary, April 9, 1892.

disappointed by the fact that as many as seventy-five percent of Vanderbilt students were indulged in whiskey, gambling, and devilment.²⁶³ Human depravity penetrated the theological colleges in America, which, Yun had assumed, would represent the civilized Christian state. His delight in many students receiving holy communion at the school chapel turned to grief when he later discovered their curses and debauchery, which, Yun viewed, had polluted the communion.²⁶⁴ His activism often bordered on legalism, causing him disappointment with the discrepancy he discovered between his standard of Christian living and immoral practices by the reputed “Christian” America.²⁶⁵

Yun’s spirituality hardly exhibited characteristics of an “otherworldly” vision or a transcendental union with the deity. He embraced, if anything, a postmillennial stance, striving to establish the kingdom of God in the here and now. His vision was keenly attuned to the present and pragmatic benefits for the people. Yun’s Christian pragmatism, in that sense, was akin to that of Confucianism, which sought to safeguard the order and common wealth of contemporary society. As his worldview was skewed by concern for his nation, the spiritual and intellectual wealth he relished in the United States intensified his sense of accountability toward his own country, as seen in this prayer:

²⁶³ Diary, March 18, 1892. Turley also describes the decadence and backsliding of the Southern Methodists in the post-War area. Turley. Chapter I.

²⁶⁴ Diary, December 11, 1891.

²⁶⁵ Diary, March 16, 1897. Yun’s Christian identity was the biggest factor in his choices in life. A small, yet significant indicator of his piety was his resistance of temptation by a woman. One of the best looking-Korean women Yun had ever known—his father’s ex-concubine—importuned Yun to offer an office to her present husband; at the same time, she implored her passion for Yun, combined with a threat of death. Despite these “fierce temptations,” Yun adamantly declined her petition, because “I [he] was a Christian.”

As I knelt to pray this morning in the church the following thought presented itself; Here I am, I am enjoying blessings that millions of my countrymen know nothing of. I am in the light of pure religion; intellectual freedom; political liberty. They are groping in the darkness of superstition; ignorance; political slavery. Heaven grant me the way to spread my measure of light among them! God forbid that I should use the moral and intellectual advantages I have received for my selfish ends and not for the good of my fellow men in darkness!²⁶⁶

Yun might have gained a vague sense that imperialism had changed the landscape of the world through his awareness of British rule in India and the U.S.'s relations with American natives, African-Americans, and Asians. However, his perception did not amount to a full-fledged comprehension of the malign effects of imperialism that operated among nations. His understanding of international affairs only persuaded him that the weaknesses of the nations facing imperial incursions found their origins in moral decadence, as seen in the corruption of the palace, government officials, and depravity of the people in Korea. Material prosperity would follow only with moral reform and spiritual strength. "Might," then, was understood by Yun in light of morality and intelligence:

We cannot say "might is right" in the overthrow of one nation or race by another unless the conquered is better in morals, religion, and intelligence, therefore more right than the conqueror. Compare India under the British rule with India under the native government or rather governments before the English conquest. Isn't America better off in the hand of the Anglo-Saxon than she ever was under or rather above the control of the Redman? Indeed it would be hard to instance a single case of the domination of one race over another but that we find the stronger has been almost always better or less corrupted in morals, religion and politics than the weaker. Thus we see that what seems to be a triumph of might over right is but a triumph of comparative-I don't say absolute-right over

²⁶⁶ Diary, November 6, 1892.

comparative wrong. So after all, right is might even in interracial dealings, isolated and minor exceptions of course admitted. To return good for evil when we have the power to do otherwise is a Christian retaliation—Do!²⁶⁷

Historians have explained that Yun's collaboration with Japan in late-1930s wartime stemmed from his compliance with social Darwinism. It has also been believed that Yun subjected himself to the logic of might where unfitting and weak Korea had better yield to Japan in the world order because of the latter's material and political ascendance.²⁶⁸ If social Darwinism still provided a tenable framework in understanding Yun, the theory could be applied as long as "might" included the three-tiered power of religion, morality, and politics. The central concern of Yun in the late nineteenth century was national strength solidly rooted in morality, in tandem with Christianity. To Yun, moral corruption governed material inferiority, and right, to might.

Spirituality for Yun related also to Christian internationalism, where compassion for outsiders and foreigners crossed regional, racial, and national boundaries. The models of Young J. Allen and W. A. Candler—who transcended their national boundaries and established heartfelt relationships with Yun—formulated such an understanding of spirituality in Yun. Not only did Allen display genuine care for him and his nation, he also defied the conventional notion of national superiority based on material force. Allen often differentiated "blessedness" from "happiness." Happiness was, Allen claimed, what people usually felt under the condition of "worldly prosperity," whereas blessedness was

²⁶⁷ Diary, November 20, 1892.

²⁶⁸ J. Michael Allen, "Ambivalent Social Darwinism in Korea," *International Journal of Korean History* 2, no. (2001); De Ceuster. Hyun-hye Yang, *Yun Ch'i-Ho Wa Kim Kyo-Sin* (Seoul: Hanul, 1994).

spiritual affluence overflowing from one's inner life, regardless of external or material conditions. With such a definition of blessedness, Yun began to understand that the greatest achievement of Allen lay less in his literary or educational enterprises, but more in his perseverance and Christian presence as a missionary for forty-seven years in China, overcoming insurmountable difficulties.²⁶⁹ The concept of might that Allen taught Yun was a moral and spiritual force sustaining one through the vicissitudes of material gains and losses, although it might result in material strength at the end of the process. When Yun described his life as a battle and himself as a "man-in-arms," his armor was hardly military weapons—it was Christ-like character.²⁷⁰ For Yun, reconstruction of the nation and material wealth were inseparable from regeneration of the nation in Christianity.

Christian internationalism, fostered through the faithful fraternity of Allen with Yun over two decades, surpassed particularistic demands of Allen's national allegiance. The international bond was further strengthened with Candler, who supported Yun in building the kingdom of God. The influence of those teachers led Yun to confess, "Every spiritual man is a man universal. Christ was the Son of Man because He did not belong to any particular age or race. Every great spirit, therefore, is in some measure a Son of Man unconditioned by time and circumstances."²⁷¹

Christian internationalism, for Yun, encouraged not confrontation but mutuality through learning from each nation. He said,

²⁶⁹ Diary, October 8, 1892.

²⁷⁰ Diary, October 17, 1892.

²⁷¹ Diary, October 25, 1892.

The tragedy of the American Indians lies because they do not learn from what others do well, while they resent at humiliation. The glory of the Japanese today resulted from their resentment, yet with endurance and learning... Let each one of us learn one thing at least from America and return to Korea. Knowing only how to endure but not to learn, is like a spiral wire without a ball. The spiral wire shrinks when pressed. However, when released without a ball, it shoots nothing. The empty spring gun discharges, thus, effects nothing. In order to achieve our goals, learning is essential.²⁷²

Yun's reference to humiliation and resentment instantly touched the heart of the Koreans who were transferred to the Hawaiian plantations in 1903 and struggled hard to build migrants' living among the Americans in San Francisco. His speech challenged them to utilize their bitter pain not for confrontational hatred and antipathy, but for constructive energy in education. The Christian internationalism that those missionary professors infused in Yun allowed him to see power imbalances between the nations as stimulants for learning. This was even more evident in his speech at a missionary conference in Texas in 1910:

The East and the West should not conflict, but conserve each other for a mutual growth. The East regards the evening the best time of the day, but the West regards the past as good, today as better, while the best day still lies in the future. Old age for the East is honor and time is seen endless as if it were everlasting, yet Westerners haste in eating, putting on clothes, and leaving as if they rushed to catch a train which is about to leave. Easterners glory in delicacy, meditation, and purity, while Westerners glory in expansion, progress, and vitality. Easterners should learn vital progress from Westerners, while Westerners ought to learn delicacy and meditation in order to understand inner mystery of humanity. If it were not for Christian teachings, Western activism and Eastern oppression will conspire to grind people in violence. If it were not for Christian teachings, beneficial philosophy of the East will turn to analgesic pills leading to moral apathy and paralysis. If the West gives Christian civilization to the East, the East will give to the West delicacy and meditation.²⁷³

²⁷² Ch i-ho Yun, "Speech, February, ," *Korean Evangel [Tae Do]* II, no. 3 (1910).

²⁷³ *Taedo* (The Great Way) March 1910. Originally from *Morning News* published on 23 February 1910, in Dallas, Texas. Translated from *Taedo*.

Yun's attendance at the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago brought together the memories he had gained while in America, China, and Japan. The panoramic view of religious fairs seemed to reflect the peripatetic journey of Yun through his international opportunities, dispersed throughout provinces and countries. Along with the Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Burmese, and Koreans, with their respective arts and products, each religion contested its beauty and veracity at the parliament for two consecutive days, with religious claims and creeds hovering all over. All of a sudden, he heard too much mention of "universality" and "broadness." The plethora of such parlance as "universal faith," "liberal-mindedness," "humanity," "fraternity," "brotherhood of men," "fatherhood of God," and "universal truth" led him to see not the breadth, but the thinness of the event.

The meta-national stance of Yun was identifiable in his article published in *Shin Min* (The New People) in 1928. Yun deplored the fact that since the First World War, countries had prepared only to reverse world peace and unity sought by the United Nations by expanding and gathering military forces. Yun primarily underlined the importance of international cooperation that would build world peace and commonwealth. The 1920s had proved that the progress of time had only fragmented nations by replacing imperial despotism with more hideous dictatorships. Yun lamented that England had only assisted in strengthening this confrontational structure by opposing Chamberlain's the peace treaty of the United Nations in September 1927. America, Yun deplored, allocated

640 million dollars to a five-year military expansion plan, while Japan was excruciating the nation with her own preparation for war.

In China and America, Yun had carried around the searing wounds of the *Kapsin* Coup in his heart, the grand failure toward modernization. The phantom sufferings of Koreans living under the oppressive government never vanished from his sight while living in America. When he heard about Bulgaria's strife against Russia for independence, his blood boiled, as if in some way Bulgarians represented Koreans.²⁷⁴ He was convinced that Korea once enjoyed the most sophisticated civilization of any country, but the present was degraded to humiliation and corruption. His trenchant critiques on the abuse of power and resources by Korean officials thus increased in proportion to his desire to preserve the invaluable heritage of the country. These critiques, however, were an inverse cry for the regeneration of Korea. He often pondered,

What will be the future of the Coreans? . . . Give them a fair chance-which they have never had so far-and if they prove not fit to survive let them go. Then my duty is to contribute my part of making them fit to live, the consequence being left in the hand of God. Christianity is the only salvation to Coreans.²⁷⁵
To my nation I owe very little above a good family and better parents. Yet instinct and conscience tell me that if there is any people to whom my best is due, it is my countrymen.²⁷⁶

His unequivocal nationalism was bolstered by a solid conviction that Christianity was the "salvation and hope of Korea," just how it had saved himself from unrestrained

²⁷⁴ Diary, February, 1893.

²⁷⁵ Diary, April 8, 1893.

²⁷⁶ Diary, March 11, 1893.

and undisguised drinking, debauchery, and despondence in Japan and China.²⁷⁷ Yun envisioned the modernized Korea of the future:

It is pleasant to indulge in the contemplation that in course of time Corea will be as civilized as any country; that her millions shall one day talk about and enjoy freedom and laugh at the slavery under which the present generation labors; that schools and colleges shall thrive in every town; that the towns and cities of the beautiful peninsula shall boast of their palatial homes, fine streets and public monuments. Yes, all this will come to pass.²⁷⁸

In the age of social Darwinism, when the strong states preyed on the weak, Yun shuddered and sought a way for Korea's survival; not by feeding the prerogatives of the privileged, but by empowering the deprived people. Christian internationalism was the launching pad from which Yun casted his vision for modernization of his country. His passion for the nation was clearly manifested in his vision for the younger generations. As Yun's commencement day approached at Emory, he confided his prayerful plan to Dr. Candler:

I have \$200 in your charge. I want to make this the nucleus of a fund for establishing a Christian school in Corea. This summer I may travel as I did last year. If I come out of it as well, I may be able to increase the fund by \$200 beyond my R.R. expenses and a passage for Shanghai. After my return to Shanghai, should I find it possible for me to go home, a mission school should be started on this fund. If the church should establish a mission in Corea before I could go back, the fund shall be turned over to the Board to be used for educational purpose in the mission. In case neither of these events happen within say 5 years after my return to China, the said fund shall be devoted to some other worthy cause. To this it may be objected; the plan is too crude. True; I do not put forward this scheme as finished...the sum is too small. Yes! But it is large enough to give a purpose to my life and a bend to my purpose. Why should the fund be under your charge? First I want to put it beyond the reach of any unwise expenditure on my part. Secondly I want to secure your interest and influence in

²⁷⁷ Diary, February 19, 1893.

²⁷⁸ Diary, April 8, 1893.

the movement. Nath Thomson hinted that the College might support me. I will not be chargeable to the College for nothing of the sort. While I am determined to decline any offer for my personal support, may it not be possible to secure the pledge of the College to help the plan in case it proves a success?²⁷⁹

Yun's proactive plan excited Dr. Candler who shared his dream of training a couple of Korean leaders at Emory. This plan, however, did not move the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.²⁸⁰ Waiting longer for a more opportune time, Yun sighed over the delay and indecision of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. At the end of his studies in the U.S., Yun expressed his yearning and impatience for Korea:

The tameness [of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South] is ill-compared with Moravian heroism, Presbyterian perseverance, and the aggressiveness of M.E. Church, North. I have yet to see a missionary of the S. Methodism who proves himself capable of standing the storm in the East. The noble women missionaries have already outrun their brethren in self-denial, courage, and push.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ J. W. Hitch, E. W. Anderson, "Loyal Alumnus Meet in the Far East, Emory Alumni in Korea Hold a Charter Day Dinner," *The Emory Alumnus*, Vol. 2, No. 7, 11, 25, 26. The Korea chapter consisted of Rev. C. N. Weems, Miss Hortense Tinsley, Dr. and Mrs. W. R. Cate, Rev. J. L. Gerdine, Rev. C. M. Kim, Rev. M. B. Stokes, Prof. N. S. Paik, Dr. Byron Koo, Dr. E. W. Anderson, Rev. J. W. Hitch, and Rev. D. W. Lim. Here, Yun was introduced as "the missionary's best and wisest friend." D. W. Lim and C. N. Weems assumed the presidency at the Anglo-Korean School in Songdo and J. L. Gerdine served at the church in the Songdo Christian Village. Emory alumni working in Korea gathered to cooperate for the "Ten Million Dollar Movement" for Emory in February 1926. Yun, President of the Emory Alumni Korea Chapter, was the first and the oldest Emory graduate among six men and two women American graduates and five graduates in Korea. They sent three hundred yen (USD 150) to Emory College.

²⁸⁰ Diary, March 17, 23, 1893. On 17 March 1893, Dr. Candler responded with an affirmation that he "could raise \$5,000 for the school scheme in Corea" and "it would be possible and desirable to educate two or three Coreans in this College."

²⁸¹ Diary, March 23, 1893.

Conclusion: Yun's Christian Internationalism

Woodrow Wilson's proposal of international cooperation and fraternity in the later 1910s and the concomitant organization of the League of the Nations gripped Western minds with the idea of internationalism. A corrective measure, internationalism expressed the leading powers' yearning for unity and peace among the nations in the midst of the world torn apart, despite the West's prior conviction that it would be able to bring about progress and civilization in the world. Even before Wilson's articulation of internationalism, however, such unity and friendship had transpired between Christian missionaries and nationals, as seen in Yun's bond with American missionaries in China and American missionary teachers in the US.

Yun's ten-year education at the Anglo-Chinese College, Vanderbilt University, and Emory College during a formative period of his life offered an opportunity to form a Christian internationalism that would have been hardly affordable in the exclusive educational environment of Korea. As Christian internationalism was a prime mover that drove missionaries and missional statesmen, Yun's interaction with those missionaries enabled him to imbibe Christian internationalism. Yun's internationalism, however, was simultaneously moored to watchful concern for his own nation. Through Yun's education in China and the U.S., Yun gained a conviction that the increases of science, technology, commerce, industry, and military forces — as seen in the West — would benefit Korea, but only when accompanied by moral regeneration rooted in Christianity.²⁸² Sojourning

in China and the U.S., Yun resided at the same time in an invisible space where he commuted between Korea and the West. Such a stance made Yun an alien in Japan, China, and America as well as in Korea because his relationships and memories were intertwined with people and events in each country. Yun's education in China and the U.S., therefore, brought him as much of an *etic* perspective as he had an *emic* perspective. His stance was tantamount to those of Western missionaries who left behind their own homes for overseas ministries. His conversion to Christianity and achievement of Western education was owed to his American teachers. His friends included Japanese, Chinese, Europeans, and Americans, while his family and national identity belonged to Korea. To discuss Yun's life only with the exclusive yardstick of nationalism without Christian internationalism—as if nationalism were the only sacrosanct touchstone for measuring his contributions to the nation—is to run the bigotry of the Taewŏn'gun, who believed that an exclusive focus on home affairs would best protect the nation. Yun's confession, after his study in China and the U.S. and in particular after his attendance at the Parliament of the World's Religions, best expressed his national and Christian identity:

I have heard a great deal of talk about a foreign education spoiling an oriental. That is he wants or rather tries to be an American or a European in everything except in what is good. But I shall endeavor to be a Corean in everything except in what is essentially bad; an American in nothing except in what is essentially good; a Christian in all things.²⁸³

²⁸² Yun Ch'i-ho, "Naüi söwŏn, sinnyŏmül kajija (My pledge: let's have faith)." *Sinmin* (New People) (January 1931): 2–3.

²⁸³ Diary, November 17, 1893.

This condensed statement of Yun's identity baffles historians' facile judgment that Yun was pro-Japanese or pro-American. Yun's meta-national stance is not easily caught in such simple reductionism.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ For instance, James T. Laney, American Ambassador to Korea in 1995, stated that Yun was critical of America. Yun's criticisms bearing on the U.S., however, not only varied over the time, but were also aimed toward specific practices that could occur in any other country. James T. Laney, "Speech in commemoration of Yun Ch'i-ho in 1995," Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, 1883–1943, Box 17, MARBL.

CHAPTER THREE

TOWARD CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM (1896–1916)

Broadness is good enough; but too much of it is a curse to a soul. Steam, electricity, heat, magnetism and other forces never accomplish a blessed thing until they are confined to a narrow space. I would rather be narrow and be earnest than be broad and be indifferent. If bigotry can see but one phase of a truth, extreme broadness can't see anything save the surface of the whole.¹

My mission is to dedicate my life and serve my nation to the full of all my heart and with the help of God, even if I may not see my country as flourishing as other countries during my lifetime. May God help me with my weakness and guide me to be useful for the good of my nation and the kingdom of God. When I leave this vanishing world and enter the heaven, what a joy will it be to be in such a place as there are no worries.²

A life of exile in China and America fostered Yun's Christian internationalism, which inseparably grafted a vision of world fraternity to his yearning for national reconstruction. Yun's edification developed through missionary teachers, Christian missional literature, Christian clubs and societies, inter-seminary conferences, the YMCA, the State Sunday School Convention, speaking tours, and prison ministry. Such experiences deepened Yun's Christian understanding while strengthening his anticipation for individual and social regeneration of Korea in Christianity. Certainly Christianity as a religion of behavioral reform guided him to experience liberation from moral degradation.

¹ Diary, 24 September 1893.

² Diary, 29 December 1888.

From Yun's perspective, Christianity proceeded further as the most benevolent vehicle of national reconstruction that legitimized the modernization impulse of non-Western countries. To Yun, Christianity invigorated all dimensions of humanity, which encompassed the reclamation of one's relationships with the sovereign God, neighbors, and vocations.

The internationalist outlook Yun formulated during his exile in China and the United States would influence his subsequent engagement with the YMCA. His conviction of the importance of commitment to a practicable cause expressed at the Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago dictated that his life be bound by specific reconstruction programs over universal allegiance. Yun thus channeled the Christian internationalism he had assimilated in China and the U.S. to the reconstruction of Korea. He was convinced that whatever benefits Asians gained in America would be best used for those who had no access to such benefits. Those who used the privilege of an American education only for selfish promotion seemed depraved to Yun, since he was concerned more for distribution than aggrandizement of resources.³ This conviction was also reflected much later in advice given to his daughter, Helen, when she returned from her studies in America. Yun advised her to "identify herself with some kind of movement for the betterment of the Korean people" and to "live always with the Koreans." He even advised her to discard American manners in order to align with such characteristics as "modesty, reticence, thoughtfulness, and politeness" that Korean society valued.⁴ Yun's

³ Diary, August 2, 1925.

⁴ Ibid.

efforts to confine his energies to Korea might have entailed the forfeiture of such manners as self-assertion and individualism salient in American society. Bigotry and loss of identity, on the other hand, were the pitfalls of the two extremes of nationalism and internationalism, unhinged by each other. What drew Yun to Asia and Korea was his conviction that particularistic engagement with national reconstruction was as important as embracement of universal brotherhood. This chapter will investigate how Yun implemented his ideas about national reconstruction.⁵ The shift of Yun's efforts from strengthening the Independence Club and the *Independent* to constructing the Anglo-Korean School and the Songdo Christian Village demonstrates how his belief in education of the popular masses was realigned with Christian nationalism.

Missionary Teacher in China (November 1893)

Yun crossed the Pacific Ocean back to China in November 1893 after finishing his five-year study in America. In the spring of 1893, Warren Candler, Atticus G. Haygood, and Young J. Allen all advised Yun to stay one more year at Emory. The compelling call to learn the "methods of missions" in China, however, convinced Yun to decline the tempting stay in the United States.⁶ As a teacher, he could now learn how

⁵ Diary, January 26, 1890. Yun's records indicate his distinction between the motives of foreign missionaries and those of other foreign officials and businessmen. After his perusal of missionary papers at the Hall Library at Vanderbilt University, Yun wrote the following: "There can be no doubt that the heathen world owes great debt to missionaries. For, what class of men-beside missionaries- shows so much interest in the welfare of the heathen? Greedy merchants, or cold philosophers, or cunning politicians, or conceited scientists, or profane infidels? None of these will leave happy home and devote a whole life to the good –the regeneration and the salvation – of the heathen in a strange land. It is the missionary that does this. God bless missionaries, especially ladies."

Western missionaries were managing educational missions in the East. Yun also recalled that Dr. Allen once pointed out a deficiency in the Chinese language among missionary teachers, resulting in the “absence of an assured staff” and stagnation at the Anglo-Chinese College.⁷ Should Yun resume his prior translation work, it would help him master Chinese and allow him to help, he hoped, “lighten the burdens of overworked missionaries.” A missional call thus compelled him to return to China.

Yun viewed his privilege of an American education with the attitude of an Asian delegate or missionary. The investment made for training of the missionary or delegate was expected to bring meaningful fruits to the commissioners. Yun was aware that the waste of valuable mission funds was one major criticism directed toward O. E. Brown, Yun’s Wesley Hall alumnus, when Brown returned from China for a professorship at Vanderbilt after only two years on the field. The case against Brown reinforced Yun’s sense of responsibility to return to China on 14 November 1893. For Yun, America was the land of Christianity, English education, beautifully manicured lawns, sympathetic friends, and resourceful professors. The sense of urgency about the mission to China,

⁶ Diary, April 19, 1893.

⁷ Diary, March 27, 1893.

however, was stronger than the lure of America.⁸ The call came even louder when brother Loehr asked Yun to fill a faculty vacancy at the Anglo-Chinese College.⁹

On Yun's return in 1893, China, having been reputed for centuries as the fount of civilization (as its name, *Chung-kuo*, the Middle Kingdom, or the *Hua*, the "flowery" or "splendid" nation, indicated), now displayed a shocking contrast to what Yun had been accustomed to in the U.S. This was the country with which Korea had maintained diplomatic relations from the time of Silla Dynasty (A.D. 57–935) and Koryŏ Dynasty (A.D. 918–1392).¹⁰ It was the country with which Korea had also maintained centuries-old cultural and economic exchanges, albeit in a pattern of suzerainty or vassalage. In 1893, China was noted for its unsanitary scenes and odious smells. One Chinese washed his clothes in a dirty creek while others washed their feet, urine pots, dung tubs, vegetables, and rice along the same stream. The same water of the ditch was carried into houses for drinking.¹¹ Regardless, China touted itself as a righteous, profound, and productive nation and center of the world. Its glorious Confucianism and salutary moral maxims had continued for twenty-five centuries only to make people degrade themselves

⁸ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young J. Allen, May 17, 1893; Diary, May 13, July 7, 1893. "If America meant anything, it means opportunity. Let each one have his chance to mend his sphere if low." This statement was made as Yun's refutation to the blatantly discriminating opinion of P. E. Moon in Raleigh, North Carolina, who argued that the education of African-Americans should be limited to what would make them remain in their sphere of manual work, rather than liberate them to preach or teach. Yun again uttered the phrase, "America as the place to mend one's fate," referring to Sŏ, who escaped the consequential wrath of the *Kapsin* Coup in America and became a medical doctor.

⁹ Diary, June 2, 1893.

¹⁰ Later Paekche (7th century) and Koryŏ (10th–14th centuries) developed diplomatic relations with China; the former with southern China and the latter with northern China, largely for trade purposes.

¹¹ Diary, November 15, 1893.

with deception and bickering.¹² Yun questioned the legitimacy of his perceptions, wondering whether his imperfect knowledge of the Chinese language blurred his understanding of the Chinese people.¹³

Yun's Identity

In China, teaching as a faculty member at the Anglo-Chinese College secured Yun a basic living expense of \$30 a month. To the inquiry of Professor Young J. Allen and Professor W. B. Bonnell on the salary's satisfaction amount, Yun simply answered, "I am here for work and not for money." That night, he recorded his resolution: "God being my help I shall never quarrel about money while in the mission."¹⁴ Teaching at the Anglo-Chinese College was more of an opportunity for missional service than a means for living or a acquiring a particular social position. Such a perception of the vocation is further evidenced in the following dialogue with his Chinese friend, Bell.

Bell became indignant at the China Mission Board's resolution that the salary for native preachers should be six dollars a month if they were single and eight dollars if they were married. Bell argued that one could hardly live on eight dollars a month. Yun opined differently, claiming that providing weighty salaries for pastors might be beyond the ability of the mission, and more importantly might make it hard to differentiate

¹² Diary, December 12, 1893.

¹³ Diary, November 15, 1893.

¹⁴ Diary, November 21, 1893.

Christian workers driven by a compelling sense of vocation from those driven by the dollar. The financial lure might tempt “men of loaves and fishes.”¹⁵ Less money, he thought, would secure sincere workers whose concern was more directed toward ministry than income.

Another personal case shows a glimpse of Yun’s identity. On the discussion of Yun’s marriage, his Chinese teacher told him to disguise himself as a Chinese by wearing Chinese attire, because thirty dollars—a good salary for a Chinese man—was “too small for a foreigner to attract the attention of the Chinese.”¹⁶ At his advice, Yun found it inappropriate to discuss his salary in relation to Christian missions. What became even clearer from the negotiations for salary was Yun’s perception of his identity as a Christian missionary teacher.

Yun had several missionary engagements in Shanghai. He regularly attended Monday afternoon missionary services, the monthly conference of the Shanghai missionaries held at the McTyeire Home, and Saturday missionary prayer meetings either in the Ladies Home or the McTyeire Home.¹⁷ The missionaries in Shanghai couldn’t miss Yun’s zeal, and they asked him to be in charge of their prayer meetings.¹⁸ His participation in the Shanghai Missionary Association, which over eighty-five missionaries attended, also indicates his own perception of his identity as a missionary teacher. As in America, he continued in Shanghai delivering speeches on Korea and East

¹⁵ Diary, February 19, 1893.

¹⁶ Diary, January 30, 1894.

¹⁷ Diary, January 27, 29, 30, March 17, 1894.

¹⁸ Diary, March 17, 1894.

Asia.¹⁹ He continued to be active at the YMCA. When he delivered a keynote speech on Korea in front of missionaries at the YMCA, the venue turned into a mission conference for Korea, attended also by one British missionary who worked for nine years in Korea as well as Professor Bonnell and Joseph Edkins. As before, Yun tackled translating literature for publication in Shanghai.²⁰ As a teacher at the Anglo-Chinese College, he supervised students at the dormitory.²¹ In the spirit of a missionary, Yun was doing exactly what other Western missionaries were doing in China.

Native teachers and Conciliatory Spirit

What lessons did Yun learn as a faculty member at the Anglo-Chinese College? The longer Yun worked at the college, the more he was convinced of three important factors in missions: partnership with native teachers, unity among missionary teachers, and the contextualization of Christian messages. Former missionaries had made great achievements in launching the Anglo-Chinese College. The American professors, however, held the leadership for themselves too long and insisted on the exclusive use of English, even in mixed audiences of Americans and Chinese. The protracted American leadership and exclusive use of English in China appeared to stunt the growth of the college, giving the impression that the college was ever-prescribed by foreign

¹⁹ Diary, February 21, 1894.

²⁰ Diary, February, 1894.

²¹ Diary, June 1, 1894.

missionaries.²² The college, founded in 1881, had been virtually administered by American missionaries throughout its entire history, even up until when Yun returned in 1893. Yun found that the legalism and dogmatism of those missionaries had far too long missed an essential element of the school: cultivating the leadership of pioneering and progressive young natives. Yun was puzzled as to whether the missionaries were incapable of raising such Chinese leaders, or whether the natives lacked motivation to engage in the scarcely lucrative Christian work. Yun regretted that the Shanghai Missionary Association in 1893 invited no Chinese workers. He asserted that inclusion of native brethren in missionary enterprises would win their hearts and cooperation and facilitate Christian causes.²³

Yun also thought that the growth of the school would be stimulated by unity among faculty members. The school, however, found various pretexts to prohibit missionary teachers from cooperation. Yun found fellowship with Allen always delightful and encouraging. He confessed, "Tis strange that I should find his company so congenial. God knows how much I owe to this good man for my reformation."²⁴ Allen indeed was a man of great will and perseverance, yet he did not seem to care much for other missionaries; he hardly paid attention to important details and kept an irritating habit of smoking. These features disgusted George R. Loehr. In Yun's eyes, Loehr was ingenuous, warmhearted, conscientious, and invaluable for a specific division of labor,

²² Diary, June 23, 1894. At the first annual convention of the Christian endeavors in China (1894), one Chinese individual protested the exclusive use of English among the mixed participants (Chinese and English). In Yun's memory, the case underlined the importance of the use of native languages in the field.

²³ Diary, December 5, 1893.

²⁴ Diary, January 3, 1894.

albeit probably unfit for positions of greater command.²⁵ Other missionaries, however, regarded Loehr as too stubborn and full of conceits to collaborate well. His lack of conciliatory tact and his rough attitude caused student Mary Allen, Young J. Allen's daughter, to become rebellious at Loehr's presence.²⁶ Loehr's zeal and earnestness, laudable though they might have been, frustrated cooperation with other missionaries. Mary Allen was sweet and kind, yet Loehr found her lacking in zeal. Allen's appearance of lacking concern for his daughter seemed to be similar to Mary's tenuous concern for other missionaries. Likewise, Bonnell, an English teacher, led a passive missionary life, presumably due to his ignorance of the Chinese tongue. His tender heart, gentle mind, intelligence, and elegance—which had furnished Yun's Christian conversion—were offset by his perfunctory performance of missionary obligations.²⁷ Yun had a deep gratitude to Bonnell for his own conversion to Christianity, acquisition of English, and studies in America, yet Bonnell's negligence exasperated Allen. When one missionary took a leading role, others became dissatisfied with his performance.²⁸ It became clear that the first quality needed among missionaries was the spirit of unity.

To make matters worse, missionaries at the Anglo-Chinese College lacked a pioneering spirit. Like stagnant water, missionaries desisted from taking risks in experimenting with new activities, often because they would require the cooperation of

²⁵ Diary, January 5, 1894.

²⁶ Diary, January 18, 1894. Yun's record (based on direct contact with Allen's daughter) calls her "Mary," while Adrian Bennett states in his *Missionary Journalist in China* (1983) that Allen's daughter's name was Malvina, and his wife's name was Mary Houghton Allen.

²⁷ Diary, January 16, 1894.

²⁸ Diary, January 5, 1894.

faculty members. The missionaries' sense of superiority was too high and stiff to solicit cooperation from other missionary teachers or native workers. Instead, a spirit of maintaining the status quo was pervasive at the college, which in turn debilitated the function of the mission school. As the inner life of the school lost vigor and unity among the faculty, survival mentality inhibited the growth of the school.

The third element Yun perceived lacking at the school was an effort to contextualize the Gospel message. As long as missionaries seemed to have a low view of Chinese history, literature, classics, and sensibilities, their sermons tended to be immune to any possibility of accommodation or inculturation. Yun deplored that this ignorance of history and literature made the missionaries almost similar to idol worshippers who shut their ears to reasonable Christian lessons. To study one's history, literature, and culture was, for Yun, to love one's people. To deliver Christian messages without that love with closed ears would be to believe in superstitions. Yun's belief in the importance of making the Gospel message relevant to people's historical and cultural context provided the ground for his belief in the superiority of national teachers above foreign teachers in the education of the natives.

He also lamented that missionaries' teaching of hell and heaven were thrown crudely alongside the topics of laws, prophets, angels, devils, and miracles without much effort to relate such religious themes to the Chinese people. Miracles in particular, Yun thought, did not prove the supremacy of Christianity to the Chinese, whose ears had been inured to the pervasive stories of superstitious miracles. Doctrines of sin, soteriology, eschatology, Christology, Gloria Dei, and crucifixion slipped through the confounded

ears of the Chinese without making much sense. Yun argued, “To know a heathen classic is not to substitute it for the Bible any more than to know the ins-outs of the enemy’s country is to love it to the injury of one’s own.”²⁹

Yun was also troubled by the “bossism” of missionary superiors and the implicit rule of missionaries’ subordination to the school’s organizational structure. The perception bothered him; if he were to become a “native preacher” he would have to “surrender to a missionary not only his time and service but also [his] freedom of opinion and of conscience and would be compelled to preach the doctrines and dogmas of the Mission whether [he] believed in them or not.” Yun also detested denominational rivalry between missionaries. He regretted much later that the beloved missionary C. F. Reid, who had twenty years of field experience in China, was determined to build the first church of the mission in Korea right next to the mud wall of the flourishing church founded by Mary Scranton.³⁰ This regret reflects Yun’s conviction that missionary unity and partnership with native workers for the kingdom of God were more important than denominational expansion.

Marriage (21 March 1894)

²⁹ Diary, June 10, 1894.

³⁰ Diary, June 20, 1897.

While serving as a missionary teacher at the Anglo-Chinese College, Yun married the Chinese woman Mo Sientsung (秀珍).³¹ Yun's marriage was owed to the concerted efforts of missionary teachers at the Anglo-Chinese College: Young J. Allen, Rev. and Mrs. Bonnell, Clarence F. Reid, George R. Loehr, Laura Askew Haygood, and Helen Richardson. Laura Haygood, at the end of her nine-year service in China, rendered a crucial service to Yun and Sientsung.³² For ten years, C. F. Reid (the first Southern Methodist missionary to Korea), had assisted at his Trinity Methodist Church both Sientsung's mother—who became a Bible woman as well as a nurse—and Sientsung, who studied at the Clopton School and the McTyeire School. After graduation, Sientsung became a Sunday school teacher and a pianist at the Trinity Church as well as an assistant music teacher at her alma mater.³³ She was known to excel in Chinese writing and English composition, on top of her exceptional piety, courage, and graceful dignity. Yun and Sientsung were quickly attracted to each other, yet their marriage had to go through the painful process of negotiating with Chinese customs that governed as powerfully as

³¹ 愛芳 (E-fong), commonly believed to be Yun's wife, is in fact her sister's name. Diary, September 3, 1894. January 18, 1895. At the Clopton School (Seminary), Shanghai, Sientsung was supported for over six years by the Sunday school of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Marshall, Missouri. The editor of St. Louis *Christian Advocate* compared the marriage and subsequent return to Korea of Yun Ch'i-ho and Sientsung to that of Joseph in Egypt and a daughter of a priest. *The Gospel in All Lands* (New York: Methodist Episcopal Church, Missionary Society, 1896), 156.

³² Laura Askew Haygood was a sister of Atticus Haygood, a close friend of Allen and an alumna of Emory. Laura came to Shanghai by plead of Allen and started, with his help, the McTyeire School for girls in order to establish a sister school to match the Anglo-Chinese College. Yun named his first daughter Laura. R. Pierce Beaver, "Laura Haygood," Edward T. James et al. eds., *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (Radcliff College, 1971), 167–169. Allen, in a comment on Laura Haygood, extolled her as a missionary "worthy of our honor, praise, and imitation." Young J. Allen, "Memoirs of Miss Laura A Haygood," Young J. Allen Papers, Box 22, MARBL.

³³ C. F. Reid, *The Torch of Christ, A Tale of Missions* (Board of Missions Methodist Episcopal Church, South, N.D.), 7, 8; C. F. Reid, *Yun Ch'i-ho, The Korean Patriot and Educator*, (1914); Yun Ch'i-ho, "Thirty Years Ago," Chu-sam Ryang, ed., *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea* (Seoul: Chosŏn Namgamni Kyohoe Chŏndo-guk, 1929), 98.

superstitions over ordinary people. The whole society was cramped by the prescription of customs, all of which appeared ludicrous to Yun. Despite a perfect agreement between the couple, marriage required the adjustment and negotiations of three entirely different cultures: Korean, Chinese, and American. With various crises overcome, on 21 March 1894, Professor Bonnell guided Yun through his wedding ceremony. In compliance with Chinese custom, Yun wore grandiose Chinese paraphernalia. Laura Haygood led the hand of Sientsung. The couple was surrounded and blessed by men and women missionaries and their students at the McTyeire Home. The arch of women missionaries and their young female students showered rice along the path of the newlyweds, while Young J. Allen, C. F. Reid, George R. Loehr, Mr. McIntosh, Charles T. Collyer, and Yun's former Chinese teacher watched the ceremony that sealed the union of the Chinese and the Korean.

The Death of Kim Ok-kyun (28 March 1894)

Not even a week after Yun's wedding, Yun came across his former associate, Kim Ok-kyun (the leader of the *Kapsin* Coup), in Shanghai with his body soaked in blood. Hong Chong-woo, at the behest of the Korean Cabinet, assassinated Kim and was temporarily detained by the Chinese government.³⁴ The Korean government wired the

³⁴ Diary, March 27, 28, 29, 1894; Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sae chöngwöle saenggak nanün saramdül, Sanghaeesö yöngbyölhan kimokkyunssi (People remembered in the new year's days: Kim Okkyun who was assassinated in Shangahi)," *Pyölgöngon* (New Heaven and Earth) (January 1929): 38-39. Hong Jong-wu was the key member of the *Hwangguk Hyophoe* (Imperial Club) who orchestrated an anti-Independent lynching of the Independence Club. The Imperial Club also threatened the *Manmin Gongdonghoe* (All People's Forum) that Yun Ch'i-ho would direct. See Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea: 1868-*

Chinese officials that the captive, being innocent, should be dispatched to Korea along with the corpse of Kim Ok-kyun.³⁵ The implication of the incident horrified Yun, especially when a similar assassination attempt was made on Pak Chŏng-yang, another member of the Progressive Party.³⁶ These pro-Chinese government officials were attempting to purge the nation of the memory of the scattered progressives. While Hong Chong-woo was liberally rewarded in Korea, the corpse of Kim Ok-kyun was cut into pieces as an example of the fate of a traitor.³⁷ To compound the matter, Hong reported to the Korean government that he had found another member of the Progressive Party in Shanghai. Knowing the background of Yun's exile, missionaries at the Anglo-Chinese College were alert to save Yun from an assassination attempt.³⁸

After this unsettling incident, Yun also heard that the Tonghak Peasant Army had risen up in the southern province of Korea, in resistance of *yangban* oppression and foreign incursions. The rebels were crushed by the Korean government with the aid of the Chinese army.³⁹ The anti-foreign and anti-Christian revolt, in reality, was good news for the Japanese government that sought to monopolize power in Korea by eliminating

1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), 222, 223.

³⁵ F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919), 40, 41.

³⁶ Diary, April 3, 1894.

³⁷ Conroy, *Japanese Seizure of Korea*, 223.

³⁸ Diary, March 27, 1894.

³⁹ Diary, June 18, 1894. Conroy, *Japanese Seizure of Korea*, 222. In 1894 the *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) developed into a "revolutionary peasant struggle" and an avowedly anti-foreign—thus anti-Christian—movement. Ki-Baik Lee, *Han'guk sa sillon* (A new history of Korea) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 281–284.

foreign rivals in general and China's opportunistic claim of suzerainty in particular. The Japanese seized the Korean soldiers' outrage and the intervention of the Chinese as a pretext for the Sino-Japanese War. Ultimately the Korean court's call for Chinese soldiers to suppress the insurgents paved a way for the intrusion of Japan and the war between them and China.⁴⁰

Yun's personal affairs fared no better in the midst of the war cry. His noble marriage, which he had dreamed of for so long, did not always secure happiness. Before the fall began in 1894, Sientung returned to her mother's house and Yun to a bachelor dorm room at the Anglo-Chinese College to prepare for the precarious future while saving on living costs.⁴¹ The rumors of war mounted to an official declaration of the Sino-Japanese War by Japan on the first of August that summer.⁴²

The Sino-Japanese War (August 1894) and the 1894 Kabo Reform: the return to Korea (February 1895)

The onset of the Sino-Japanese War on the first of August 1894 devastated the Korean land and plunged the Korean people into a welter of terror until it reached the Shimonoseki Treaty on 17 April 1895. Pyöngyang, which would be the northern epicenter of the great revival a decade later, became a bloody battlefield for Chinese and

⁴⁰ The Taewön'gun instigated the soldiers in order to retrieve his former political clout from the ruling Queen Min and King Kojong. In response, the palace called for China's arrest of the Taewön'gun, which made the Taewon'gun more inclined to rely on Japan. Japan used the Taewon'gun as a pretext to kill Queen Min. See McKenzie, *Korea's Fight*, 42–69.

⁴¹ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Dr. Warren A. Candler, September 20, 1894; Diary, August 24, 1894.

⁴² Diary, August 2, 1894.

Japanese soldiers. It was the Yalu River between Korea and Manchuria where the major naval campaign was launched. While thousands of Chinese and Japanese soldiers trampled Korean towns, Korean people escaped to church buildings for protection often through fields of tumbling corpses.⁴³ By the end of the war, both Chinese and Japanese newspapers threw unreliable accusations against each other to excite patriotism within their respective countries. The editorials of *The Globe Magazine*, the non-governmental press published by Young J. Allen, arose as the most-read paper among elites in China. Chinese papers, as with some Western papers, presumed that China's numerical preponderance of soldiers would defeat Japan. Twenty-three thousand Chinese soldiers, however, were "utterly routed" by 17,500 Japanese soldiers.⁴⁴

In the midst of the war, Japan pressed the Korean government to change structurally by recalling the scattered progressives. The reputed political traitors of the *Kapsin* Coup in 1884 were able to return to Korea around this time. The political exiles in America, China, and in distant provinces in Korea returned to fulfill the dreams of the Progressive Party. Japan subsequently installed a task-oriented supra-government reform organ, the Deliberative Council (*Kun 'guk Kimuch 'o*), largely manned by those progressives that seemingly implemented, though ominously, what the progressives had originally sought. The reinstated Korean progressives and the reform, a measure welcomed by the progressives, were in fact a long-term device to set up a competitive

⁴³ Samuel A. Moffett, to Dr. Ellinwood, November 1, 1894.

⁴⁴ Yun Ch'i-ho, Letter, September 20, 1894; *The Korean Repository*, 1895; McKenzie, *Korea's Fight*, 42.

organ that would divide the Korean leadership—just as Japan encouraged Buddhism, Shintoism, and other forms of Japanese religions in Seoul to compete against Christianity—eventually securing a system for expanding Japanese power in the Far East.⁴⁵ Whatever the hidden motives were of Japan and the Korean reform cabinet—whether they were constructing or confounding—the recall itself was an opportunity for the progressives. A letter from Yun’s father, released from his exile, assured that Yun could enter Korea. His return to his country, so long awaited, became possible on 12 February 1895 as other progressives were also reinstated.⁴⁶

In his resignation letter to the Anglo-Chinese College, Yun wrote, “I would prove untrue to my country, to my parents, and to my conscience should I spend my time in teaching the Chinese boys, which any foreigner could do and do better than I, while I may do something in Corea which no foreigner can do as well.”⁴⁷ What comprised Yun’s plan for Korea? His letter reveals his plan: “If the new government be successful, it is very likely that I may be able to occupy a useful position in the country not necessarily in the government. Then my plan for educational work may be realized. But everything depends on the result of the war. If China wins I shall have no hope of returning to Korea,

⁴⁵ Clarence Norwood Weems, ed., *Hulbert's History of Korea*, vol. II (New York: Hillary House Publishers LTD., 1962), 282.

⁴⁶ “T.H. Yun Recalled to Corea,” *Christian Advocate* (February 1895). This magazine clipping also records Yun’s resignation from the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai.

⁴⁷ Yun Ch`i-ho, to the Faculty of the Anglo-Chinese College, December 17, 1894. When Yun submitted his letter of resignation to the faculty, Professor Young J. Allen seemed to treat it as a personal matter—not showing it to the rest of the faculty—severely provoking professor Bonnell. Allen assumed that Yun was employed by his own decision; therefore his resignation also related to him alone. Eugene R. Smith, ed., *The Gospel in All Lands* (New York: the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1894), 76. Here indicates Young J. Allen, G. R. Loehr, and W. B. Bonnell as professors at the Anglo-Chinese College. Diary, January 2, 1895.

maybe for years.”⁴⁸ Yun desired Japan’s defeat of China, since he, like other progressives, desired Korea’s independence from their centuries-old relationship of suzerainty.⁴⁹ The period from 1895 to 1905, between the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars, was marked by the independence (whether virtual or nominal) of Korea. It was a very opportune time, despite the declining conditions of the nation.⁵⁰ Not knowing what lay ahead and leaving behind in China his bride, Sientsung, and a one-month-old baby girl, Laura, Yun returned to Korea.⁵¹

On his return, Yun’s letters to Young J. Allen, Warren A. Candler, and Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix reminded them of what he was about to launch in Korea. “What Korea is now in the most urgent need of are a patriotic paper, and a thorough system of education.”⁵² For the education of Korea, Yun conceived the embryonic ideas of the *Independent* and the Anglo-Korean School.

⁴⁸ Yun Ch’i-ho, to W. A. Candler, September 20, 1894.

⁴⁹ Diary, August 4, 1894. “I have no other reason for wishing the victory of Japan than the humiliation of China and the benefit of Korea. The native papers of Shanghai are an abomination itself now, so full they are with bragging and lying. In them China never loses a battle. The arrogance and scheming Chinaman (袁世凱) returned to China weeks ago. Most Chinese have left Korea. I do not know how long this will last, yet I congratulate Korea, at least for the time being, on this deliverance from the Chinese.”

⁵⁰ Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990). C. I. Eugene Kim, Han-kyo Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism 1876-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 74–84.

⁵¹ Diary, January 17, 1895. Meeting Sientsung for the last time in China before he left for Korea, Yun had deep anxiety about future uncertainties, risks, loneliness, and discomfort of his wife. Diary, January 2, 1895. Laura was born on 31 December 1894. Josephine P. Campbell—who would be the first Southern Methodist woman missionary in Korea and found the Paehwa Girls’ High School—sent the news to Yun.

⁵² Diary, August 24, 1894.

The Independent (April 1896–December 1899)

Political Landscape in Korea, 1895

By the time Yun entered Korea in February 1895, the mastermind of the *Kapsin* Coup, Kim Ok-gyun, had been assassinated in the previous year. Pyŏn Su, a coup soldier, had died in America in 1891.⁵³ Hong Yong-sik had been executed on the last day of the coup in 1884. A decade after the coup, the remaining progressives were deeply divided between the Old Party siding with the Taewŏn'gun, and the Royalists siding with Queen Min and King Kojong. Yun's former progressive associates, Kim Hong-jip, Sŏ Kwang-pum, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Kim Yun-sik, O Yun-jung, and Yu Kil-jun, stood by the Old Party. Although Yun supported the king and queen and was inclined toward the Royalists, he remained a close associate of his former progressive colleagues of the Old Party. Yun's mediator stance was so recognizable that both the Old Party ministers and the Royalists insisted that Yun should be chosen as minister of the foreign affairs or education department. Kim Hong-jip, prime minister of the Old Party, asked Yun to take the position in the Cabinet in order to keep harmony between the polarized Old and the Royalist members.⁵⁴

⁵³ Diary, November 2, 1891. Pyŏn Su, who died in an accident, had graduated from Maryland Agricultural College, indicating that agricultural improvement was one of the key concerns of Korean progressives. Clarence Norwood Weems, *Hulbert's History of Korea*. vol. II (New York: Hillary House Publishers LTD., 1962), 281–282. Hulbert expressed regret that “his [Yun's] return to Korea would have been a most happy augury had there been enough enlightened sentiment in the country to form a basis for genuine as distinguished from superficial reform.”

Along with the Old Party, the Taewŏn'gun—notorious for his reactionary and close-door international policy—collaborated with Japan, the winner of the Sino-Japanese War. In search of his prior hegemony of the state, as the regent and father of a teenaged son (King Kojong), the Taewŏn'gun allied with Japanese minister Miura Goro. Miura also served the Japanese ambition to pave the road for the expansion of the empire in Asia. The queen, king, and Royalist officials turned against Japan to China, probably reading the ulterior motives of Japan, and also in reaction to the control of Kojong's father, the Taewŏn'gun. Ultimately the earlier *Susinsa* progressives who first visited Japan found themselves aligning with Japan and the Taewŏn'gun. The Old Party's unbridled use of power, as it dominated the government, alienated the Royalist party to the point of collective resignation. The divide between the Old party and the Royalists, Yun lamented, benefited only the Japanese, who pretended to seek unity while maximizing their interests by the division.⁵⁵ While the queen and the Taewŏn'gun were engrossed in a political tug-of-war, the socio-economic problems of the nation increased and Japan amplified its pretext for intervention in Korean home affairs.

After the Sino-Japanese War, while the Old Party (along with the rising Japanese force) prevailed the cabinet, Queen Min posed the biggest obstacle to the supremacy sought by both Japan and the Taewŏn'gun. To Japan, the elimination of Queen Min

⁵⁴ Diary, December 11, 1895; February 11, 12, 13, 16 (Kim Hong-jip's suggestion for the advisor in the cabinet), 18 (Yun wanted to get a position in the Education Department) 27 (Yun Ung-ryŏl promoted to Masan Solider, Yun appointed as an Advisor to the State Council), 1895. Later in that year, Yun was appointed to Vice Minister of the educational department, while Sŏ Chae-p'il to Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs. Hwang Hyŏn, *Maechŏnyarok*, vol. 2 (1895).

⁵⁵ Diary, February 16, 22, 1895.

seemed like a shortcut toward this goal. As soon as Miura was stationed in Seoul, his political move began with the elimination of the obstacle on 8 October 1895. That night, the Taewŏngun was escorted by the Japanese to a safe place while soldiers were stationed at the palace gates. Then the soldiers launched a brutal attack, seizing the prince and princess by their hair and pummeling them. After some interrogation and slaughter of court maids, the soldiers seized the queen in her chamber by the hair, dragged her body, pierced her chest, and burned the wrapped body in the courtyard.⁵⁶ The king stood transfixed while the queen was being stabbed. Her brilliance and alertness, her meticulous attention to the appeals of the common people; her diligence, sorrow, agony, and efforts to keep the nation from foreign encroachment all vanished.⁵⁷ Wrapped in horror, the second prince, Uihwagun, ran away to Underwood's mission compound for several nights. When the palace was ransacked by Japanese soldiers, Korean soldiers of the Special Army fled the scene for their lives.

In this tragic chapter of Korean history, the Korean minister—in their customary treachery—countenanced the Japanese murder of the queen. Considering their high premium on the security of their own positions, which appeared then to be in the Japanese nook, their political options were limited. Kim Hong-jip and Chŏng Pyŏng-ha of the Old Party had assuaged the anxiety of the queen and ensconced her to her chamber

⁵⁶ Diary, October 8, 1895; McKenzie, *Korea's Fight*, 42–59; Homer B Hulbert, *History of Korea*, 2 vols. ed. (New York, Seoul: Hillery, Methodist Publishing House, 1905), 294–300; Robert Tarbell Oliver, *Syngman Rhee: The Man Behind the Myth* (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1954), 35–36; Conroy, *Japanese Seizure of Korea*, 306–307.

⁵⁷ A similarly, albeit milder, incident of murdering the queen Liliuokalani, the author of “Aloha Oe,” occurred in Hawaii in 1893, conducted by American minister John L. Stevens. Conroy, *Japanese Seizure of Korea*, 308–309.

so she could be caught by the Japanese soldiers. Although their acquiescence to Japan's project would be rewarded within four months by the lethal fury of the people, even nastier pollution of the public domain only began to emerge with the press.

Rather than publishing the death of the queen, the Korean ministers indemnified Japan against international denunciations, should the news be revealed. They even falsified the story, claiming that the Japanese soldiers were in fact "disguised Koreans" in Japanese costumes. The only newspaper in Korea, *Government Gazette*, a Japanese enterprise, quickly featured "the Royal Decree announcing the degradation of the Queen to a common woman," as if she was alive, defaming the deceased queen. For a while, the cover-up enterprise succeeded. Even Underwood believed that the queen would reappear.⁵⁸ The news of the queen's death and of political shifts—the cause, process, and implications of such an incident—were left in silence, thoroughly hidden from the public. Letters to officials were circulated, stating that the Japanese soldiers had nothing to do with the incident and that the soldiers were in fact Koreans in Japanese costume.⁵⁹ The news reporting the death of the queen appeared only on the first of December. The Japanese reported in detail on 6 January 1896 that \$1,300 was rewarded in the name of Kojong to the Japanese officials who contributed to the murder of his wife.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Diary, November, 1895.

⁵⁹ Diary, October 9, 1895; Hulbert, *The Japanese in Korea: Extracts from the Korea Review* (Seoul, 1907); McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1908)

⁶⁰ Diary, January 6, 1896. Yun records in the newspaper article that \$300 to Colonel Ishimori, \$300 to Mayor Maya, \$200 to Colonel Murai, \$200 to Colonel Kohoto, \$100 to Takamatsu, \$100 to Makimo, and \$100 to Fujita were granted.

The day after the queen's death, Yun vehemently argued to Kim Yun-sik, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ŏ Yun-jung, Minister of Finance, that moral courtesy at such a tragedy was to "publish the death of Her Majesty and do her all the posthumous honors."⁶¹ No action followed. Instead, Korean ministers were busy saving face. Yu Kil-chun, one of the accomplices to the murder of the queen, attempted to cajole Yun (to the latter's disgust) into publishing his innocence, since Yun was seen as a spokesperson of the Korean cabinet for the international press.⁶²

While the ministers were striving to salvage their positions, King Kojong trembled in his own palace after the brutal assassination of the queen. To redeem the king from his prison palace, the Korean Royalists—including Yun's father, Yun Ung-nyŏl—attempted a counteractive measure, later called the East Gate Incident, on 28 November. This attempt aborted in failure, and, as with the other fleeing Royalists, Yun's father escaped to China to save his own life. The chaotic state of the capital and court, coupled with the senior Yun's exile, was so precarious to Yun's life that his friends of the Chŏngdong Club advised him not to be seen on the streets.⁶³ Missionary teachers of Royalist stance fell into disfavor as well, with many foreign teachers and missionaries allegedly arrested.⁶⁴ Yun stayed as a refugee, mostly at the residence of the Underwoods.

⁶¹ Diary, October 9, November 15, 1895.

⁶² The Young J. Allen Papers and Warren A. Candler Papers, along with the Yun Ch'i-ho Papers preserve numerous newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and reports on and by Yun (MARBL). Yun's articles and news about him had been published in the *Nashville Advocate*, *The Gospel in All Lands*, *Go Forward*, and the *Wesleyan Advocate*. Diary, November 6, 1895. "He [Yu Kil-chun] asked me to publish his innocence to Foreigners."

⁶³ Diary, November 29, 1895.

The Japanese and pro-Japanese officials made a big fuss of the East Gate Incident partly to cover the murder of the queen. Like righteous journalists, they raised their voices in denouncement of American intervention in Korean politics.

Prior Attempt at the Newspaper by Yun and Hulbert (December 1895)

Korea urgently needed a publication that would report justly and reflect the Korean voice to the world. The imperative compelled Yun and Homer Hulbert to conceive a newspaper.⁶⁵ Hulbert (1863–1949), a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, had been invited by the Korean government to be an English teacher at the government English school for *yangban* children, the Academy of Academic Excellence (Yukyŏng Kongwŏn). When the academy closed for good and his teaching contract terminated in December 1891, Hulbert returned to Korea as a Methodist missionary in 1892 and launched the English journal, the *Korean Repository*.⁶⁶ For this periodical, the seasoned journalist Young J. Allen advised Hulbert with the *Korean Repository* prospectus in 1893. When Hulbert set up the Trilingual Press of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, he brought the press from Shanghai to Korea in 1892.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Diary, December 1, 1895.

⁶⁵ Diary, December 2, 1895.

⁶⁶ Homer Hulbert, December 20, 1891; Manuscript, handwritten, *Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, kaksā tūngnok kūndaip'yŏn*, <http://www.history.go.kr>

⁶⁷ Homer Hulbert, to Young J. Allen, March 16, 1893, Young J. Allen Papers, Box 7, F4, MARBL. The publisher was meant for printing books and tracts, bookbinding, and stereotyping. Hulbert was the manager.

The *Korean Repository* was first issued in 1894, setting its parameters around comprehensive issues in Korea.⁶⁸ The *Repository*, as with the *Globe Magazine*, addressed history, religion, customs, commerce, current literature, and the news of the *Government Gazette*.⁶⁹ While Yun was serving as a teacher at the Anglo-Chinese College, he asked his students to translate the Chinese scripts into English for Hulbert.⁷⁰ The communication between Allen, Yun, and Hulbert increased, as evidenced by correspondence sent to Allen by Hulbert on the *Kabo* Reform in 1895, the riots surrounding the reform of top-knot cuts, and Yun's refugee life at the Underwoods after the East Gate Incident.⁷¹ It was this letter that revealed the conception of a newspaper by Hulbert, who met with Yun almost every day, discussing the need for an unbiased paper.

Yun and Hulbert's newspaper plan flabbergasted Horace Allen, now secretary to the American legation, and John M. B. Sill, the American Consul General (worked from April 1894 to September 1897). Allen and Sill tried to block the paper, telling Hulbert that the U.S. and the legation would not endorse any American personnel meddling with Korean politics and would "come down on anything of the sort."⁷² While the secretaries of the U.S. legation were sending these warning messages, the Japanese press criticized American intervention in Korean politics regardless of the U.S.'s precautions against its

⁶⁸Sin Yong-ha, *Tongnip hyŏphoe yŏn'gu: Tongnip simmun, Tongnip Hyŏphoe, Manmin kongdong hoe ui sasang kwa undong* (A study of the Independence Club: ideals and movement of *The Independent*, the Independence Club, and All People's Committee) (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2006), 29 footnote.

⁶⁹ *The Korean Repository*, October 1898 (The Trilingual Press).

⁷⁰Homer Hulbert, to Young J. Allen, March 5, 1894. Young J. Allen papers, Box 7, MARBL.

⁷¹ Homer Hulbert, to Young J. Allen, January 1896. Young J. Allen papers, Box 7, MARBL.

⁷² Diary, December 2, 1895.

citizens' political action—and of its green interest in Korea's politics in the late nineteenth century. American missionaries, whose religious backgrounds reflected evangelical Protestantism, would not have engaged in politics if it had not been for the injunction of non-political intervention.⁷³ The anguish of those missionaries, caught between the American and Japanese government's outcry for "non-politics," however, lay in the suppression of common sense and justice.

To some officials, common sense and justice indeed comprised a nuisance, since the *Japanese Mail* marked H. G. Underwood, the Presbyterian missionary, as the mastermind of the East Gate Incident. The readers of the paper spread the news. This control measure took root as a political formula that would later resurface with the Korean Conspiracy Case in 1912.⁷⁴ Even a decade after the East Gate Incident, newspapers would denounce Underwood as a ringleader of the conspiracy. The paper at least correctly identified Underwood as a Royalist sympathizing with the king and queen. In fact, at Underwood's house was an honor bed for the queen, where Yun escaped the aftermath of the East Gate Incident. The Underwood couple had become dear friends of King Kojong, who sent, while confined in his own palace, a message for Underwood to come and visit.⁷⁵ Even the message could not fetch the loyal Underwood, who was under the U.S. prescription delivered by compatriot ministers.

⁷³ As for the anti-political stance of American Protestants, see Mark Noll and Luke E. Harlow, eds., *Religion and American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁷⁴ Diary, December 9, 1895.

⁷⁵ Diary, December 2, 3, 4, 1895. In the meantime, the Old Party of Kim Hong-jip, Ŏ Yun-jung, and Yi Chai-myŏn flaunted overly glib impudence and confidence.

Such a prison state left the king to abominate his own palace. Once extricated to the Russian legation in a transfer called *Akwānp'ach'ōn*, the king adamantly refused to consider the Japanese and the pro-Japanese ministers' advice to return to his palace. When the king and his family moved to the Russian legation—where King Kojong and the Crown Prince began to conduct the court—the political link between the Korean cabinet and Japan was broken. The Old Party, collaborating with Japan, reigned a little over a year after the *Kabo* Reform in 1895 to 11 February 1896. Kim Hong-jip, ex-prime minister, and Chŏng Pyŏng-ha, who had appeared omnipotent in the government for one year, were beheaded by the “fury of the mob.”⁷⁶ Ŏ Yun-chung, who had fled to the U.S., was murdered on 9 February 1896 by a few assassins dispatched from Seoul.⁷⁷ The other Old Party members, Sŏ Kwang-pum, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Cho Hui-Yŏn, and Yu Kil-chun, took flight to Japan.⁷⁸ The Royalist cabinet prevailed with Yi Pŏm-chin, the pro-Russian minister, who had engineered the scheme of extricating the king from the pro-Japanese cabinet.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Diary, February 11, 1896. Yun's record exactly concurs with Chŏng Kyo's statement in the *Taehan Kyenyŏn sa* and with F. McKenzie's.

⁷⁷ Diary, February 25, March 16, 1896.

⁷⁸ Kyo Chŏng, *Taehan Kyenyŏn sa, 1864-1910* vol. 2 (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'ansa, 2004), 158.

⁷⁹ Diary, February 11, 25, 1896. Pak Chŏng-yang became Prime Minister. The refugees of the East Gate Incident only a month before, such as Yi Yun-yong and Yi Wan-yong, became the Police Commissioner and Minister of War, respectively. The cabinet was transformed over the course of several hours: Yi Wan-yong as Minister of Foreign Office; Yi Pom-chin as Minister of Law and Director of Police; Yi Yun-yong as Minister of the War Department; An Kyŏng-su as the Police Magistrate, Cho Pyŏng-jik as Minister of the Justice Department; Yun Yong-gu as Minister of the Finance Department; and Yi Wan-yong as Minister of Agriculture and Education. The interpreter for the Russian legation, Kim Hong-nyŏk, rose to power after the king's transfer to the Russian legation. He became Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. His service was notorious for embezzlement of public funds for his private chest.

Apart from the U.S.-Japan's no-politics injunctions, the newspaper project of Hulbert and Yun was suspended during the turmoil of *Akwangp'ach'on* in February 1896. Many events provided a semblance of Korean independence after the *Agwangp'ach'on*, including the capsized cabinet, the rise of the Royalists and Russia, the recession of the Japanese Machiavelli, and a relative respite after the Chinese defeat. The paper project would have proceeded unless Yun was sent to Russia, commissioned by the king. Eventually the newspaper project of Yun and Hulbert was implemented elsewhere by the project of the *Independent* and its architect Sō Chae-p'il, backed by the progressives.

Sō Chae-p'il

Sō Chae-p'il had fled to the United States in December 1884, stigmatized as a soldier traitor of the abortive *Kapsin* Coup. In the U.S., he pioneered his career by means of translating Japanese documents at the Army Medical Library in Washington, D.C.⁸⁰ His savings provided the way for his matriculation at Lafayette College, graduation from the Corcoran School of Arts and Sciences at Columbian University (the present George Washington University) and Columbian Medical School, with honors.⁸¹

Yun met Sō in the summer of 1893. Yun, an indigent student, was conducting speaking tours and Sō was on staff, having attained his M.D. in 1892, at Garfield

⁸⁰ Sin, Sō-ŭng O, Chandra. He received monthly a salary of \$125.

⁸¹ For a while Sō studied at a military academy in Japan that did not benefit him. Japan did not welcome the escaping Progressive Party members, which made Sō set off for the U.S. His study of medicine in America earned him a position as a practicing doctor at a clinic.

Hospital. Yun recorded that Sŏ had “almost entirely forgotten his native tongue both written and spoken,” and was aloof towards Yun.⁸² Probably on account of Sŏ’s upward endeavor and acculturation in the U.S, and more because of his wounds from Korea (where his family with no exception was burned into ashes after the coup’s failure), Sŏ pushed his native tongue and compatriots aside into a deliberate oblivion. As the lone survivor of his family, Sŏ Chae-p’il did not look back and quickly naturalized in the U.S. in 1890. By the time Yun and Sŏ reunited in Korea in 1896, Sŏ had anglicized his name to Philip Jaisohn. In 1894 he married an American woman, Muriel Armstrong, daughter of Colonel George Buchanan Armstrong, the founder of the U.S. Railway Mail Service and a cousin of President James Buchanan.⁸³

Sŏ’s entrance to Korea in December 1895 was enabled by invitation of the pro-Japanese Old Party, who recalled the progressives and even courted Sŏ with the remuneration rate given to foreign diplomats.⁸⁴ The Old Party, consisting of Kim Hong-jip as Prime Minister and Yu Kil-chun as Minister of Home Affairs, suggested Sŏ a position at the Bureau of General Information on a twenty-year contract, which he declined.⁸⁵ Instead Sŏ took up a leisurely, albeit honorary, position as a consultant for the

⁸² Diary, August 14, 1893. Sŏ not only kept his distance from Yun, but he also did not meet with Sŏ Kwang-pŏm, another progressive, who was living in Washington for an entire year. Sŏ met with Yun in a business-like manner, in contrast to a Japanese, Neshiro, who invited Yun to lunch with the utmost kindness.

⁸³ Vipin Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988), 87.

⁸⁴ Diary, January 24, 1896. The Korean government’s offer of remuneration to Sŏ corresponded to a foreign minister’s salary rate.

⁸⁵ Diary, January 15, March 7, 1896.

Privy Council (*Chungch'uwŏn*), securing a lucrative contract for ten years and receiving a monthly salary of three hundred dollars. The cabinet also promised about \$4,500, a subsidy for the launch of the *Independent*.⁸⁶ The cabinet progressive members finally employed the cerebral Sŏ for the newspaper with this heavy subsidy.⁸⁷

Despite this, the support of the Old Party and the promise of the subsidy balked abruptly as the Japanese government, who suppressed the Royalists in December, diverted its pressure to the Old Party in January 1896.⁸⁸ Aware of the potential of the paper to subject Japan to international critiques, Japan had to muffle any competing voice to the newspaper.⁸⁹ Additionally aggravated by Korean revolts against the topknot cutting policy of the *Kabo* Reform, Japanese representative Komura threatened the ministers not to allow the paper project. As a scapegoat, the Japanese government eliminated Yu Gil-chun, a pro-Japanese minister, who secured the government subsidy for Sŏ.⁹⁰ Simultaneously, Japan began to carp against Sŏ, a prelude to his elimination scheme. In Japan Yu Gil-chun became unavailable, and the *Akwang'ach'ŏn* also took the life of Kim

⁸⁶ Diary, March 7, 1896. Yun received about \$134 a month for his service as Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.

⁸⁷ Yong-ha Sin, *Tongnip Hyŏphoe Yŏn'gu* (A study of the Independence Club) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1976). Chapter two is devoted to the point that the *Independent* was the collaborative product of the progressives and Sŏ. Vipin Chandra claims that Yu Gil-chun secured the position and salary for Sŏ at the privy council and the subsidy of \$4,500 for the paper's start. Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988), 106.

⁸⁸ Diary, January 31, 1896. Here, Sŏ poured out his anxiety to Yun in a frantic state.

⁸⁹ Diary, January 31, February 2, 3, 1896.

⁹⁰ Diary, January 31, February 4, 1896. When told that the Japanese were picking a quarrel with Yu Kil-chun, Sŏ said, "O, well, the quarrel between Yu and Japanese is like that between wife and husband: a fitting illustration of the close affinity between the parties!"

Hong-jip in February 1896, leaving Sŏ with no supporters.⁹¹ The subservient cabinet between the 1895 *Kabo* Reform and the *Akwangp'ach'ŏn* in February 1896 acquiesced easily to the demands of Japan. When the new pro-Russian cabinet was installed in February 1896, however, the progressives in the cabinet showed favor by providing the promised subsidy.⁹² The newspaper project, in the milieu of the Japanese newspaper monopoly, had been so long-awaited by Koreans that the Royalists, even after the collapse of the Old Party, carried on its launch.

The Antecedent of the Independent

Before the publication of the *Independent*, the progressives had published *Hansŏng Sunbo* (October 1883–October 1884), later replaced by *Hansŏng Chubo* (January 1886—June 1888), for the propagation of modern ideas.⁹³ The first paper, *Hansŏng Sunbo*, used entirely Chinese characters, catering to the interests of elite officials. As Korea contracted international treaties with the U.S. (1882), Germany (1882), England (1882–1884), Italy (1884), Russia (1884), and France (1886), the need to introduce knowledge of foreign affairs, economics, and domestic news commanded the provision of the *Hansŏng Sunbo* and *Chubo* as a window to the wider world. After its suspension for one year, when the Progressive Party members suffered the failure of the *Kapsin* Coup, the remaining progressives in the Korean government reshaped the paper

⁹¹ Diary December 15, 1895. Sŏ Kwang-pum was appointed as a minister to Washington, probably a trick to put him out of the cabinet.

⁹² Sin, 16.

⁹³ Chŏng, vol. 1, 95.

in January 1886 as the weekly *Hansǒng Chubo*. This second paper took a step forward by mixing Korean scripts with Chinese characters, thereby targeting a broader audience. Except for the minor change of language, however, the *Hansǒng Chubo* did not overcome its prior orientation of the *Hansǒng Sunbo* in terms of content and approach; the editors remained of the same pedigree with no external experiences.⁹⁴ The progressives' yearning for Korea's modernization saw a radical change with the introduction of Sǒ.

When Sǒ prepared for the paper in Korea, Yun had been reinstated from the status of refugee at Underwood's residence to Vice Minister of Education and Foreign Office. Sǒ's aloofness to Yun in the U.S. spontaneously thawed to amity, especially in Sǒ's desire to let his American bride live in the American compound.⁹⁵ Moreover, given Yun's education in China and America, Sǒ found no other interlocutor more articulate and conversant in ideas of democracy, popular education, freedom of speech, public morality, physical labor, egalitarianism, and the constitutional government he was about to introduce to Korea.

The consultation with Yun lasted only a couple of months because Yun would be dispatched to Russia. After Sǒ saw off Yun on the first of April, the *Independent* had its first issue on 7 April 1896. With the help of progressive ministers, Sǒ used his acumen in business to buy the press from Japan, use the building provided by the cabinet, and set up

⁹⁴ Kwang-rin Yi, *Han'guk Kaehwa Sa Yǒn'gu* (A history of the enlightenment period in Korea) (Seoul: Iljokak, 1969). "*Hansǒng Sunbo wa Hansǒng chubo e taehan ilgoch'al*" (A study on Hansǒng Sunbo and Hansǒng Weekly).

⁹⁵ Diary, December 26, 1895. "So Jai Pil or Dr. Philip Jaison is in Seoul. He is now an American citizen. He tries to find a boarding place among the Americans."

delivery booths in remote provinces. Homer Hulbert of the Trilingual Press helped Sŏ with two printing mechanics.⁹⁶ Sŏ then flaunted his pen with great vigor on democratic government and society, about which his twelve-year residence in America had inscribed vivid visions in his heart.

The painful failure of the *Kapsin* Coup—having been ascribed to its reliance on Japan, the intervention of China, and the absence of Korean popular support—had already set the steerage of the paper.⁹⁷ The ideal of independence, as fixed in the name of the paper, and the goal of popular education were a corollary to such causes of failure. The best way to educate the masses was to use their daily language. The *Independent* (April 1896—December 1899) thus marked the history of Korea as the first thoroughly Korean newspaper.

The Hangŭl Newspaper

To see how innovative the *Independent*'s use of Hangŭl was, one can simply contrast it with the unique context of the Korean Yi Dynasty. Confucian classics and scholars adjudicated the legitimacy of the founder of the dynasty, Yi Sŏng-gye. Subsequently, Confucian scholars defined the country's laws, government, and social contracts in Chinese for five centuries. Owing to such a Confucian prevalence, the

⁹⁶ Sŏ, Chae-p'il, *Sŏchae-p'il Chasŏjŏn* (An autobiography of Sŏ), 214. Sin, 29. Se-ung O, *Dr. Philip Jaisohn's Reform Movement, 1896-1898: A Critical Appraisal of the Independence Club* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1995), 20.

⁹⁷ Philip Jaisohn, *My Days in Korea and Other Essays*, Sun-pyo Hong, ed. (Seoul Institute for Modern Korean Studies, Yonsei University 1999).

Korean alphabets, called *Ŏnmun* or *Hangŭl*, which had been created by the Great King Sejong and his commission to a committee, Chiphyŏnjŏn in 1446, was relegated to the language of the low class and slighted by the Confucian *yangban* scholars.⁹⁸ In such a context, the whole *Hangŭl* paper evinced both in unequivocal terms and a provocative manner that ordinary Koreans were the main force of the nation.

Empowering the masses by endowing access to knowledge, the *Independent* paved a road favorable to the establishment of a democratic society. The cultural approach using *Hangŭl* evoked a sympathetic chord among the people and effectively spread the modern ideal of civil rights. During the heyday of imperial aggressions—especially when Korea was pulled asunder among Japan, Russia, and China—circulation of the ideas of popular rights, egalitarianism, independence, and national sovereignty escalated a subversive force. The diffusion of knowledge to the popular masses threatened the centralized system of the monarch and its subjects, the Japanese imperial scheme, Russian expansionism, and the Chinese grip on Korea.

Although Sŏ has been accredited for the creation of the *Independent* and its emblem of the Korean language, Sŏ was neither a Korean citizen nor proficient in the language. He had even pretended to forget Korean while in the United States until 1893, as aforementioned. What brought the Korean section of the *Independent* to a memorable success was the role of a more elusive figure, Chu Si-kyŏng, a prominent champion of the Korean language, whom So encountered at Paejae Academy in Korea.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁸ Korean was limitedly used for interpreting Chinese texts, especially those on agriculture, sericulture, medicine, and Buddhist scriptures. Sin, 20 (footnote).

⁹⁹ Diary, December 26, 1895.

Independent's colossal contribution to the Korean people rested in fact in the hands of Chu Si-kyŏng, who had been a Korean editor of newspapers at Paejae Academy. Chu Si-kyŏng poured his passion for and professionalism in Korean into the *Independent*.¹⁰⁰

Lesser-known to the public was the role of Yun Ch'i-ho, who remained throughout the colonial period in Korea as an adamant champion of *Hangŭl*. Yun's support of *Hangŭl* led him to be affiliated with Chŏngŭmhoe, a society organized in 1926 in order to encourage the study and propagation of *Hangŭl* and *Hunminjŏngŭm*.¹⁰¹ In line with the motive of the Great King Sejong who prioritized the education of the masses on inventing *Hangŭl*, Yun hoped that the Korean Bible would be in the hands of the entire Korean people. T. Stanley Soltau recorded the long address of Yun in 1926, during the heyday of colonial demand of the use of the Japanese language in Korea:

“The greatest treasure that the Korea of old neglected was her wonderful alphabet invented about 400 years ago. For various reasons it became so degraded and dishonored in the next few hundred years that finally not only the literati, but even the common people were ashamed to admit any acquaintance with it.” He [Yun] recounted an experience of his own thirty years before, when he acted as interpreter at the American Legation. “One day the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon. Kim Hong Chip, one of the progressives of the day, came to the Legation and, in the course of their discussion, the American Minister suggested that hereafter all communications should not be in the difficult Chinese characters but in easy, simple Korean. The Minister of Foreign Affairs became all red, and in an angry tone spoke: ‘I don't know Un-mun.’ Think of a Cabinet minister a progressive not knowing his own alphabet and not being ashamed to admit it in the presence of a foreign minister. It was the Bible Society which really re-

¹⁰⁰ Sin Yong-ha, *Tongnip Hyŏphoe Yŏn'gu* (A study of the Independence Club) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1976), 20. Sin Yong-ha argues that Chu was the unavoidable choice of Sŏ as a chief assistant for the Korean section of the *Independent*.

¹⁰¹ “Chŏngŭmhoe ch'anggi (Organization of the Chŏngŭmhoe).” *Tonggwang* (The Eastern Light) 8 (December 1926): 532. The society celebrated King Sejong's invention and publication of *Hangŭl* and *Hunmin chŏngŭm* in September 29, 1446, which originated the *Hangŭl* memorial day on October 9 at present.

discovered it, as it were, and popularized it to enjoy its present prestige. Of course, we Christians are thankful that the Bible Society has brought the Bible in our own language to us; but if we were non-Christians or even anti-Christians, we should yet feel grateful toward the Bible Society for this great service of 'resurrecting' and popularizing the Korean alphabet."¹⁰²

While in the U. S., Yun had read about the role of Yi Ung-ch'an working with Scottish missionary John Ross and their collaborative translation of the Bible into Korean on the Manchurian border. Yun ascribed the popularization of the Korean language primarily to the missional efforts of the British Bible Society. Regardless of Yun's belief in the Korean language, his command of English was so notable that both Homer Hulbert and Sŏ Chae-p'il viewed him as the most qualified editor in Korea for the English newspaper and the English *Independent*.

Yun's support of Hangŭl was combined with his patronage of Korean history. He deplored that Koreans learned only Chinese classics and history from their educational primers.¹⁰³ Like *Sirhak* scholars who strived to reclaim national history, Yun's interests included the restoration of national history:¹⁰⁴

I have been trying but in vain, to teach my brother a Korean History instead of the usual Chinese history or Tong'gam. The teacher does not like the change, while my father positively prefers to have him (the boy) taught the Chinese history. He says: "Let them be grounded in Chinese history, then read Korean history as a pastime story book. In public documents reference to events in Chinese history is understood by all; but who knows anything about what any of Korea's Kings has

¹⁰² T. Stanley Soltau, *Korea; the Hermit Nation and Its Response to Christianity* (New York, Toronto: World Dominion Press, 1932), 80.

¹⁰³ Diary, December 18, 28, 1900.

¹⁰⁴ Ki-Baik Lee, *Han'guk Sa Sillon* (A new history of Korea) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 236. Among *Sirhak* scholars, Yi Su-gwang (1563–1628) paid attention to Korean history. Yi Ik addressed Korean history in his *Sŏngho Sasŏl*. An Chŏng-bok, a disciple of Yi Ik, wrote a major historical work, *Tongsa Kangmok* (Annotated account of Korean history, 1778), and Han Ch'i-yun wrote *Haedong yŏksa* (History of Korea).

done?” For similar reasons he prefers in Chinese 1,000 characters classic to a collection of useful and easy characters I have made for my boys. A Korean minister spurning whatever is Korean with contempt?¹⁰⁵

Yun would question how anyone could restore their self-esteem if not studying their own history and language. Despite his conviction, ironically, what Yun authored was *Yuhak Chach'wi*, a collection of useful Chinese characters containing 1,200 Chinese phrases. Considering the pervasive use of Chinese, Yun composed the primer for young students' daily use, not for the scholar's pursuit of Chinese classics and literature. Yun's primary concern, therefore, was the pragmatic use of the Chinese language by ordinary people.¹⁰⁶

The English Independent (January 1896)

As Hulbert had done, Sŏ approached Yun in the beginning of 1896 with the blueprint of the *Independent*.¹⁰⁷ No one had such a long and deep exposure to American democracy and its constitutional system, thereby the concept of popular sovereignty, as Yun and Sŏ did. Given their shared experience as the first Korean students in the U.S., Sŏ's suggestion for Yun to edit the English *Independent* was an inevitable choice. Their mediator stance in the tug of internecine altercations of the Korean government especially made Sŏ and Yun even closer and more qualified for the *Independent*. Yun's fluency in three foreign languages (Chinese, Japanese, and English) and his understanding of the

¹⁰⁵ November 1, 1904.

¹⁰⁶ Yun Ch'i-ho, *Yuhak chach'wi*, Kwanghak Sŏp'o, Yunghŭi 3 (1909).

¹⁰⁷ Diary, January 28, 1896.

sociopolitical strengths of China, Japan, and the U.S. through his ten-year study had made him a man of international communication and knowledge unmatched by other colleagues.¹⁰⁸ Yun's charge of the English *Independent*, however, was delayed for ten months because of a royal mission to Russia involving his accompaniment of the queen's relative, Min Yǒng-hwan, to the coronation of the Russian czar, Nicholas II. The Imperial University of St. Petersburg asked Yun to be in charge of their Korean department starting in January 1897, since the minister of education in St. Petersburg deemed Yun as to possess "a thorough knowledge of the language, history, and present conditions of Korea."¹⁰⁹ Single-minded for Korea, however, Yun headed back after the Russian mission.

When Yun Ch'i-ho returned to Korea on 27 January 1897, a group of friends gathered to welcome his return at the Underwood's residence. One might call the gathering an American network of missionaries and Korean pioneers: Yun Ch'i-ho, Min Yǒng-hwan, Sǒ Chae-p'il, the couple of C. F. Reid, M'Leavy Brown, and the Underwoods.¹¹⁰ Yun heard here that the conscientious financial consultant, Brown, checked the king's squander of money by advising that building roads should be preferred to constructing palaces and increasing debts. By then, Sǒ's criticisms of the government were no longer disguised. He advised Yun "not to accept any office even if

¹⁰⁸ Diary, February 23, 1895.

¹⁰⁹ Official letter from Minister of Instruction, St. Petersburg, 14 Juillet 1896, Yun Ch'i-ho papers, box 17, folder 1, MARBL. Yun's itinerary, invitation, and restaurant cards are preserved in folder 1.

¹¹⁰ Diary, February 2, 1897. This observation concurs with McKenzie, 64, 65.

offered.”¹¹¹ The ten months while Yun was abroad was long enough for Sŏ to become thoroughly disgusted with the corruption of the Korean government. The consultation between Yun and Sŏ resumed.¹¹² Yun needed only time to settle in Korea before his charge of the English *Independent*. Such a coterie of people bonding with mutual support and camaraderie would have made the *Independent* a staunch force of social regeneration, until an important disruption deterred Yun’s headlong plunge into the task of the publication. Such a disruption did in fact calibrate Yun’s religious identity before he would be able to tackle the *Independent*.

Seal of a Methodist

Before Yun would take full charge of the English editorial of the *Independent*, he paid a hasty visit to Shanghai to bring back his wife and children to Korea. Against his plan, however, a telegram was dispatched from the American consul, Horace Allen in Seoul, while Yun’s trunks and boxes were halfway put in wheelbarrows. The note directed that “Yun Ch’i-ho must remain in Shanghai awaiting official instructions.”¹¹³ Yun fidgeted in Shanghai, trying to decipher the message—probably some intrigue had brewed in Korea. Worse than the uncertainty of the Korean situation, Yun’s personal

¹¹¹ Diary, February 2, 1897.

¹¹²Sin, 14 (footnote). Here Sin claims that Yun made no contribution toward the paper, based on Yun’s remark that he did not know how to manage the press. Sin’s argument contradicts Yun’s paper plan with Hulbert on December 2, 1895.

¹¹³ Diary, April 24, 1897.

circumstance with no money, no position, no house, no call, and no fair outlook for the future harried his ego.

Stripped of all external accouterments, Yun passed the time translating English hymns into Korean. Not only did he feel unfit for the spiritual and poetical hymns of Wesley or Watt, Yun also fell into a spell of typical Methodist soul-searching.¹¹⁴ Besides his default on the Lord's Supper in the past three years in Korea, introspection of his life revealed his failure in other moral as well as spiritual affairs. Like those early Methodists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or Martin Luther in the sixteenth century, or even more remotely Augustine in the fourth century, Yun groaned with "self-abasement" and "self-loathing" in the process of self-examination.¹¹⁵ He saw within himself a crumbling man; wicked, deceitful, impatient, fretful, anxious, bitter, and unbelieving, revealing human predicaments. This introspection in Shanghai reinforced what he had realized in Paris on his way from a mission to Russia the previous year.

In Paris, Yun had undergone a spiritual abyss with some temptations. Troubled by aversion in his role of accompanying his superior, Min Yǒng-hwan, and subordinating himself to his capricious demands, Yun parted with Min and headed on a journey alone in Paris.¹¹⁶ In Paris, Yun ended up in deep distress by what he regarded as dark temptations.

¹¹⁴ Diary, April 27, 1897. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770-1810* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Chapter II, "The Marrow of the Methodist self." Lyerly pinpoints "torturous examination of their psyche" in addition to free will, falling from grace, and Christian perfection as Methodists' singularities.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹⁶ Michael Finch, *Min Yǒng-Hwan: A Political Biography* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 100–103.

If he had succumbed to those temptations, God would not, he thought, have overlooked his sins. The transgressions would be unnoticed by his most trusted friends and mentors, thereby successfully deceiving them in his hypocrisy. His moral rectitude and Christian spirituality, which had sharpened his Christian sensor, was now about to disintegrate. Facing this invisible collapse of his spirit, Yun sent a letter for help to his international Christian friends as an attempt to guard against the hidden seductions and corruptions of his soul.¹¹⁷

Yun's experience of uncertainty in China in 1897 took him to a deep spiritual abyss where human depravity and inability, his own in particular, lay bare to his eyes. Yun clambered toward Christian perfection, yet he could only find help from the Holy Spirit. He groaned, "If I could only trust in God, if I could possess the spirit of Christ, if I could give up the world and its temptations and pride, I should be happy."¹¹⁸ And he confessed, "I long for a thorough and thorough re-generation, a new heart, a new creation all over. No use looking for the peace of God until my heart becomes the temple of the spirit."¹¹⁹ This soul-searching deepened Yun's yearning for his consecrated life, "What a joy it would be to me if I could consecrate myself to the service of the Lord through an inborn enthusiasm!"¹²⁰ The intensified sense of human depravity, inability, and need to rely on God's provision for achieving righteousness (which Yun had confessed earlier while at the Anglo-Chinese College) resurfaced during his Shanghai sojourn and would

¹¹⁷ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Gentlemen, August 13, 1896.

¹¹⁸ Diary, May 3, 1897.

¹¹⁹ Diary, May 6, 1897.

¹²⁰ Diary, June 1, 1897.

be tried soon. The Methodist seal had prepared Yun for the scorching crucible of the *Independent* that awaited him the instant he arrived in Korea. In the midst of turmoil surrounding the Independence Club, Yun would confess, “I have nothing to depend on. The righteousness of the cause I advocate is my only defense.”¹²¹

Mounting oppositions and Sŏ's departure to America (May 1898)

The long ten-month travel in St. Petersburg and Paris, a two-month intermission in Seoul, and three-month suspension in Shanghai ended in July 1897. Back in Korea, Yun immediately shared the yoke of the *Independent* with Sŏ within a month of his arrival. The *Independent* had intensified its critiques of the monarchy, acquisitive Korean officials appropriating from unethical means, and foreign ministers conniving at corruption for profits. Sŏ knew that he would not find in Korea a more sympathetic critic than Yun, whose protest against inordinate expenditures on palace buildings and pervasive squeezing of the people by officials resonated with Sŏ's critiques in the *Independent*.¹²² The ministers who were circumspect at the beginning began to realize the publication's uncompromising line of political and social reform, and moved to raise overt opposition to it. Their pressing need, foremost, was to block the leakage of information on their secretive operations.

¹²¹ Diary, April 28, 1898. Yun replied in this way to Kim Yong-jun, who told him of the throne's disfavor on account of Yun's association with the Independence Club, advising him not to attend the club.

¹²² Diary, July 2, 3, 1897.

Japan had not been pleased from the beginning of the paper, with its declining political influence after the *Agwanp'ch'ön*. When the *Independent* exposed the news of the queen's death and the king's flight, Koreans were outraged against the pro-Japanese ministers. To make matters worse, Russia demanded from Japan the island that Japan obtained as loot from the Sino-Japanese War. Japan was forced to recede, preparing for the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. While Japan receded, Russia advanced in the Korean government, following the footsteps of Japan. Russian ministers used their supremacy for expanding their economic and political power over Korea, solidifying their stance while the *Independent* sought to undo any foreign infringement in Korean land. Russian military instructors countered the attacks from the *Independent* with overt indignation. The outstanding feature of the paper, education of the masses, suffered the brunt of opposition. Karl Waeber, the Russian *chargé d'affaires* at Seoul, became bold in his opposition to the *Independent*. He told Sŏ "not to insist on the importance of education or the rights of people." Waeber reasoned that education, the core of the *Independent*, made the people discontent and that the diffusion of such concepts as democracy and human rights bred the seed of revolution.¹²³ The Russian consultant Alexis de Speyer was more straightforward in his revolt: "An American party should stay in America, Jaisohn's paper is an American paper. The *Independent*, the Independence Gate, the Independence Park etc. are all nonsense."¹²⁴ While the consul of the Russian legation attempted to dissuade Sŏ from educational reform efforts, the Russian interpreter, Kim Hong-nyŏk,

¹²³ Diary, July 2, 1897.

¹²⁴ Diary, September 20, 1897.

eavesdropped on the king. Kim caused suspicion against Sŏ by saying that the “editor of the *Independent* would slander any person in the paper for the magnificent consideration of 200 cash.”¹²⁵ By the end of 1897, Cho Byŏng-sik, the pro-Russian minister, consulted with the American legation to dismiss Sŏ; So’s desire to leave Korea now overlapped with his dismissal by the ministers.¹²⁶ In the mounting opposition, Yun remained engaged with the *Independent*.

Facing the immediate and mounting opposition by both Korean and foreign ministers surrounding any meaningful reform in Korea, Sŏ foresaw massive conflicts impending any reform attempts in the future—just as in the painful past with the *Kapsin* Coup. Sŏ’s decision to leave Korea came as soon as the minister’s opposition, which was revealed in 1897 right after Yun’s return from Shanghai. After only a little over a year in Korea, Sŏ complained of “the personal sacrifice he [had] undergone” by living in the country.¹²⁷ He revealed his desire to return to America, but the liberal salary of \$300 a month withheld him.¹²⁸ Should the rest of his contract’s salary for the eight years have been paid, Sŏ said he would have left.¹²⁹ Regardless, the kind of work done by the *Independent* was not lucrative in terms of business, pulling neither rewards nor support

¹²⁵ Diary, January 10, 1897; February 8, 1897.

¹²⁶ Diary, December 13, 18, 1897.

¹²⁷ Diary, July 2, 1897.

¹²⁸ Diary, October 8, 1897. What Yun heard from Sŏ was confirmed by what Pak Yong-gyu told Yun about Sŏ’s plan, “He talks about returning to America etc. but \$300 per month here is a paradise which he is too smart to give up.” The words of Pak, and what Sŏ intimated to Yun, was confirmed by Sŏ’s subsequent move to the United States.

¹²⁹ Diary, December 18, 1897.

from the government. Only the “pathetic” people, too poor to buy the paper—circulating one issue among “hundreds” of neighbors—supported the publication.¹³⁰

Sŏ at first planned to sell the plant of the *Independent* to foreign investors.¹³¹ The prospective buyer turned out to be a Russian. Declining his offer of \$10,000 for the paper, Sŏ turned to Yun, asking whether he could take charge of the entire paper, requesting \$5,000 for the whole concern.¹³² The deal was profitable for Sŏ because the base capital at the outset was entirely furnished by the government subsidy of 4,500 won.¹³³ In addition, Sŏ received on his resignation the full salary for the remaining eight years of his government contract (\$28,800)—taxes in fact from the Korean people—without delivering his service. Furthermore, Sŏ would continue to receive \$600 for one more year from the paper in America.¹³⁴ Indeed, the *Independent* turned out to be a profitable business, offering Sŏ both money and honor. When he left Korea on 14 May 1898, over thirty independents saw him off with great affection and admiration, not knowing how he had rounded out his business concern. Sŏ had arisen from a national renegade in 1884—whom anybody could kill on the street without punishment—to a national hero among

¹³⁰McKenzie, 66–70; the description of Sŏ Chae-p’il given at the request of McKenzie.

¹³¹ Diary, December 18, 1897. As for the plan to sell the paper to foreigners, see February 2, 1898.

¹³² Diary, March 27, 1898.

¹³³ Diary, October 8, 1897. Pak confided his experience with Sŏ in the United States, where Sŏ’s diploma as a medical doctor, eclipsed by his skin color, did not secure much for his profession. He had to beg Pak for free housing in a room at the Korean legation, where Muriel had great contempt for Koreans.

¹³⁴ Diary, May 6, 11, 1898.

the simple people in 1897. He would not come back to Korea until the colonial regime ended in 1945.

After writing the last editorial for the *Independent* on 17 May 1898, in America Sŏ “could do little to help with the difficult tasks...in Korea.”¹³⁵ He served in the Army medical corps, joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, and finally settled on a stable and flourishing business: expanding chains of printing and stationary stores in Philadelphia.¹³⁶ Keeping his eyes on the development of the paper, Sŏ “begged [Yun] to keep up the paper by all means.”¹³⁷

Despite all the bristles raised against the *Independent*, Yun stayed with the paper for the people who could not afford to leave the land. He plunged himself into the epicenter while political storms gathered in Korea, paying the premium for Sŏ.¹³⁸ The money Yun could have used to take flight to America was poured into the embattled *Independent*. Any sensible man could see that the enterprise of the *Independent* was in a dire condition. The *Independent* was a sinking ship as a business, especially facing the mounting opposition of dignitaries in Korea. The only reason that bound Yun to the polemical paper was his conviction not that it was a good profit for himself, but that it was a good work for the people. Yun’s responsibility began with paying the \$5,000 to Sŏ in the midst of gathering opposition and impending debacle. A monthly salary of \$300

¹³⁵ O, Dr. Philip Jaisohn's Reform Movement, 1896-1898: A Critical Appraisal of the Independence Club (Lanham: University Press of America, 1995). 88

¹³⁶ Channing Liem, *The First Korean-American: A Forgotten Hero, Philip Jaisohn* (Seoul: Kyujang Publishing Company, 1984), 58.

¹³⁷ Diary, November 9, 1898.

¹³⁸ If he had not already dedicated his life for his own nation, he would have grabbed every opportunity to reside in the U.S., as with Sŏ.

and protection from the American flag—allowing Sŏ the freedom to criticize the Korean government and its officials—were not amenable to Yun.

Another staff who took up the troubled *Independent* was Korea's first Methodist missionary, Henry Appenzeller. In Korean historiography, Appenzeller has received no attention with respect to the *Independent*. Appenzeller had been the editor of Hulbert's *Korean Repository* and on Sŏ's departure helped Yun with the *Independent*. He received \$360 a year, and Yun, as a proprietor, would receive \$720 a year for the work.¹³⁹ Naturally, Yun's father strongly reproached Yun for undertaking the paper.¹⁴⁰ The unique educational function of the paper for the entire nation, however, was what dared Yun to take the risk. It became insufficient for the *Independent* to run only three times a week. After a little over a month of running the paper beginning mid-May 1898, Yun expanded it to a daily beginning on 1 July 1898. Despite personal exhaustion, he poured all of his time into producing the paper, while opposition entrenched. He often suffered anxiety concerning the editorship:

A week in the newspaper work—It is a hard job. Get dry after every issue. In this fashion, how am I to carry it on? Feel surprised and grieved that Dr. Underwood has not a kind word for me. He takes every opportunity to speak something against the paper.¹⁴¹

Yun's editorial was noted for its "spicy and scathing arraignment" of corruption in the nation.¹⁴² Yun hammered home various points of reform in such editorials as

¹³⁹ Diary, May 11, 1898.

¹⁴⁰ Diary, June 25, 1898.

¹⁴¹ Diary, May 23, 1898.

“What is independence?” “Is this what *Chung Ch’uwŏn* (the Privy Council) is supposed to do?” “The sins of the incumbent officials,” “What Taehan government should care for,” “Deploration,” “On politicians,” “On human rights,” and “The use of Korean Unmun.” Yun’s writing and editing for the *Independent* was an exhausting task: addressing the corruption of the Korean palace and government and striving for the benefits of the people. Lasting for two more years, the *Independent*—the first Korean and English newspaper—was immensely influential in modernizing and reforming Korea. It was suspended along with the debacle of the Independence Club on 4 December 1899, to be discussed in the next section.

Stimulation of the other presses

The publication of the *Independent* stimulated the publication of other papers. Methodist Henry Appenzeller began to publish *Chosun Kristoin Hoebo* (*Christian Messengers*) from 2 February 1897, and Presbyterian Horace Underwood started to publish *Kūristo Sinmun* (*The Christian News*) from 1 April 1897. The two weekly papers were published entirely in Korean and were unified into the *Kidok Sinbo* (*Christian Messenger*) in 1915; the paper would ultimately survive the entire colonial period.¹⁴³ *The Christian News* featured a series of articles on hygiene, agriculture, industrial

¹⁴² C. F. Reid, "Yun Ch'i-ho: The Korean Patriot and Christian Educator" (Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1914). Yun Ch'i-ho, to the Korean Daily, Hand-written, August 16, 1904, Yun Ch'i-ho papers, MARBL. This letter shows Yun's expose of Yi Yong-ik's corruption in the government. O Sŏ-ŭng. O examines in chapter five how the Independence Club eliminated the corrupt official, Yi Yong-ik, from the government.

¹⁴³ On May 1, 1901, J. S. Gale took charge of editorials, as H. Underwood had to return to the U.S. on account of Liliias' illness.

development, and world news while seeking Christian nurture. Underwood, as its editor from April 1897 to April 1901, dedicated as much as a quarter of each issue to agricultural and industrial knowledge. Underwood's articles of the paper on agricultural issues deserve a special attention in relation to the subsequent efforts of the YMCA to develop both industrial and rural work. When James S. Gale succeeded Underwood as its editor, the major focus of the publication shifted to reclaiming Korean history in light of world news, reflecting Gale's forte in Korean history and literature. Underwood and Gale also allocated a section for Yun's *Independent* in the newspaper every week until the *Independent* was suspended.¹⁴⁴

Yun started another paper as president and editor, *Kyōnsōng Sinmun* (Seoul News), beginning on 8 March 1898. As one of the four national papers, it was published in Korean twice a week with a special focus on commerce and general information on the world.¹⁴⁵ On the urge of Yi Sang-chae and Yi Sung-man—who would become members of the Independence Club as well as the YMCA—Yun opened a newspaper office in his own home. The paper was renamed *Hwangsoᅅng Sinmun* (Imperial Newspaper) the following month in order to proclaim the sovereignty and independence of imperial Korea, as pronounced in the inaugural editorial. The paper was expanded to a daily in September of that year and the office was moved to the town of *Kwanghwamun* in

¹⁴⁴ *Kūrisido Sinmun* (The Christian News), April 8, 1897–May 2, 1902.

¹⁴⁵ Diary, February 22, 1898; Such'unhakin, "Chosōn sinmun chapchi yōnhyōkkūp palhaengsa (A brief history of publishing newspapers and magazines in Korea)," *Pyōlgōngon* (New Heaven and Earth) 30 (July 1930): 22-27.

July.¹⁴⁶ Yi Kwang-rin argues that the *Imperial Newspaper* sought to provide a Korean newspaper written by Koreans, since the *Independent* was legally begun by an American citizen (Sŏ Chae-p'il), and the single alternative available then was the Japanese newspaper, *Hansŏng Sinmun*.¹⁴⁷ The *Imperial Newspaper* continued its life with the editorial staff consisting of Namgung Ok, Chang Chi-yŏn, Yu Kŭn, and Yun Ch'i-ho. Yun combined the editorial work for both the *Independent* and the *Imperial Newspaper*, while simultaneously expanding the *Independent* into a daily, beginning in July. The *Imperial Newspaper* covered Korean history, geography, and institutes, and introduced *Mokmin Simso* and *Humhum Sinso* of the great *Sirhak* scholar, Chŏng Yak-yong; in doing so, Yun espoused *Sirhak* thought as the authentic medium of Western civilization.¹⁴⁸ The paper argued that the reason for the Korean lapse in technology lay in sidelining *Sirhak* as heterodoxy by Neo-Confucian scholars.¹⁴⁹

Yun furthermore founded the press, *Kwanghak Sŏpo*, in April 1906. Through the publication of a variety of subjects from the East and West, Yun sought to disseminate

¹⁴⁶ Un-hui Ch'oi, *Han'guk Kaehwa Yosong Chon* (Story of modern women in Korea), vol. 4 (Seoul: Chosŏn Ilbosa, 1991). Un-hui Choi, *Han'guk Kŭndae Yŏsŏng sa* (History of modern women in Korea) vol. 1 (Seoul: Chosŏn ilbo sa, 1991), 196. Choe points to the *Independent*, *Hwangsung Sinmun* (beginning in March 1898), *Cheguk Shinmun* (beginning in August 1898), and *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* (beginning in 1903, which turned to pro-Japanese Maeil Shinbo after annexation) as four nationalistic papers. Kwang-nin Yi, *Kaehwap'a wa Kaehwa sasang yon'gu* (a Study of the Progressive Party and Progressive Thoughts) (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1989), 161.

¹⁴⁷ Yi, *Kaehwapawa Kaehwa Sasang Yŏn'gu* (A study of the Progressive Party and Progressive thoughts), 157.

¹⁴⁸ 韋庵文稿, 年譜. <http://db.history.go.kr>. HOI: NIKH.DB-sa-004-0110-0010. (accessed on 12 February 2011.)

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 186–195.

enlightenment ideas to the nation.¹⁵⁰ In Korea, *Kwanghak Söpo* had a parallel function to the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (SDK, *Kwanghak Sögwan*) established by Young J. Allen in China. From this press, Yun published his memorable *Hymns*, which contained three versions of the Korean national anthem of his authorship, still adored by the country today.¹⁵¹

The Independence Club (1896–1898)

A Debate Club

Whereas the *Independent* was primarily a pen club, its sister⁴ organization, the Independence Club, was a people club. After the *Independent* was launched in 1896, the Independence Club ensued in two months, where members discussed politics, economics, social issues, and religion in a democratic manner. The two institutions pressed on with an identical goal of enlightenment of the masses for democracy and modernization in Korea. Despite such commendable ideas, the printed *Independent* did not consolidate among the subscribers political actions unified and strong enough to bring about change in society. What made the Independence Club more effective than the *Independent* in

¹⁵⁰ *Taehan Maeil Sinbo*, April 28, 1906.

¹⁵¹ Yun Ch'i-ho ed., *Ch'anmiga* (Hymns), (Kwanghak sögwan, 1908).

achieving that goal was the means of debates, although speeches and mass rallies were later incorporated. Sŏ Chae-p'il himself called the club, in a nutshell, a debate club.¹⁵²

On 7 June, when Sŏ had launched the club in his office of the privy council building, he had a political clout among a dozen government officials and the king. When he suggested that the club build a public park—"Independence Park" with an "Independence Arch" (also called the Independence Gate)—the ministers nodded without indicating current troublesome conditions.¹⁵³ Building the arch incurred no personal sacrifice from the government officials—except for a little dent at the government financial department—since the primary source of the funds would come from subscriptions of the people. The officials had long been used to building and fixing ostentatious palaces and gardens. The Independence Gate, having a similar shape to the Arc de Triomphe in Paris—to which historians have assigned so many imports—was constructed on 22 February 1897, proclaiming the independence of Korea. To the great delight of the public, the old *Yŏng-ŭn* Gate, a symbol of Korean suzerainty to China where Korean ministers had greeted their Chinese counterparts for centuries, was demolished and the Independence Gate occupied its place.¹⁵⁴ The Independence Gate, however, did not initiate change. It only celebrated the independence from China that had occurred two years prior as a result of the Sino-Japanese War and East Asian political

¹⁵² McKenzie, 67. In an essay, written for McKenzie, Sŏ himself defined the Independence Club as a debate club. "The Independence Club," *The Korean Repository* (August 1898), 281–287. See especially, 286.

¹⁵³ Although the Independence Gate was constructed, the plan to build Independence Park was not pursued due to a shortage of funds. *The Korean Repository*, August 1898, 286.

¹⁵⁴ Diary, February 2, 1897.

situation. No one furthermore opposed the idea of Korean independence, including Sŏ and Yun, who had been indignant at Chinese impudence and its crushing intervention in the *Kapsin* Coup.¹⁵⁵ The visible proclamation of the arch, although an emblem, succeeded in communicating a sign of change.

What the Independence Club aimed at, however, required more than a sign or a symbol. It required first changing the thoughts of the people, then institutions, and then the laws of the state. How does change come in the thoughts of people with respect to fundamental ideas of egalitarianism, democracy, and human rights? The change of individual thought was to take shape through institutional changes so as not to repeat the failure of the *Kapsin* Coup. Ordinary people in Korea had neither observed nor envisioned a democratic and modernized society. In such a society, the enlightenment ideas that percolated from the *Independent's* editors to the paper's subscribers were a significant step forward, yet these ideas remained within the disparate minds of individual readers. What was needed for collective change in the next stage was an alliance of like-minded people.

The majority of the Independence Club members had neither former experience, nor directions for the democratic procedure for social change; they were passive onlookers to the unprecedented public assembly transpiring in and around the club. There was Yi Wan-yong, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his cliques with ulterior motives. Yi Wan-yong was notorious for securing personal gains by means of squeezing the people,

¹⁵⁵ Diary, February 22, 1897.

but was elected vice-president of the club at its birth.¹⁵⁶ There was also the Taewŏn'gun party, the Japanese clique, the Russian faction, and the Royalists. When Yun returned to Korea from his mission to Russia in 1897, each clique of the club—without common goals or a common direction—found itself out of place in the conglomeration of “indigestible elements.”¹⁵⁷ It would take still a long way to implement popular education in order to bring change to the minds of the people. On attending the club in July 1897, Yun found Sŏ and the club to be in a state of what he called a “farce.” Yun’s involvement in the club, as in the *Independent*, began in July 1897.

By the time Yun returned from Shanghai in July 1897, the arch was finished and the club’s activities lost orientation and passion, facing not only growing opposition both from the court and the Imperial Household Department, but also increasing indifference from the people.¹⁵⁸ Zeal for building the arch had cooled and the club, after a one-year existence, began to show symptoms of lethargy. People had sent money for building the Independence Gate with obligation and curiosity about its novelty. When focus shifted to the park, neither officials nor people responded, finding no personal benefit in simply sending money without tangible personal development.

Yun suggested to Sŏ that the club should focus more on the education of the masses, providing devices such as debates, a lecture room, a reading room, and even a

¹⁵⁶ Diary, July 14, August 2, 1897; “The Independence Club,” *The Korean Repository*, August 1898, 284. Here shows the staff of the Independence Club at the outset: An Kyŏng-su (President), Yi Wan-yong (Vice-President), Yi Chai-yŏn (Secretary), and Kwŏn Chai-hŭng (treasurer).

¹⁵⁷ Diary, July 25, 1897.

¹⁵⁸ Diary, August 5, 1897.

museum.¹⁵⁹ Educational activities, not only through newspapers but also through the interaction of people in debates, would impress on the minds of the people indelible lessons of democracy and modernization ideas. Sō could not have shown heartier support for Yun's ideas; he had already desired similar activities for the club but his suggestions did not initially appeal to the club's members.¹⁶⁰ Yun's suggestions enabled the beginning of debates within the Independence Club.¹⁶¹

Yun already had years of debate experience, especially at the YMCA as well as at Vanderbilt and Emory. He had debated on the topics of education, biography, religion, ecclesial union, economics, manufacturing industries, prohibition, endowment funds, politics, colonization, and international relations.¹⁶² Yun often prepared manuscripts for several days that brought him much success in debates and speeches.¹⁶³ Some of the debate topics required lengthy reflection, causing his diary to transform into a rebuttal arena even after the debates finished. Those reflections helped develop his own convictions that would eventually materialize in his life. For instance, in the spring of 1892 Yun presented in a debate team his case for the unity of the church.¹⁶⁴ His advocacy of unity was based on the rationale of economics, efficiency, progress, and power. Yun's

¹⁵⁹ Diary, August 5, 1897. Sin, 261–262.

¹⁶⁰ Diary, August 5, 1897.

¹⁶¹ McKenzie, Sō's description, 67; Diary, August 8, 1897.

¹⁶² Diary, November 20, 27, 1891; February 17, November 11, 12, 25, 26, 1892; January 28, March 11, February 17, April 8, 1893.

¹⁶³ Diary, April 23, 1892. Yun wrote on the organic union of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

¹⁶⁴ Diary, March 12, 1892.

conviction, formulated during this debate, later provided the foundation of his efforts for the unification of Northern and Southern Methodism in Korea in 1930. He had a successful result at the Intersociety impromptu debate in November 1892, the consequence of which compelled the debate society at Emory College (the Fewes) to elect Yun as its president.¹⁶⁵ He had also collected awards for speeches and debates. His debate skills were honed by increasing opportunities for speeches, including his summer speaking tours. Yun had gained the knack, dynamics, nuance, procedure, and beauty of debates that crafted meaning in the hearts of participants. The ample experience of Yun could easily help launch the debate club within the Independence Club.¹⁶⁶ His partner in this endeavor, Sŏ, was not so gifted in this area; he had studied medicine and chemistry in the U.S. for twelve years and was not so much an orator. For a living, Sŏ had engaged mostly with translation, paper delivery, and furniture stores, finally settling as a staff member at Garfield Hospital.¹⁶⁷ His teaching position at the medical school was held for only a short period. There was no doubt that debates were Yun's forte compared to his peers.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Diary, November 26, December 3, 1892.

¹⁶⁶ Books dealing with the Independence Club—and especially focusing on Sŏ—never mention that Sŏ had prior experience in debating. Sin Yong-ha, O Sŏ-ŭng, Vipar Chandra, Homer Hulbert, and F. M. McKenzie all address the impact of the Independence Club on Korean society, yet no one traces the source of this impact back to the most significant authority: the Independence Club itself.

¹⁶⁷ Diary, November 30, 1897. On the furniture store work.

¹⁶⁸ A newspaper clipping, Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL. C. F. Reid here described Yun's debating skills as "darting, aggressive, straightforward, and witty."

Debates cut across the oratory culture of Korea, where tacit obedience and perseverance were seen as virtues. In such a society, raising a legitimate grievance against unlawful governors was regarded as lacking the virtues of obedience, respect, and patience.¹⁶⁹ Individual memorials were often sent to Korean kings by ministers, but the collective appeals and oppositions expressed by the Independence Club were regarded as rebellious actions leading to the disruption of social order. Communicating one's opinions in a public venue, defending and disputing in open expression, and resolving conflicts through dialogic negotiation were novel activities.¹⁷⁰

Yun first organized a committee to decide the basic guidelines for debates.¹⁷¹ The first committee members were Kwon Chai Hyōng, Pak Sei Huan, and Yun Ch'i-ho.¹⁷² By Yun's suggestion, the club's first debate was on 25 August 1897, only a month after his return to Korea from Shanghai.¹⁷³ The club grew vigorous, attracting hundreds of participants; on some occasions the club had to decline people because of lack of space. The first topic of debate had long-occupied Yun's mind; he had confided to his teacher on departing for Korea, "The most urgent issue in Korea is education of the people."¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹Chandra, 9–10.

¹⁷⁰ "The Independence Club," *The Korean Repository* (August 1898), 286.

¹⁷¹ Diary, August 15, 1897.

¹⁷² Diary, August 8, 1897.

¹⁷³ Diary, August 25, 1897. The debate committee decided to meet every week, preparing in advance one topic each week. They would assign and train two pro-speakers and two con-speakers. The members were encouraged to participate in debate, promoting the increase of the audience. The side that gained the most ballots would win.

¹⁷⁴ *The Independent*, August 31, 1897. Sin, 262.

Launching the debate club, Yun envisioned how popular education would take shape in the Independence Club and then expand:

Our debating society started...As soon as the society has assumed a more solid form, a series of lectures should be given by Koreans and foreigners. Then a library-then a recreation room - then a museum, I shall try to introduce debates into all the schools in Seoul, this fall.¹⁷⁵

Yun geared the Independence Club toward what he thought as the General Knowledge Association, an educational institution, the idea of which can be traced back to Yun's experiences with the YMCA in the United States.¹⁷⁶ The Independence Club could have developed into a quasi YMCA; however, the club would be crushed in one year. Ultimately Yun's wish to serve people in a comprehensive way would find its niche in the YMCA that would land in Korea in 1903. The topic of debates addressed in the club encompassed the socio-economic issues of slavery, road pavement, hygiene, commercial enrichment of the nation, street lights, prevention of thievery, benefits of the vernacular, industrial revolution through the use of electricity and steam engines, the need of mining for the nation, Korean coins, modern education versus Chinese education, education of women, parity between men and women, iconoclasm, Western medicine, strengthening the nation, industrial development of agricultural products, the role of the newspaper for enlightenment, the vanity of Taoism, unity between the government and individuals, the drawbacks of conservatism, international politics, concession of Deer Island in Pusan with Russia, the disadvantages of becoming Russian subjects, and the

¹⁷⁵ Diary, August 25, 1897.

¹⁷⁶ Diary, August 5, 1897.

validity of labor for unjust concessions.¹⁷⁷ Most of the debate topics in the Independence Club and top concerns of other Korean cultural nationalists overlapped, but not many of those nationalists stayed or survived long enough in Korea to implement those concerns through collective efforts. Yun Ch'i-ho stayed with the Koreans and saw those agendas realized later, in part through his Anglo-Korean School and the YMCA.

Along with debates, speech events were structured into the life of the Independence Club. Based on their personal experiences with a modern and democratic society, Yun and Sŏ delivered immensely popular speeches, attracting hundreds of attendees. With the heat of debates and speeches, the Independence Club created a refinery of values such as justice, honesty, industry, public spirit, and patriotism along with visions of civil rights and democracy. Prior members who had been passive (doing no other activities other than sending dues) gathered around debates and speeches that stimulated dynamic interactions, turning the club into a forceful wheel for social reform.¹⁷⁸

Paejae Hyŏpsŏng Club

Junior students at Paejae Academy—a Methodist boys mission school, founded by Henry Appenzeller—also participated in debates as both Sŏ and Yun were teachers there. Sŏ and Yun guided the student Hyŏpsŏng Club at the academy and its debate club,

¹⁷⁷ *The Independent*, August 29, 1897; December 3, 1898. Sin, 263–267. Sin makes a detailed list of the debate topics.

¹⁷⁸ Sin, 270. The debate club was suspended on August 14, 1898 as Sŏ left for America in May and Yun was occupied with publishing the *Independent* daily in July 1898.

founded by thirteen students on 26 November 1896.¹⁷⁹ The activities that informed both the Independence Club and the Hyöpsöng Club indicate that the latter functioned as a junior body to the former. Individuals associated with the Independence Club and the *Independent* taught primary values to students of the Hyöpsöng Club, especially Sö and Yun. The student members of the Hyöpsöng Club swelled to two hundred by the end of 1897.¹⁸⁰ Beginning in the summer of 1897, Yun redirected the orientation of the Independence Club toward promoting popular education through debates; the success of these debates spurred simultaneous debates at Paejae Academy.

The Hyöpsöng Club published a weekly newspaper called the *Hyöpsöng Club Bulletin*, later renamed *Maeil Shinbo*, on 1 January 1898. The Hyöpsöng Club and *Hyöpsöng Bulletin* were dissolved on 3 April 1899, when the leaders of the Independence Club became imprisoned or were forced into internal exile. Even when those structures were disbanded, the ferment of solidarity already churning among student members led to the formation of a student association analogous to the YMCA in 1900. The student association precipitated the birth of the first student YMCA in Korea, at Paejae (1904). The students of the Hyöpsöng Club, in association with the elite pioneers of the Independence Club, thus prepared other young students for social regeneration and the

¹⁷⁹ Diary, August 5, 1897.

¹⁸⁰ Diary, November 30, 1897.

assertion of national independence.¹⁸¹ Celebration of the Chosŏn Dynasty was a token case-in-point.¹⁸²

Celebration of the Chosŏn Dynasty

Yun suggested that the Independence Club, along with students at Paejae Academy, celebrate an event that no other organizations had ever attempted: the 505th anniversary of the foundation of the Chosŏn Dynasty.¹⁸³ As with the organization of the debate club, Yun again organized a committee in preparation for the celebration, appointing notable international guests as key speakers.¹⁸⁴ Independence Hall was filled with international guests, celebrating the foundation day. Attendees included the U.S. ministers, the English consul general, the Japanese minister, two Russian ministers, and the Korean people. A student chorus from Paejae Academy was followed by five addresses: an opening speech by the president of the Independence Club, An Kyŏng-su; Yi Chai Yŏn's speech on "Duties as Citizens of the Commonwealth;" H. Appenzeller on "Obligation of Foreign Residents;" Sŏ Chae-p'il on "Korean Advancement;" and Yun Ch'i-ho finished the ceremony with his speech on "The Day We Celebrate." Ultimately, the celebration of the foundation of the Chosŏn Dynasty—an assertion of Korean sovereignty and independence—was carried out by a host of Methodist characters: the

¹⁸¹ Taek-pu Chŏn, 53; Min Kyong-bae, 59. *Tongnip Shinmun*, December 1, 3, 1896, "editorial," *Chosun Kuristo Hoebo*, March 24, 1897. "Hyöpsonghoeron" (On Hyöpsong Club).

¹⁸² Diary, August 5, 1897.

¹⁸³ Diary, July 2, 1897.

¹⁸⁴ Diary, August 13, 1897.

Methodist mission school Paejae Academy, the first Methodist missionary to Korea (Appenzeller), the first Korean Methodist (Yun), and another Korean Methodist (Sŏ). No one specifically talked about Christianity at the venue, but Methodist Christianity was certainly the driving force advancing the nationalist cause.

Subsequently, a celebration of King Kojong's birthday was held to highlight his national sovereignty and royal prestige by the Korean Tract Society, where Yun was a life member and the primary Korean engine. Hundreds of Korean Christians along with other luminaries attended the celebration. As in the celebration of the Chosŏn foundation day, which the Independence Club hosted, the celebration of the king's birthday featured the most popular speakers of the time: Yun Ch'i-ho and Sŏ Chae-p'il.¹⁸⁵ A great many attended the celebration, as if to pay homage to the nation in an unabashedly "Christian assembly."¹⁸⁶

Yun sought to recapture a unified construction of the nation and national sovereignty by the celebration of the king's birthday, a symbolic figure and the pinnacle of the nation.¹⁸⁷ Both Yun and Sŏ had deplored palace extravagance at the expense of the common people. Sŏ, therefore, had strived to create an organization to pressure the palace's expenditures while Yun lamented the king's myopic obsession with accumulating royal power. The manner of their criticisms diverged, however. Sŏ did not

¹⁸⁵ Yi Chai-yŏn also delivered a speech, more as a courtesy.

¹⁸⁶ Diary, August 23, 1897.

¹⁸⁷ Diary, July 2, August 13, 22, 1897. Kojong considered the suggestions of ministers who encouraged him to take revenge on the assassins of the queen, squander national funds, and elevate the king's status.

restrain himself from giving Paejae Academy students the advice that “one might kill his sovereign or his father for the maintenance of [one]’s rights,” whereas Yun’s critiques carried sympathy for the king.¹⁸⁸ Yun sighed, “Every time I see His majesty I feel like crying; for I love as well as pity him; but I can’t get near him because I wouldn’t lie and cheat him.”¹⁸⁹ The ministers surrounding the king had selfish motives for promotion and gains that blinded the perspective of the king; another source of Yun’s grief.¹⁹⁰ Yun suggested, therefore, the Memorial to the King and the All People’s Meeting.

Memorials to the King and the All People’s Meeting, February 1898

In Korean historiography, the Independence Club has been attached so much to the contribution of Sŏ that the All People’s Meeting—the climactic stage of the Independence Club—has also been treated by scholars as if it were Sŏ’s feat.¹⁹¹ Such an assumption fails to notice other primary agents and the role of Yun. As this study will show, the idea of memorials and the implementation of the All People’s Meeting were owed to Yun, whereas Sŏ only drove the wheel of the All People’s Meeting rashly toward

¹⁸⁸ Diary, November 30, 1897. Yun’s loyalty to the royal family persisted into his old age. At the age of sixty-five, his memory bound him to the royal family; he “visited Wang-ryu-chŏn, In-kyŏng dang, U-Hap-ru, Injung chŏn. These places awoke in [his] memory a train of sad recollections of the days gone by when I saw the last King and Queen in these places in the summers of 1883 and 1884.” Diary, May 29, 1929.

¹⁸⁹ Diary, November 14, 1897.

¹⁹⁰ Diary, January 15, 1898.

¹⁹¹ O Se-ŭng’s thesis is a case in point. In the chapter dealing with the All People’s Meeting, he does not make any reference to Yun. O. “Dr. Philip Jaisohn’s Reform Movement, 1896-1898: A Critical Appraisal of the Independence Club.”

its debacle, making a quick exit to the United States when the group began to run into a crisis. Keeping to the embattled Independence Club in its debacle, Yun struggled to the end with the Independents in Korea.

The year 1898 opened with overt opposition from both home and foreign officials against the Independence Club, causing Sŏ to mature his plan to leave Korea, while Yun was deeply involved in the club. At that time, Yun suggested that the Independence Club offer the king a memorial on “political themes.”¹⁹² Its purpose was direct communication between the king and the people on social and economic themes so as to circumvent the reports and intrigues of self-seeking officials. The people had been chronically neglected while officials obscured the views of the king. The palace was too far from the concerns of the people; foreign ministers too busy maximizing their own interests. German finance consultant to Russia, M’Leavy de Speyer, assumed the position of an overlord in home affairs, advising the king to dismiss some Korean ministers.¹⁹³ Memorials in this bleak situation would recapture the legacy of *Sinmungo* in the Silla Dynasty, reinventing public means of communication with the king on urgent needs of the nation. Hearing of the plan, Sŏ immediately expressed hearty agreement.¹⁹⁴ His explicit desire to resign and flee to the U.S. made no event too perilous for him to dabble in Korea.

Yun’s suggestion of memorials by the Independents might have been premature. A few cases of debates in the Independence Club showed more waywardness with a tint

¹⁹² Diary, February 7, 1898.

¹⁹³ Diary, February 5, 1898.

¹⁹⁴ Diary, February 7, 1898.

of violent disorder and emotional excess than reasonable persuasion and logic. For instance, debates tended to embroil participants into violent expression when addressing a provocative topic like “the submission to slavery is an insult to Heaven and Man.” Yun used to bring extreme views of the club to a more balanced perspective by making arbitrary comments such as “our country and our sovereign shall be equal to all and inferior to none” and “it is the misadministration of internal affairs and not the presence of foreign gunboats that threatens the safety of the Kingdom.”¹⁹⁵ Yun suggested that the club could inform the king of the realities of the people, which would enhance concerted efforts of both the king and the people for the betterment of the nation. On his motion of sending a memorial to the king, the club eagerly voted in affirmative by 50:4.

As Yun had done before in organizing the debate clubs and the celebration of the foundation of the Chosŏn Dynasty, he organized a committee of five and guided the procedure of carrying out memorials. However, an unexpected dissent began to surface within the club.¹⁹⁶ Those who were not employed by the government supported democratic principles and approved the motion, but those who enjoyed their government positions strongly opposed memorials by the club.¹⁹⁷ Yi Wan-yong and his brother Yi Yun-yong, both who held high offices in the government, were opposed to the memorial of the king. When Yun further suggested that the memorial should be held in both

¹⁹⁵ Diary, February 13, 1898.

¹⁹⁶ Diary, February 13, 1898. Yun recorded that Yi Wan-yong and Yi Yun-yong opposed memorializing the king, but after the meeting Yi Wan-yong said that he “really liked the proposition.” The article in *The Korean Repository*, February 1898, 74, corresponds to Yun’s Diary, recording under the title, “The Memorial of the Independence Club.” On February 13 an important motion to memorialize the king was established in the Independence Club and accordingly a committee of five was appointed.

¹⁹⁷ Diary, February 15, 1898.

Chinese and Korean so that “all classes” could gain access to “addressing His Majesty,” the motion lost by fifty-seven against sixty-seven. Yi Wan-yong repeated his opposition to the use of Korean.¹⁹⁸ The incumbent officials desired to ensure their monopolized communication with the king, which the Independence Club squarely fought to remedy.

Amidst opposition by those officials, the first memorial to the king was prepared by the five-member memorial committee that included Yi Sang-chai and Yun Ch'i-ho, the two future heads of the Korean YMCA. Once the memorial was sent to the king, the concrete actions for national affairs galvanized the club into another burst of animation. Their meetings swelled once again, with too many attendees to accommodate within its space.¹⁹⁹ In February 1898 the club became involved in political reform, oppositions from the government mounted, and Yun was elected vice-president. Sensing the ominous fate of the club its first president, Yi Wan-yong (along with Sŏ Chae-p'il), made a quick exit from the club. Yi's diagnosis of the palace reaction was correct, because even after his resignation the palace punished him by removing him from the political center of Seoul to a position of marginal magistrate in a remote province.²⁰⁰ An unequivocal message was delivered through the treatment of Yi Wan-yong: castration of political influence through a positional descent would follow the president of the Independence Club. Aware of this message, Yun filled the empty seat of president of the club in March.

¹⁹⁸ Diary, February 20, 1898. Yi Wan-yong, Yi Yun-yong's brother, is famous for his role in signing the deed of annexation of Korea with Japan.

¹⁹⁹ Diary, February 20, March 6, 1898; *The Korean Repository*, February, 1898, 74; O Sŏ-ŭng, 72; Chandra, 162.

²⁰⁰ Diary, February 27, 1898.

The club began to challenge the perfidy of concessions where national resources such as land, seas, and mines had been handed over to foreign hands cheaply. When Yun was elected president of the Independence Club, Min Chong-muk, Acting Minister of Foreign Office, was about to hand over to Russia 80,000 square meters of land for a coal station on Deer Island (in front of Pusan harbor).²⁰¹ Min's case was the latest of an old practice of ministers signing concessions with foreign companies, gaining private profits.²⁰² While Korean ministers collaborated with foreign agents, Russia followed Japan's precedence in taking concessions from Korea. The memorial of the Independence Club was to curtail those practices.

²⁰¹ Diary, February 26, 1898; *The Korean Depository*, March 1898, 109. Homer Hulbert, "The Deer Island Episode."

²⁰² Diary, November 11, 1897. Japan wrenched the concessions of laying the *Pusan-Nagasaki* undersea cable in 1883, constructing the *Pusan-Inch'on* telegraph line in 1885, exclusive coaling station on *Y'ongdo* off Pusan in 1886, coastal fishing rights in 1888, a coaling station on *Wolmi* Island, territorial fishing rights off *Kyongsang* province in 1891, building of the *Seoul-Pusan* railway line in 1894, exclusive purchase rights to coal produced in *P'yongyang* and building the *Seoul-Inch'on* railway in 1898, the free coast and inland water navigation in 1905, and the Department of Communication on May 20, 1905. While Japan feasted of concessions, other powers claimed their portions; China took the right to construct the *Inch'on-Ŭiju* telegraph line in 1885, the U.S. took the gold mining rights at *Unsan*, *P'yongan* province in 1895, building *Seoul-Inch'on* railway line in 1896, and laying of electricity and water mains in Seoul in 1898. The gold mining right of *Unsan* was shared with England in 1898. The move of the emperor to the Russian consulate for protection from the cruel Japanese attack in 1896 resulted in another participant in concessions shared by other world powers. Russia took mining rights in *Kyongwŏn* and *Chongsŏng* counties, *Hamgyŏng* province and permission to establish coaling station on *Wŏlmi* Island, off *Inch'on*, timber rights in the *Yalu* river basin and *Ullŭng* Island areas in 1896. Now *Wŏlmi* Island, off *Inch'on*, was shared by Japan and Russia. Russia also shared with Japan the rights to establish coaling station on *Yŏngdo*, off Pusan and ensured authorization to establish a Russo-Korean Bank. From afar, France secured the building right of the *Seoul-Ŭiju* railway line and England the gold mining right at *Ŭnsan*, *P'yongsan* province. Germany (which arrived in Korea early in 1866 for permission to trade) finally received the right to mine gold in *Kŭmsŏng*, *Kyŏngwŏn*, and *Ch'ŏngsong* counties and in *Hamgyŏng* province. Korea turned into a market in which the powers of the world wrangled for the rights to resources. See Yun Ch'i-ho, Diary, April 24, 1904. Yun was indignant at the concession signed by Kojong with the American Colbran and Bostwick Co., paying 1.5 million yen without any compensating service by the company. Yun deplored that the king made the contract under the illusion that the U.S would protect Korea.

At first, the club sent a letter of inquiry to Min on the process of the intended concession. A memorial informed the king of the need to keep an accountable and transparent administration. The club would censor the misdeeds of those officials, while the officials, servants of the people, would be responsible for the administration of the nation. Yun recorded,

While such an action of the Club can produce no change for the better in Korean affairs, it is certainly remarkable that a body of people should institute an inquiry into the official conduct of a Minister of State in Korea. The waves of democracy are faintly beating on the rocky shores of Korean politics.²⁰³

The hope for democracy and national reform inflated with the laudable cause of the Independence Club, but communication by the masses in the traditional monarchical society had to be cautious. Min ignored the inquiry of the club, which instigated members and made them inclined to make a headlong confrontation with the government. Yun hastily advised that a selective committee be first appointed to represent the opinion of the club, instead of the whole club confronting the government.²⁰⁴ In a sense, Yun was using the Methodist invention of intermediary groups of societies, classes, and bands between leaders and members. He also introduced to the club a nascent form of parliament, whose representatives would deliver the voice of the people.

In accordance to Yun's suggestion, the club organized a committee and sent letters to the minister of foreign office, the finance department, and the council of state, investigating any possibility of retrieving the coal station on Deer Island (already handed

²⁰³ Diary, February 27, 1898.

²⁰⁴ Diary, March 3, 1898.

over to Japan) and the nature of Min's attempted concession with the Russian Bank.²⁰⁵

The committee drafted their inquiries and sent a letter to the government, a measured and reasonable means that would hopefully minimize eruptive shockwaves. Yun tried to guide the club in regulated and informed movements rather than in impulsive and frenzied mass actions that could lead in an unforeseeable direction. The club had shown increasingly inflammatory trends in the past. Intramural activities like debates among club members had been relatively safe, compared to sending memorials to the king.

Yun was trying to take cautious steps of communication with the king and the government through a selective committee and cautious letters; at the same time, Yi Wan-yong and Sŏ Chae-pil suggested a "popular meeting" just before their exits from Korea. A few speakers, Yi and Sŏ suggested, would make speeches from the central podium of Seoul, exposing and explaining the concession of Deer Island and the current political situation (such as the killing attempt of Kim Hong-nyŏk). In the plan, other members of the club would stay behind.²⁰⁶ The plan also included sending a "delegation of the people to the ministers of state urging them to send away the Russian instructors." If the government would not comply, the delegates would threaten that the people would renounce the government.²⁰⁷ Through the speeches at the meeting, ordinary people would

²⁰⁵ Diary, March 6, 1898.

²⁰⁶ "On the killing of Kim Hong-nyŏk," *The Korean Repository* (March 1898).

²⁰⁷ Diary, March 10, 1898. Chŏng Kyo recorded that Sŏ told Chŏng Kyo to start the People's Meeting. O, 74. Chŏng is also reputed to have made a "rousing speech on the Russian concession of the Deer Island." Chŏng, writing *Taehan kyenyŏn sa*, seemed to have attempted to divert the credit of the nationalistic event to himself. O., 73. Vipin Chandra follows O's argument.

be informed of intricate politics and corruption of the ministers, the king, and the foreign advisors.

At the time, most participants in the club's debates were students from Paejae Academy, thus potentially the largest constituents of the suggested All People's Meeting.²⁰⁸ The rest of the audience would be the general public, who had much less discipline and concept of democracy than those students.²⁰⁹ Immediately Yun saw grave danger in the proposal of the All People's Meeting; to him it seemed like a tinderbox of conflicts. Yun advocated communication with the king through memorials; the All People's Meeting, however, would provoke the masses without the prior discipline of conflict resolution and reasonable expression of consensus. Revealing the provocative, albeit unjust, events of the government without preparing the public would only instigate the people to an uncontrollable revolt. Yun thought that a public hearing of the assassination attempt of Kim Hong-nyök or the return of the king to the Old Palace would be immediately inflamed to an intractable rage. Moreover, Yun foresaw that violent reactions of the people would at once give authorities the excuse to crush and punish the people as law-breakers. The commotion would furthermore provide an excuse for the Russians to threaten the king and to frustrate other popular gatherings. Yun told Yi of the potential danger of such acts, and he instantly understood Yun's admonition. When Yun repeated the points to Sö, underlining that the "delegation should not threaten the government as the people will not be able to carry out their menace," Sö replied in

²⁰⁸ Diary, March 10, 1898.

²⁰⁹ *The Independent*, March 3, 1898. The editorial deplored that eighty percent of Koreans were indifferent to the affairs of government.

laughter, saying, “the Korean people have no courage to rise against the authorities.”²¹⁰

Two months before leaving Korea, Sŏ had lost his confidence in the Korean people.

Regardless of Yun’s apprehension, the All People’s Meeting was executed on 13 February 1898. About 10,000 people assembled in front of the palace and requested the withdrawal of the 150 Russian instructors employed for drilling Korean troops. In response, the king sent a messenger several times to disperse the mass meeting, but the club persisted in the rallies until the contract with Russia was cancelled.²¹¹ The Russian minister then issued an ultimatum that all Russian officers would be withdrawn from Korea on the king’s notification within one day.²¹² Russia thereby underscored that its relations with Korea, with financial councilors or military trainers, should accompany economic concessions.

Sŏ Chae-p’il assessed the All People’s Meeting as a success, that the “will of the people” and the “Korean government finally asked the Russian Minister to withdraw their military officers and offered to pay any damage on account of the cancellation of the contract.”²¹³ While Sŏ described the All People’s Meeting as “triumphant,” McKenzie gives a different account. Because “Russia leased the Liaotung Peninsula from China, after having prevented Japan from retaining it,” McKenzie argues, “she threw Korea as a

²¹⁰ Diary, March 10, 1898.

²¹¹ Sŏ Chae-p’il in McKenzie, 69–70.

²¹² Diary, March 10, 16, 1898.

²¹³ Sŏ in McKenzie, 70.

sop to Japan.”²¹⁴ McKenzie’s view corresponds to the account of Greathouse. Greathouse argues that Russia was more interested in China and did not want to “get into complications with Japan.” The contemporary Japanese cabinet maintained conciliatory relations with Russia, but the next Russian parliament would likely incur a war with Japan unless Russia showed moderation in Korean affairs and give “no pretext to a war.”²¹⁵ Yun was aware of this situation. After a quick calculation of the Asian political situation, Russian officers and the financial advisor in the palace left Korea on 17 March 1898.²¹⁶

Around the same time as the All People’s Meeting, the Independence Club began to lose prominent members. Chairman An Kyōng-su (president of the steering committee), President Yi Wan-yong, and his brother Yi Yun-yong had already exited. The club had entered too complex a political turmoil. In March, Sō sold the *Independent* to Yun and in April received the salary for the remainder of his eight-year contract. In that month, the notorious Peddlers’ Guild of about two or three hundred hooligans was hired by the pro-Russian government to dissolve the Independence Club. Four prominent Independents received ten-year banishments and eight Independents were arrested. The king expressed his desire to “discontinue the popular gatherings in the Club.” Aware of the king’s opposition to the club, Yi Wan-yong advised Yun to leave as he had done. The

²¹⁴ McKenzie, 76–77.

²¹⁵ Diary, March 19, 1898.

²¹⁶ Diary, March 18, 1898. Yun opposed not the presence of Russian instructors and advisors, as Korean soldiers needed the skills of Russian army, but the way Speyer threatened the king through Kim Hong-nyōk, translator for the Russian Minister.

two presidents, Yun said, should not leave the club in its trouble.²¹⁷ Yi Wan-yong was appointed as governor of Northern Chunla province as a penalty, and people were arrested for unknown reasons.²¹⁸ Former president of the club, Yi Wan-yong, left the club; Independents such as Chung Kyo, the author of *Taehan Kyenyonsa* (A History of Taehan Korea), and Choi Chōng-sik were “awfully downcast and talked of skipping the country.”²¹⁹

Sientsung, Yun’s wife, on hearing the dangers and opposition surrounding the Independence Club, calmly replied, “you cannot back out from your position in the Club without damaging your reputation. I shall not let myself influence your actions in this matter one way or another. Only don’t be over worried.”²²⁰ C. F. Reid advised Yun to hide in Songdo, as rumors were afloat that the Russian minister, Speyer, would arrest the leaders of the club.²²¹ Neither the king, the government, Russia, or Japan countenanced the club; only the downtrodden and penniless stood by it. Rumors of arrests became a reality. The club members were all fearful of political penalties surrounding the club’s activities.

Once, Kim Yong-chun (Chief Police Executive and the agent of those arrests), attempted to dissuade Yun from involvement in the Independence Club and memorials from the people:

²¹⁷ Diary, March 13, 1898.

²¹⁸ Diary, March 16, 1898.

²¹⁹ Diary, March 7, 1898.

²²⁰ Diary, November 7, 1898.

²²¹ Diary, March 9, 1898.

Kim: If I were the Commander of Police, I would arrest all the fellows who talk in the Club and chop their heads off. Why the King is supreme in our land? To question his acts would be introducing democracy here.

Yun: If Corea were to go back to her old seclusion, absolute monarchism might work for her. But with all her doors open and foreigners watching her actions, Corea can't go back to the old time practices.

Kim: What do you depend on to defy the H.M.?

Yun: I have nothing to depend on, as you very well know. The righteousness of the cause I advocate is my only defense.

Kim: Righteousness! Sucks! Listen to me. I will tell H.M. that you will do your best to prevent any further protest sent to the Law Department. May I tell him that Yi Sang-chaе and not you is responsible for the letter?²²²

Yun opposed the sacrifice of Yi Sang-chaе (of a much lower rank) for himself, even though Kim regarded Yi a convenient scapegoat. Yun instead chose diplomacy with the politically unprepared monarch for democracy, although he initially proposed and implemented memorials. The debate club kept up its popularity with participants packed to the last seat, even under the severity of police-soldier surveillance.²²³

Russian officials withdrew in March without receiving the Korean government's remuneration. However, Japanese officials quickly advanced in their place. Boosted by the All People's Meeting, Independents demanded that the king "enforce the good laws in the statute books, dismiss evil councilors from the government, and give the popular voice a share in the management of the national affairs." They went on a radical stance, claiming that "the wretched condition of the country was due not only to the evil councils of unworthy men but also to the desire of His Majesty to sacrifice the ultimate welfare of

²²² Diary, March 28, 1898.

²²³ Diary, March 13, 1898.

the state to the ease of the present moment.”²²⁴ Yun, a pacifist president, had a great deal of anxiety about the radicalization of the committee, which had grown beyond his control. Contrary to his preference of the moderate measure of communication for communal goodwill, the Independents had taken on a confrontational stance. Regardless of Yun’s personal position, rumors were afloat that the president of the club would be arrested.²²⁵

The club pushed forward with the enactment of the Six Articles of Reform and the establishment of the privy council that would provide a fair voice of the people.²²⁶ At the insistence of the club, the king seemed to grant approval for the constitution of the privy council, where half of the members would be elected from the Independence Club. The Independents seemed to almost succeed in gaining their demand of implementing the Six Articles—where all classes would be represented at the privy council—although the contents of the articles were unclear.²²⁷ The Independents were enraptured by what they regarded as a triumph; however, in preparing to elect the representatives for the privy council, a historic debacle was waiting.

²²⁴ Diary, July 3, 4, 1898.

²²⁵ Diary, July 13, 1898.

²²⁶ Six Articles included the stipulation of the fair concession contract with foreign countries, just use of national funds, public trial of the grievous crimes, and appointment of capable officials. In addition, Kojong promised to carry out five reform ideas that he would establish schools for industry and commerce in provinces and lay off corrupt local officials.

²²⁷ Diary, October 31, 1898. Yun Ch’i-ho, “Kū tangsiūi ch’uōk: Tongnip hyōphoeūi hwaldong (Reminiscence of the past: Activities of the Independence Club),” *Tonggwang* (Eastern Light) 26 (October 1931): 35.36.

Debate of the Independence Club

Hiring hoodlums to dissolve the Independence Club, the conservatives organized a club called *Hwangguk Hyöphoe* (the Peddlers Guild, Imperial Club) in the spring of 1898.²²⁸ The Peddlers Guild comprised of Hong Chong-wu (the assassin of Kim Ok-kyun) and other hooligans who began to use violence to disseminate falsified stories.²²⁹ First, they posted fraudulent notices announcing that the Independence Club had overthrown the monarch and established the Republic of Korea. In the fake scenario, Pak Jung Yang was president, Yun Ch'i-ho vice-president, and Yi Sang-chaе minister of home affairs.²³⁰ The palace based its comprehensive breakdown of the club on the fabricated notice. The notice, conversely, recorded who the major players in the Independence Club were.

The general public had enjoyed the entertainment of enlightening lectures, spirited debates of the club, and the informative editorials in the *Independent*. Showing indignation and pouring out criticism were cheap reactions that could be made by people without having to incur much personal sacrifice. When the club entered the phase of fighting for democracy, however, the people scattered, simply shunning struggles. What the Independents regarded as grave struggles for democracy—fights against palace tyranny, corruption of the government, and foreign ministers—were viewed by observers as variants of centuries-old squabbles within the government. The people did not

²²⁸ Diary, March 7, 1898.

²²⁹ Diary, May 6, 1901.

²³⁰ Diary, November 6, 1898.

understand the importance of the six articles and the privy council that would make an impact on the common wealth of individuals as well as the nation.²³¹

The spirit of independence within the Independence Club was also about to yield to the old habit of depending on foreign countries when facing internal crises. Some people even invited the thought of calling on Japan for help. Yun retorted that turning to Japan would subject Korea to their dominion, underscoring that the “Japanese could never be trusted. They would use the offer of the Independence Club and threaten the King only to wrench more concessions.”²³² Yun distinguished calling on foreign countries for help in internal affairs from building a network of international fraternity and partnership. Moreover, informing the king in conciliatory memorials was more agreeable to Yun than unrestrained rallies and thorny denunciation by the people, in spite of their important political aims. Respect of the king and concerted efforts between the monarch and its subjects still mattered to Yun as part of his Confucian heritage. Between political options and nuances, Yun struggled by himself, finding it hard to usher the crowd in a constructive direction.

One day before the election of the privy council, on 4 November 1898, amidst the triumphant mood of the club, Yun alone was summoned by the king. Rumors had spread for months that Yun would be executed. When he entered the palace, the president of the Peddler’s Guild whispered behind him, indicating that an intrigue was already set in the

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Diary, November 13, 1898.

eunuch's quarter. The king asked Yun how and when the privy council would be elected and where Yun slept.²³³

Informed by Yun's reply to the king, the chief police assaulted his house before daybreak. In the case of such an emergency, Yun had asked his soldier friend to be at his room.²³⁴ That night, Sientsung asked Yun to hide in her room, saying that she would provide better protection than "ten male men" would do.²³⁵ As the footsteps approached, Yun slipped away on Sientsung's advice through the small rear gate, while his wife held the police in calm and dignified conversation. That night seventeen Independents were arrested.²³⁶ Two of them escaped after imprisonment, but Yi sŭng-man was recaptured and put in the darkest cell of the prison in stocks and chains. The next day, Yun later learned, was appointed for his execution along with the other seventeen Independents. The absence of their leader (Yun) allegedly made the chief police have second thoughts about the corporate execution.²³⁷

Chongno Prison (Hansŏng Kamok)

²³³ Diary, November 4, 1898.

²³⁴ Diary, November 4, 11, 1898. Yun's father sent a card prohibiting Yun from "venturing out until further notice."

²³⁵ Diary, November 4, 1898.

²³⁶ Diary, November 12, 1898.

²³⁷ Diary, November 13, 1898.

Yi Sŭng-man (who would work vigorously for the YMCA Student Summer Conference as one of the key Independents) was arrested in January 1899.²³⁸ An Kyong-su (president of the Independence Club as well as Minister of War in the king's privy council), Kwon Chin, and Cynn Hŭng-wu (who would be General Secretary of the YMCA in the 1920s) were arrested in November 1901, while Yi Sang-chaeh (who, with Yun, would be one of the top two of the YMCA), along with Yi Wŏn-gŭng, Yu Sŏng-jun, Hong Chae-gi, Kim Chŏng-sik, and Yi Sŏng-In (son of Yi Sang-chaeh) were arrested in June 1902 on account of a reputed accomplice with Yu Kil-chun in Japan. Those arrested would not be released until the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

The Chongno Prison in Seoul accommodated roughly three hundred political inmates, increasingly joined by the former Independents. The prison, however, was transformed into a furnace for molding elite Koreans into Christians. Yi Sŭng-man and Yi Sang-chaeh, to name a few, converted to Christianity at the Chongno Prison.²³⁹ Moreover, Christian inmates, in collaboration with missionaries at Paejae Academy and Chŏngdong Church, transformed the prison into the first modern library with about 200 Christian books in 1903.²⁴⁰ From Paejae Academy, Dalziel A. Bunker, its missionary teacher, brought a Christmas basket filled with 150 copies of Christian books, while its principal, Henry Appenzeller, regularly visited the prison, delivering the copies of *The*

²³⁸ Chong Kyo, Vol. 5, 3–14.

²³⁹ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Yŏnggwangŭi chosŏn sŏngujadŭl: Yi Sang-chaessi wa Sonpyŏnghuissi (Glorious Pathfinders in Korea: Yi Sang-chaeh and Son Pyŏng-hui). *Samch'ŏlli* (Three Thousand Li) (September 1929):15-15.

²⁴⁰ Yun Ch'i-ho, *Ibid.*

Outlook. Horace Underwood provided resources for religious counseling. The Chongno prison library thus preceded any other modern libraries in Korea. Along with books, medicine was brought by Oliver R. Avison, a medical missionary at Severance Hospital, when cholera swept the cells, making Christianity a religion of books as well as medicine. Yi Sŭng-man read aloud the New Testament—a gift from Miss Harold—to prison inmates, which pleased even prison guards. Simple reading of the Scriptures in the closed prison, accompanied by prayer and with the help of 200 religious books, was so powerful that over forty *yangban* inmates converted to Christianity. Not only did the prison cell become a library-sanctuary, it was also transformed into a mission school with regular classes for both adults and children. Yi Sŭng-man, the head teacher of the school, taught the New Testament and other general subjects, while writing a book.²⁴¹ When released in 1904, Yi had completed thirty-four of forty-seven chapters of his book, *The Spirit of Independence: A Primer of Korean Modernization and Reform*.²⁴²

A link between the Independence Club and the YMCA was thus soldered in the Chongno Prison, a generator of the “nucleus and backbone” of the YMCA. Not only did these prison-Christians occupy, after their release, such important political positions as Vice-Minister of Law, Vice-Minister of the Home Department, Secretary of the Imperial Cabinet, chief of the city police, and teachers of mission schools, they also became

²⁴¹Oliver, 48–68. Subjects like Chinese calligraphy, arithmetic, geography, Japanese language, and history were taught in the prison school.

²⁴² Syngman Rhee and Han-Kyo Kim, *The Spirit of Independence: A Primer of Korean Modernization and Reform* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Institute for Modern Korean Studies, Yonsei University, 2001). The book provides an introduction of three types of governments in six continents and five races, American independence from Britain, the French Revolution, histories of Korea, Japan, and China, and politico-economic implications of the recent incidents in East Asia in order to gain insight into national reform in Korea.

general secretaries and core members of the YMCA. The Independents like Yi Sang-chaе, Yi Sŭng-man, Kim Chŏng-sik, Cynn hŭng-wu, and Yu Sŏng-jun, after their release in 1904 along with Yun Ch'i-ho, accounted for the phenomenal growth of the Seoul YMCA in 1904.²⁴³

Local Magistrate (December 1898–April 1904)

On the night of the planned execution of the Independents, Clarence F. Reid snatched Yun to the Ladies' Home on the Methodist missionary compound. There Yun continued to write editorials for the *Independent*.²⁴⁴ He then escaped to Reid's house and to Henry Appenzeller's—Methodist missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South cooperated in sheltering Yun.²⁴⁵ The Presbyterian Underwood, an avowed loyalist, had hidden Yun after the East Gate incident but now threw critiques on the *Independent* and refused to protect him. Yun described his situation,

Where will all this end? Sitting alone in Dr. Reid's study with a French book on the lap surrounded by darkness and silence on all sides, I feel so sad. The present struggles are not worth complaining of, but the future! Risks and dangers, personal and national at every step, yet no hopes of success relieve the gloomy outlook! If I had religious zeal that will make me delighted in missionary work, I shall be happy to devote my time and ability, be it what it may, to the moral elevation—the only proper elevation—of my country.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ George Herber Jones, to President George W. M. Knox, Union Theological Seminary, September 15, 1908, YMCA Archives.

²⁴⁴ Clarence F. Reid. "Yun Ch'i-ho: The Korean Patriot and Christian Educator," John R. Mott Papers. Yale Divinity Library.

²⁴⁵ November 5, 1898.

Between the two pulls of national service and missional service, Yun had opted for the former. As Vipin Chandra points out, Yun equated the Christian impulse with the reform impulse.²⁴⁷ The consequence of devoting his life to the Independence Club and the *Independent* for the nation, however, was the club's debacle and his fugitive life. While in the Independence Club, Yun was profoundly disappointed by the depravity and dishonesty of the Independents:

What made me sick and hopeless is the discovery of the thorough rottenness of many, or nine-tenth, of the members of the Independence Club or the People's Meeting. Not one of them seems to have been able to withstand the temptation of stealing as much as possible of the money contributed by others. Such men as...in whom I had reposed unbounded trust as to their honesty and integrity have turned out to be regular thieves...Those who were loudest in denouncing the corruption etc. of officials have turned out, to my disgust and amazement, to be as unscrupulous and unreliable as the worst of the worst officials! Was it for these rascals that some of us sacrificed the welfare of body and mind during the year past? With such a people and for such a people, to start any popular demonstrations would be madness. The blood of the race has to be changed by a new education, a new government and a new religion.²⁴⁸

The "most revolutionary and innovative institute" in modern Korea, Yun discovered, turned out to be an aggregate of as acquisitive and dishonest Independents as those officials criticized as unreliable and unscrupulous. Corruption in the nation was pervasive and profound. For Yun, Christianity remained the only source of salvation for the nation; even more so when he suffered the debacle of the organization on which he staked his life.

²⁴⁶ Diary, November 15, 1898.

²⁴⁷ Chandra, 91–96.

²⁴⁸ Diary, February 1, 1899.

While Yun found refuge in the Methodist mission compound, his father—moved by the compassion of missionaries—began to realize the mission’s redemptive role, both figuratively and literally. He donated \$1,000 to the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as seed money for founding an industrial school in Songdo. The next day Yun donated his own property in Seoul to the mission—then costing between \$1,000 and \$1,500—for the establishment of an industrial school, indicating the shift of his life’s fulcrum. Yun would shift his endeavors from political reform for a strong nation to the focused task of educating the people.

At the end of three months of hiding in mission homes, Yun received the king’s grant of an office in an eastern fringe port village, Wŏnsan. Yun consulted with Horace Allen, M’Leavy, Brown, and C. F. Reid as to his decision. They all advised that a rejection of the king’s proposal would justify his enemies’ accusation that he was disobedient and disloyal to the king, one of the greatest Confucian injunctions.²⁴⁹

Ultimately, it was the foreign missionaries and officials that encouraged Yun to observe the Confucian precepts. Complying with the offer of King Kojong, Yun moved to Wŏnsan.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ January 25, 1899.

²⁵⁰ Ki-Baik Lee, 173–176. Although Kojong appointed personnel himself, the decision-making process was through the State Council (*ūijŏngbu*), the Royal Secretariat (*Sūngjŏngwŏn*), the Six Ministries (*Yukcho*), the Office of Special Advisers (*Hongmun’gwan*), Office of the Inspector-General (*Sahŏnbu*), and Office of the Censor-General (*Saganwŏn*). The system of checks and balances exerted on the king and his officials was in the hands of *Samsa* (*Hongmungwan, Sahŏnbu, Saganwŏn*), *yangban* who had taken the prerogative, accompanied with tremendous privileges, since the foundation of the Yi Dynasty. The system of bureaucracy chosen by the government after examination of the Chinese classics determined by reporting, conveying, receiving, transmitting, and deciding whole facets of the nation: personnel, taxation, rites, military affairs, punishments, and public works. The entire government, economy, and culture was swayed by those Confucian literati, called *yangban*.

Yun was appointed to a variety of places over a short amount of time. These included: *Hansöngbu Panyun* (a magistrate in Kyöngki province) in December 1898; after three months, to *Dökwon Kamri* (a magistrate in Wönsan district); *Wonsan* port judge; after one year to *Samhwa Kamri*; after a little over one year to *Dökwön Kamri*; after another year, *Hamhüing anmusa*; after six more months, *Chönan* and *Jiksan Kunsu*; and finally after six additional months, to *Musan Kamri*.²⁵¹ Yun was relocated quickly so as not to have any influence on the people; nine posts in marginal provinces within six years. The relocations were meant for dispersing and minimizing Yun's influence, thus prohibiting any formation of political force among the people.²⁵²

Although the primary plan of execution was the imprisonment of the Independents, followed by Yun's demotion to the fringe villages, a different punitive measure exerted its effect. Yun found his domestic punishment too hard on him to make any detailed records except for one simple phrase: "six-year knocking about in the provinces."²⁵³ Yun's otherwise regular diary does not record any details during this period, as it would his prison term in a decade. His social life was cut off. Yun recorded, "I have been in the city some time, but no Korean who is in the government or who hunts

²⁵¹ Kamri was appointed by the central government, not necessarily by the king.

²⁵² Ki-baek Lee, 176. The official duty of the local magistrates was "collecting taxes and mobilizing corvee labor for the central government." The monarchy used the national forces only to serve the interests of the central government. The county magistrates (*pu, mok, kun, hyön*) could serve no more than five years, and the provincial governors (*Kwanch'alsa, kamsa, pangbaek*) no more than one year in order to prevent one political force from coalescing around the popular leaders. The leadership and character of magistrates determined the level of people's suffering, as the local magistrate was the "shepherd of the people."

²⁵³ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young J. Allen, June 16, 1904.

after an office (and who does not?) comes to see me. Many prominent men are significantly absent when I call on them. I am shunned as the ex-president of the Independence Club.”²⁵⁴ The escape of execution granted by the chief police was salvaged by the king’s order to be magistrates of marginal towns. Yun, however, would have found imprisonment in Chongno Prison less lonely than his current isolated life. A form of affable community among prison inmates and visiting missionaries might have been regarded even honorable. Living for six years as an internal exile, Sientsung became much debilitated as Yun’s health also deteriorated. By the end of his exile in 1905, nothing was more telling of their hardship than the death of Sientsung.

Yun’s life as a local magistrate in marginal provinces, nonetheless, was not without advantages. Yun experienced something that other Independents or contemporary reformers—whose lives revolved around the capital—hardly experienced in their entire lives. Unlike those reformers and more akin to the *Sirhak* scholars of a century before, Yun had extended years to observe peasants and farmers’ lives in those marginal towns. He already had the new religious experience that other Independents were experiencing in prison. What he lacked, though, in working for the people was close observation of their lives. His internal exile provided him that opportunity.

In Wönsan, Yun learned how his predecessors had squandered public money on singing girls, bottles of sake, and boxes of cigars; meanwhile, mud, dirt, and dust tumbled in offices and urine stains putrefied every corner of courtyards. Ideas of using or saving money for maintaining public property barely occurred to prior magistrates. While the

²⁵⁴ Diary, June 19, 1903.

unprotected Koreans loafed around, the Japanese—who had capitalized on the Chemulp'o Treaty in 1876—flourished in the port of Wönsan. They monopolized the profits of sampans, blocked the local fishery, developed their own settlements by stripping hills of flowers and young trees, destroying the vegetation of the land. The simple people of Wönsan with nonchalant, even exploitive, magistrates resorted to superstitions and Shamanism. Stimulated neither by hope nor higher aspirations, the people lived day-to-day chasing after immediate material gains. The people in Wönsan had a degenerative notion of filial piety that descendants should reverently remain under the level of their ancestors' achievements. To magnify the honor of superiors was to lower one's performance than that of the superior. Respecting elders in this way prevented the people from pushing on for progress. Wiping dust in offices—as simple it might be—fell on deaf ears, only seen as a nuisance. Yun suggested building a new school and a bridge, which aroused in them no imagination.

Yun's critiques of the corrupt *yangban* turned visceral as he compared the extremely destitute conditions of those provinces with the squander of the palace. The king received misleading reports that Korean military products were more effective than the Western state-of-the-art weapons of his consultants, to whom the king entrusted millions of dollars. Ministers, rather than discussing the ways to ameliorate the plights of people, reported to the king, sugarcoated the state of national weakness and pretending to have invented weapon impenetrable to rifle bullets. The palace also squandered money

on Shamanistic practices.²⁵⁵ Yun deplored that the nobles advised the king that the prestige of the nation rested on the change of the title of the king to emperor, the nation, to *Taehan* Imperial, and the calendar year to *Kwang-mu*. The king's confidants advised that changing the names of years, the royal title, and the palaces would elevate the status of the country to an empire, not substance. Meanwhile, the people were exploited by the gluttony of officials whose highest ambitions were money and offices.²⁵⁶ These desperate conditions drove Yun to cast his eyes on Christianity all the more.

Yun's life in Shanghai had taken so much of the characteristics of a missionary teacher that other missionaries frequently advised him to consecrate his life as such. This continued even while Yun was serving the Korean government. On his return from the royal commission in St. Petersburg, Russia for a cultural investigation, Yun visited Laura Haygood of the Mctyeire Home in China. She exhorted Yun to consider a life fully dedicated to Christian missions and to serve the "eternal King of Kings rather than the ephemeral King of Korea." Haygood reminded Yun that his life would be most valuable when used for Christian missions. In response, Yun said that he would "make Mission

²⁵⁵ Diary, May 6, 1901. Geomancers gorged money from the palace, persuading the king that the queen's grave site, being on the inauspicious place, should be moved to a place that would invite fortune. Yun recorded here that the transfer of the cemetery consumed eighty thousand dollars. So-called physiognomists were sponsored by nobles and princes and received national funds in examining the face of the royal family members every night to read what the god of fate wrote on the "august dragon," and who could inform His Majesty with precision "who are loyal and who are treasonable." The palace was saturated with Shamanism while sorcerers, sorceresses, day paramours, bonzes, nuns, geomancers, physiognomists, fortune tellers, grave venders, and eunuchs—who prayed to the spirits of mountains and rivers—received tens of thousands of dollars on the excuse of evoking the spirits of the late queen and Lady Um, praying for the long life and happiness of the Imperial Family.

²⁵⁶ Diary, February 13, May 5, 1901.

services [his] principal work, and others only collateral.”²⁵⁷ C. F. Reid in 1900 still exhorted Yun in Wŏnsan for a life dedicated to the mission, asserting that “you never will be quite happy until you settle down to mission work, and then you will find that the school room offers a better field for serving your country than office-holding under the present circumstances.”²⁵⁸ Yun replied, cast down by the failure of the Independence Club and his life of domestic exile: “I know that better than anybody else. Yet I am no more fit for the Mission than for the pulpit. I can’t add hypocrisy to my other sins.” Yun’s posts were switched between marginal provinces until the palace summoned the former Independents to the capital at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. Yun was suddenly called by the palace to the position of Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. Just as the last flare of a flame, his public office service would last only a year until the Protectorate Treaty with Japan and his resignation in 1905.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea (August 1896)

Yun’s engagement in Christian missions had been only occasional until he terminated his government position in 1905. The nature of his involvement, however, was significant: Yun was instrumental as the first Korean convert to Southern Methodism

²⁵⁷ Japan sent a group of forty-eight delegates for an investigative tour of twelve Anglo-American and European countries in 1871. In-Su Son, *Han’guk Kaehwagi ui kyoyuk yŏn’gu* (A study of education during the enlightenment period in Korea) (Seoul: Taehan kyokwasŏ chusik hoesa, 1980), 20. Diary, January 23, 1897. Yun’s meeting with Miss Haygood, Diary, January 9, 1897. Like other Methodists who struggled with ambivalent values between secular and sacred, Yun suffered ambivalence toward a total commitment to Christian work and a desire for temporal recognition in the world. As for the Methodist ambivalence as seen in the case of Jabez Bunting, see David Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion C.1750-1900* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), Chapter 7.

²⁵⁸ C. F. Reid, to Yun, December 18, 1900. Diary, March 24, 1901.

and in opening the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in Korea.²⁵⁹ He also took a decisive role in bringing the headquarters of the mission to Songdo, his hometown. He preached occasionally at important Christian events. He led church dedication services on behalf of William Scranton, Clarence F. Reid, and other missionaries, including preaching a dedication sermon for the first Southern Methodist Church, the Koyangŭp Church.²⁶⁰ Yun served the first district conference of the church as the first secretary, Reid as president in September 1897, and in December 1897 along with other Southern Methodist missionaries: Clarence Reid, Charles T. Collier, and Josephine Campbell.²⁶¹ Yun's service to the Methodist Episcopal Church lasted for his life in varied capacities in that denomination. Yun's service of the Methodist Church was made in particular through his unwavering support of Ryang Chu-sam, the first Korean Superintendent and a missionary in Manchuria. Despite his own theological training and occasional preaching in the churches, Yun remained a layman for his entire life, serving his junior minister Ryang. Unlike Kim Kyo-sin who was noted for his stress on the Bible and non-church movements, Yun's kingdom-centric stance of the YMCA never sidelined

²⁵⁹ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Ch'angsang pan baeknyŏn e saenggak nanŭn sarandŭl (Reminiscence of the people in the turbulent five decades of the past)." *Samch'ŏnri* (Three thousand Li) vol.8, no.8 (August 1936): 43. Yun records that Christian enterprises were still at the center of his heart, while he was engaged in political service.

²⁶⁰ Diary, February 7, 1897. "conducted the service for Dr. Scranton"; March 21, 1897. Worship at Dr. Scranton's chapel; June 20, 1897. Reid opened the church right next to Mrs. Scranton's flourishing church, which Yun regretted, pointing to "denominational rivalries and divisions." *Han'guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of the Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul: Kidokkyo taehan kamnihoe ch'ongniwŏn ch'ongniguk, 1975), 140. The history of the Korean Methodist Church records Reid's first church was built on June 17. The Koyangŭp Church was later renamed the Kwanghwamun Church.

²⁶¹ *Han'guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of the Korean Methodist Church), 141.

the church. It is unsurprising that Yun, a passionate pioneer of the Southern Methodist Church, maintained his service to the church as its board for his entire life.²⁶²

Beginning of the Southern Methodist Church

On 13 October 1895, the year Yun returned to Korea from his overseas life, Bishop Eugene R. Hendrix and China missionary Clarence F. Reid landed in Korea. The two men paid a casual visit to Korea on Yun's appeal on their way to the China Mission Conference in Shanghai.²⁶³ Just a few days after the murder of Queen Min, the country was deadly silent. Every day Yun's diary was filled with horrible stories of the queen's death. The visit of Bishop Hendrix and Reid, however, occasioned the annual meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church for all missionaries in Korea. Western missionaries at the meeting were speechless, horrified by the spilled news of the queen's assassination. Breaking the silence, King Kojong, present at this somber convention, requested that the bishop send American teachers to Korea.²⁶⁴ Divine

²⁶² Kim Kyo-sin, *Sōngsǒ chosǒn* (Bible Korea) 92 (September 1936). Kim here claimed that his non-church stance had not been influenced by the non-church movement (Mukyokai) of Uchimura Kanzo (内村鑑三). Kim wrote an article, commending Uchimura Kanzo in relation to Kim Chǒng-sik. See Kim Kyo-sin, "Ko Kim chǒngsik sǒnsaeng (In remembrance of Kim Chǒng-sik)," *Sōngsǒ Chosǒn* (Bible Korea) no. 100 (May 1937). He also authored and published *Uchimura Kanzo wa chosǒn* with Ham Sǒk-hǒn in 1940.

²⁶³ Alfred Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea*, 12; Warren Candler, "On To Songdo," Warren Candler papers, box 96, MARBL; *Han'guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of the Korean Methodist Church), 102.

²⁶⁴ R. A. Hardie, "Korea Mission-General Work," ed. Ryang, 44; Wasson, 12; "On to Songdo," Warren Candler papers, box 96, MARBL; *Han'guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of the Korean Methodist Church), 104.

providence itself would have not reverberated louder in the ear of the bishop than Kojong's appeal.

The Japanese's murder of Queen Min heightened the need to strengthen the country, and the king became desperate for the modernization of Korea. Bishop Hendrix, Reid, and Yun were aghast at the brutality of Japan and the impotence of the Korean court when the conference was convened in Seoul.²⁶⁵ At once, the Bishop decided to start the mission. Before leaving for Shanghai, he ensured the purchase of property with the help of William B. Scranton, Mary Scranton's son. Clarence F. Reid, a veteran missionary in Shanghai for seventeen years, on this visit decided to serve Korea instead. The following August (1896), Reid was in Seoul starting the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. During the bishop's stay in Korea for a week, Yun's daughter, Laura (one year old), received baptism at the Union Church. Yun's (the first Korean Southern Methodist overseas) daughter was baptized as the first Korean-Chinese Southern Methodist in Korea.²⁶⁶

A decade prior back in Shanghai, a visit to Allen's house occasioned Yun's encounter with Clarence F. Reid, who had worked with Young J. Allen since 1879. At the time, Yun neither imagined that Reid would become the first Southern Methodist missionary to Korea nor that he would name his second son Reid. Reid's articles in the *China Christian Advocate* occasionally threw sharp critiques at Korea, making him

²⁶⁵ Diary, October 13, 17, 1895.

²⁶⁶ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Thirty Years Ago," ed. Ryang, 98; Diary, October 17, 1895.

hardly appear a would-be missionary to the country.²⁶⁷ Yun found, however, that Reid was dearly loved by the Chinese regardless of his apparent lack of an organizational skills and responsibility. Yun put a higher premium on interpersonal skills rather than task performance, and considered the gregarious character and amiability of Reid a great asset to the China mission.²⁶⁸ Reid, a former critic of Korea, eventually opened the Southern Methodist Church there, continued his missional service in San Francisco with Ryang Chu-sam from 1901, supported the *Korean Evangel (Tae Do)* edited by Ryang Chu-sam, helped found the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church, and dedicated his life to Korean Christianity until his last days. His son, Wrightman Reid, succeeded his mission, starting the Ivey Hospital in the Songdo Christian Village.

In Shanghai, Yun also encountered the second Southern Methodist missionary to Korea, Charles T. Collyer. Collyer served at the Christian Literature Society in China for years; a Christian bond thereby already established between the first and the second Southern Methodist missionaries to Korea. Yun's single tribute to the Christian Literature Society was later at the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, originating in his experience of its influence on Chinese Christianity in Shanghai (and later on Korean Christianity in Seoul).²⁶⁹ The triumvirate in Shanghai—Yun, Reid, and Collyer—was

²⁶⁷ Diary, January 28, 1897.

²⁶⁸ Diary January 6, 28, 1897. Yun records Young J. Allen's opinion of Reid: "If the Bishop [Hendrix] had asked me candidly whether I approved of sending Reid to Corea, I would have certainly said no. Reid has no head for planning a work or for managing money. Neither he nor Mrs. Reid, as for that matter, has the slightest idea of taking proper care of health. They don't know even how to manage their children who are let grow as wild as wild hawks." Contrary to Allen's negative projection, Reid started the Southern Methodist mission in Korea and his son, Wightman T. Reid, M.D. opened the first Southern Methodist hospital in Korea, called the Ivey Hospital.

later joined by Ryang Chu-sam, the first Korean superintendent and bishop of the Korean United Methodist Church, who would be baptized at the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai. The first female missionary of the Southern Methodist Church, Josephine Campbell, also transferred her station of ten-year service in China for the mission in Korea in 1897.²⁷⁰ These five Southern Methodist missionaries, having been either baptized or trained in Shanghai, now cooperated for the Korea Southern Methodist Church.²⁷¹ For the first nine months of the mission, the Korea Southern Methodist mission remained the “Korea District” of the China Mission Conference, until the Korean mission formed its first congregation in May 1897.

When C. F. Reid transferred to Korea in August 1896, Yun had been attending the coronation of Russian Czar Nicholas II with Min Yǒng-hwan (as afore-mentioned). On his return from the royal mission in January 1897, he found C. T. Collyer and his wife boarding together on his steamship. The first missionary of the mission, C. F. Reid, had already settled at the South Gate, Seoul. The response of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to Yun’s appeal for missionaries in 1892 came to reality through the arrival of these missionaries. The next step was to work towards a mission school and a Christian village in Songdo, as he had confided to his teachers in America and China. The dream of

²⁶⁹ 1910 World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission II, the Church in the Mission Field, with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 16th June 1910* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910).

²⁷⁰ She passed away after a twenty-four-year service in Korea.

²⁷¹ C. F. Reid was a missionary to China starting in November 1879, mostly stationed in Soochow. Young J. Allen papers, box 22, ff15, Unpublished writing; China Mission History, 1847-1882, MARBL.

a mission school was still vivid in his mind, which Yun had uttered to Min Yöng-hwan on their royal commission to Russia.²⁷²

No sooner had Yun returned to Korea from Russia, Europe, and China, Yun accompanied C. F. Reid by horse to Songdo, fifty miles away in a north-western province from Seoul. For two days through the bitter winds of winter, Yun and Reid searched for a potential future mission site.²⁷³ Yun explained his goal to the first person they visited, his uncle Yi Kün-hyök: the “establishment of a mission and an agricultural school” in Songdo.²⁷⁴ There was a reason why Yun hazarded a winter trip to Songdo as a place for building a Christian village. More than just the place of his birth, Songdo had regional and historical particularities having to do with the development of the progressives in Korea.

Historical and Regional Characteristics of Songdo

Songdo (also called Kaesöng, Songak) was the capital city of the Koryö Dynasty (A.D. 918–1392) and the birthplace of *Sirhak* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁷⁵ When the Chosön Dynasty (1392–1910) was established in the ruins of the

²⁷² Diary, February 7, 1897.

²⁷³ C. F. Reid, “Back to Songdo,” MARBL.

²⁷⁴ Diary, February 9–13, 1897. R. A. Hardie, “Korea Mission-General Work,” ed., Chu-sam Ryang, 5; Yun Ch’i-ho, “Ch’angsang pan baeknyön e saenggak nanün sarandül (Reminiscence of the people in the turbulent five decades of the past).” *Samch’önri* (Three thousand Li) vol.8, no.8 (August 1936): 43.

Koryŏ Dynasty, the founders of the new dynasty shifted its religious allegiance from decaying Buddhism to Confucianism. The new dynasty, while suppressing Buddhism, transferred its capital to Hanyang (Seoul) from Songdo. Songdo became strategically marginalized by Chosŏn's new capital and its policy of centralization around Seoul.

Despite political disadvantages, Songdo used its entrepreneurial and pioneering spirit to develop its primary agricultural product, ginseng. Mysteriously-shaped like a human body with limbs, ginseng roots were nationally known as “panacea.” The British consul-general Aston visited Songdo to investigate several ginseng farms in 1885.²⁷⁶ On 28 May 1902 Horace N. Allen reported on Korean ginseng and Songdo: “Although ginseng is regularly raised in various parts of Korea, only that raised upon the imperial farms at Songdo is said to have the real virtues claimed for the root as a medicine. These Songdo plantations are the only ones that are guarded with care.”²⁷⁷ Elizabeth Bishop mentioned that “Songdo...is famous for its ginseng. No drug in the British Pharmacopocia rivals with us the estimation in which this is held by the Chinese. It is a tonic, febrifuge, and stomachic—the very elixir of life.” She described how ginseng was carefully cured in Songdo, usually requiring six to seven years to grow and prepare for

²⁷⁵ Groundbreaking collaboration between North and South Korea launched the building of the Kaesŏng Industrial Complex in 2000, the year the United Nations launched the Millennium Development Project.

²⁷⁶ Report on Progress of Pharmacy, Proceedings of the American Pharmaceutical Association, Vol. 33, 1886, American Pharmaceutical Association, Meeting, 148.

²⁷⁷ M. G. Kains, 104. H. N. Allen's report to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, May 28, 1902.

market products.²⁷⁸ Alfred Welhaven reported to the U.S. Agricultural Department in 1913 that Songdo ginseng was the “best in the world.”²⁷⁹

Songdo (Kaesŏng) farmers cultivated a unique way to process the white ginseng that was grown in various provinces into the more expensive “red ginseng.” The red ginseng, exported mostly to China, was sold at a more expensive price (nine times higher) than the best Chinese ginseng from Kilim because of its quality and high demand. As Songdo became the center of overseas trade to China and Japan, ginseng merchants invented the modern system of money circulation in Korea while making red ginseng the most popular product for foreign exports.²⁸⁰ Songdo thus thrived in foreign trade, unmatched by any other city.²⁸¹ The growth of commercial tycoons erased class distinctions, steering Songdo toward a relatively progressive and egalitarian society. The confluence of commercial progressivism, pragmatism, and creativity from marginal perspectives formed a cradle for Sŏ Kyŏng-dok and his school of scholarship, *Sirhak* (as introduced in Chapter II). The orientation of *Sirhak* scholars in Songdo benefited from

²⁷⁸ Isabella Bird Bishop, “Corean Ginseng,” *The Pharmaceutical Era*, vol. 31, no. 2, June 2, 1904, 534.

²⁷⁹ Plant Inventory, 36,900. Ginseng, From Songdo, Chosen (Korea). Presented by Mr. Alfred Welhaven, Unsan, Chosen. Received December 26, 1913. “This seed was secured at Songdo, Chosen, the home of ginseng cultivation, and I hope the seed will prove all that is claimed for it. The ginseng from Songdo is the best in the world, according to the prices paid for it by the Chinese, who are the chief consumers of ginseng. I have secured this seed from a Korean gentleman living in Songdo.” 81: Diary, October 1, December 31, 1913

²⁸⁰ “Korean Ginseng,” *The Korean Repository* (May 1898), 161–170.

²⁸¹ Yu-han Wŏn, *Chosŏn hugi sirhak ui saengsŏng palchŏn yŏn'gu* (A study on the origin and development of Sirhak in the late Yi Dynasty) (Seoul: Hyeon, 2003). Man-gil Kang, “Kaesong sangin yŏn'gu: Chosŏn hugi sangŏp chabonui sŏngjang (a study of Songdo merchants: the development of commercial capital during the late Yi Dynasty),” *Han'guk sa yŏn'gu* (A study of history in Korea, 1972), 8.

broader opportunities of marginal and international life, a stark contrast to the *Hanyang* (Seoul) officials whose lives revolved around the capital city.

Development of Christianity in Songdo

The entrepreneurial spirit of Kaesŏng merchants was also evident in their high receptivity of Christianity, as with that of *Sirhak* scholars. Horace G. Underwood identified Songdo as “the most important city in the country” because of its regional significance as the hub of the ginseng trade and spiritual significance for evangelism.²⁸² Already in 1888, three years after the beginning of Protestant missions in Korea, Underwood found more than two applicants for baptism and over seventy adherents to Christianity in Songdo. Each month, Songdo citizens came to Underwood by ten or more for baptism.²⁸³ In 1888, the entire number of baptized Christians in the city of Changyŏn was eleven, and Pyŏngyang had twenty-six baptismal applicants who sent their delegates to Underwood. Seoul, Songdo, Changyŏn, and Pyŏngyang were thus the cities with the largest Christian population. In 1889, Underwood sold over one hundred Bibles in Songdo alone. Underwood’s wife, Liliās, had gained permission for evangelism through her friendship with the magistrate’s wife.²⁸⁴ Despite Songdo’s general receptivity to

²⁸² Horace G. Underwood, "Letter to Dr. Brown. November 16, 1903."

²⁸³ Horace G. Underwood, "Letter to Ellinwood. January 15, 1888." Underwood, to Mrs. Hepburn, February 6, 1888. Underwood wrote that there were “ten or dozen applicants for baptism.” In the letter sent in March to Ellinwood, Underwood recorded twelve applicants for baptism in Songdo.

²⁸⁴ Horace G. Underwood, "Letter to Ellinwood. April 8, 1889."

Christianity, the Presbyterian mission simply lacked missionaries and had to commit the region to evangelism from the Southern Methodist Mission.²⁸⁵

C. F. Reid organized the first class of probationers in the vicinity of Seoul, helped by a zealous colporteur of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Kim Hŭng-soon. Among those probationers, Reid baptized twenty-four adults and three infants, who then used Yun's property as the first congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This property, donated earlier, became the first building for the Southern Methodist Church. After the visit of Yun and C. F. Reid, Songdo became the headquarters of the mission. Yun continued to help the mission, preaching on important occasions such as a dedication service of the Water Gate Church (or *Gwang-hye-mun* Church) in Seoul, and assuming the responsibility of secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, while Reid was its presiding elder.²⁸⁶ By 1906, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, reached 1,227 baptized members, in addition to 1,604 probationers.²⁸⁷ As in Wŏnsan and Pyŏngyang, Christianity grew rapidly in Songdo, with Christian books sold by the hundreds. Songdo caught the fire of revival that had sparked in Wŏnsan in 1903. Female missionaries and

²⁸⁵ Horace G. Underwood, to Dr. Brown. November 16, 1903.

²⁸⁶ George Paik points to the year 1898 as the year of the first Christian baptism in Songdo in his *History of the Protestant Missions in Korea*. However, Ryang states that the first baptism occurred in 1896. Ryang's record is more reliable, as the *Thirtieth Anniversary* was compiled with the members of the Southern Methodist Church, including Yun. Ryang records that the first annual meeting in 1897 was held with families of Clarence F. Reid, Charles T. Collyer, Josephine Campbell, two colporteurs, six infants, forty-five baptized adults, 108 probationers, and four chapels. Robert A. Hardie, "Korea Mission—General Work," ed., Ryang Chu-sam, 46.

²⁸⁷ Warren Candler, "On to Songdo," Warren Candler papers, box 96, MARBL.

the joint prayer of Robert A. Hardie of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South ignited the historic revivals from Wönsan to Pyöngyang.²⁸⁸

While the American missionaries were celebrating this surge of Christian revivals, Yun lamented the church's disengagement with communal welfare and exclusive focus on evangelism, especially by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South:

The Southern Methodists have so far failed to come up to their responsibility. They have not a school, not a dispensary, not a community. Schism has already split the little fold and an "Independent Church," so called, had been set up by a few leading Christians who were offended by the unwillingness of the missionaries to give them a YMCA or to teach them English. The Japanese seem to be making most of this condition of affairs.²⁸⁹

As some historians point out, the exclusive and apocalyptic focus on evangelism—such as the "Salvation of a Million Souls"—around the time of the annexation with Japan appeared to successfully estrange the people from economic and political engagements, thereby stunting the national strength necessary to fight against Japanese colonialism.²⁹⁰ Yun's understanding of Christians' role in Korea had in view colonial encroachments. Confining Christianity within the walls of evangelism and homogenous Christian churches was, in reality, most welcome by the colonial schemes of economic advance and infringement, on which rested Yun's apprehension.

The churches increased the number of baptized, but congregations were increasingly isolated from their own land, embattled by the successful encroachment of

²⁸⁸ Horace G. Underwood, "Protestant Work in Korea." *The Gospel in All Lands* (1892), 430–431.

²⁸⁹ Diary, March 30, 1906.

²⁹⁰ Tae-young Ryu, *Kaehwagi Chosön kwa miguks sön'gyo sa* (The enlightenment period in Chosön and the American missionaries) (Seoul: Institute for Korean Church History, 2004).

imperial powers. Neither the commercial growth of Songdo through the ginseng business nor the intellectual influence of *Sirhak* scholars could prevail over the rampant imperial encroachment in the late-nineteenth century. While the national economy was disintegrating and resources vanishing, necessities of daily life were being taken away from the people. The onset of concessions and their great premiums—signed with modern commercial powers and Korean payment—confused both Koreans and foreign officials, appearing to promise new developments. Some Western officials in Korea welcomed the concessions as laying the foundation for modernization in Korea. The concessions, however, were hardly designed for impoverished peasants, but mostly for expanding world powers. Foreign countries that had monopolized rights over mining, fishing, and timbering welcomed the installment of telegraphs, cables, and railroad tracks, but most Koreans on traditional farms had no use for those inventions. Japan took determined steps in preparing for continental invasion in paving roads, ensuring communications, and transporting materials; meanwhile, Russia, the United States, France, Germany, and China competed in gaining concessions. From the southern coastlines to the northern borders, the entire peninsula was checkered by foreign patches handed over by the concessions of mines, cables, and tracks. Korean merchants, fishermen, peasants, and farmers lost their means of livelihood, homes, and land while Japan and Russia controlled the military, finance, and customs. The Korean government and the palace, notorious for their misrule, squandered trillions of dollars over

concessions and amassed debts while its officials filled their pockets by contracting with foreign powers.²⁹¹

To reform the nation, Yun had devoted his life to the Independence Club and the *Independent*. As a consequence, he experienced its debacle, aftermath, and domestic exile in the fringe provinces of Korea. Yet he still had a tenuous hope for government work. Prominent nationalists had already fled the country—such as Sō Chae-p'il of the Independence Club—and formed reputedly resistant forces outside Korea in Manchuria and Shanghai. In so doing, they exported or requested Korean resources to China. In all of this, Yun Ch'i-ho remained within Korea. When Korea fell to the Protectorate Treaty of Japan in 1905, Yun dropped all his government engagements. As soon as Japan concluded the Protectorate Treaty, the White House ordered a withdrawal of its legation and the American ambassador H. G. Allen—even before Britain's recall—in quick response to Korea's loss of diplomatic rights.²⁹² On that day of humiliation, Yun sent in his resignation of Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs and it was the end of his public career as Minister of Education, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and local magistrates. Only then Yun began to plunge into the project of founding the Songdo Christian Village right in the center of the wounded land. Yun's Christianity was located in view of the regeneration of the whole nation, yet it would start with the Christian Village in Songdo.

²⁹¹ Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys*, 224. Deuchler points out that the most flourishing merchants in Songdo were “conspicuous by their absence” after 1876, hardly overcoming the onslaught of the imperial infringement simply because of lack of “capital and business acumen” in order to establish trade relationships with foreign counterparts.

²⁹² H. G. Allen, to Yun Ch'i-ho, November 30, 1905, Yun Ch'i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL.

“On to Songdo” and the Songdo Christian Village (October 1906)

For the regeneration of the nation in Christianity, Yun started with the Songdo Christian Village. The village would spread from the church and missionary homes at its center and a hospital and school next to the church. Surrounding the village, vegetable farms, orchards, dairies, and industrial complexes would provide means of living and empower the people in Christianity. The model of the village would spread from neighbor to neighbor and a comprehensive healing would begin. The Songdo Christian Village would send a signal of life throughout the remote hamlets of Korea, regenerating the moribund towns in the country.

This vision began to take shape when Yun bought an old ginseng shed. He paid 892 yen out of the 1,000 yen (USD \$500) for the property, which consisted of a field and two sheds. Yun used the money that he and his father had donated to the mission a decade prior. Alfred W. Wasson and his wife, Southern Methodist missionaries, moved into this old ginseng shed which consisted of clay walls, a straw-thatched roof, and no windows in October 1906. On the conclusion of the Protectorate Treaty in 1905, the U.S. government swiftly recalled its diplomat, Horace Allen, within months. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, filled the gap by sending the Wasson couple to Songdo immediately following his graduation from Vanderbilt in 1905.²⁹³ Yun Ch'i-ho, being a widower, moved to Songdo from Seoul and occupied another typical room of the ginseng shed (eight square feet), a move synonymous with his dedication to Christian missions.

²⁹³ H. A. Allen, to Yun Ch'i-ho, June 27, 1905. Yun Ch'i-ho papers, MARBL.

While the shed was awaiting renovation for two future missionary families, Yun began building the Anglo-Korean School.²⁹⁴

By 1906, Western missionaries in Korea had built a dozen mission schools with modern curriculums. The female missionaries of the Southern Methodist Mission in particular had built schools, but only for girls. In the ten-year span of Southern Methodist missions in Korea, Paehwa Girls' School, Nusi Hakdang, Holston Institute, and Mary Helm School were built for girls and women, but no male missionaries had ever built a boys' school. Yun's mission school for boys not only preceded any boys' mission school in that denomination, the comprehensive vision of the Songdo Christian Village—with a hospital, church, school, mission compound, agricultural and industrial complexes—preceded any other project of Protestant missionaries in Korea. The Songdo Christian Village was unprecedented, particularly in Korea, in its exemplary partnership between the American church and a Korean native. While Yun took the initiative in building the Christian village, the U.S. churches supported the project with great vigor. In building the village, he consulted with other missionaries such as Joseph Gerdine, Willard Gliden Cram in Korea, and Warren Atkin Candler in the United States. Candler, Dean of Emory College, had shared Yun's vision for a mission school in Korea in 1893, when Yun entrusted him with \$200 for a future educational mission.

²⁹⁴ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Young J. Allen, December 25, 1906. The old ginseng shed was at first used for the residence of the couple of Charles Collyer, the first missionary family to Songdo, and then for the first Southern Methodist Dispensary opened by medical doctor missionaries, Robert A. Hardie and Joel Baker Ross, and then a church, and finally transformed into a school. The building, thus, represented three crucial institutions of Christian missions: hospital, church, and school.

Hearing the news of the Songdo village, Candler started supporting Yun with his prayers “nearly every hour.” Along with Candler, Emory students “prayed for Yun every day.” Moreover, Candler encouraged Yun to develop a vision of what the Songdo village could do for the Korean people, far more important than any work for the Korean government:

You are entering upon a great field of usefulness. Korea and America will expect great things of you—greater things than Cabinets and Kings can achieve. Dedicate yourself afresh to God. Pray for the anointing Spirit. You will meet difficulties of course. No great work is ever achieved without difficulties. But you will overcome all by God’s help if you are patient with yourself and patient with the people to whose uplifting you devote yourself.²⁹⁵

Candler then began to spread the news through his articles. Now as bishop, Candler delivered speeches about the Songdo Christian Village at various conferences. He created a missionary movement for the Songdo village by appealing in the *Nashville Christian Advocate* and publishing an article in all the Southern Methodist newspapers.²⁹⁶

Candler’s treatise “On to Songdo” inspired the Songdo Christians in Atlanta, Georgia.²⁹⁷ In Christian periodicals, “On to Songdo” became a term for missionary movements in Korea. Candler’s brother, A. G. Candler, was the first to assist the movement, pledging \$1,000 in gold.²⁹⁸ From then on, subscriptions for the project

²⁹⁵ W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch’i-ho, September 16, 1906, Handwritten, Yun Ch’i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL.

²⁹⁶ Warren Candler, to Dear Dr. sent from Seoul Korea, September 22, 1906. Warren Candler papers, box 13, F. 8, Correspondence 1906, MARBL.

²⁹⁷ Warren Candler papers, box 99, clipping, 1906-1938, MARBL. A woman wrote an article on Songdo, quoting Candler’s “On to Songdo.” Warren Candler Papers, Box, 96, “On To Songdo,” MARBL.

²⁹⁸ W. A. Candler to Yun, December 2, 1906. Handwritten, MARBL. The letter shows \$2,660 from the Southern Methodist Conference from North Georgia and \$3,500 from the Southern Methodist

escalated every day in Georgia and beyond.²⁹⁹ Within a month of the movement's beginning, subscriptions amounted to \$10,000. Before the end of 1906, an anonymous woman of Lynnwood, Connecticut, sent a \$1,000 check and children at the Mission Sunday School in Chihuahua, Mexico, collected money for the Songdo Village.³⁰⁰ Yun's Emory alumni offered to build Yun a house in Korea named "Yun's Emory Home" "with the most joyous enthusiasm."³⁰¹ The zealous response of American Christians led the excited Bishop Candler to modify his first estimate of support from \$5,000 in September, to \$30,000 in December 1906.³⁰² In January 1907, \$15,000 in gold was already sent to Yun.³⁰³ At least seen from the documents, it was Candler and the donors in Georgia and Nashville who were exuberant in "the goodness of God." They professed the typical religious experiences of Methodism not in a state of psychic exultation of chiliasm, but in the realization of transnational solidarity.³⁰⁴ Those Methodist sponsors saw the opportunity as "the privilege of giving to the Songdo School" and celebrated the fact that

Conference from South Georgia. The Houston Conference offered \$1,500, Bishop Hendrix \$1,000, and other miscellaneous offerings amounting a total of \$10,000.

²⁹⁹W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho, January 12, 1907, mimeograph, MARBL.

³⁰⁰W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho, January 12, 1907, MARBL.

³⁰¹ W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho, December 2, handwritten, December 20, 1906, mimeographed, MARBL.

³⁰² W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho, September 16, handwritten; December 18, 1906; J. W. Clegg to Yun Ch'i-ho, December 18, 1906, MARBL.

³⁰³ W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho. October 12, handwritten. October 30, handwritten; November 10, handwritten; November 26, mimeographed; December 4, mimeographed, 1906; January 12, 1907, MARBL.

³⁰⁴ W.A. Candler, to Yun, December 2, 1906, MARBL.

Georgia had finally accomplished such a grand collective project so quickly.³⁰⁵ Christian internationalism of an ardent brand pervaded Georgia and Nashville, extending its compassion over the Pacific.

“On to Songdo” redefined the method of foreign missions that had been traditionally practiced. From merely sending materials and missionaries—mixed with an equivocal manner of paternalism—“On to Songdo” was marked by partnership with and stewardship to native initiatives. Leadership of missionaries shifted from lording over to listening to local voices. Material aid was sent combined with spiritual charges, securing the local leadership. A circle of spiritual supporters of the Songdo pioneers in the United States included Walter R. Lambuth, Bishop Warren A. Candler, and other Georgia supporters.³⁰⁶ Candler assured Yun that Georgia supporters regarded the Songdo village as the authentic work of God, and Yun as “a mediator between the Christians in America and the people in Korea that His name may be glorified, the Kingdom established, and His people [Koreans] blessed.”³⁰⁷ Some regarded Yun as both the Wesley and the Luther of Korea.³⁰⁸ Walter R. Lambuth and Candler exhorted Yun to remain close to God, calling him a “Robinson Crusoe helper.”³⁰⁹ Some supporters believed that Yun was

³⁰⁵ W.A. Candler, to Yun, December 4, 1906, MARBL.

³⁰⁶ Subscription of Shares in “Songdo Missionary Settlement Company,” Warren Candler Archives, MARBL

³⁰⁷W. A. Candler, to Yun, February 5, 1907, mimeographed, MARBL. W.A. Candler, to Yun Ch’i-ho, October 2, 1906, handwritten. October 12, handwritten. October 13, handwritten. Yun Ch’i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL.

³⁰⁸ W. A. Candler to Yun, November 26, 1906, mimeographed, Yun Ch’i-ho Papers, MARBL.

³⁰⁹ W. A. Candler, to Yun, October 2, handwritten; December 2, handwritten, 1906, MARBL.

laying more than just the foundation for the Christian mission in Korea; he was laying the foundation for Korea itself.³¹⁰ It was for the Songdo Christian Village, Candler thought, that God had so far disciplined Yun.³¹¹ Filled with exuberance, Candler even proposed that his own house in Georgia could be regarded as “Yun’s house, refuge, and headquarters.”³¹² With a plethora of support for Korean natives, the Georgia Christians proved their international solidarity.

The Christian internationalism manifested in the Songdo Christian Village and its Anglo-Korean School had been incubated in the hearts of the Southern Methodist Emory triumvirate: Allen, Candler, and Yun. Warren A. Candler in America had deeply respected Young J. Allen in China, as portrayed in his biography of Allen. Candler also devoted one whole chapter of Allen’s biography to introducing Yun Ch’i-ho as fruit of Allen’s missionary career. Biographical treatise of Yun, *T.H. Yun, of Korea and School at Songdo* illuminates Candler’s bond with Yun.³¹³ The transnational solidarity that glued together the United States, China, and Korea had been germinated in personal respect among the three men.

When Yun finally entered Korea in 1895, he hastened to accompany Clarence F. Reid to Songdo. Yun and his uncle, Yi Kŭn-hyŏk, asked Reid to build a church, a school,

³¹⁰ W. A. Candler, to Yun, May 25, 1908, handwritten, MARBL.

³¹¹ W. A. Candler, to Yun, November 10, 1907, handwritten, MARBL.

³¹² W. A. Candler, to Yun, July 1, 1907, mimeographed, MARBL.

³¹³ Warren A. Candler, *Young J. Allen: "The Man Who Seeded China"* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1931); Warren A. Candler, "T.H. Yun, of Korea, and the School at Songdo" (Nashville: Board of missions of the Methodist Episcopal church, South, 1907).

and a hospital in Songdo. Reid agreed, though probably more as a courtesy rather than a conviction. Despite the educational need in Korea, the fund, three thousand yen (\$1,500), that Yun and his father donated, still remained intact and was now entrusted to Reid during his second visit in 1897.³¹⁴ While churches were being built by the collaboration of newly arrived missionaries and local colporteurs, Reid could not keep his promise for a decade. Students craved for a school; three proactive students, walking forty miles from Songdo, went up to Seoul when the annual conference was in session and appealed to Bishop Candler for a school.³¹⁵ The appeal of those indigent students clearly indicated that the Southern Methodist mission had delayed in launching a school, thereby failing to respond to the shortage of native leaders behind the rapidly-growing church in Korea.³¹⁶

The Anglo-Korean School and Industrial Education

Yun's educational conviction that he had carried over the decades was finally realized at the Anglo-Korean School. Education had been his central concern. As aforementioned, the first topic of debate Yun suggested to the Independence Club was education: "The most urgent issue in Korea is education of the people."³¹⁷ The first

³¹⁴ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Thirty Years Ago," Ryang Chu-sam, ed., 100; C. F. Reid, to Yun Ch'i-ho, October 1, 1908, handwritten, Yun Ch'i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL. Here Reid expressed his relief in fulfilling his promise to Yi Tong-gin.

³¹⁵ D. W. Lim, "Songdo Higher Common School," ed., Ryang Chu-sam, 102. One of the three students, Yi Sang-Jun, later served as a teacher at the school.

³¹⁶ Warren Candler, "On To Songdo Again," 27; Ryang Chusam, ed., 103; "Boys' School on Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* 4 (November 1908), 172–173.

³¹⁷ *The Independent*, August 31, 1897. Sin, 262.

department he wanted to serve in Korea, therefore, was the Department of Education.³¹⁸

The title of first address that he delivered in Korea was the “educational system of America and the defects in the Korean methods of education.”³¹⁹ As desired, Yun served the Korean government as Minister of Education until he left for Russia in April 1896. His educational interest remained central, as seen in the first articles Yun would produce for the YMCA periodical, *Chǒngnyǒn*, all on the topic of education.³²⁰

Similar to his alma mater, Young J. Allen’s Anglo-Chinese School, Yun named the transformed ginseng hut “The Anglo-Korean School.” This school started with fourteen students who had learned English and mathematics from Mr. and Mrs. Wasson, Willard G. Cram, and Charles T. Collyer at a small house adjacent to a church. Those students were transferred to the Anglo-Korean School, which offered more course options such as Korean, Chinese, English, arithmetic, geography, and the Bible, as did other mission schools.

At a cursory glance, one might make the facile judgment that the Anglo-Korean School was an unimaginative replica of the Anglo-Chinese School in China. The two schools indeed shared similar characteristics: American missionary teachers, the merit of English, and the import of American funds. The Anglo-Korean School, however, was distinct from other mission schools in Korea by its focus on Songdo’s strengths.

³¹⁸ Diary, February 18, 1895.

³¹⁹ Diary, March 20, 1895.

³²⁰ Ch’i-ho Yun, “Pulguk kyoyuk chedowa in’gyuk yangsǒng munje (French System of Education and the Problem of Character Formation),” *Chǒngnyǒn* 1 (March 1921): 15; Ch’i-ho Yun “Yǒng’guk kyoyuk chedowa in’gyuk yangsǒng (British System of Education and the Problem of Character Formation),” *Chǒngnyǒn* 1(April 1921): 4; Ch’i-ho Yun, “Pulgukinūi chanyǒ yangsǒng pangch’im (French Parents’ Policies of Educating Children),” *Chǒngnyǒn* 1 (May 1921): 7; Ch’i-ho Yun, “Inkyo suyangūi yoso (Elements of Character Formation),” *Chǒngnyǒn* 5(October 1925): 4.

Especially, the Songdo Christian Village sought to respond to national needs, including its embattled ginseng industry which had been the monopoly of the Korean palace and the biggest source of revenue in the domestic department. In 1901, a Japanese firm bought the ginseng crop for 1,255,500 yen (USD \$625,239).³²¹ Japan raised over a million yen annually in this business, selling ginseng to the biggest market, China. In the U.S. consular reports in 1902, W. A. Rublee reported that “a new invasion of adventurers has taken place at Songdo, and that some seventy persons, Japanese and Koreans in collusion, are resorting to all sorts of devices to evade the official monopoly... Application has been made by the Korean government to Mr. Hayashi, and it is said that the matter is causing some trouble.”³²²

As a result of the continued trouble in the ginseng market, many Songdo citizens abandoned their ginseng sheds. For the Anglo-Korean School, Yun purchased one of those ginseng sheds with a thirty-five acre property at the foot of the Song-ak Mountain. Being fifty miles from Seoul, the political hotbed of Korea, the serenity of the location was conducive to a focused education. The school particularly offered industrial courses in it, claiming that Koryŏ Ginseng was Songdo’s world-class pride. From this, it was clear that Yun was finely attuned not only to the strengths of Songdo, but also to the needs of Koreans.³²³ Korea was in need of what had been ignored for centuries by the

³²¹ Kains, 104. From the purchased 52,000 catties (68,120 pounds), the Japanese “deliberately burned 10,000 catties, because the supply of ginseng, in that year, exceeded the demand in China.”

³²² Kains, 99.

³²³ Ch’oe, Mun-jin, *Kaesŏng insam kaech’ŏk sosa* (A brief history of ginseng development in Songdo) (Kyŏngsŏng, Chosŏn Sanŏp Yŏn’guhoe, 1940). Yun Ch’i-ho wrote the preface.

ruling Korean government. Chinese classics and literary texts were seen as a gate to national service and success, the reason why the Confucian literati devoted their lives to reading but minimized physical labor. Officials had the best skills in passing civil service examinations, but the exams had not prepared the nation for a war of infringing powers on the eve of the twentieth century. The consequence of historical disdain of the *chungin* (middle) class—and their fields of technology, science, arts, medicine, commerce, military, and industry—was the tragic loss of diplomatic rights under the Protectorate Treaty in 1905.

Industrial education at mission schools seemed suspicious to the conventional mindset of Western missionaries, although they sharply felt the need for industrial development in Korean society. To them, Christianity belonged to the estate of churches, schools, and hospitals. Just as national affairs, in particular politics, were off-limits to missionary enterprises, preparing students for economic activities at mission schools also seemed at best inappropriate. The second annual meeting of the Southern Methodist Mission in 1898 suggested an organic plan to start a manual training school in Songdo; it recognized the region's dire economic situation that affected the people's church life. Yun allegedly suggested the idea, given the year he was writing editorials for the *Independent*.³²⁴ Due to the pervasive understanding among missionaries regarding the relationship between economics and missions, the plan for the school was relinquished.

The need for industrial education had painfully pressed the government, less because of the poverty of the people, than of indomitable demands for foreign trade. The

³²⁴ R. A. Hardie, "Korea Mission-General Work," Ryang Chu-sam, ed., 47. Homer H. Hulbert, "The Fallow Lands," *The Korea Review* (August 1904), 344–350.

Korean government began industrial courses in its first modern school, Yukyŏng Kongwŏn, in September 1886, although the primary goal of Yukyŏng Kongwŏn was to teach *yangban* children English and to raise up Koreans who could communicate with Western officials. The government also felt an acute need to introduce Western technology and science under royal patronage.³²⁵ When teachers were sought to live on the harsh land of Korea, it was three American teachers from Union Theological Seminary who had some heart of missionaries and responded to the invitation of primarily teaching English for the government school. They were, nonetheless, not ready to offer industrial education. The government continued to voice the need for industrial development by 1899.³²⁶

The Japanese incorporated industrial programs early on in their Korean projects. The Japanese program was designed to increase the benefits of the Japanese and often wreaked havoc on Korean farmers, as in the case of the Nagamori concession.³²⁷ The manners of the Japanese ranged from amicable fraternity to rampant cruelty. High-profile officials usually displayed international comity while at the same time conniving in vicious activities of Japanese entrepreneurs; their stance confused both foreign and Korean officials. Japan disguised its scheme to annex Korea in the Protectorate Treaty, claiming that they intended to “protect” Korea “temporarily” until the “genuine waking

³²⁵ Kim Ki-sŏk, “Han’guk gŭndae gyoyuk ūi giwŏn kwa paldal (The origin and development of the modern education in Korea)” *Han’guk gyoyŭk sa* (A history of education in Korea) (Seoul, Kyoyuk kwahaksa, 1997), 208–210.

³²⁶ *Kwanbo* (The Official Gazette), June 28, 1899.

³²⁷ Homer Hulbert, “Japanese Industrial Projects in Korea,” *The Korea Review* (KR, July 1904), 289–297; “Editorial,” KR (July 1904), 306–312; “Editorial,” KR (August 1904), 360–362; “Korean Business Life,” KR (June 1904), 228–230; “Japanese finance in Korea,” KR (August 1905), 298–304.

up of Korea.” Japanese motives and the expressed propaganda confounded such prominent foreign teachers as Homer Hulbert, as well as Korean patriots such as Yi Sang-jae.³²⁸ Despite the Residency-General’s promise of protection, the Japanese exploitation of Korean property and resources was too conspicuous to go unnoticed.³²⁹

The Anglo-Korean School arose in such a context. By introducing industrial education, Yun sought to combine ways to build a national foundation for industrial development in Korea, to strengthen a basis for independence, and to provide a contact point with Christianity.³³⁰ What made such a scheme possible was partnership between native Christians and American churches. National and international cooperation created an optimum condition for industrial education in Songdo. Responding to the native’s diagnoses and prescriptions, the American churches supplied the necessary resources. Upon Yun’s requests, the Georgia Methodists dispatched construction materials like lumber, cement, and a brick-machine, along with a professional mechanic in architecture and arts over the Pacific to Korea. Along with students, Songdo citizens—who had only known tiles, straw roofs, and mud walls—now watched the process of building a brick edifice for the first time in their lives.³³¹

³²⁸ Homer Hulbert, “Editorial Comment,” KR (June 1904), 228–230.

³²⁹ Homer Hulbert, “A Protest,” KR (August 1905), 281–287; “Japanese Immigration,” KR (September 1906), 341–346.

³³⁰ Yun Ch’i-ho to Warren A. Candler, October 17, 1906, Yun Ch’i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL; Yun Ch’i-ho, “A Plea for Industrial Training,” *The Korea Mission Field* (July 1911), 185

³³¹ W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch’i-ho, October 24, 1906, handwritten, Yun Ch’i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL.

Yun also penned to Candler his request for teaching aids like maps and charts, which students had also never seen before. In response, Warren A. Candler in Georgia and Clarence F. Reid in California cooperated in shipping furniture and school supplies. Desks and furniture were shipped unassembled so that Songdo students could observe the construction process.³³² Moreover, Candler added his own idea of building a printing house. He suggested that the Anglo-Korean School be equipped with the printing devices for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the scale of which would match the biggest press of the Korean Northern Methodist Publishing House, located in Japan. The printing house would then be equipped with a bindery to produce books not only for the Anglo-Korean School but also for the entire nation.³³³ Candler further contracted companies in London and Tokyo for shipping the press.

Yun also penned for seeds and Candler shipped fruit trees: fifty apple trees, twenty-five grape vines, twenty-five peach trees, and pecan seeds.³³⁴ Candler also sent ten pounds of fine cotton seeds, along with directions on how to prepare and cultivate the seeds. Candler's fruit trees and cotton seeds have received no attention from anyone in Korea, yet they have fed and clothed myriads of common people. They have led to highly sophisticated cotton manufacturing today in Korea as well as Songdo's current fame for its peaches and apples. More importantly, with Candler's industrial and agricultural support, lush orchards replaced the barren mountains, inspiring Yun and the Songdo

³³² W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho, February 5, December 20, 1907, mimeographed, MARBL.

³³³ W. A. Candler, to Yun Ch'i-ho, January 14, 1907, mimeographed, MARBL. N. D. Chew, "Printing in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* (1906), 46–48.

³³⁴ W. A. Candler, to Yun, January 14, November 10, 1907, handwritten, MARBL.

citizens to reclaim their progressive spirit, one latent in the descendants of *Sirhak* scholars.³³⁵

Although Yun successfully identified the strengths and needs of Songdo, the next phase of finding suitable teachers was much harder. At the beginning of the school in 1906, only Miss Erwin had any skill to offer a knitting class. Dora Yu later added variety to the course selection with a children's clothes-making class for the textile department.³³⁶ The knitting class of Miss Erwin conjured up a surprising vogue among boy students, as indicated in Yun's report, "the knitting fever raged so high that we had to forbid the boys bringing any knitting outfit to classrooms."³³⁷ Contrary to the stereotype that needles and yarn were for girls, according to Yun the knitting class "annihilated the objectors by the retort that work has no gender any more than it has caste."³³⁸

In 1907, Candler commissioned J. Arthur Thompson, an agricultural teacher, to Songdo for the applied science department.³³⁹ Although Thompson came to Korea carrying the benevolent purpose of a missionary teacher, it is hard to tell who, between Thompson and the Songdo students, received more benefits. J. Arthur Thompson, while teaching at the Anglo-Korean School, shipped Songdo ginseng (allegedly bought from

³³⁵ Cotton seeds in the twentieth century were invaluable in Korea. In the fourteenth century, Mun Ik-chōm had brought six grains of cotton seed from China with much difficulty; one grain of seed, germinated in Korea, reputedly produced enough cotton to clothe the entire population.

³³⁶ Ida Hankins, "History of Mary Helm School," ed. Ryang Chu-sam, 132.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ C. T. Collyer, "Back to Songdo," *The Korea Mission Field* (November 1907), 165–166.; *Go Forward* (February 1908), MARBL.

George L. Shaw of Manchuria) to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, earning revenue for the U.S.³⁴⁰ Probably through the connection of Yun, N. Gist Gee of Soochow University (that merged with the Anglo-Chinese College) came to Songdo to investigate the ginseng cultivation method and sent his report to the U.S. Division of Botany.³⁴¹ Charles T. Collyer also presented his study of “The Culture and Preparation of Ginseng in Korea” for the Royal Asiatic Society.³⁴²

Yun’s 1911 article, “A Plea for Industrial Training” was featured in *The Korea Mission Field* and would inform the orientation of education both for mission schools and government policies.³⁴³ Describing the realities of Korean households and prognosticating the future impact of industrial development in Korea, the article underscored that missionaries as well as Korean educators would do better by paying attention to industrial education. The proposal made a forceful case since Yun had demonstrated his special efforts for industrial education and its effects at the Anglo-Korean School. *The Korea Mission Field* thereafter featured articles on industrial and agricultural education. Yun’s solitary voice for industrial and rural education would later

³⁴⁰ Plant Inventory, 1913, 22. The U.S. Department received Songdo ginseng on November 1, 1912.

³⁴¹ N. Gist Gee, Soochow University, Soochow, China. From Songdo, Chosen. Received October 14, 1913. 362–382. Ginseng. Plant Inventory, the U. S. Division of Botany, 1913, 13.

³⁴² C. T. Collyer, *The Culture and Preparation of Ginseng in Korea, Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III. Part I, (Methodist Publishing House, 1903), 18-30.

³⁴³ Yun Ch’i-ho, “A Plea for Industrial Training,” *The Korea Mission Field* (July 1911), 185–188. The editorial call for attention preceded the article, “The following from a Korean gentleman, well known on two continents and occupying a high position both socially and in the circles of mission work, ought to win our very careful attention.”

bring about the biggest success of the YMCA, the landmark projects of industrial and agricultural work, when Yun was its general secretary and president.³⁴⁴

The rationale of Yun's article focused first on the large constituency of mission schools that mostly came from country families of the church. Yun saw that the diplomas granted after studying arithmetic, botany, zoology, and astronomy simply did not secure any jobs. Even though 85% of the Korean economy depended on agriculture, poor students deserted their rice paddies for mission schools which offered subjects that estranged them from the reality of life—as did the Chosŏn Dynasty's system of education intensely focusing on Chinese classics and history. After graduation, with proud diplomas, they would have to “either beg or dig” without producing tangible contributions to a society under colonial rule. The kinds of subjects taught at the mission schools, Yun argued, would influence the level of self-support in the church at large. Considering the large monetary offerings by Koreans to their churches—which were disproportionately large in comparison to people's living standards—the careers of Christian students after graduation would only result in the perpetual attrition of economic strength of the church, thereby national strength. The lives of the church and the nation were thus interlocked in the personal well-being of their constituents, the poor students.

What was the external influence of Yun's emphasis on industrial training at the Anglo-Korean School? Around this time, the Tuskegee Institute in America was introduced to Koreans largely through the translated biography of Booker T. Washington.

³⁴⁴ The emphasis on agriculture and industrial education by the Southern Methodists in the U.S. as seen in the Tuskegee Institute requires special attention.

The industrial emphasis of the Tuskegee Institute—which Yun would visit in 1910 after his participation at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference—reinforced what he experimented with at the Anglo-Korean School.³⁴⁵ The Tuskegee Institute proved the efficacy of industrial education for the self-help of people with meager resources under racial and class oppression in society. In observing the institute, Yun reasoned that when a highly-developed country like the U.S. still invested its efforts to teach men and women how to make shoes and fix automobiles, Korea would be in much more need of industrial training.³⁴⁶

Industrial training, Yun reasoned, should determine neither the entire curriculum of the school nor its long-term goals. It would be a temporal policy tailored to the conditions of Korea, where men, women, young, and old were roaming about with empty hands, finding neither skills nor capital for subsistence. Industrial training would provide those very people with immediate means of profit and progress. The policy was meant to provide the destitute masses with tools for living, not to fulfill the ruling ego of *yangban* descendants. Yun deplored the modus operandi of the *yangban* class, “The basic principles of Chosŏn gentry is first of all not to use their hands except for writing and

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 185.

³⁴⁶ Pointing to the changed orientation by DuBois toward the voluntary segregation in the 1940s, Wilson J. Moses claims that DeBois, “despite his left-liberal inclinations, expressed a black nationalist ideology when he called for voluntary segregation in his *Dusk of Dawn*, a book in which he specifically endorsed Washington’s program of economic self-help and self-separation. In defecting from the integrationist line, he grudgingly admitted that perhaps Booker T. Washington had correctly understood the importance of building an economic and institutional base upon which political activism might more successfully be grounded.” Wilson J. Moses, “From Booker T. to Malcolm X, Black Political Thought, 1895-1965,” ed. By William R. Scott and William G. Shade, *Upon These Shores: Themes in the African-American experience, 1600 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 213.

eating, and second to maximize the use of the service of others as much as possible.

Never imagine to serve others.”³⁴⁷

Industrial education at the Anglo-Korean School was offered in combination with agricultural instructions for growing fruit trees in orchards and vegetable yards around the Anglo-Korean School. Through agro-industrial education, Yun hoped that students—who otherwise had no means for capital investment—would gain access to economic tools, cultivate uses for their hands, and serve others. Providing a means of income, albeit small at the outset, would enable students to also financially continue their education. With such a conviction, when Yun was reinstated as principal in 1920, a dairy was installed, in addition to agricultural farms and industrial workplaces. The dairy soon became one of the best in the country, equipped with silos and a herd of Holstein cows imported from the U.S. Throughout the winter, students fed the cows, which in turn produced the “best” milk in the province.³⁴⁸ Yun’s son, Allen, applied the knowledge gained at the agricultural school in the Untied States to the Anglo-Korean School’s dairy until 1922.³⁴⁹

The use of cow’s milk in 1920 was a provocative issue, something to be persuaded for ordinary people who would starve for food standing next to their beloved

³⁴⁷ Diary, January 24, 1929.

³⁴⁸ L. H. Snyder, “Training Korean Youths for Twenty-five years,” *KMF* (March 1931), 64–65.

³⁴⁹ Ryang, ed., 111. Allen later became the General Secretary of the YMCA and the first Minister of Agricultural Department of Korea after liberation from Japan.

cows.³⁵⁰ The public advocacy of milk in 1923 emerged in an article by an agricultural missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, Dexter N. Lutz. Observing impoverished farmers with their cows suffer starvation and malnutrition, Lutz proposed milk as an alternative food.³⁵¹ The article marked the first significant attempt to draw the church's attention to agricultural problems, before the rural reconstruction of the YMCA swept the country in the late 1920s. As an ever-growing number of farmers were dislocated and estranged from their land, the church could not help but consider the condition of those desperate farmers. Rural issues pertained more to the life of the masses than to the academic debates between liberals and conservatives. Agricultural concerns related more to the impact on people's lives than to discourse of the primacy of personal salvation vis-à-vis social gospels.

The simple use of cow's milk at the Anglo-Korean School was significant since it preceded any discourse on rural development. Yun's argument for milk proposed in 1911 preceded Lutz's article on the subject in 1923. The accompanying resistance to Yun's proposal from the general public, therefore, was presumably more intense. Yun insisted,

Some may object to dairy on the ground that the Koreans neither know, nor care for, the use of dairy products. A similar objection was once raised to teaching the Koreans the art of making foreign shoes. The introduction of the dairy will give the Korean a new food of the best kind and a trade which he may start without a great strain on his *jumoni* (pocket).³⁵²

³⁵⁰ L. H. Snyder, "Training Korean Youths for Twenty-Five Years," *The Korea Mission Field* (March 1931), 64.

³⁵¹ Dexter N. Lutz, "The Milch Cow in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* (February 1923), 30–32.

³⁵² Yun Ch'i-ho, "A Plea for Industrial Training," *The Korea Mission Field* (July 1911), 186.

As this article shows, the benefits of industrial training were aimed at people who had no means of financial outlay or capital (*jumoni*) for business. People with ever-growing debts who had no other assets but their hands, arid fields, and a little livestock were the major concerns reflected in Yun's blueprint of the Anglo-Korean School. The argument recurred in another of Yun's articles in 1918. In teaching young students, subjects ought to start, not end, with what rank-and-file Koreans used daily and with materials available in their homeland. Tanning, bamboo work, carpentry, tinning, hand looms, shoemaking, candle-making, soap-making, and mat-making could be easily taught—quickly bringing profits—without importing massive machinery.³⁵³ In the same way, cotton and silk products from sericulture, more easily obtainable, should be encouraged than woolen clothes that depend on imports.³⁵⁴ Yun's argument in 1918 for industrial training, including the specific kinds tailored for local conditions, only drove home his earlier industrial plea in 1911.

Commerce, agriculture, and industry were Songdo's fortes, and Yun utilized these strengths in developing the Anglo-Korean School. The school also originated from Yun's painful realization of the limits of Confucianism and its exclusive adoration of literature at the expense of manual labor and military preparation, by which Korea and China eventually both turned into imperial powers. Never had Yun denied the importance of literary lessons and scholars, but he lamented that every Korean desired to be a scholar.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Yun Ch'i-ho, "What Shall We Eat?" *The Korea Mission Field* (January 1918), 11–12.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

In founding the Anglo-Korean School, Yun's biggest concern was the broad goal of strengthening the nation, aligned with *Sirhak* scholars and the progressives.³⁵⁶ Early on, as an interpreter for the American consul Lucius Foote, Yun had advised King Kojong that laws and policies of the nation should consider the needs and benefits of the people. He said, "In enacting laws, the advantage of people should be the primary concern. We shouldn't blindly observe the tradition, rejecting the new."³⁵⁷ Benefiting the people gripped Yun's mind in emphasizing the importance of industrial education in mission schools:

Industries have to be created. Along this line Mission Schools for girls have an unlimited field for usefulness. Korean women are noted for dexterity in needle work. Besides the Korean styles and method of needle work, foreign styles can be easily and profitably taught. Sericulture and weaving are still in their infancy and await development with their magnificent possibilities. I have often said before and repeat it with conviction that no Mission school should neglect to teach its students, girls or boys, some kind of handicraft that will be useful in a Korean home. The institution which emphasizes industrial training most, will serve Korea best.³⁵⁸

Historians in Korea have interpreted industrial education during the colonial period as a Japanese scheme to emasculate Korean leadership, dwarf the spirit of resistance, and forge a slave-nation by forcing people into manual labor.³⁵⁹ The agro-

³⁵⁶ Yun Ch'ihō. "The Anglo-Korean School, Songdo," *The Korea Mission Field* (September 1907), 144.

³⁵⁷ Diary, July 22, 1884.

³⁵⁸ Yun, Ch'i-ho, "A Korean Opinion on Female Education in Korea," *the Korea Mission Field* (June 1918), 124.

³⁵⁹ Kisōk Kim, "Han'guk gūndae gyoyuk ūi giwōn kwa paldal (The origin and development of the modern education in Korea)" *Han'guk gyoyūk sa* (A history of education in Korea) (Seoul, Kyoyu gwahaksa, 1997), 191–264. This article argues that the emphasis on industrial education during the colonial period did not bring much advancement to industrial development as a whole.

industrial theme had been stressed, however, by such nationalist historians as Pak Un-sik, Chang Chi-yŏn, Sin Ch'ae-ho, Yi Ki, and Pyŏn Su, whose primary concerns rested on the living conditions of the masses and national resources.³⁶⁰ The industrial and agricultural focus of the Anglo-Korean School was launched when foreign officials (as well as Koreans) perceived Korea as underdeveloped and lacking industrial, technical, agricultural, and engineering schools. Even two decades later, the report of E. Brunner for the 1928 International Missionary Council in Jerusalem showed the extremely dire conditions of both agricultural and industrial fields.³⁶¹ Homer Hulbert and the Royal Asiatic Society viewed that Korea had remained almost the same in its industrial and technological developments for centuries.³⁶² In particular, Hulbert pointed out that all industrial and technical education had failed in Korea by 1906. The gravity of the Anglo-Korean School lay in such a context.³⁶³

The principle of self- support

³⁶⁰ Chai-sik Chung, "Confucian Tradition and Nationalist Ideology in Korea," in *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*, ed. Kenneth M. Wells (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 73, 75. Pyon Su, one of the Progressive Party members, graduated from Maryland Agricultural College. Pak ūn-sik and Chang Chi-yŏn are now listed as collaborators with colonial Japan.

³⁶¹ E. S. Brunner, "Rural Korea: A Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social, and Religious Conditions," in *The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems, the Jerusalem Meeting of the Internaitonal Missionary Council, March 24-April 8, 1928* (New York, London: International Missionary Council, 1928).

³⁶² C. T. Collyer, *The Cultivation and Preparation of Ginseng in Korea* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, 1903). See the section of the Annual Meetings.

³⁶³ Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1906), 341.

Unlike the government schools, the industrial education of the Anglo-Korean School maintained a policy of self-support. From the outset, the school charged ten sen to students every month.³⁶⁴ Charging students tuition was not easy, especially when all other mission schools offered classes for free. Yun, nonetheless, pressed on with the policy he had learned from his teacher Young J. Allen and the practice of the Anglo-Chinese College, despite the contextual differences of Korea. Yun believed that a modicum of tuition would not hurt the life of the school as long as the school offered a high-quality education, a far more important factor that attracted aspiring students. Despite financial obligations, parents would inevitably choose a valuable education over a free, but irrelevant, education. The model of self-support at the Anglo-Korean School soon opened the way for self-support at other schools as well. The report of YMCA secretary Frank M. Brockman indicates that in 1906 no school in Seoul charged students tuition, but in 1907 the YMCA began to change that practice.³⁶⁵

While Yun set the orientation of the school and its curriculum, parents gave above and beyond just the tuition rate for the purchase of benches, desks, coal, and stoves. One parent donated his own rice field so that the school could erect its main building. Parent support of the Anglo-Korean School contrasted visibly to that of other schools and was the item of admiration by those principals. There were many characteristics of the school that immediately aroused a great response and voluntary hearts from the students as well

³⁶⁴ Other schools in Songdo at that time maintained a self-support policy as well.

³⁶⁵ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report of Frank M. Brockman of Seoul Korea for the Year Ending September 30th, 1910, " YMCA Archives.

as parents: the nationalistic ethos of the founder, the native founder's unreserved dedication to private property and resources, identification of the urgent needs of compatriots, provision of practical means to pursue studies, and partnership with international Christians and the American College, Moved by the founder's own sacrifice, parents offered liberally. Koreans in San Francisco also raised funds for the Anglo-Korean School. Hearing of Yun's arrival in San Francisco on 27 January 1910, these Koreans organized a welcome committee at the San Francisco Korean Methodist Church and collected 30,000 won, which approximated Yun's goal of 40,000 won.³⁶⁶

Development of the School

Within months of the school's establishment, enrollment increased from fourteen to 150 students, growing with about 200 more boys in a few more months.³⁶⁷ Ryang Chusam's report in *Tae Do* in the U.S. that Songdo enlisted 225 students in 1909 and then 329 later in that year. *Go Forward* in Nashville featured the growth of the Anglo-Korean School as a cover story.³⁶⁸ The student population swelled to 1,235 by 20 June 1927.³⁶⁹ When Yun assumed president twice (1906–1912 and 1922–1925), the school recorded sharp growth in student enrollment, from 14 to 425, and from 953 to 1,698, respectively,

³⁶⁶ "Church News," *Tae Do* (January, February, March, 1910).

³⁶⁷ W. G. Cram, "To Honorable Thomas Sammons, Consul General, for the U.S. to Korea," Missionary Files, the M. E. C. South, Missionary Correspondence 1897-1940. Korea 1938-1940, Scholarly Resources. The letter records the statistics of students and schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in June 1907.

³⁶⁸ *Tae Do*, February 2, 1909; D. W. Lim, "Songdo Higher Common School," ed., Ryang Chusam, 108; *Go Forward* (February 1910), Young J. Allen papers, box 26, ff13, MARBL.

³⁶⁹ Ryang, ed., 107.

in one year.³⁷⁰ The school uniting the Northern Methodist, Southern Methodist, and Presbyterian schools enlisted approximately 100 students and four teachers in 1905; the Anglo-Korean School alone recorded 150 students in 1907.³⁷¹

The growth of the school also reflected in part the Christian revivals that were steadily picking up speed and range, beginning with the 1903 revival lead by R. A. Hardie in Wönsan.³⁷² As soon as the first issue of *The Korea Mission Field* emerged in 1905, W. G. Cram wrote about the powerful effusion of revivals in Songdo the previous year.³⁷³ The impending crisis of the nation in the midst of the Russo-Japanese War and the Japanese protectorate drove desperate people to the churches. The war-cry and doomed nation alone would not have necessarily induced such a powerful revival; they

³⁷⁰ Yun could not assume the role during his time in jail (1911–1915), nor when he assumed the position of General Secretary of the YMCA (1916–1920).

³⁷¹ D. A. Bunker, “Union School Work,” the *Korea Mission Field* (December 1905), 21–22. Bunker reported on the preliminary draft to unify the schools run by the Southern and Northern Methodist missionaries and the Presbyterian missionaries into one school. The two Methodist high schools were united in 1902. This article also reveals that the major reason for the need of such a union was the absence of school buildings. “The subject of union has come up at a very opportune time as none of the missionaries are provided with anything like the buildings needed for carrying on independent school work. Now when union is consummated, buildings can be erected which shall meet all needs for years to come.” Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1964), 239. For comparison, the first Protestant Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca launched by Robert Morrison in its hostile environment had only forty students, with fifteen baptized between 1818 and 1833.

³⁷² Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea: Being an Intimate Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. H. G. Underwood, D.D., LL.D., for Thirty-One Years a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Korea* (New York, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1918), 223.

³⁷³ W. G. Cram, “Revival Fires,” *The Korea Mission Field* 2 (December 1905), 33. The famous Great Revival in Korea began with a prayer meeting of Southern Methodist missionaries in Wönsan in 1903, which predated the 1907 Pyöngyang Revival. Wönsan and Songdo were the regions assigned, according to the comity of the denominational missions, to Southern Methodism. The 1907 Pyöngyang Revival originated in the 1903 Wönsan Methodist revival; the key speaker in the famous Pyöngyang Revival who struck a chord of heartfelt repentance was also Southern Methodist missionary Robert A. Hardie, whose torch was carried on by Presbyterian Kil Sön-ju. A series of revivals thus preceded and culminated in the Pyöngyang Great Revival in 1907.

were the results of the prayers of missionaries. Just as the year-long prayers of the Wilder family and the Princeton Mission Society preceded the Mount Hermon One Hundred pledge in 1886, missionaries in Songdo and Wönsan prayed so fervently for revival in the Korean churches that they dedicated the week of the Chinese New Year for Bible study and prayer. The critical social condition combined with unified prayers led to revivals that Cram had never seen in his homeland; the Holy Spirit was working in people, convicting them of sin and bringing them joy in their hearts.³⁷⁴ The revival generated genuine enthusiasm in soul-searching, prayer, and Bible study. Christians displayed visible changes in humility, honesty, industry, reparation, and restitution in their lives. Christianity emerged as a religion of salvation, morality, egalitarianism, generosity, and gentility. Forces of individual and social regeneration through Christian revivals swept Songdo, as in other provinces, manifesting themselves in visible changes of daily practices and manners both in family and society. The increase of church members animated mission schools.³⁷⁵ In the first year of the Anglo-Korean School, thirty-seven

³⁷⁴ W.G. Cram, "The Revival in Songdo," *KMF* 6 (April 1906), 112–113.

³⁷⁵ *The Korea Mission Field* 11 (September 1906); "Notes from the Stations," *The Korea Mission Field* (July 1910), 162. The church growth in the Southern Methodist Church was as follows. The statistics of the year 1908 are based on the report of the *KMF* in January 1909, which corresponds to James S. Gale's account in *Korea in Transition*, 259.

	1897	1905	1906	1908
Members	54	759	1,227	3,545
Probationers	108	457	1,694	2,536
Adult Baptized	45	201	606	1,459
Sunday School Pupils	0	561	1,412	3,049

were baptized there.³⁷⁶ In 1910, a two-week revival enlisted 2,000 new believers in Songdo in tandem with enrollment at the Anglo-Korean School growing to 330 students.

Korean students generally preferred mission schools above colonial government schools. Mission schools usually offered modern curriculums in a sympathetic attitude, but government schools had superior classroom equipment and greater opportunities regarding post-graduate employment, since they were undergirded by government subsidies. The government schools, geared relentlessly toward making model Japanese civilians, naturally teemed with Japanese students, while mission schools teemed with Korean students.³⁷⁷ The scale of student enrollment, which indicated the popularity of the Anglo-Korean School's curriculum, found its match only at the thriving Paejae Academy established two decades earlier by Henry Appenzeller. No mission or nationalist schools in Korea set such a model of international partnership between a Korean founder and American churches and colleges as did the Anglo-Korean School.

When Yun submitted his resignation after a three-year presidency, the teachers entreated him to continue official relations with the school, as the boys were holding "meeting after meeting to discuss how to prevent Yun from resignation." If Yun resigned, they said, boys would "agitate" a "campaign" against L. H. Snyder, who was appointed as the new principal.³⁷⁸ There was a good reason for student attachment to Yun. For Yun, to be the head of the school was to sacrifice and to pour in his personal resources.

Assuming principal, Yun had to deny his private life and filial duties, which was a great

³⁷⁶ Yun, Ch'i-ho, "The Anglo-Korean School, Songdo," *KMF* 9 (September 1907), 142–144.

³⁷⁷ William L. Nash, "Letter to C.A. Hershleb, Jan. 11, 1922," YMCA Archives.

³⁷⁸ Diary, February 20, 1925.

struggle for him. Despite his overt denunciation of Confucianism, Yun—as a liberator as well as a prisoner of Korean customs—still reflected the centuries-old Confucian values which prioritized loyalty to the king and filial piety to parents in society.³⁷⁹ Early on, Yun had undergone great trouble in telling his parents about his conversion to Christianity.³⁸⁰ As the eldest son of his family, he struggled with family responsibilities after his father’s retirement. Now he had to put those responsibilities aside for the school, living there with Mr. and Mrs. Wasson. In addition, Yun generously offered his private resources for the school’s development.

During Yun’s second term as principal (ending in August 1925) a number of facilities were built for the Anglo-Korean School. These included a gymnasium, a science hall, a general science quarters for zoology and botany, a library, and an upper athletic field. He also reserved a fund for the future use. The YMCA’s holistic approach to raising up youth leaders—as Yun had seen in the United States—was appropriated by the Anglo-Korean School with the newly-established library and gymnasium. Before the YMCA started its rural work, the Anglo-Korean School had offered agricultural classes, taught both by an American teacher as well as a Korean teacher, Yun’s own son, who had been trained at an agricultural college in the United States. Land for teachers’ residences was purchased. The administrative building was renovated with an investment of a modern-day equivalent of \$37,500, and an endowment was reserved for future use.

³⁷⁹ Chandra, 27. Chandra agrees that despite Yun’s vehement rejection of Confucianism, he shows more affinity in his behavioral pattern to the Confucian mode than any other Korean luminary displayed in the transitional period of Korea.

³⁸⁰ Diary, June 24, 1887.

Classes were effectively offered so as to avoid overcrowding. A dairy was newly installed and milk was produced for the public.

All these new establishments were purchased by Yun in collaboration with other Koreans. With the help of a Songdo citizen, Kim Wŏn-bae, who was reputed as one of the richest in the city, Yun started a movement for raising \$10,000 to purchase equipment for the Anglo-Korean School.³⁸¹ Yun spent \$11,000 from his personal finances.³⁸² In 1922, Yun donated \$1,500 more to the Anglo-Korean School, paying off his pledge in six years.³⁸³ By 1933, Yun had pledged nearly \$30,000 to various schools, a glimpse of his dedication to education for the nation.³⁸⁴

It is undeniable that the increase of students in Korea was owed partly to cultural policy and attenuated suppression of the Government-General after the March 1st movement in 1919, as most schools recorded growth in student enrollments in the early 1920s. The surge of students at the Anglo-Korean School, however, showed a consistent surplus. The scale of the administrative expense at the Anglo-Korean school was ten times greater than that of other educational institutions.³⁸⁵

³⁸¹ Diary, January 31, 1922; February 11, 1926.

³⁸² Diary, August 19, 1925.

³⁸³ Diary, February 1, 1922.

³⁸⁴ Diary, January 17, 1934.

³⁸⁵ According to the articles of Lim Du-wa in the *Thirtieth Anniversary*, the Anglo-Korean School used a ginseng shed for months, during which time the students swelled to about two hundreds. The school then used a temporary building of about 20 kan (one kan = 8 by 8 ft), made of bamboo poles and straw thatch or an old missionary residence of a Korean style tile roofed house. The stone dormitory was built in 1908 with \$5,000; Industrial Building in 1912 with \$5,000; Songdo Common School No. 1 in 1918 with \$4,000; Science Hall in 1918 with \$5,000; a Korean style dormitory was added in 1919 with \$3,000; Songdo Common School No. 2, built in 1920 with \$10,000; Textile Building, built in 1920 with \$8,000; Power House, built in 1921 with \$4,000; Administrative Building, built in 1921 with \$37,500; gymnasium,

Suppression by the Colonial Government

As the Anglo-Korean School developed, it was reorganized in 1913 into an elementary school (three years), a middle school (four years), and a high school (three years); the name of the school was changed to Songdo Higher Common School, the Songdo Common School No.1 and 2 in 1917. The colonial government enforced regulations that Korean schools should upgrade their standards of educational equipment to even higher than those in Japan proper. Ironically, grades were adjusted downward so as to remain between elementary school and high school. The Japanese government decreed that both Korean schools and mission schools should add the term “common” to their school names to differentiate from the Japanese government schools. The Anglo-Korean School thus changed its names to the Songdo Common School No. 1 (elementary), the Songdo Common School No. 2 (middle school), and the Songdo Higher Common School (high school). The number of students and academic years was limited as well. Accordingly, the Anglo-Korean School became the five-year Songdo Common School, as with Paejae Academy and Ehwa. The quarterly report of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Korea (November 1939) records how the Anglo-Korean School could only receive 150 students out of 1,000 applicants, indicating the popularity of the school as well as its suppression by the student enrollment limit, instituted by the

built in 1923 with \$5,000. The first building and the gymnasium were built with Yun’s and his father’s donations. Ryang, 107.

Government-General.³⁸⁶The private school law promulgated by the colonial government in 1915 laid lethal blows to mission schools and Korean nationalist schools, both of which Korean students preferred to the Japanese government schools as aforementioned. Several of those schools closed, not being able to meet the much-higher standard of equipment required by the new laws. The Anglo-Korean School, now the Songdo Higher Common School, managed to survive the blow of the new regulations along with such mission schools as Paejae Common School and Ehwa Common School.³⁸⁷

Students at the Songdo Common School were encouraged to participate in the YMCA and departments of sports, literature, Christianity, and business as extracurricular activities. Reflecting in part the school's characteristic as a mission school, Lloyd H. Snyder recorded that all 205 graduates professed Christianity, and all except five received baptism. He added that "the whole city is ready to give Christianity a hearing."³⁸⁸ The school would later see some vicissitudes in shifting locations and structures around the time of the Korean War. Overcoming those critical times, the Songdo High School

³⁸⁶ *Methodism in Korea; Quarterly Report-November 1939*. Missionary Files 1897-1940, United Methodist Church Archives-GCAH, Madison, New Jersey. *Greetings from Songdo*, Missionary Files, 1897-1940, undated. Shows 941 boy students' enrollment at the Anglo-Korean School.

³⁸⁷ Yun Ch'i-ho, "The Anglo-Korean School, Songdo," *KMF* 142 (September 1907); "Report of the Anglo-Korean School, Songdo," *KMF* 166 (November 1908); In-Su Son, *Han'kuk kyoyuk sa* (A history of education in Korea) (Seoul: Munūmsa, 1987), 537. Son In-soo differentiates "modern schools" started by Koreans from "mission schools" founded by missionaries, claiming that the former based their philosophical foundation on *Sirhak* ideologies. At the Anglo-Korean School the two categories were combined. Based on *Sirhak* pragmatism of Korea, Yun adopted a modern curriculum and introduced textbooks from the West, centering on Christian spirit. Yun's educational policy, responding to the needs of the time, steered the school to an optimized condition for cultivating Korean leaders and set the way for other Western missionaries as well.

³⁸⁸ Lloyd H. Snyder, "Songdo Higher Common School," *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (June 1925), 126.

located in the city of Inchŏn has developed into one of the best high schools in Korea at present.

Ivey Hospital

Clarence F. Reid, the first missionary from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, promised in 1896 that he would build a school and a hospital in Songdo. Reid had carried through the burden of his promise. Despite this, however, Reid had his misgivings concerning the desolate village and the declining country. During the 1906 “On to Songdo” movement in the United States, W. C. Ivey and his wife in Lynchberg, Virginia pledged to donate \$5,000. Reid’s son, Wightman T. Reid, used Ivey’s fund to return to Korea in 1907 as a medical missionary and built the first hospital of the Southern Methodist Mission—the Ivey Hospital—on the brink of Korea’s annexation the same year. The board of missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, allocated no funds for the medical mission due to its priority on evangelistic mission only. The medical mission subsisted largely on payments by American customs officers and meager fees by patients.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁹ As with the American mission board, the Presbyterian mission also preferred to downplay a medical mission out of fear of institutionalism. This fear surrounded the building of the Severance Union Medical College and Hospital that ultimately consumed \$140,000, in addition to the \$10,000 donated by Louis H. Severance. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea: Being an Intimate Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. H. G. Underwood, D.D., LL.D., for Thirty-One Years a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Korea*, 210–212.

In 1907 Wightman Reid provided 1,200 treatments at the dispensary while simultaneously studying Korean and supervising the construction.³⁹⁰ He also served with Robert A. Hardie and Joel B. Ross examining and vaccinating students in five mission schools and other patients in Songdo. Hardie had previously provided medical services while serving as an itinerant evangelist from 1890. As the Ivey Hospital was built, it assisted in the city's public health, including baby, mother, and country clinics. Particularly, the Ivey Hospital became famous, owing to a large number of opium patients and habitués. For the patients, the milk produced at the Anglo-Korean School was distributed at the hospital. Medicines kept in the eight square foot room of the old ginseng hut were transferred to the pharmacy, while other rooms were used for wards, operations, treatments, an ear, nose, and throat department, and infant welfare.³⁹¹

The funds used in building the Ivey Hospital also enabled the construction of two branch hospitals in Wönsan and Ch'unch'ön, both in Kangwön Province. These hospitals resulted in 456,439 dispensary treatments and 15,032 inpatient treatments between 1909 and 1926. As with other missions, medical missionaries divided their time between evangelism and patient treatment. The Hospital Preaching Band was organized at the Ivey Hospital and supported two native evangelists. While doctors and nurses offered medical services, a native preacher and a Bible woman preached and distributed gospel

³⁹⁰ C. F. Reid, to Yun Ch'i-ho, Oct. 1, 1908, mimeographed, MARBL. W.T. Reid, "History of our Medical Work," 92-95, ed., Chu-sam Ryang, *Southern Methodism in Korea, Thirtieth Anniversary* (Seoul: Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Korea, 1934).

³⁹¹ *Greetings from Songdo Korea* (cir. 1934), Pamphlet, Missionary Files, 1897-1940, United Methodist Church Archives-GCAH, Madison, New Jersey.

tracts to those waiting for treatment.³⁹² The Ivey Hospital furthermore started the Nurses Training School in 1911, owing to its nurses: Miss Lowder, Miss Bray, Miss Furry, and Helen Rosser. Koryo Woman's Evangelistic Center, a women's center inheriting the legacy of the Koryŏ Dynasty, was also organized at the hospital. Over eight hundred women enrolled at the center, learning home economics, music, table tennis, and public health.³⁹³ In order to raise up future doctors, the hospital instituted a medical scholarship to support natives studying at the Severance Union Medical College. One of the scholarship recipients, Pak Tai Hyeng, practiced medicine at Wŏnsan Hospital.³⁹⁴

The flourishing Ivey Hospital in Songdo experienced a setback when its patron, Ivey, passed away in 1925. Reid had earlier suggested that the hospital charge fees, even just a little, for medicine and medical services, but the hospital did not develop a system of self-support.³⁹⁵ Furthermore, when a Korean doctor, Hur, trained at the Severance Medical College in Seoul, a competition started with the Ivey Hospital in Songdo, resulting in the number of Ivey patients decreasing significantly.³⁹⁶ The hospital held an important place next to the church and the school in Yun's blueprint of the Songdo Christian Village. However, the sustainability of the Ivey Hospital was put in jeopardy when it—unlike the Anglo-Korean School—continued to rely on external financial

³⁹² W. T. Reid, "Annual Report of Songdo Medical Work," *Korea Mission Field* (November 1908), 162–164.

³⁹³ *Greetings from Songdo, Korea*.

³⁹⁴ W.T. Reid, "History of Our Medical Work," *Thirtieth Anniversary*, 95–96.

³⁹⁵ W.T. Reid, "Hospital Self-Support," *The Korea Mission Field* (January 1916), 19–22.

³⁹⁶ W.T. Reid, "History of our Medical Work," ed., Ryang, 92–95.

resources in building, maintenance, and medical treatment of charity patients. The dependence structure of the hospital eventually undermined its viability, in contrast to the Anglo-Korean School that was built and managed with both national as well as international resources and a strong emphasis on self-supporting. With the decline of the Ivey Hospital, its branch in Ch'unch'ŏn was forced to close.

The Churches

Yi Sang-chaе (1850–1927), one of the most honored Korean Christians in history, wrote one article in the *Korea Mission Field* during his lifetime. He argued that Koreans, while dismissing Chinese greatness, Japanese military strength, and Western wealth, had “always believed in a supreme creator.”³⁹⁷ Yi’s hyperbole elevated the role of religion for Koreans to the eclipse of other foreign prizes, pointing to the driving force that made the Songdo Christian Village a lasting legacy. Christianity infused vitality, motivation, wholeness, and meaning into the daily lives of farmers and students in the village. What Yun sought was not merely an increase of wealth and health. Yun believed that both moral and spiritual strength constituted the core of human life, upon which education for socio-economic independence would bring about a lasting impact on individuals as well as the nation.³⁹⁸ Physical treatment and spiritual strength should be offered to people, both intricately intertwining in the human body.

³⁹⁷ Yi, Sang-chaе, “What would I do if I were a young missionary in Korea,” *The Korea Mission Field* (December 1923), 258.

By 1908 two flourishing churches were centered in the Songdo Christian Village and these sprawling churches reached its vicinity with two circuits of 70–80 churches at each. At the Songdo Christian Village were stationed six missionaries from the Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and three missionaries from the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society.³⁹⁹ The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, launched in 1895, saw in a decade thirty-seven missionaries, four stations (Wönsan, Seoul, Songdo, and Church’ön), 161 churches or societies, sixty native preachers, and about 5,000 communicants.⁴⁰⁰

As with his model at the Anglo-Korean School, Yun underlined the responsibility of natives in evangelism. At the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, Yun made a pithy statement on this point: “The Native Church is the greater debtor to preach the Gospel to the people even than the missionaries.”⁴⁰¹ Yun’s conviction was expressed in his active engagement in Christian services in China, America, and Korea, including prison evangelism, the World Christian Temperance Movement, the World Sunday School Convention, mission societies, charities, missionary speeches, founding a mission

³⁹⁸ In the same article, Yi Sang-chaе stated that while Koreans had despised Chinese greatness, Japanese strength, and Western wealth and military strength, “Koreans had always believed in a supreme creator.” Yi, thus, stressed the crucial importance of the religious dimension a Korea.

³⁹⁹C. T. Collyer, “Back to Songdo,” *Go Forward* (February 1908) Young J. Allen papers, box 26, MARBL.

⁴⁰⁰ W. G. Cram, “To the Honorable Thomas Sammons, Consul General for the United States of America, to Korea,” Missionary Files. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Missionary Correspondence, 1897-1940. Korea 1938-1940. Scholarly Resources.

⁴⁰¹ Yun Ch’i-ho, “The Place of the Native Church in the Work of Evangelization,” *KMF* (February, 1911), 48–50.

school, and pioneering churches. His activities inspired people in the Songdo Christian Village toward active engagement in evangelism.

The Ivey Hospital in the Songdo Christian Village organized the Hospital Preaching Band and supported two evangelists in 1908, just a couple of years after its foundation. In September of that year, the church in Songdo reached a resolution to begin its mission in Manchuria and organized its “Kando Missionary Society.” The mission provided financial support for a team of three missionaries, Yi Hwa-ch’un and two colporteurs, Yi Ung-hyŏn and Ham Chu-ik, commissioned to Yongjŏng, Kando. Once those Korean missionaries started their mission, the church in Kando swelled to nearly 500 members within a year. In March 1909 the overflowing church in Kando ventured a mission to Hesamwi in North Kando near Vladivostok, Siberia. Not only Koreans, but also foreign missionaries championed those missions. W. G. Cram commended that Yi’s work in Kando was “of a high character and definitely constructive.”⁴⁰² R. A. Hardie also supported the Manchurian mission. The mission in Hesamwi was transferred to the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in 1909, and Yi Hwa-ch’un had to return to Korea in accordance with the territorial comity established among the differing missions. The Southern Methodist mission in Manchuria was suspended for ten years until M. B. Stokes and Ryang Chu-sam were commissioned to Siberia and Manchuria by the Board of Missions, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1919.⁴⁰³ W. G. Cram was later appointed Bishop of Siberia and the Manchuria mission.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² Ibid.

In 1915, twenty years after the beginning of the mission in Korea, W. G. Cram reported that the Korean Methodist Episcopal Church, South had achieved total self-propagation. They were directing and financing both foreign missions and home missions, as well as establishing church extension projects and making improvements in their various missions. The condition in which Koreans pushed the mission was well-portrayed in the report of Cram: “the mass of the people in the territory allotted to this mission is miserably poor” and the destitute native church had been conducting the mission “out of the abundance of their poverty.”⁴⁰⁵

The Repercussions of the Songdo Christian Village

Yun’s Songdo Christian Village and the Anglo-Korean School stimulated other nationalists to attempt their own ideal villages. Yun Ch’i-ho and An Ch’ang-ho founded Taesŏng School, where Yun was the first principal and An the spokesperson of principal in Pyŏng-yang in 1908.⁴⁰⁶ The school was a part of the vision of Sinminhoe, a nationalist

⁴⁰³ Yi Hwa-ch’un, “Pukkando Sosik (News on North Kando),” *Tae Do* 1 (March, June 1909). By 1924, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South established three churches and two schools within two years of their mission in Harbin. These were largely composed of four settlements: old Russian émigrés, the new Russian settlement, Chinatown, and a Japanese settlement. Thousands of Russian refugees after the Russian Revolution and the World War fled to Harbin, especially to the new Russian settlement. J. Robert Moose, “The M. E. Church, South, in Harbin,” *The Korea Mission Field* (1924), 84

⁴⁰⁴ Dongsik Ryu, 389.

⁴⁰⁵ W.G. Cram, “Native church missionary enterprises- M.E. Church, South Mission,” *Korea Mission Field* 7 (July 1915).

⁴⁰⁶ Kyŏmgok, “Ch’ukha taesŏng hakkyo (Celebrating the foundation of Taesŏng School),” *Sŏbukhakkoe Wŏlbo* (Monthly of the North-West Society) 6 (November 1908): 3,4.; Hwang Hyŏn, *Maechŏnyarok* vol. 6 (1908). Yi Kwang-su, “Mobŏmŭi in Yun Chi-hosi,” *Tongkwang*, vol. 10 (1927 February):

organization, to establish a school, business, and other means of strengthening the nation by An and Yun. As in the Anglo-Korean School, Taesǒng School established department of teachers and agriculture.⁴⁰⁷ Although the school was forced to close after the Korean Conspiracy Case in 1913 partly because of its overt display of militaristic discipline, its spirit made a significant influence on Korean youth even after its dissolution.⁴⁰⁸ Yun's collaboration with An Ch'ang-ho for the nation building was identifiable as well in Yun's role as the president of Chǒngnyǒn hakuhoe (Young Men's Association), a junior organization for Sinminhoe, both of which were founded by An Ch'ang-ho.⁴⁰⁹ Cherishing the comprehensive vision similar to the Songdo Christian Village, An purchased property in Namkyǒng and Chinkang, China in 1925. When his plan was frustrated by the eruption of the Manchurian War, An bought a house from which he would unfurl his vision of an ideal village in Korea. He planned a village that would accommodate 200 houses with planned streets, sewage systems, a church, inns, a school, a public bathroom, a post office, a bank, and a cooperative association. Despite his death in 1938 and his unfulfilled plan, An's dream indicates the lasting influence of the earlier model of the Songdo Christian

⁴⁰⁷ Kim Hyǒng-sik, "Pyǒngyang Taesǒng hakkyo wa An Ch'angho (Pyǒngyang Taesǒng School and An Ch'angho)," *Samch'ŏlli* (1932 February):14-17. Kim recalled that the school was founded in 1907 and Yun was president, while An was Taebyǒn Kyojang (Spokesperson of principal). Kim's record of school activities such as a debate club and military band reflects the influence of the YMCA and its first principal, Yun. Considering the Pyǒngyang football league with a Seoul football team held first in Pyǒngyang and the famous tension between Seoul and Pyǒng-yang luminaries, we can infer Yun's role in the event who strived to unite Seoul and Pyǒngyang people. Kim records that Taesǒng School had the first 19 graduates in 1912, right before the school was closed in 1913.

⁴⁰⁸ Diary, June 2, 1922. Yun Ch'i-ho records how people commemorated the anniversary of the school's foundation, even when the school no longer existed.

⁴⁰⁹ *Tonggwang* (The Eastern Light) 34 (June 1932): 355; Yi, Kwang-su. "Mobǒmŭi in Yun Ch'i-ho ssi (A model man, Yun Ch'i-ho)." *Tong-gwang* (The Eastern Light) 10 (February 1927): 212-214. Here Yi Kwang-su points out that Yun Ch'i-ho and An Ch'ang-ho were of one spirit, which led them to build together Taesǒng Academy and Young Men's Association.

Village.⁴¹⁰ It was An Ch'ang-ho in Shanghai who vindicated Yun's patriotism, "I believe Yun's love, will, faithfulness for Korea."⁴¹¹

The Songdo Christian Village also inspired Yi Sŭng-hun (1864–1930), who founded the famous O San High School in Chŏngju, Pyŏngan Province in 1907. Like Yun, Yi planned to start a model village in Osan, which would be an educational complex from kindergarten to a college of agriculture. The village would provide economic, ethical, and cultural models for other cities, with its reform ideals spreading throughout the country. Yun had relationships with both An Ch'ang-ho and Yi Sung-hun. Yi was imprisoned with Yun on account of the Korean Conspiracy Case in 1912. They were sentenced with ten years but both were released in 1915. Yi was converted to Christianity after his release. Yun also assumed the position of principal at both An Ch'ang-ho's Taesŏng School and Yi Sŭng-hun's Osan School. Additionally, he was a board member, together with Yi, of *Sin Min Hoe* (신민회, 新民會, New People's Society),⁴¹² a patriotic band organized by An Ch'ang-ho. It is safe, therefore, to argue that An, Yi, and Yun shared a common vision for both the nation and the Songdo Christian Village.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ Ki-ŏn Han, *Han'guk kyoyuk sa* (Seoul: Pakyŏngsa, 1983), 357–359.

⁴¹¹ Yi, Kwang-su. "Mobŏmŭi in Yun Ch'i-ho ssi (A model man, Yun Ch'i-ho)." *Tong-gwang* (Eastern Light). 1 February 1927. Yi here records that after having heard An's repeated vindication of Yun, Yi changed his antipathy toward Yun, as with others who were disappointed with Yun's pacifistic attitude after his release from the Taegu prison.

⁴¹² *Sinminhoe* was organized in 1907 in order to promote Korean industry by establishing a ceramics plant, to promote education by establishing schools, and to promote Korean public spirit by operating bookstores. Major members included An Ch'angho, Yi Tong-whi, Yang Ki-t'ak, Yi Sŭng-hun, and Yun Ch'i-ho; they were all arrested after the Korean Conspiracy Case. Lee Ki-baik, 328–329.

⁴¹³ Han, 343–344.

When Sō Chae-p'il left for America, Yun united with An and Yi in their nationalistic efforts as long as they remained in Korea. Their shared imprisonment, cooperation in nationalism, involvement with *Sinminhoe*, and dreams of modern schools and ideal villages meant they had shared affinity. Their emphases on vocational education, integrity, value of manual labor, agricultural development, and Christianity indicated that the messages and methods of the Songdo Christian Village had found resonance among other Christian nationalists in Korea. Under no influence or compulsion of the social gospel, those nationalists understood Christianity as a catalyst for the comprehensive renewal of community, thereby social reform, bringing hope for strength and independence to Korea.

The Osan High School of Yi Sŭng-hun received so much support from its parents, as did the Anglo-Korean School, that the two schools could upgrade their equipment and facilities. The Osan High School was equipped with a dispensary and shower rooms.⁴¹⁴ The Anglo-Korean School, offering education from elementary to senior high school students, was equipped with an industrial building, science hall, Korean-style dormitory, library, dairy, textile building, power house, administrative building, and gymnasium. The parental zeal at both schools contrasted that of the parents of the First Higher Common School's, who were noticeably apathetic to the school's campaign for an athletic ground, to the deep dismay of its principal.

⁴¹⁴ *Dong-a Ilbo*, November 25, 1925.

Yun and Yi concurred in their belief that Christianity would provide a solid foundation for nation-building with its teachings of sacrifice, service, and compassion. In order to infuse Christian ideals, the Osan school appointed Stacy L. Robert, a missionary, as its principal and Bible teacher.⁴¹⁵ A few days before Yi's death, he confided to Yun something that he would not tell others. When Yi passed away in May 1930, Koreans desired to commemorate his service to society with a social funeral—as they had done with Yi Sang-jae's funeral in 1927—and to lay his corpse on the ethanol preservation at his school in Osan. The Japanese government, afraid of a similar massive stirring that occurred at the social burial of Yi Sang-jae, ordered a normal burial of Yi.⁴¹⁶ Yun Ch'i-ho presided at the funerals of both Yi Sang-chaе and Yi Sŭng-hun.

Initiatives of educational mission

The first modern school (as well as the first girls' school) in Korea is accredited to Christian missions; in particular, to Ewha University founded by Mary F. Scranton. The significance of Ewha rests less on its role as the first girls' school and more on the fact that it was the first modern school for Koreans, still existing today.⁴¹⁷ Before the emergence of Ewha, a semblance of a modern school in Korea was found in *Tongmunhak*, an institute primarily for teaching English. German consultant and subsequent vice-

⁴¹⁵ Gyo-hyon Yi, *Namgang Yi Sunghun ui Saengae wa chŏngsin* (Life and thoughts of Namgang Yi Sunghun) (Seoul: Namgang Munwha Jaedan, 2001), 59–60.

⁴¹⁶ Diary, June 7, 1930.

⁴¹⁷ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Sanghae saenggak (Reminiscence of Shanghai)." *Samch'ŏnri* (Three thousand Li) vol. 10, no. 5 (May 1938): 63–66. Here Yun maintained that Ewha preceded Paejae.

president of the foreign office, Paul Georg von Möllendorff, started the institute in September 1883 at the request of the Korean government. The institute aimed at raising up interpreters, similar to the model of *Tongmun'gwan* in China.⁴¹⁸ Möllendorff was preoccupied with too many government tasks, and after some months he handed over the educational work to an English teacher, T. E. Hallifax, and a Chinese teacher, S. Y. Tong.⁴¹⁹ As Martina Deuchler points out, Möllendorff's efforts for modernization of Korea were "too diverse to be effective."⁴²⁰ *Tongmunhak* exhausted its life after only three years and was replaced by *Yukyöng Kongwön*.

Yukyöng Kongwön was a modern school founded by the Korean government on 23 September 1886. King Kojong requested three American English teachers to start the school. Considering the hardships that the individuals would have to endure in Korea, the American consul concluded that ministers from seminaries would fit best the situation. George W. Gilmore, Homer B. Hulbert, and Dalzell A. Bunker from Union Theological Seminary were thus chosen for the modern government school. The propitious beginning of *Yukyöng kongwön* started with a new building, a government subsidy, and *yangban* students; however, it expired after eight years mainly due to the estrangement between teachers and students. Yi Gwang-rin argues that the failure of the school was related to its approach to the upper class of Korean society, resulting in tensions between *yangban*

⁴¹⁸ Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 153.

⁴¹⁹ Yi, *Han'guk Kaehwa Sa Yon'gu*, 94–97. Yi points out that one of the well-known students was Namsung Ŏk, who later became vice-president of the Independence Club and president of the *Hwangsöng Sinmun* press.

⁴²⁰ Deuchler, 164. Deuchler elaborates on the account of von Möllendorff in chapter 9.

students who wanted to decide their own mode of behaviors and teachers who strived to keep academic codes. Students tended to assert their social prerogatives without particular aspirations for upward mobility through academic endeavors.⁴²¹ Those *yangban* students were too satisfied with their status to comply with teachers' demands or be motivated by zeal and quality education. Hulbert maintained that the failure of the school resulted from pervasive nepotism in Korea.⁴²² Teachers regretted that students expected high grades as a result of courtesy, not academic efforts.⁴²³ Among the three modern schools opened in 1886 (Ehwa, Tongmunhak, and Yukyong kongwŏn), only Ehwa has flourished until today; *Yukyŏng kongwŏn* closed in 1894.

Students attending mission schools were in large part socially and economically marginalized, therefore eager to learn for social betterment.⁴²⁴ The date for the introduction of mission schools to Korea has been contested, but in general the range of ministries allowed for female missionaries was narrower than those available to their male counterparts. Female missionaries, therefore, squarely tackled school projects, resulting in girls' schools mostly preceding boys' schools in Korea. Methodist Henry Appenzeller followed Mary Scranton's start with a boys' school, and in 1891 Presbyterian Horace G. Underwood followed Annie Ellers' *Yesugyo Yŏhakdang*

⁴²¹ Yi, *Han'guk kaehwa sa yŏn'gu*, 120.

⁴²² Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 339.

⁴²³ Yi, *Han'guk kaehwa sa yŏn'gu*, 111. Homer Hulbert graduated from Dartmouth. His father was a famous preacher in the Congregational Church and dean of Middlebury College. His mother was the descendant of the founder of Dartmouth College and the daughter of a missionary to India.

⁴²⁴ The first student of Ehwa, a disregarded concubine, sought a high position by learning English.

(Christian Girls School), renaming his orphanage *Yesugyo Hakdang* (Christian School).⁴²⁵

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, also made history with girls' schools. Ten male missionaries and their spouses⁴²⁶ from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South did not establish any schools from the beginning of the mission in 1896 until 1906. However, twelve single female missionaries during the same period founded the Carolina Institute, the Lucy Cunningham School, the Holston Institute, and the Mary Helm School.⁴²⁷ The Carolina Institute for girls (*Paewha Hakdang*) was founded by Josephine P. Campbell in October 1898 within one year of her arrival in Korea.⁴²⁸ The Lucy Cunningham Girls' School, a boarding school for girls in Wönsan, was the second school in the mission founded by Carroll and Knowles in 1903.⁴²⁹ The next year, Arrena Carroll, Ella Sue Wagner, and Lillian E. Nichols started another girls' boarding school, the

⁴²⁵ Chöng, Vol.1, 164. Yonsei claims that the beginning of the school was in February 1885, when the Korean government established *Kwanghyewon* by the cooperation of Kojong and Horace Newton Allen. This clinic was renamed *Chejungwon* in March and later renamed as the Severance Hospital, which merged with Yonsei. Yi Kwang-rin endorses Samuel Moffett's document, "First Annual Report of the Paeché Hakdang, 1888-1889 (Seoul, Trilingual Press)," which records, "The first steps towards the organization of the Paeché Hakdang were taken in the Fall of 1885, --- In June of 1886 a preparatory school was opened by Rev. H.G. Appenzeller with the attendance of seven young men." Ehwa Hakdang started on 31 May 1886. Yi, *Han'guk Kaehwa Sa Yon'gui*, 9. Considering all of this in order, Mary Scranton first started Ehwa, followed by Appenzeller's Paeché, Eller's Chöngsin, and followed by Underwood's Yonsei.

⁴²⁶ Spouses were not counted as missionaries until a resolution by the Board of Mission in 1919. R. A. Hardie, "Korea Mission," Ryang Chu-sam, ed., 69.

⁴²⁷ In 1908, the Joy Hardie Bible School for women was founded by Arrena Carroll in Songdo. In 1907, the Alice Cobb Bible School for women was started in Wönsan by Alice Cobb.

⁴²⁸ Josephine Campbell, the first Southern Methodist woman missionary, lost her husband and children at age twenty-seven. When she arrived in Korea at age forty-four, she took only an adopted daughter (Dora Yu), like widow Mary Scranton took her son William Scranton. Campbell dedicated her life to Korea until she was buried at the Yangwhajin Foreigner's Cemetery in 1920.

⁴²⁹ The school developed into high school, primary, and kindergarten departments. The value of the plant and equipment in 1934 was 250,000 yen.

Holston Institute (Hosudon Girls' School), in Songdo with twelve girls. The Mary Helm School for married women and young widows in Songdo was opened in April 1906 by Cram.⁴³⁰

The Holston Institute and the Mary Helm School in Songdo were conceived and started by Korean women, growing into the biggest institutes among girls' schools.⁴³¹ The American women of the Holston Conference responded to the Korean women's initiative, resulting in the Holston Institute.⁴³² The Mary Helm School was launched in view of widows and married girls at the insistence of upper-class Korean women. These young widows were so eager to learn that they purchased a house near the learning center of the mission compound. At the start of this school, these women appealed to Yun Ch'i-ho, who became the school's first benefactor and introduced Mrs. Cram to join its faculty, along with Yun and Kim Kwang-kui. These enterprises of Korean women—either by

⁴³⁰ Arrena Carrol later became Mrs. C. T. Collyer. The Carolina Institute was named so because of the gift of the children of South Carolina to the school. The first students were five little girls of eight years old. It was a boarding school until 1902. Hallie Buie, "Carolina Institute, Seoul," in Ryang, ed., *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea*.

⁴³¹ Lillian Nichols, "Holston Institute, Songdo" Ryang, ed., 128. The Holston Institute was conceived by a group of Korean women on a picnic. The excursion turned into an occasion for hatching the idea of this school; these women pressed the project by suggesting to pay the salary of one native teacher if the Woman's Missionary Society sent them a woman teacher for starting the work. American women's mission agencies and their benefactors responded to their initiative. The Holston Institute was the first to obtain registration from the government, the first to make a concert tour, the first to publish a school journal, and the first girls' school to run with the principle of self-support of the natives. Students who did not have tuition brought rice instead. Noreen Dunn Tatum, *A Crown of Service: A Story of Women's Work in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from 1878-1940* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1960), 113. Arrena Carroll, the first principal, started the nascent stage of this school with twelve students in a transformed ginseng shed she bought. It was first used for Sunday Bible school and this school turned it into the Gaesong (Songdo) Girls' School. The expansion of the school necessitated the purchase of a larger house. Ellasue Wagner became the second principal and remained at the school for sixteen years.

⁴³² *Ibid*, 290. The Holston conference had already accumulated experience in pioneering a benevolent project in Holston Orphan's Home in Greeneville, Tennessee.

nationalists or non-nationalists—were criticized by male nationalists, as Kenneth Wells points out.⁴³³

Any semblance of a boys' school in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South was attempted by woman missionaries. Mary Littleton Smithey (missionary in Soochow and Shanghai for five years) moved to Korea and married C. T. Collyer, starting and superintending the first classes for boys in the Mission Book Room outside of South Gate, Songdo.⁴³⁴ Sadie Harbaugh, editor of the *Korea Mission Field* for one year and treasurer of the mission, arrived in Songdo in 1899 and took over the classes, expanding them to the North Ward and South Ward churches.⁴³⁵ When she had to leave for Seoul in 1904, Arrena Carroll took charge. The boys' classes that were started and run by Mary Littleton Smithey, Sadie Harbaugh, and Arrena Carroll formed a tenuous, but vibrant, tributary of a school without a building. Their classes would become the nucleus of the Anglo-Korean School in 1906.⁴³⁶ Within seven years, the boys had to move their classroom location five times; when the Anglo-Korean School opened, the students were incorporated into the new, stable school.

⁴³³ Kenneth M. Wells, "The Price of Legitimacy: Women and the Kūnuhoe Movement, 1927-1931," in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 191–230. This article shows how Yun's view liberally sponsored the nationalist enterprise of the progressive women and how Christian institutions were responsible for over 70% of women's education even in 1927; Ryang Chusam, ed., 132.

⁴³⁴ Mrs. C.T. Collyer, "My first Two years in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, (August 1930), 161–162. Paik Namsök, a graduate of the Anglo-Korean School and professor at the Chosön Christian College, was her first student.

⁴³⁵ Ryang Chu-sam, ed., 53, 83. Harbaugh requested \$5,000 in order to launch an industrial department.

⁴³⁶ Mrs. C.T. Collyer, "My first Two years in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field* (August 1930) 161.

Principals and students

The Anglo-Korean School started with its first principal, Yun (a Korean), but for two decades subsequent principals were all American missionaries. This changed when Lim Doo-wha became the interim principal during L. H. Snyder's sabbatical year.⁴³⁷ Alfred Washington Wasson (王永德, 1880–1964) succeeded Yun's responsibilities of principal. Wasson came to Korea right after his graduation from Vanderbilt in 1905 at the age of twenty-five. Wasson and his wife were stationed in the Songdo Christian Village, learning from Yun the management of the Anglo-Korean School; they were dedicated to the Anglo-Korean School for seventeen years. Wasson moved to Union Methodist Theological Seminary (Hyöpsöng Theological Seminary) as a professor in 1922, its president in 1923, and left for America to assume the chair of the missions department at Southern Methodist University in 1925. Drawing on his experience in Korea, Wasson published his book *Church Growth in Korea* (1934).⁴³⁸ He served as general secretary of the Board of Missions for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from 1934 to 1940 while united Korean Methodism had Ryang Chusam as its superintendent and conducted Korean missions in Manchuria.

⁴³⁷ Yun Ch'i-ho (1906–1912), Rev. W. G. Cram, (1912–1914), Rev. A. W. Wasson (1914–1920), W. G. Cram (1920–1921), A. W. Wasson (1921–1922), Yun Ch'i-ho (1922–1925), Rev. C. N. Weems (1925–1926), L. H. Snyder (1926–) Ryang, ed., *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea*. Lim Doo-wha, "Songdo Higher Common School," 107, 109.

⁴³⁸ His articles in *Sinhak Segye* (The world of theology) such as "What happens to Christians," "World Religions," "Life and work of Evangelists," and "Methods of Christ for the expansion of the Kingdom" reveal his deep concern for the expansion of Christianity.

The principal that succeeded Yun, Willard Gliden Cram (奇義男, 1875–1969), came to Korea in 1902 at the age of twenty-seven after his graduation from Asbury Theological Seminary. Cram was excellent in Korean and poured much of his efforts into the Songdo Christian Village.⁴³⁹ He served as an interpreter and editor-in-chief of *The Christian Advocate*, assistant editor of *The Christian News*, was on the Board of Translators of the Scriptures, became general secretary of the centenary movement in 1920, president of the Korea Conference in 1924, bishop in 1923, and secretary of the Board of Missions from 1926 to 1940.⁴⁴⁰

Clarence Norwood Weems (魏任世, 1875–1952), with his wife and his son David, came to Korea in August 1909, commissioned by the Methodist Mission Board. He joined the Wassons, Willard G. Cram, and Yun, teaching geography at the Anglo-Korean School.⁴⁴¹ Yun's Emory classmate, Weems, remained in Korea even after his wife passed away, staying until he was forced to leave by the Japanese government in 1940. Weems edited two volumes of Homer Hulbert's *History of Korea*.

Although the presidency of the Anglo-Korean School was largely held by the Southern Methodist missionaries, the school's teachers were mostly Koreans. From the beginning, three Korean teachers directed the Korean language department and two Korean students assisted them. By the 1920s, all the teachers were Korean. In 1934, Kim

⁴³⁹ Yun Ch'i-ho, to Warren A. Candler, July 28, 1907. Mrs. Cram worked for young widowed women at the school.

⁴⁴⁰ Ryang Chusam, ed., 77.

⁴⁴¹ *Tae Do* (August 1909); *Go Forward* (August 1909), 21. Young J. Allen Papers, Box 26, MARBL.

Joon-Ok, one of the old ginseng shed students, assumed full responsibility as principal. As the second Korean principal of the school, he received a warm welcome from the Korean community at his inauguration. Yun commended Kim as “the most efficient and successful principal the Songdo Higher Common School has ever had.”⁴⁴²

This Korean president of a Korean school, however, was under constant scrutiny by the Japanese administration. Kim’s position was taken over by Japanese principals—easily expected under the colonial regime. Kim was forced to resign on 16 September 1938 under the charge of collusion with a club named *Hŭngŏp Gurakbu* (The Industrial Club), where Yun was president.⁴⁴³ Kim’s forced resignation explains why the Anglo-Korean School had continued to retain American principals. It also indicates the threat level that the Korean school and principal constituted to Japanese colonial expansion. Additionally, the incident illustrates what tactics were employed under the colonial government against Koreans running their own institutions. The actual charge against Kim was elusive. The Japanese government ordered that the Imperial Rescript on Education, as both the sacrosanct words of the divine Tenno Hoeka and deity in of itself, should be enshrined in a box at every school on a wall of the principal’s office.⁴⁴⁴ The

⁴⁴² Diary, January 2, 1934; September 11, 1938.

⁴⁴³ Diary, September 11, 1938. The club sought to promote the economic strength of Korean people. The Japanese police, aware of its patriotic impact, forced Yun to resign from the presidency, arresting him on suspicion of “a secret society working for the Independence of Korea.” After the arrest of the principal, Kim and other ex-members of the Industrial Club paid homage to the Seoul shrine in order to prevent more arrests.

⁴⁴⁴ Diary, May 12, 1935.

little box of Tenno Hoeka often functioned, however, as a dagger for eliminating principals. On the pretext of its absence, principal Kim was arrested by the police.⁴⁴⁵

Among other noted Korean staff, Ryang Chu-sam was vice-principal from 1916 to 1918, when Yun was appointed to the first Korean general secretary of the YMCA. Ryang continued the responsibility at the Anglo-Korean School until he was appointed as the general secretary for the centennial project of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and launched mission in Manchuria in November 1918.⁴⁴⁶ Considering Ryang's educational trajectory from the Anglo-Chinese School in Shanghai (graduated in 1905) and Vanderbilt University (graduated in 1913), just like Yun had treaded two decades earlier, it is no wonder that Ryang assumed the role of vice principal of the Anglo-Korean School.⁴⁴⁷ Kim Kyo-sin also taught at the Anglo-Korean School from October 1941 until *Songso Chosŏn* was ordered to close and Kim was imprisoned with other editors of the magazine in 1942. The Anglo-Korean School that Yun founded thus provided the renowned nationalist, Kim Kyo-sin, the opportunity to unfurl his aspiration to nurture future Korean leaders.⁴⁴⁸ Ironically, Kim Kyo-sin, who was depicted as the iconic

⁴⁴⁵ Diary, May 8, 1935.

⁴⁴⁶ Ryu Hyŏng-gi, *Paeksadang Ryang Chu-sam paksa sojŏn* (A biography of Ryang Chusam) (Seoul: Kyŏngch'ŏn aeinsa, 1939). 9,10.

⁴⁴⁷ *Han'guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of the Korean Methodist Church), 350, 351.

⁴⁴⁸ Sŏnso Chosŏn, www.biblekorea.net, accessed on March 20, 2011. English translation of Kim articles in Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn on this website have been made by Kim's son, Kim Chŏng-min, in July 2010.

nationalist by Ryang Hyŏn-hye in order to penalize Yun Ch'i-ho as the iconic renegade of Korea, unfurled his aspiration for the future of Korea at the Anglo-Korean School.⁴⁴⁹

The Anglo-Korean School raised up too many exemplary students to properly introduce here. The case of a few graduates would suffice to illustrate the impact that the industrial and agricultural focus of the school had on its students. In San Francisco in 1910, Yun and C. F. Reid decided that twenty-three outstanding Korean students would be trained in the United States. Kim Yŏng-ŭi and Lim Du-wa were thus matriculated at Emory College with a grant from the Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South.⁴⁵⁰ Kim Yŏng-ŭi became a professor at Ewha College after his study at Emory and wrote a biography of Yun in 1934.⁴⁵¹ Another student from the Anglo-Korean School, Choi Gyunam, received a Ph.D in physics.⁴⁵² Paik Nam-sŏk, who was the son of the famous blind evangelist Paik Sakyŏng, also studied at Emory and Columbia University and became a professor at the Chosŏn Christian College in Seoul.⁴⁵³ These Songdo High School students illuminate the fact that the agricultural and industrial emphasis of the school did not necessarily produce manual laborers for the Japanese Empire, as some scholars have argued. As Yun had argued, economic courses fit for the Korean context

⁴⁴⁹ Yang Hyŏn-hye, *Kim Kyosin kwa Yun Ch'i-ho*. (Seoul: Hanul, 1994).

⁴⁵⁰ *Minutes of the Annual Conference, the Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: 1916), 267.

⁴⁵¹ Yong Heui Kim, ed., *Chwaong Yun Ch'i-Ho Sŏnsaeng Yakchŏn* (Kyongsong: Kidokkyo Choson Kamnihoe Ch'ongniwŏn, 1934).

⁴⁵² April 26, 1934.

⁴⁵³ Mrs. C. T. Collyer, "My first Two years in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, (August 1930), 161–162.

enabled students to self-support and proceed with the provision of an economic basis. In doing so, they could pursue the career of their own choice and lead Korea toward independence.

Korean National Anthem

It was when Yun was engrossed in building the Anglo-Korean School and the Songdo Christian Village that he composed the Korean national anthem.⁴⁵⁴ Korea had just come out of its seclusion policy and scrambled through the incursions of world powers, but lost its sovereignty. Though international powers no longer contended for its concessions, Korea now had to subjugate itself to the “friendly” rule of Japan, turning to a monopolized market and labor supply only for their colonizers. While constructing the Songdo Christian Village in 1908, Yun published a hymn book, *Ch’anmiga*, compiling twelve choice hymns he had translated.⁴⁵⁵ The Kwanghak sŏgwan that Yun had established published the hymn book, in which he inserted three versions of the Korean national anthem he had composed. Weaving Christian hymns into the Korean national anthem was a suitable arrangement for Yun, whose Christian piety was intertwined with his concern for the nation. Finding no tunes immediately available for his anthem, Yun

⁴⁵⁴Yun Ch’i-ho, *Ch’anmiga* (Hymns) (Yunghui 2nyŏn, chaep’an inshoe, Kwanghak sŏkwan). Yun’s own calligraphy writing in 1907 and his signature given to his daughter, Yun Bo-hwi. Yun Mun-hwi scrapbook, Yun Ch’i-ho papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL. Some claim that Yun composed it in 1904 when he was still Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, but this study follows the evidence of Yun’s own writing in 1907. Regardless of the year, various claims concur that the anthem was written at the request of Kojong.

⁴⁵⁵Yun Ch’i-ho ed., *Ch’anmiga* (Hymns) (Kwang hak sŏgwan (광학서관), Yung-hŭi 2nyŏn, 1908).

used the tunes from America and “Auld Lang Syne.” As a long-time translator of hymns and English literature, he selected the most beloved hymns that delivered his aspirations for the nation. For the first Korean national anthem (using melodies from America) he used “Jesus, Lover of my Soul,” “Holy, Holy, Holy,” “Stand Up for Jesus,” “Hark! The Herald Angels Sing,” “The Morning Light is Breaking,” “Work for the Night is Coming,” “My Faith Looks up to Thee,” and “Onward Christian Soldiers.” For the second (sung with the “Auld Lang Syne” tune), “Blest be the Tie That Binds,” “How Firm a Foundation,” and “Abide with Me.” The third national anthem (again using the “Auld Lang Syne” tune) used “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains.”⁴⁵⁶

Struggling throughout his life over Korea’s corruption, intrigues, indolence, injustice, and dishonesty, Yun found the only hope of the nation in the holy God. In as much as he struggled for the righteousness of his own soul, he cherished the holiness of Jesus. In the redemption of Christ Yun found hope for the nation in proclaiming that the morning light was breaking and Jesus saves. In the midst of political tempests among conservatives, old and young progressives, pro-Russians, pro-Japanese, and Royalists, Yun yearned for unity of the nation as well as the church. His persistent efforts for the nation and in missions found their expression in the hymns he looked to for inspiration in writing the Korean national anthem. As is described in “Jesus, Lover of my Soul,” which Yun translated into Korean, torrential trials swept the face of his nation, yet Christianity was still his refuge. He pointed his compatriots to the God of Jesus Christ:

⁴⁵⁶ Yun Ch’i-ho, *ibid.*

Until time wears the East Sea and the Mount Paiktu,
May God guard ever this land.

Pine trees are our spirit, undaunted by storms,
Armored on the top of the Nam Mount.

United in earnest spirit and mind,
Love this nation in sorrow and joy.

Beautiful are the lilies,
Along the three thousand valleys,
Of the Taehan, by the Taehan,
May this nation flourish.⁴⁵⁷

This was the anthem written by a man who was united with the people in woe and weal.⁴⁵⁸ The teachers of the Anglo-Korean School taught students this anthem, displaying it written in calligraphy on classroom walls. It underscored the spirit of the school's founder, the song's composer, who strived to assert the nation under the aegis of God.⁴⁵⁹

Building International Networks on the Brink of Korean Annexation

⁴⁵⁷ Eloise R. Griffith, *National Anthems and how they came to be written* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1951), 23. Griffith's translation follows: Tong Hai Main and Pakdos Mountains/Though they may drain and wear; May God bless our land Korea, forever and forever. Naam-Saan Hilltop, e'er green pine trees/Like troupes of armored men/Conq'ring the wintry frost/Dauntless our symbol. Chorus- Moo-koong-wha, Shaam-chunree-O beautiful land/You and I must protect and nurse/Long live our Fatherland.

⁴⁵⁸ The author of the national anthem is contested even now, despite clear internal and external evidence. The collaboration issue of Yun seems to aid scholars' reluctance toward this evidence. The alternative is given to An Chang-ho, who spent most of the colonial period in the U.S. and Shanghai. Paek Nak-chun's article, "Yun Ch'i-hoüi aegukka chaksago (On Yun Ch'i-ho's authorship of the national anthem)" in Paek Nak-chun Chönjip (Collected Works of Paek Nak-chun) Vol. 6. Includes the most deliable case for Yun's authorship of the national anthem.

⁴⁵⁹ Choi Gyunam, (Seoul Sinmun, 1955), 5, 2. Cited from Im Chung-bin, "Taehan saram taehanüro kiri bojön hase" *Toksö Sinmun*, 19 October, 1975.

The historic 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference fell in the same year Korea was annexed by Japan. Yun Ch'i-ho's trans-Atlantic itinerary—building an international network in the U.S. and Scotland—therefore occurred on the brink of Korea's tragic loss of its sovereignty on 29 August 1910. Oddly, diary entries are missing from the critical period from 1907 to 1915, the period when Yun constructed the Anglo-Korean School, Korea was annexed by Japan, and Japan put him in the Taegu jail for over four years. Until 1910, Yun's nationalist stance can be read in the letter of the first YMCA secretary, P. L. Gillette. Gillette opposed Yun's participation in the 1907 international conference of the YMCA in Washington, D.C. because his strong nationalist credentials could put the life of the YMCA in jeopardy.⁴⁶⁰ Gillette's caution was well-grounded, considering the prior and subsequent punitive measures of the Korean government against the Independence Club and its president (Yun). Additionally, the Japanese government could charge Yun with the most serious sentence: ten years. Despite Gillette's apprehension, however, he could not provide an alternative Korean delegate who would match Yun both as the author of the national anthem and as a spokesperson for the Edinburgh 1910 conference.

Yun's trans-Atlantic itinerary included participation in the Layman's Campaign of Cities (Nashville, Tennessee), the Dallas Conference (Dallas, Texas), the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (Asheville, North Carolina), the World's Sunday School Convention (Washington, D.C.), and the World Missionary

⁴⁶⁰ Taek-pu Chŏn, *Han'guk Chŏngnyŏnhoe Undong sa* (A history of the Korean Young Men's Movement) (Seoul: Pŏmusa, 1994), 136.

Conference (Edinburgh, Scotland). His speaking tour in 1910 thus covered a broader range of locations than those of his 1892 and 1893 summer speaking tours. Through these venues, Yun built international networks between Korea and the world on the wings of the unrelenting forces of Christian internationalism. Unfortunately, within months Japan would tighten its coil of exclusive Japanese nationalism and extinguish the Korean national movement.

Yun participated in the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in June 1910 as the only Korean among five Asian delegates and 1,004 total participants. Asian delegates were grouped under the mission field of the American church.⁴⁶¹ Representing Korea, Merriman C. Harris (a noted pro-Japanese bishop from Seoul), Samuel Moffett (Northern Presbyterian missionary from Pyöngyang), and William Davis Reynolds (Southern Presbyterian missionary from Chung Chu), accompanied Yun to the conference. These Korean delegates arrived with Yun in Scotland via Vanderbilt University, and spoke on Korean Christianity.⁴⁶² There at the Assembly Hall of the United Free Church of Scotland converged the noted Christian delegates of the world with whom Yun had associated: Kajinosuke Ibuka, Yoitsu Honda, and Takasu Harada with Galen Fisher from the Japanese YMCA, Fletcher Sim Brockman of Vanderbilt University and the Chinese YMCA, John R. Mott, Robert Wilder from the Wesley Hall Mission Society at

⁴⁶¹ *World Missionary Conference 1910: Edinburgh, June 14-23*, (Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference Office, 1910). 99–126. The conference recorded that Yun came from Songdo, Korea, but on another page, Yun Ch'i-ho, with other Asian delegates (including one Chinese and three Japanese) were put under the American section. The other Asians were all ordained clergy except for one bishop. Yun alone participated in the Edinburgh 1910 conference as a layman. Four hundred three British, 506 American, 71 continental European, and 24 South African and Australian delegates attended the conference.

⁴⁶² *Tae Do*, April 1910. Ryang Ju Sam, “Mijue köryuhanün hyöngje chamae wa ponbo gurüm chegun ege puch'inora (News for the Korean Christian brothers and sisters in America and subscribers to this newspaper).” 17–18.

Vanderbilt, Rev. Walter Russell Lambuth and Willard Gliden Cram who had worked with Yun at the Songdo Christian Village.⁴⁶³

As the product of Western missions—but with equal weight of responsibility—Yun underscored at the conference that evangelism is a mandate given to all Christians. He argued that native churches have more responsibility regarding evangelism than do Western churches because of their greater indebtedness to the Gospel. The primacy of evangelism by native churches that Yun emphasized hardly meant the missionary euthanasia or devolution that had been proposed by Western theorists and statesmen of foreign missions. Nationals such as Pandita Ramabai from India and Yun contrarily underlined the significant role of missionaries. As messengers of the Gospel and historical traditions, missionaries, they reckoned, connected younger churches with Christian traditions and the source of “spiritual aids” and “ideas.” Missionaries were asked for inspiration to native evangelists and native churches.⁴⁶⁴

Foreign missions was an essential element for spreading the Gospel, yet Yun emphasized that missionaries must neither eclipse nor be superseded by the crucial role of the native churches. Yun argued that native churches should assume primary

⁴⁶³ W. H. T. Gairdner, *“Edinburgh 1910”: An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910), 57; Diary, January 14, 1889; Yun Ch’i-ho, to Warren Candler, April 16, July 28, 1907.

⁴⁶⁴ 1910 World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I, Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World, with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 15th June 1910* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, Ferrier, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 342–343. The conference reports guided Yun through the cardinal issues of Christian missions at the time for which the study committee of the conference prepared for two prior years: Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World, the Church on the Mission Field, Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life, the Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions, Missions and governments, Cooperation and the Promotion of Unity, the Preparation of Missionaries, and the Home Base of Missions.

responsibility in evangelism. Reasons for this included the preponderance of native agents and resources in the field, natives' in-depth understanding of the increasingly complex needs and customs of the compatriots, and foremost knowledge of native languages. Yun argued,

The Native Church, in short, must fight its own battles, learn its own lessons; feel its own weaknesses, discover its own strength and gather its own trophies. The place of the Native Church in the work of Evangelization should be the first; and the Native Church that fails to take the first place has no place at all in the great work.⁴⁶⁵

He especially pointed out three noteworthy factors of Korean Christianity: the role of the common people, the importance of the Bible, and the dangers of rapid numerical church growth. Yun ascribed the phenomenal growth of Protestantism in Korea—200,000 Christians in a population of thirteen million in twenty-five years—to evangelism by common people. He foresaw that the future of both the world and Korea rested upon the “shoulder of the common people,” as in the days of the first church.⁴⁶⁶ The enlightenment of the common people was what he sought with the Independence Club and the *Independent*. The interests of the common people, not of *yangban* children, were in his heart when he founded the Anglo-Korean School and Songdo Christian Village. The common people of the nation occupied the core of his educational enterprise.

⁴⁶⁵ Yun Ch'i-ho, “The Place of the Native Church in the Work of Evangelization,” *The Korea Mission Field* (February 1911), 48–50. This article features the entire script of Yun's address at the Edinburgh 1910 Conference.

⁴⁶⁶ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I, Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World, with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 15th June 1910*, 410–411.

Yun saw that Korean church growth rested on the Bible, which was “the most well and widely read book” in Korea. He paid a special tribute to the British Bible Society, which he had served in from his time at the Anglo-Chinese College. As Yun was convinced of the central role of the Bible for Christianity, he supported the society as a life-long member. His belief in the important role of the Bible for common people and his understanding of the painstaking efforts in the process of translation led him to bear the entire expense of \$10,000 for publishing the Bible translated into colloquial Korean by James Gale.⁴⁶⁷

Yun believed that numerical church growth should be combined with moral responsibility toward society, as well as faith that would withstand the challenges of Western liberal theology and communism that infiltrated Korean society.⁴⁶⁸ If the church does not brace its rapid growth with theological and social maturity, the younger church might lose its historical perspective of Christianity and invite untested ideologies such as Bolshevism. Yun added that the much needed partnership between older and younger churches in this regard premised parity between Western missionaries and natives.⁴⁶⁹ Demonstrating this point himself at the Songdo Christian Village, Yun made a strong

⁴⁶⁷ IV, 12. Yun’s remark on the British Bible Society at the Edinburgh. World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I, the Church in the Mission Field, with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 16th June 1910*. Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Volume I 1884-1934* (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education 1934), 427. Yun offered \$10,000 for publishing Gale’s Korean Bible in 1925 along with tens of thousands of dollars for educational institutes and the cause of missions and charity. Combined with his life and devotion, this shows the willingness and accountability of Koreans in mission.

⁴⁶⁸ Gairdner, 98–99.

⁴⁶⁹ T’aek-pu Chŏn, “Ah, Chwaong Yun Ch’i-Ho Sŏnsaeng (A biography of Yun Ch’i-Ho),” in *Chwaong Yun Ch’i-ho Sŏhanjip* (Seoul Hosan Munhwa, 1995), 281

case for partnership between the East and the West in his speech delivered at the Chicago auditorium on 19 May 1910.⁴⁷⁰

Conclusion: Yun's Christian Nationalism

If I had religious zeal that will make me delighted in missionary work, I shall be happy to devote my time and ability, be it what it may, to the moral elevation—the only proper elevation—of my country.⁴⁷¹

Western missionaries were commissioned to Korea in order to deliver the Gospel of Christianity, but found themselves embattled between the injunctions of non-political intervention: on the one hand, the governments of the United States and Japan, and on the other hand, the summons of conscience in observance of common sense and justice. Those missionaries, following the rule of conscience, were accused of being “masterminds” and “ringleaders” of political conspiracies. Likewise, Yun Ch'i-ho, following the call of common sense and justice, was embroiled in the fights over the *Independent* and the Independence Club for the establishment of a democratic society. Despite no immediate gain, Yun plunged his life in the midst of the embattled Independence Club and the *Independent* and paid his toll as a local magistrate for following his conscience.

The *Kapsin* Coup dreamed of a modernized Korea, but only by a score of intelligent minds; the very top-down reform was the cause of its demise. The

⁴⁷⁰ Yun Ch'i-ho, Speech script, Handwritten, Yun Ch'i-ho papers, box 17, MARBL.

⁴⁷¹ Diary, November 15, 1898.

Independence Club, as a corrective of the *Kapsin* Coup, sought the enlightenment of the people by popularizing the ideas of democracy and modernization through its public media, the *Independent*. The club was launched with beliefs in the wisdom of ordinary people and the coalition of the elite and students. With the power of the voluntary association and the means of debates, popular speeches, lectures, memorials, and public rallies, the club sought to reform the nation and the *Independent* while revolutionizing political ideas and introducing modernization to the nation.

The creation of the club was attributable to the collaboration of nationalism and internationalism that had been fostered in Sŏ and Yun in America. In the international context, Sŏ and Yun honed the tools of national reform for ten years. The club appeared too innovative to digest for many in Korea; for those who had no exposure to a democratic system of politics, laws, order, and public spirit, or rather were too engrossed in the traditional systems, as well as for those who sought colonial profits in commercial transactions—the club was thus a nuisance. As much as there was external opposition to the club, Yun found more problematic the internal corruption of club members. The Independence Club lacked a systematic, didactic, grassroots, communal process of edification.

After the fall of the club, Yun's realization of the Korean reality as a magistrate of marginal provinces—especially after the Protectorate Treaty with Japan—made him shift his focus on nationalism from political change/the Independence Club/the *Independent* to grassroots-style Christian education; a long-term moral reconstruction of the nation. Yun believed that the regeneration of reformers should precede reform of the nation and any

massive political programs. The building blocks of the nation should be moral values and moral strength. Yun's Christian nationalism manifested itself in the Songdo Christian Village and the Anglo-Korean School, correctives to the Independence Club, through which Yun sought to implement his vision for "a new education, a new government, and a new religion." Reconstruction of the nation and a bottom-up reform began with the education of the young generation in the new religion of Christianity.

Yun inherited the legacy of the Anglo-Chinese School in China, adopting the communal model and customizing it for the Korean needs and context. He only remotely inherited the legacy of *Sirhak* scholars. The Songdo Christian Village and its communal approach to the needs of Koreans endorsed Christian holism through the school, the church, and Ivey Hospital. Yun hoped to reclaim the values and heritage of the Korean legacy, especially through agricultural and industrial education and the comprehensive program of renewal in the community. Yun's nationalistic programs in Korea were implemented with the support of international partnership and an international network he had built in the United States. The *Kapsin* Coup had lasted only three days and the Independence Club lasted longer, for three years. While Yun reoriented his efforts toward Christian regeneration of individuals and society through the Songdo Christian Village, a more lasting and systemic thirty-year reform through the younger generations would be realized in the Christian mission of the YMCA, which Yun opted for as the last citadel of Christian nationalism and Christian internationalism.

CHAPTER FOUR

BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM; THE YMCA AND YUN CH'I-HO

In January 1907, John R. Mott visited Korea for the first time in his life and witnessed how the Great Revival was molding Korean Christianity. Speaking on “the Power of Christ” at a YMCA conference, Mott was struck equally by what the power of Christ had crafted with the 2,500-person audience. A little over three years since its inception in 1903, the roster of the Seoul YMCA enlisted over 900 regular members. Inspired by the audience, Mott made an encouraging statement: “Korea will be the first nation in a non-Christian world to become a Christian nation.”¹ Founded as the sixth chapter in the world, the Korean YMCA was arguably one of the most successful in the history of the worldwide YMCA movement.²

Yun Ch'i-ho, standing between that young Korean audience and Mott, interpreted Mott's sermon as he had done two decades earlier for King Kojong and the first

¹ C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott 1865-1955* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1979), 307–308.

² “Remarks of Eugene N. Barnett, at the Memorial Service for Dr. Philip L. Gillett.” Manuscript, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives. Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea: Being an Intimate Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. H. G. Underwood, D.D., Ll. D., for Thirty-One Years a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Korea* (New York, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1918), 271. Within colonial Korea, the YMCA was “one of the largest single institutions,” extending its “influence into most of the schools, Christian and non-Christian, in the country.”

American envoy plenipotentiary, Lucius Foote. As for the role of Yun in the YMCA, Howard Hopkins recorded,

No member of those audiences could have been more aware of the speaker's theme in his own heart and career than Mott's interpreter, the brilliant Baron Tchi Ho Yun, an intimate of Brockman at Vanderbilt and then head of the Southern Methodist Anglo-Korean School at Songdo, whose orations at Tokyo in both English and Japanese next April would bring distinction to Korea.³

One month before the April Tokyo conference to which Hopkins referred, the International Conference of the YMCA was convened in Shanghai, where Walter R. Lambuth commended Yun's speech as being "to the point and very valuable." Yun continued his bilingual speech at the first World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) meeting in Tokyo the next month.⁴ Yun's speech in Tokyo moved the audience so much that one of the attendees, Mr. Sleman, offered Yun \$500 to visit some industrial schools in the U.S.⁵ Sleman's goodwill was not realized because at the time Yun was immersed in building the Anglo-Korean School and the Songdo Christian Village. Only after the completion of these two institutions could Yun make a full commitment to the YMCA, his central concern revolving around the YMCA during the entire period of colonial Korea. Yun's vision for the new nation, emanating from the Songdo Christian Village, was anchored in the YMCA from its inception in 1903.

³ Hopkins, *John R. Mott*, 307–308.

⁴ *Sōwu* (The west friend), October 1, 1907. *Taegŭk Hakbo* (The Yin-Yang Association) April 24, 1907. Other than Yun, at the Tokyo Conference Kim Kyu-sik, Kang Tae-ŭng, Kim Chök-sik, and Min Yong-ho attended. Both Yun and Kim Kyu-sik interpreted the lectures at the conference.

⁵ Walter R. Lambuth, to Candler, June 27, 1907, Warren A. Candler papers, box 14, MARBL. Yun Ch'i-ho, to Warren Candler, April 16, 1907.

The YMCA as a unique nexus between nationalists and internationalists occupied Yun's prime, albeit most trying, years of his life. As the first Korean YMCA member in the United States, as well as the first general secretary and president of the Korean YMCA, Yun assumed the role of a bridge between Korea and the world. This role was extended as Yun also mediated between the past and present, elites and commoners, and old and young. His commitment to the YMCA tells a story of more than just what the organization achieved in colonial Korea. The YMCA was a harbor where nationalists like Yun anchored their aspirations for Korea. Exploring the interface between Yun and the YMCA, therefore, reveals the crucial implications of the YMCA on both the national and ecclesial histories of Korea, to which historians have at best made only brief references. This chapter explores the lost terrain of the contextual means, universal messages, and particular dilemmas of the Korean YMCA intertwined with its nationalist aspirations.

What was it about the YMCA that gripped the hearts of young Koreans? Chŏn Taek-bu, general secretary of the YMCA during the 1960s and 1970s, claimed that the strength of the Korean YMCA rested on its building, finance, volunteers, young men, structures, and international networks.⁶ Ch'oi Nam-sŏn, a pioneer of youth literature,⁷ ascribed the success of the Korean YMCA above all to its enlightenment programs such as lectures, debates, movie entertainment, music, vocational education, physical activities,

⁶ Chŏn T'aek-pu, *Han'guk Kidokkyo Ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe Undong Sa* (A history of the Korean Young Men's Christian Association) (Seoul: Pomusa, 1994), 141, 209.

⁷ Some of his works include *Sonyŏn* (The youth) and *Ch'ŏngch'un* (The young adults).

and rural work.⁸ Although Chŏn and Choi point to the YMCA's social components for Korean young men, this study examines how the YMCA as primarily a Christian mission organization drew on cultural nationalism, international networks, and holistic missions.

Structure, Orientation, and Paradoxical Nature of the YMCA

Emergence of Young Men as a New People Group

The YMCA drew public attention to the importance of a new people group, *Ch'ŏngnyŏn*, young men aged eighteen and above. The concept and term had been non-existent in traditional Korea; people were either adults or children.⁹ What counted in the hierarchical society were the old to whom the young were obliged to defer in tacit obedience, according to the tenets of Confucianism and one of its Five Rules, *Changyuyusŏ* (the primacy of the elder over the younger). The novelty of the YMCA was its attention on the young as a central force to build the nation as well as the kingdom of God—not of an emperor, aristocrats, or a *yangban* class, but of the creator of the world. The new “young men” shouldered their way into the world with their international peers

⁸ Nam-sŏn Ch'oi, *Yukdang Ch'oi Namsŏn sŏnsaeng yugo* (Memorial papers of Choi Namsŏn), Koryŏ University Library.

⁹ Kyŏng-bae Min, *Seoul YMCA undong paengnyon sa* (A centennial history of the Seoul YMCA) (Seoul: Sangrok Munwhasa, 2004).

and were supported by the YMCA's international secretaries, evoking a powerful image of a new hub in the world.¹⁰

Kyōngguk Taechōn prescribed that boys were allowed to marry at the age of fifteen and girls at fourteen, yet the practice of earlier marriage at the age of ten with its distinct nuptial indicator, a topknot, prevailed in Chosōn Dynasty.¹¹ The consequence of such a child marriage was the absence of the concept, young men, until the YMCA introduced the concept of young men into Korea. Korean society in terms of a marriage status was thus composed of two classes of married adults and unmarried children, while stigmatizing single women in highly patriarchal society. The early marriage system was finally abolished in the regulations of *Kabo* Reform in 1895. The custom, however, persisted with no visible hair indicators even into the 1930s, partly due to the practical gain of girls' physical labor that accompanied the bond of marriage.¹² As a progressive, Yun deplored that Korean society was constantly inclined toward the past and the old,

This extreme conservatism—a euphonious name for stagnation—has made the old Far East a hot bed of old men. When a child was born its parents rejoiced, not

¹⁰ Pang Chōng-whan instituted Children's Day in 1922, since children as a people group had been traditionally sidelined in Korea. Children's Day was a reaction by *Ch'ondogyo* (the Heavenly Way, a religious sect) and its devotee, Pang Chōng-hwan, who had been inspired by the YMCA's emphasis on Korean young men and the huge success of the Sunday School Convention organized by Christian laity in 1921. Pang organized a Children's Club of the Heavenly Way in 1921 and a research center on children's issues, *Saekdonghoe* (The Multicolor Society) in 1922, coining the word and launching a magazine, *Orini* (children). *Orini* (Seoul: Kaebyōksa, 1923-1934).

¹¹ 經國大典(The constitutional law of Chosun Dynasty), Book 3, the code of rites of marriage, 1495.

¹² Yun Ch'i-ho's first and third marriages to Korean women were made by parental arrangements according to Korean custom. Accordingly, Yun could not see her face until his wedding day. Only Sientsung was the bride of Yun's choice. The first marriage was arranged when he was very young before his studies in Japan and the third was arranged after Sientung's passing by Yun's mother.

that a young man had come into the world but that a candidate had come to join the huge old men's club of the Far East.¹³

In such a deplorable, retrogressing society, the YMCA was an innovative lighthouse for an emerging generation of young men.

Despite their great potential for the nation and the world, Korean young men in the 1900s suffered from endemic pessimism.¹⁴ The collapsing economy, vanishing resources, exponential growth of debts, and political corruptions pervaded the whole nation. As a consequence, young men in Korea were paralyzed with despondence, impotence, and a morbid outlook. Opportunities for upward mobility, especially through education, were also narrowed by the closures of popular mission schools by colonial policies.¹⁵ Korean young men were mostly involved in grueling day labor, mollified only by momentary pleasures. Their hollow and sore hearts were tempted by impulses that drove their unmoored minds to moral degradation.¹⁶ Traditional religion had proved its inability to provide new life. An unprecedented religious vacuum characterized the transitional period of Korean society.¹⁷

¹³ George A. Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907," YMCA Archives.

¹⁴ Jung-il No, "Ch'ŏng'nyŏn gwa chayŏne taehan kwanch'al (Observation of the Young Men and Nature)," *Chŏngnyŏn*, September 1921, 15.

¹⁵ P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report for the Year 1910, Ending September 30," YMCA Archives. More than a score of educational institutions ceased to operate in 1910.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* The standard of moral integrity ebbed very low and people frequently cheated one another.

¹⁷ Chŏng Gyo chronicles in detail the persecution of Catholics in *Taehan keynyonsa* (A annual and seasonal history of the Taehan Imperial); see also Choe Sŏk-wu's *History of Korean Catholicism* (Seoul: Pundo Ch'ulp'ansa, 1980). These books detail the court ordinance to arrest foreigners who appeared to spread Catholicism in 1686, proscription of Christianity in Hwang-hae and northern Pyong-an provinces in

When Korean young men were better afforded with emerging sources of knowledge through government schools, newspapers, and opportunities to travel abroad, Christian leaders did not adequately articulate the aspirations of these young men. The churches' deficiency to properly respond to the changing needs of young men had already been pointed out in the 1910s.¹⁸ Denominational missionaries and native colporteurs were engaged in other diffused tasks (churches, hospitals, and schools), meaning that they could not address particular needs of friendship, personal fulfillment, and fundamental questions raised by young men in such a formative period of their lives.¹⁹ The YMCA secretaries devoted their time and overseas resources to this neglected people group, benefiting from the convergence of Korea's needs and the YMCA's attention to young men.²⁰

1758, execution of a Catholic, Yun Chi-ch'ung, pronouncing the religion as heresy in 1791, proscription of the Chinese books of Catholicism in 1792, execution of Confucian scholars such as Yi Ka-hwan, Chŏng Yak-jong, Hong Nak-min, Yi Sŭng-hun, Kim Kŏn-sun, Kim Paek-sun, Choe Ch'ang-hyŏn, Yi Hwi-yŏng, Hong P'il-chu, Choe P'il-gong, and Yi Chon-ch'ang (among others) in 1801, execution of Hwang Sa-yŏng as an egregious sinner in 1843, execution of three French priests (Laurent Marie Joseph Imber, Pierre Phillibert Moubant, and Jacques Honore Chastan) along with approximately 150 Catholics in 1839, the range of Catholic impact on the court, ordinary people, and Confucian scholars despite persistent court persecution over two centuries. The 1866–1871 persecution (*Pyŏngin Pakhae*) was the most severe of all, resulting in the martyrdom of thousands of Catholics.

¹⁸ Henry W. Bruen, *The Young Men's Church Association, The Korea Mission Field*, May 1914, 136–137. Henry Bruen was a Presbyterian Missionary in Taegu, Kyŏngsang Province.

¹⁹ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year 1919," YMCA Archives. The denominational missionaries usually had to supervise on average about forty churches in cooperation with Korean ministers.

²⁰ As for Korean appeals for YMCA secretaries, see Charles Allen Clark, to the International YMCA Committee. July 7, 1922," YMCA Archives; "Message Given over Radio by Mr. Hugh Cynn from Westinghouse Station, Newark, N.J. Sunday, 10 December 1922," YMCA Archives; C. A. Herschleb, "Report of Interview with Hugh H. Cynn of Korea. January 25, 1923," YMCA Archives; Henry M. Bruen, to W. D. Lyon, 5 March 1923, YMCA Archives; and D. Williard Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb. Shuntehfu, China, 16 March 1923," YMCA Archives. Lyon reasoned that Korean Christians, located largely in small villages, required more secretaries. If enough funds were not prepared for a full-time secretary, Lyon suggested that C. K. Ober, the retired YMCA secretary, would be a great help and what

The YMCA international secretaries were stabilizers aligning the Korean YMCA with the International YMCA, serving as internal connectors between fragmented sectors of Korean society as well as between the government and business officials of Korea. They also connected external Korean nationalists and young men of various walks of life with international officials of the U.S., including both conservative and progressive foreign missionaries. Hollis Wilbur, for instance, understood his role largely as a connector of government relations, business communities, and the missionary body. The YMCA secretaries, Wilbur regarded, were a source of ideas, trainers of national leaders, and recruiters of staff and volunteers for Korea.²¹ This section examines how the YMCA established its structures at the outset that would align its orientation with the International YMCA.

Beginnings

The YMCA in Korea was initiated by the casual invitation of a few Korean *yangban* young men by Horace G. Underwood to his house.²² The invitation created curiosity among those invited; they and their friends numbered too many to be accommodated in his living room, prompting Underwood to conceive an idea of starting the YMCA. Underwood's simple invitation developed into the serious appeal of 150

Koreans needed was an advisor. Henry H. Sweet, to Frank M. Brockman, 14 October 1925, YMCA Archives.

²¹ Hollis A. Wilbur, "Annual Report of H.A. Wilbur, 1932-1933," YMCA Archives.

²² Fletcher S. Brockman, to Friends, 9 May 1903, YMCA Archives.

signatories and the appeal of both Underwood and Appenzeller to the International Committee to launch the Korean YMCA in 1899.²³

What Underwood and Appenzeller asked for was seed money in order to buy a meeting place for the YMCA. This was contrary to the YMCA's general modus operandi of "money after men." They assumed that sending a YMCA secretary would incur more financial complications than sending money for a meeting place.²⁴ In response to the request, John R. Mott of the International Committee responded by asking D. Willard Lyon of Peking, China, to investigate the Korean field. Lyon and his wife were taking refuge in Chefoo, China to escape from the Boxer movement, yet the invitation from the missionaries of Korea impelled the Lyons to sail for Korea for a four-month survey beginning in June 1900.²⁵

Lyon's interviews with H. G. Underwood and others started in August 1900. Subsequently, he had a series of contacts with key figures in Korean missions: Homer B. Hulbert of the *Korean Repository*; Henry G. Appenzeller, president of Paejae Academy; James S. Gale from the Canadian YMCA and the later Presbyterian mission; and Dalziel H. Bunker and William B. Scranton of the Methodist mission. He consulted only one Korean, Yŏ Byŏng-hyŏn, who, on graduating from London Harley College in the

²³ Fletcher S. Brockman, to J. R. Mott, 13 May 1903; D. Willard Lyon, to F.S. Brockman, 22 June 1935, YMCA Archives; Frank M. Brockman, "Genesis of Seoul YMCA," *the Korea Mission Field*, February 1914, 43.

²⁴ P.L. Gillett, Letter from Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1900-1901," YMCA Archives; John R. Mott, to D. Willard Lyon, 10 March 1900," YMCA Archives; Fletcher S. Brockman, *I Discover the Orient* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1935), 98.

²⁵ Lyon, to F.S. Brockman, 22 June 1935," YMCA Archives.

previous year (1899), became an interpreter for the British legation.²⁶ As for the prospect of success in enlisting members and launching the YMCA, these interviewees had no doubt. Their unanimous fear nonetheless lied on the issue of “political complications” on organizing an association sponsored by the United States.²⁷ Aware of such a political condition, Underwood recommended Yŏ to Lyon as a possible Korean secretary, despite his clear awareness of Yun’s leading role at the American YMCA.

Underwood knew that Yun Ch’i-ho had represented both the Vanderbilt University and Emory College YMCA’s. Yun was his partner for promoting missions to Korea at the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in 1891. To Underwood and others, however, Yun appeared a political rebel too dangerous for a YMCA secretary in 1900. He had escaped to the queen’s chamber at the Underwood’s house after being implicated with the East Gate incident. Underwood, moreover, criticized the Independence Club and the *Independent* along with the king, and kept distance from Yun after the debacle of the Independence Club.²⁸ As ex-Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs with such an inclination, Yun would be liable to embroil the YMCA in political conflicts with Japan. Yun was away at remote provinces, switching between fringe posts in punishment for being the ex-president of the Independent Club during the time Lyon visited Korea in 1900.

²⁶ Yi Chang-nak, *Uriŭi bŏt skop’ildu* (Our friend, Scofield) (Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1962), 20–22. Cited from Chŏn, 30–31.

²⁷ Lyon, to F.S. Brockman, 22 June 1935." YMCA Archives.

²⁸ Diary, May, 1898.

Despite the potential of political entanglements, in Lyon's view the positive outlook of the Korean YMCA weighed much heavier. Underwood called the attention of the International YMCA for founding the Korean YMCA in 1899, invited Lyon in 1900, appealed again to New York with the signatures of eight fellow missionaries, requested a secretary instead of money in 1900, and proceeded to invite Fletcher Brockman in 1901 to discuss the launch of the YMCA.²⁹ Brockman gladly accepted the invitation remembering Yun Ch'i-ho, who represented Vanderbilt University for the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in 1890 and 1891 and the Georgia YMCA Convention in 1891 and 1892.³⁰ The report of Lyon, the appeal of Underwood with eight other missionaries, and the conviction of Brockman were sufficient for the International Committee to start the Korean YMCA.

The International Committee also took prudent steps in choosing a secretary, circulating correspondence for two years and investigating the qualities of potential secretaries. The final decision was Philip L. Gillett, commissioned to Korea on 7 October 1901.³¹ On arrival, Gillett's first move was a statistical survey of Seoul's population, which revealed about 50,000 Korean young men, 3,599 Japanese (largely young men), and 100 foreigners (mostly missionaries). Of the 50,000 young men in Seoul, those attending churches were about 150 or 200, mostly from lower classes.³² *Yangban* young

²⁹ Brockman, *I Discover the Orient*, 98.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Lyon, to F.S. Brockman, 22 June 1935"; Fletcher S. Brockman, to Friends, 9 May 1903.

men turned out to be an unreached people group who would feel uncomfortable sitting next to their lower-class fellows. Although social classes had been abolished by the top-down *Kabo* reform in 1894, the centuries-old custom was still strongly felt in 1902.

Gillett's report also indicated that his mapping of Korean young men was rather sketchy, compared to the accurate number of Japanese. The beginning of Gillett's work was unimpressive, and the promising 150 *yangban* signatories disappeared on Gillett's survey.³³ After one year in Seoul, he organized no association.³⁴ Instead, with soldiers in the British and American legations in 1904 and members of the English-speaking community, Gillett led a Bible study. The biggest success was weekly gospel meetings, with tables, chairs, games, books, and magazines, set up in a pavilion in one of the barracks, which were attended on average by 500 Japanese soldiers stationed in Seoul for the Russo-Japanese War.³⁵ About six young English-speaking Japanese men attended the Bible study led by Gillett until February 1904; after that it was discontinued because the Japanese were too afraid of Korean antipathy to even cross the streets. In October 1903, the first Korean Student Association was organized with thirty-five Paejae Academy

³² P.L. Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett to the International Committee for the Twelve Months Ending September 30, 1902," YMCA Archives; Taek-pu Chŏn, *Han'guk Ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe Undongsa* (A history of the Korean Young Men's Movement) (Seoul: Pŏmusa, 1994), 21–22, 26. Chŏn states that 150 young men of the higher class were all descendents of the Progressive Party, based on Willard Lyon's "Twenty Years Ago; Notes on Early Steps in the Establishment of the YMCA in Korea."

³³ Brockman, *I Discover the Orient*, 98; Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett to the International Committee for the Twelve Months Ending September 30, 1902." YMCA Archives.

³⁴ Fletcher S. Brockman, to Friends, May 9, 1903. YMCA Archives.

³⁵ Lyon's 1904 annual report; see P.L. Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett to the International Committee for the Year Ending September 30, 1904." YMCA Archives.

students and the Seoul City Association with the forty invited from business men and missionaries.³⁶

Growth of the Membership

The Seoul YMCA maintained its forty invited members in 1904 and grew in the next year to over 600 voluntary subscribers. It's "popularity" and phenomenal growth excited Gillett; in fact, it exceeded his expectations and even called for "restriction" on membership.³⁷ At the outset, Gillett intended to restrict YMCA membership to *yangban* young men—the unreached people group—by raising membership fees, thus keeping membership restricted to those who "understand its ideals and purpose."³⁸ Despite his guidelines, the YMCA proliferated the entire country, including unofficial organizations with the name Young Men's Christian Association that accounted for roughly 5,000 to 10,000 members in 1905.³⁹ In fact, Gillett had no way of accurately counting how many thousands of members were in the country.

³⁶ P.L. Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905," YMCA Archives; Frank M. Brockman, "Genesis of Seoul Y.M.C.A.," *The Korea Mission Field*, February 1914, 48. Brockman states that first President of the General Association for Seoul was James S. Gale and Kim Chung-sik was the first Korean General Secretary.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905," YMCA Archives.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6. "Remarks of Eugene E. Barnett at the Memorial Service for Dr. Philip L. Gillett, Congregational Church, Barre, Mass., December 1 1938," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives. Barnett describes the growth of membership owing to Korean fortitude in the situation to that of a Roman catacomb.

Emulating the Seoul YMCA, suburban towns and provinces began to set up their own YMCA's. Having no coaches, these groups were not able to offer athletic activities, but did have a variety of programs such as lectures, debates, English classes, temperance clubs, annual picnics, and monthly socials using their own resources.⁴⁰ A quasi-YMCA in Pyöngyang had existed in 1901 when Gillett arrived in Korea. To Gillett's embarrassment, the Pyöngyang YMCA had already elected their own Board of Directors, president, and general secretary from the leaders of the Presbyterian Church, equipped with the basic formalities of the YMCA: a building, a book store, and a governing mechanism, coached by the old association missionaries.⁴¹ Not only in Pyöngyang did such organizations appear, but Songdo and Mokpo, where Yun had worked as a local magistrate in 1903, also showed such groups.⁴² One of the famous quasi-YMCA's in Seoul was established by Chön Dök-ki, who named his organization *Ch'öngnyön hakwön* (Young Men's Association). The group met in the Sang Dong Church that Henry Appenzeller pioneered. When the Seoul YMCA posted a board with "YMCA" at its entrance, about twenty other provincial YMCAs surfaced with similar wooden boards.⁴³ By 1905, the YMCA had quickly become an unofficial national movement.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1–2.

⁴¹ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett to the International Committee for the Twelve Months Ending September 30, 1902." YMCA Archives.

⁴² Diary, April 24, 1904. Yun recorded that he began to work in Mokpo in December 1903.

⁴³ Chön, *Hanguk Kidokkyo Ch'ongnyonhoe Undong Sa*, 97.

These unofficial YMCA's were begun with neither an internationally commissioned secretary nor an endorsement from the International Committee, resulting in no international network. The International Committee strived to maintain its network with other Christian entities and the national YMCAs in various parts of the world. An international secretary was an essential channel of the YMCA that maintained the bond as well as consistency among disparate national associations and local variants. Gillett's comment, "If they would but unite with other Christian body at work in Pyongyang it would become a full-fledged YMCA," touched on the core element of the international YMCA movement.⁴⁴

Spearheading with the Pyŏngyang association, other Koreans—who were impatient with international arrangements—formed other quasi-YMCA's themselves. The village people, if less aggressive, importuned the missionaries in their provinces to form YMCA's. Owing to their town native, Yun Ch'i-ho, the citizens of Songdo were more acquainted with the YMCA and took the initiative in organizing their own group with 400 leading young men, with the appointment of an American missionary as their president. As the news of the Paejae Student Association spread in 1904, the unauthorized Songdo YMCA quickly dispatched their American missionary to Seoul with 400 signatures to obtain an endorsement of their association as a YMCA branch.⁴⁵ As the International Committee could not send another secretary until 1907, Songdo

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905," YMCA Archives.

discussed founding a separate church functioning as the YMCA.⁴⁶ Such a demand continued even when the official YMCA was operating in full-swing in 1929. Yun was entreated for “three hours” to be the president of the new organization, to become chairman of the *Ch’ōngnyōn tonguhoe* (青年同友會, Young Men’s Association), which Yun declined with the answer, “[the] YMCA movement with which I have been identified taxed as much of my moral and material resources as I can spare and that if the YMCA had men and means, it could do all that a new organization expected to do.”⁴⁷

The Year 1904 and the Growth Factors

The year 1904 was called by missionaries “the beginning of a new epoch” for Korean Christianity.⁴⁸ The membership of the YMCA increased from forty in 1903 to 600 in 1904, and it arose from decisive momentum. In February 1904, Japan attacked Russia at the Sea of Inchon and Korea was forced to sign the humiliating Japan-Korea treaty on 23 February 1904. Resident rights of soldiers, Korea’s diplomatic control, financial oversight, communication and transportation rights were all handed over to the grip of Japan.⁴⁹ After the tragedy of the state, the Independents were released from their

⁴⁶ P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report of P.L. Gillett for the Year 1907," YMCA Archives.

⁴⁷ Diary, January 23, 1929.

⁴⁸ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905," YMCA Archives.

Chongno Prison: Yi Won-kŭng, Yi Sang-jae, Yu Sŏng-jun, Kim Chŏng-sik, Yi Sŭng-in, Hong Chae-ki, Yi Sŭng-man, An Kuk-sŏn, and Kim Rin.⁵⁰ Yun was reinstated on 11 March 1904 to Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in Seoul. A five-year internal exile terminated after the blow of the Independence Club. As soon as Yun moved to Seoul in 1904, he joined the YMCA. In July Yi Sang-jae was released. Yi had risked memorials to the king in the Independence Club with Yun, and had converted to Christianity at the Chongno Prison.⁵¹ On 8 August, Yi Sŭng-man, an active fighter in the All People's Meeting of the Independence Club, was released after a six-year imprisonment. His conversion to Christianity in the innermost cell of the prison, combined with founding a prison school and a prison library, yielded a coterie of newly-converted *yangban* inmates such as Yi Won-kŭng, Hong Jai-ki, and Kim Chŏng-sik.⁵² Kim Chŏng-sik, after his release, became captain general of the police in Seoul and the first Korean general secretary in 1904. He would soon be the first YMCA missionary to Japan.⁵³ Yi Sŭng-man, editor of the leading daily in Seoul and later the first president of Korea, exerted his

⁴⁹ Article 3, promising that “the Imperial Government of Japan definitively guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire” was completely breached by the annexation and thereafter, which Yi Sang-jae pinpointed in his protest against the Japanese government.

⁵⁰ P. L. Gillett, “Annual Report for Year Ending September 30, 1910,” YMCA Archives.

⁵¹ Diary, July 31, 1904.

⁵² Diary, August 9, 1904.

⁵³ P. L. Gillett, “Report of P. L. Gillett, 1905,” YMCA Archives. Frank Brockman emphasized that Kim had always been “a man of sterling character.” See Frank Brockman, “Genesis of Seoul YMCA.” *The Korea Mission Field* (February 1914), 48.

influence in the YMCA.⁵⁴ The Independents—Christian converts in the Chongno Prison—accounted for much of the YMCA swell and its leading members. Spearheading with Yun in 1904, Yi Sang-jae, Yi Sŭng-man, Yi Wŏn-kŭng, and Kim Chŏng-sik channeled their unfulfilled aspirations for nation-building in the Independence Club to the YMCA.

The growth of the YMCA was attributed in part to the support of the foreign legations as well. American minister Horace Allen (an ex-missionary), supporting the YMCA himself, engaged other government officials in the YMCA. Allen's successor, E. V. Morgan, joined the YMCA and Irishman John McLeavy Brown, Chief Commissioner of Customs, who had been known for his frugal management of public funds, became Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the YMCA.⁵⁵ The YMCA turned into an aristocratic club for a while, attracting over fifty powerful nobles and their sons.

Royal families, whose metaphorical sponsorship would powerfully influence the life of any organization in the monarch, also added to the prestige of the YMCA. Min Yŏng-whan, Queen Min's nephew, whom Yun accompanied to the coronation of the Russian czar, delivered speeches at the YMCA. In addition, King Kojong's nephew, Cho Nam-bok led a Bible class, the queen's mother promised to present some much-coveted land adjacent to the property of the YMCA, and King Kojong granted \$500 from his private purse.⁵⁶ The Korean government subsidized the YMCA with \$17,500, tapping the

⁵⁴ Gillett, Report of 1904, 1.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

customs department.⁵⁷ The royal approval and support of the YMCA attracted non-Christian dignitaries without religious binding. The son of the former minister of law and ambassador to Japan taught the Japanese language at the YMCA and became chairman of the athletic committee.

As Min Kyong-bae points out, the growth of the YMCA was associated with royal and diplomatic powers, solidifying its nature as both a national and international organization in accordance with the world-wide YMCA movement.⁵⁸ Unlike its Anglo-American predecessors, nonetheless, the Korean YMCA had to tackle distinct contextual questions, as it strove to weather the overwhelming imperial power. Probably because the YMCA was so successful in drawing the support of the palace, the government, prison patriots, foreign ministers, and non-Christian elites, the YMCA was put in jeopardy of transforming into a political citadel, compromising its Christian integrity. What was the original identity of the world-wide YMCA?

The Missionary Identity of the YMCA

The YMCAs in London (1844), Montreal (1851), and Boston (1851) emerged as quintessentially missionary organizations with evangelism at the core. The British beginning with George Williams on the London Bridge was overtly evangelistic. The

⁵⁶ Frank M. Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives; Chon, *Hanguk Kidokkyo Ch'ongnyonhoe Undong Sa*, 90.

⁵⁷ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives.

⁵⁸ Min, 118.

YMCA became even more so with the boost of the evangelical fervor of Charles Finney. Its American counterparts, Dwight L. Moody, president of the Chicago YMCA, carried on the torch of evangelical fervor as well.⁵⁹ The YMCA reached its pinnacle of a missionary stance at the historic 1886 Student Summer School in Northfield, Massachusetts and its 100 YMCA delegates' landmark pledges for foreign missions. Dwight L. Moody and Luther Wishard had deliberately invited student delegates from all college YMCAs in the U.S. and Canada for the 1886 Summer School. Each student delegate was chosen so as to impart the missionary fervor of the Student Summer School to their respective peers for two years. Wishard underlined in the circular that, despite the possibility of choosing 200 delegates in Boston alone, Moody commanded to elect delegates who had two more years left in their college careers.⁶⁰ Along with Robert Wilder, Luther Wishard and Charles K. Ober, both secretaries of the International Committee of the YMCA in 1886, had all carried their passion to be foreign missionaries and saw the missional vision penetrate other YMCA delegates at the 1886 Student Summer School.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *World Service: A History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada* (New York: Association Press, 1957), 21–24.

⁶⁰ Luther Wishard, C. K. Ober, "College Students Summer School for Bible Study, To be Conducted by D. L. Moody, at Northfield, Mass., Circular, July 1-31, 1886," "The History and Significance of the Student Summer Conference (1917)," The File of Northfield, N.D. 1886-1889, YMCA Archives.

⁶¹"College YMCA Souvenir, Summer School for Bible Study, Mt. Hermon, Mass, July 1886." The File of Northfield, N.D. 1886-1889, YMCA Archives. The souvenir, presented to D. L. Moody, contains the key facts and figures of the 1886 Student Summer School.

In the comprehensive four letters of the acronym, Sherwood Eddy counted “C” as the primary factor for the YMCA.⁶² It was so with the YMCA secretaries commissioned to Korea. An industrial secretary, George A. Gregg, for instance, highlighted that “the deeper spiritual development is our higher and final aim.”⁶³ Christian understanding overarched Korean YMCA members regardless of their particular religious confessions. When less than ninety members were professing Christian faith from among over 550, some Korean members attending the English Literary Society of the YMCA suggested that they begin and end business meetings in prayer.⁶⁴ Some presiding officers, regardless of their Christian profession, opened and closed their meetings in prayer and even non-Christian members were asked to lead the devotions. The debate club, primarily not an agent for evangelism, took a Christian characteristic with Bible verses often cited and the addressed topics similar to those of sermons.⁶⁵ Despite such a Christian emphasis underpinned by a missionary ethos, Gillett increasingly expressed apprehensions with the American ministers of legation on the potential of the YMCA to become a political hotbed for the Korean and Japanese nationalists’ polarizing interests.⁶⁶ The dividing line between missionary and political identities in the YMCA was fuzzy and hard to draw.

⁶² Sherwood Eddy, *A Century with Youth: A History of the Y.M.C.A. From 1844 to 1944* (New York: Association Press, 1944).

⁶³ George A Gregg, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

⁶⁴ P. L. Gillett, "Quarterly Report Letter," N.D. YMCA Archives.

⁶⁵ The resolution of the debates included “the treasures of Heaven are better than the treasures of earth” and “religion is of more importance than the material interests of the individual.” Yi Sang-jae spoke on “God in Confucianism.” P. L. Gillett, “Quarterly Report Letter,” N.D. YMCA Archives.

In the eyes of Korean zealots, the YMCA appeared a quasi-political shelter, an alternative to the dissolved Independence Club, where their social and political aspirations could be safely channeled. The support of the YMCA by the American legation emboldened some members to regard the YMCA as a “party whose object was to fight the Japanese.”⁶⁷ A case appeared. A reputed member of the YMCA visited the government in demand of protection for Koreans in Mexico who suffered from disadvantages caused by a Japanese advisor. A so-called YMCA in Kanghai attempted to exert its power in the court of law and government; some members of these YMCAs were reported to fight with the notorious pro-Japanese society, Il-Chin hoe, justifying the reputation of the YMCA as an agent to “save the country from the Japanese.”⁶⁸

Koreans, aware of the Japanese’s tactics of enslaving Koreans under a colossal system of debts, began a grassroots movement called *Kukch’ae posang undong* (National Debt Repayment Movement) in January 1907. To make matters worse, Japan’s dethronement of King Kojong on 21 July 1907 ignited Koreans’ furor and city-wide riots. In response to Korean revolts against Japanese manipulation, Japan increased its draconian measures of suppression. All of the large patriotic organizations were crushed in the summer of 1907 by the Japanese order and the members of those disbanded

⁶⁶ P. L. Gillett, “Report of P. L. Gillett for 1907,” YMCA Archives.

⁶⁷ Gillett, “Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905.” YMCA Archives.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

organizations reputedly reorganized themselves under the name of the YMCA or joined official YMCAs.⁶⁹

In 1904, the aforementioned *Chongnyŏn hakwŏn* (Young Men's Academy) by Chŏn Tŏk-ki, the founder of Sangdong Church, used a similar name to the YMCA with the pronounced purpose of raising patriots in Christianity. At his house, Chŏn implemented his project of training young men in the spirit of independence and preparing delegates for the International Hague Conference. Such noted patriots as Yi Chun, Yi Dong-hwi, Yi Sŭng-hun, and Kim Ku formed a new political core, named the "Sangdong Party." Chŏn took a straightforward political approach to training national student leaders in a military fashion, using wooden guns, drums, and uniforms in gymnastic classes.⁷⁰ The overt program instantly caught the Japanese's attention and his organization and all its educational activities were altogether liquidated in 1907. Although the members continued their independence movement, scattered in Manchuria and Harbin, the lauded organization existed for too short a period (three years, like the Independence Club) to bring about lasting and nation-wide influence on the people. As most of the large organizations were disbanded in 1907, the newspapers in both Seoul and Tokyo constantly reported that "the Seoul YMCA was taking a leading role in the riots;" calamity could potentially fall on the YMCA.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Gillett, "Annual Report of P.L. Gillett for the Year 1907."

⁷⁰ Chon, *Han'guk Ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe Undongsa* (A history of the Korean Young Men's Movement); Chon, *Hanguk Kidokkyo Ch'ongnyonhoe Undong Sa*, 97–99.

⁷¹ Gillett, "Annual Report of P.L. Gillett for the Year 1907."

The YMCA could become easy prey to the Japanese political agenda. The Japanese expansion scheme included total annihilation or amalgamation of Koreans within the empire; every organization in colonial Korea was demanded to comply with Japanese regulations, regardless of Koreans' deep antipathy to assimilation.⁷² Any organization that did not comply with the rules of the Japanese government was destined to liquidation; likewise, any movement that attempted to weld Koreans with the Japanese was destined to dissolution. Koreans opposed the Japanese minister of the Home Department's insistence that Japanese should be assigned to the Board of Directors of the YMCA.⁷³ The Japanese government was also opposed to putting foreigners in prominent positions of influence.⁷⁴ The Japanese secretary of the Foreign Department suggested that a Korean be elected as president of the association in place of Horace Underwood, a penultimate phase of replacement by a Japanese president.⁷⁵

Referring to Christian brotherhood, the Japanese national secretaries and five secretaries of the Tokyo YMCA asked their international secretary, Galen Fisher, to encourage the American secretary and leading Korean members of the Seoul branch to publicly endorse the first Resident-General Ito Hirobumi and his administration of Korean affairs. The public affirmation of Ito Hirobumi—who forced the signing of the

⁷² Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ P. L. Gillett, to John R. Mott, October 1, 1910. Min, 136.

⁷⁵ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915."

1905, 1907 treaties and the abdication of King Kojong, later to be assassinated by An Chung-gŭn—would surely constitute a kamikaze strategy for any patriotic movement in Korea. The international secretaries in Korea gradually began to understand the Korean sentiment, although they all had to study Korean and Japanese, as well as exhibit conciliatory attitudes toward the Japanese secretaries. Pressures varied in this situation. Two young Japanese secretaries, for instance, attempted to entertain the Korean YMCA members with movies exalting Japanese achievements in the army and navy, which understandably turned into a fiasco. The Japanese complained of a lack of brotherhood among Koreans to no avail.

The function of the YMCA underlined by Chŏn Taek-bu in his *History of the YMCA in Korea* was exactly what Gillett and other international YMCA secretaries apprehended about the Korean chapter: a battalion of warriors for national independence. Chŏn's premise panders to the taste of contemporary Koreans who suffer no colonial suppressions themselves but desire to settle the colonial wounds of Korea. The idea of overt nationalist organizations moreover fits the psychology of retribution. Organizations with such a militaristic glow, however, could not have accomplished their long-term goals simply because of premature demise by the stringent colonial regime in the early twentieth century. The case of *Sangdong chŏngnyŏn hakwŏn*, established by Chŏn Dŏkki, along with a myriad of other short-lived nationalist organizations, is proof.

The primary concern of Koreans and the YMCA international secretaries at this point diverged. The Korean YMCA was on the verge of turning into a vanguard anti-Japanese organization at risk of premature dissolution before it took the full course of

development. Consulting with the Board of Directors—James Gale, Homer Hulbert, bishop Arthur B. Turner, and M'Leavy Brown—Gillett registered the name of the YMCA at the American legation. He strived to protect the integrity of the YMCA, asking the Korean government to prohibit officials from using the name “YMCA” if not endorsed by the International Committee. The English version of the proscription was circulated to the entire body of missionaries and Christian leaders in the country. The inner circle of the YMCA ensured restraint from political expressions, making every effort to keep the identity of the YMCA primarily a cultural organization.

In a sense, the overt cultural stance of the Korean YMCA mitigated the anxiety of American as well as Japanese officials and succeeded in obtaining cooperation with the Japanese YMCA. The Japanese ministers made good on their promise to help purchase property for the YMCA and to continue the annual subsidy of \$5,000 that had been supplied by the Korean court. Would the Japanese gesture of good will with material sponsorship and the exhibition of “international fraternity” really help the life of the YMCA in colonial Korea? This question can not easily be answered without considering the paradoxical road that the Korean YMCA had to take and the decades-long life it sustained under colonization.

Two primary factors resulted in the YMCA becoming a politically successful organization; the efforts to protect the missionary identity of the YMCA, and the moderation of its political stance with circuitous nationalistic means. The non-political stance the first voices of the YMCA took ironically had a political result; this is so much the case that today, Chŏn could exclusively interpret the Korean YMCA as solely a

nationalistic organization. The process of protecting the YMCA's programs and extending its life so that it might gain what nationalists sought during the colonial period, however, made room for a collaborative effort with the Japanese, as seen in the first Japanese members of the Board of Directors and the aforementioned Japanese subsidy.

A blatant nationalist interpretation of the YMCA is therefore anachronistic; it is a projection of modern preference onto colonial events, possible only by dismissing the dire context and the survival process of the YMCA. A sheer nationalist stance by such a high profile person as a president or general secretary—whose duty it was to maintain the identity of the YMCA—would directly impinge on the YMCA's survival mechanism. The YMCA was forced to navigate its way as to not stimulate Japanese politicians' suspicion. An overt nationalist stance would be what Yi Sang-jae pointed out as the biggest problem of the Koreans: desire to achieve one's goals rapidly or rashly.⁷⁶ Yi Sang-jae believed in the gradual development of national strengths through the YMCA. In April 1913, he accompanied Shin Hŭng-woo, Namkoong Oh, Horace H. Underwood, and Oliver R. Avison (delegates of the Korean YMCA) with John R. Mott as a witness to sign the humiliating Terms of Affiliation in Tokyo. This is where the Korean YMCA officially severed its prior relations with the Chinese YMCA and declared its affiliation with the Japanese YMCA.⁷⁷ The Terms of Affiliation developed into the Acts of Incorporation in 1914 that stipulated the personnel and finances of the organization. It was completed by Judge Watanabe with the ratification of Matsumoto and the

⁷⁶ Yi Sang-jae, *Hwangsŏng Shinmun*, November 14, 1908. Min, 86–87.

⁷⁷ "Terms of Affiliation. Tokyo, April 12," YMCA Archives.

Government-General.⁷⁸ However, the long-lasting service of the YMCA, despite such diplomatic concessions, enabled nation-wide regeneration programs. Reform impulses terminated in three days for the *Kapsin* Coup and in three years for the Independence Club would last for a treacherous thirty years in the YMCA.

While Korea had political sovereignty, direct engagement with political struggles was not yet possible. The sovereignty of Korea and her diplomatic limbs were legally gone on 17 November 1905, with the signing of the Protectorate Treaty. As Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs on that day, Yun resigned his political position:

The Independence of Korea was signed away quietly about 1 or 2 A.M. this morning. It all looks like a dream. I cannot realize what has happened, then I knew the thing was a foregone conclusion. I am surprised that Mr. Pak Jei Soon, the Foreign Minister, signed the Protocol. Han Kyu Sul, the Acting Prime Minister was the only one who refused to give in to the last. He was dismissed for having behaved unbecomingly in the presence of the Emperor! Hurah for the Prime Minister...

The protocol was signed last night. It was an inevitable result of the series of events that have transpired in the past few years...As soon as the protocol just signed, I knew that its conclusion was inevitable, I knew that another thing was equally unavoidable, viz, my resignation. My check was thick enough to have kept the position until today; but now I find it not thick enough to continue in the humiliating situation.⁷⁹

From that day on, Yun did not take any more government positions. Only then was what Laura Haygood exhorted him with many years prior realized. His political aspirations were losing ground. His reform impulse was now geared toward the Songdo

⁷⁸ Frank M. Brockman, to John R. Mott, "Re: Acts of Incorporation," March 24, 1914. "Act of Endowment of the Korean Young Men's Christian Association Union, Judicial Foundation," YMCA Archives.

⁷⁹ Diary, November 18, 1905.

Christian Village, the Anglo-Korean School, and for the remainder of his life, cultural regeneration of the nation through the YMCA. Those nationalists, frustrated by the debacle of the Independence Club and the signing of the Protectorate Treaty, did not give up their aspirations for Korea and chose the YMCA.

The Board of Directors

In the midst of political upheavals, the YMCA pressed on with its acrobatic operation and solidified its core structure. Although the city and student associations were organized on 27 October 1903, the first YMCA lecture was held on 11 October 1904. The five speakers were Yi Sang-jae, Yi Sŭng-man, Yŏ Byŏng-hyŏn, Yun Ch'i-ho, and P. L. Gillett.⁸⁰ The former president of the Independence Club, Yun, and its former vice-president, Yi Sang-jae—one from internal exile and the other two from prison—convened again at the first YMCA meeting.⁸¹ Before the first meeting of the YMCA, Gillett had taken two careful steps for its preparation the preceding year, one in March and the other in October 1903. In March was organized an advisory committee that aimed at raising \$3,000 to establish the YMCA. Here attended Fletcher S. Brockman from China, explaining the progress of the YMCA in China, Japan, and India as a worldwide movement.⁸² American consul and former medical missionary, Horace G. Allen, presided

⁸⁰ Diary. October 11, 1904. Frank M. Brockman states that the semi-weekly lectures attracted 100 to 150 participants in the fall of 1904. "Genesis of Seoul YMCA," YMCA Archives.

⁸¹ Min Kyŏng-bae makes no reference to Yun's speech and states that Yi Sang-jae's participation in the YMCA began in 1906. Min, 86.

at the meeting, at which bishop Arthur B. Turner of the British Episcopal Church prayed. M. Takaki, a Japanese banker in Seoul and prior secretary of the Tokyo YMCA, spoke about the influence of the YMCA in Japan. Canadian missionary James S. Gale elaborated on the situation of Korean young men, their thirst for common ground, and their need to anchor their restless hearts based on his profound interest in Korea and his books, *Korean Sketches* (1898) and *The Vanguard, A Tale of Korea* (1904). His vivid descriptions of the needs and potential of young men in Korea were persuasive enough to convince the YMCA. J. M. Brown, commissioner-in-chief of Korean customs, and George H. Jones, a Methodist missionary, were also present. Representatives from the U.S., Canada, Britain, Japan, China, and Korea constituted an epoch-making, ecumenical, and international conference in Seoul.⁸³ Hulbert commented that, for the first time in Korea, foreign officers dug into their personal pockets to donate money for a common cause. Those advisors prepared a draft for the constitution of the Korean YMCA that would inaugurate on 28 October 1903.⁸⁴

⁸² Fletcher S. Brockman, to Mott, May 13, 1903. YMCA Archives.

⁸³ Chŏn, *Han'guk Kidokkyo Ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe Undong Sa*, 64.

⁸⁴ "The Korea Review," (Seoul: Methodist Publishing House, 1901-1906). Vol. 3, October 1903, 461-462; Min, 79. The October meeting elected twelve members of the Board of Directors from twenty-eight regular members and nine associate members. The Board included Philip L. Gillett (YMCA secretary), Horace G. Underwood (U.S. Presbyterian missionary), James S. Gale (Canadian YMCA/Presbyterian missionary), Oliver R. Avison (Canadian Presbyterian medical missionary), J. M. Brown (British finance consultant), M. Takaki (Japanese YMCA secretary), Arthur B. Turner (British Episcopal bishop), Alexander Kenmure (missionary with the British Bible Society), C. G. Hounshell (missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1901-1908), Homer B. Hulbert (government teacher and Methodist missionary, 1886-1907), Robert A. Sharp (Canadian Methodist missionary, 1903-1906), and two Koreans, Kim P'il-su (Presbyterian minister, editor of *Christian Messenger*) and Yŏ Byŏng-hyŏn (teacher at Pae-Chai Academy, translator of the British consulate).

It was an auspicious start that James S. Gale—who had deeply loved Korea and had been commissioned by the Toronto College YMCA in 1888—became the first president of the Board of Directors. Kim Chung-sik, reputed as a man of sterling character, became assistant secretary; he would resolve the difficult task of negotiating with Koreans in obtaining land and a building.⁸⁵ The first Board of Directors strongly displayed transnational and interdenominational features, welding together missionaries from the Presbyterian mission, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the British Episcopal Church, and the British Bible Society, exhibiting an unprecedented solidarity and harmony that drove the YMCA.

Fuel for the Engine

The immediate task of the first meeting of the Board of Directors in March 1903 was to prepare the finances to launch the YMCA.⁸⁶ In the early twentieth century, Koreans not only suffered from economic hardships, but donation to a public cause such as the YMCA was largely foreign. Koreans furthermore regarded teachers' service of knowledge and physicians' professional skills as distinct from a factory commodity or a cobbler's or mason's products, something too noble to be bartered with money.⁸⁷ Instead

⁸⁵ P. L. Gillett, "Report of P. L. Gillett, for 1904, 1905." YMCA Archives. Kyöng-bae Min, 80. Horace G. Underwood, "Organization, Young Men's Christian Association," *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa* (Kobe, 1914), 505.

⁸⁶Fletcher S. Brockman, to Mott, May 13, 1903, YMCA Archives.

⁸⁷ Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1906), 337.

of receiving a salary, teachers made a living on the streams of respectful gifts from parents and students and court grants of land and grain. While social ethics between king and subject, husband and wife, parents and children, brothers, friends, and old and young had been inculcated for centuries during the Yi Dynasty, no moral code was prescribed beyond those relations, especially for public causes. The relationship between ministers and their congregants in Korean churches thus superseded the father-son or teacher-student structure, just as the relationship of the Japanese employer and employee in a company paralleled those of father and son. The lack of public spirit had been repeatedly lamented both by a progressive, Yun, and a conservative, Pak Un-sik.⁸⁸ How would, then, the minds of people saturated for centuries with Confucian values respond to such a grand cause as the kingdom of God or the international fraternity of the YMCA? Aware of such a context, some members of the board regarded fundraising for such a public cause not impossible, but unwise.⁸⁹

Considering the lack of philanthropic donations by ordinary people—especially to the YMCA in Korea—the account of explosive growth downplays Gillett’s pecuniary anxiety in keeping the movement going forward. When it came to money—a critical means for the association’s activities—young men balked, and with good reasons. Joyful

⁸⁸ Chai-sik Chung, "Confucian Tradition and Nationalist Ideology in Korea," in *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*, ed., Kenneth M. Wells (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).

⁸⁹ George A Gregg, "A Sketch of the Industrial Work of the Seoul, Young Men's Christian Association from 1906 to 1913," YMCA Archives. Fletcher S. Brockman, to Friends, May 9, 1903. May 13, 1903. Here Brockman states that Allen advised the association "not to ask the Koreans for money until after the building is put up."

gifts of \$3,000 increased to \$3,800 by the advisory committee and the board in March 1903. Membership dues, subscription fees, and educational fees—totaling about \$496 per year—were collected from individual Korean members, covering the expenses of the YMCA. However, in order for subscriptions to be continued, support was required not from Western secretaries, but by natives who appreciated the cause of the YMCA.⁹⁰ Yun Ch'i-ho assumed the role:⁹¹

Mr. Lyon from Shanghai has been helping Mr. Gillett to put the Seoul YMCA on a surer basis. But I fear his efforts are not responded to by the Korean. When the Association first began, many Koreans joined it, being attracted by the novelty and fun. But the novelty wore off and no excitement. They have gradually fallen away. Mr. Gillett tries to raise funds to cover the current expenses to the amount Yen 600. But I fear he cannot succeed. Most of the young men who have joined the YMCA are either poor or under the power of their parents; they have no money to give. If they have, they are tired of constant and repeated calls for contributions. Tonight after Mr. Lyon's talk, I appealed to the sense of honor of the members to support the association by Koreans. But the most striking remarks seemed to fall on indifferent ears.⁹²

Yun's mobilization for financing the YMCA being effective; Korean members in that year supplied over half of the first subscriptions. Gillett recorded in delight, "No subscriptions toward current funds were received from any but Koreans."⁹³

As will be explained later in this section, the grand celebration of the completion of the YMCA building in 1909 was followed by Yun's appeal to the guests, calling for

⁹⁰ P. L. Gillett, Annual Report for the Year 1906. YMCA Archives.

⁹¹ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905." YMCA Archives.

⁹² Diary, January 3, 1905.

⁹³ Gillett, "Report for the year 1905," YMCA Archives.

financial cooperation. Yun's ten-minute speech evoked an instant subscription of \$2,583.⁹⁴ The ideas of self-support, self-propagation, and self-government would begin only with native initiative. Yun's donation for educational institutes in Korea and other public causes set the model, stimulating Koreans' cooperation.⁹⁵

The YMCA underwent a breakthrough in its budget in facing the building project in 1906. John Wanamaker promised to put up a building if Koreans secured the land. At this proposal, \$24,000 was collected in Korea, with King Kojong providing the lion's share. He authorized the release of \$17,500 total; \$5,000 would come from the government fund for the land purchase, \$5,000 from the customs department, \$5,000 for an endowment fund, and \$2,500 for a reserve.⁹⁶ King Kojong himself donated \$500 from his personal fund. The king's personal sponsorship, however small, had a powerful effect on Koreans in drawing a social consensus. A missionary offered \$500 and American minister E. V. Morgan donated \$2,500. A large portion of \$6,000 was given by Chief Commissioner of Customs John McLeavy Brown.⁹⁷ Koreans donated \$750 for the building fund, contrary to the predictions of the board.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1909," YMCA Archives.

⁹⁵ *Dong-a Ilbo* records Yun's donations for the educational cause: 16 November 1921, for Yongmyong School in Kando, Manchuria, 300 wŏn; 9 June 1923, for Kwang-sŏn School in Kangwŏn province, 800 wŏn, plus 70 wŏn for school supplies and 40 wŏn for the salary of teachers every month.

⁹⁶ Gregg, "A Sketch of the Industrial Work of the Seoul, Young Men's Christian Association from 1906 to 1913," YMCA Archives.

⁹⁷ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906." Gregg, "A Sketch of the Industrial Work of the Seoul, Young Men's Christian Association from 1906 to 1913." Gregg discusses how the YMCA secretaries and board members experienced emotional oscillation between disappointment and delight through their concerted prayers.

The YMCA building in Chongno owed much to Wanamaker of the U.S., who donated a huge sum of \$40,000 to the unknown people of Korea. Wanamaker's generosity was sufficiently laudable. However, a single Korean's donation of \$2,500, much less as it may be compared to the wealthy Wanamaker fund, deserves our attention also. Kim Chŏng-sik, the first Korean assistant secretary of the YMCA, approached Hyŏn Hŭng-taek to sell Hyŏn's property worth \$2,500.⁹⁹ Kim's otherwise rude suggestion arose from their decade-old solidarity. Hyŏn Hŭng-taek's camaraderie with Kim Chŏng-sik—and moreover with Yun Ch'i-ho—formed a solid community prior, within, and after the Independence Club. Even before the Independence Club, Hyŏn and Yun's father were Royalists together, attempting to rescue the king from the cruelty of the Japanese and the brazen pro-Japanese cabinet (the East Gate incident). The bond of loyalty to the king and the nation had glued together Hyŏn and Yun's family.¹⁰⁰ The camaraderie continued

⁹⁸ Gillett, "Report of P. L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905," YMCA Archives.

⁹⁹ Diary, February 12, 1935. Instead of selling the land, Hyŏn donated it to Morgan, the U.S. minister in charge of constructing the YMCA building. Morgan gave him 5,000 yen, which Hyŏn donated to the YMCA building. The cousin of Hyŏn Hŭng-taek, Hyŏn Dong-wan, later became a dedicated and conscientious General Secretary of the YMCA, working with Yun Ch'i-ho.

¹⁰⁰ Diary, December 13, 1895; January 6, 16, 30, February 9, March 15, 1896. Hyŏn did not receive much education, but as a soldier was noted for his integrity and loyalty. Hyŏn was appointed as an official of the Mining Bureau and Home Affairs. *Kojong Sidaesa* (A history of Kojong era, May 11, 27, 1887). Hyŏn was hostile to Yun when he suspected Yun's implication in the murder of the queen. Such overt hostility turned into shock upon learning that Yun's loyalty to the king and the queen was incontestable. Yun "respected" Hyŏn's simplicity and courage, especially seen in the latter's attempt to protect the queen at her death. Yun paid several visits to the American legation to comfort refugees, including Hyŏn, who were implicated after the 1895 East Gate Incident. Yun's father and Hyŏn were Royalists who attempted to extricate the king from his fearful confinement of two months after the Japanese murder of the queen. Hyŏn was imprisoned because of his association with the East Gate Incident, causing Yun to escape to Underwood's missionary compound. Yun was released from his "exile" after two months. Hyŏn's faithfulness to the king led Yu Kil-Chun to plan to remove Hyŏn far from the capital, as Hyŏn appeared to have too loyal to the king to the jeopardy of the cabinet which wielded its power over the king. Yun's father, who attempted to protect the king after the East Gate Incident, was forced to escape to

through the life of the Independence Club and also facilitated sacrificial cooperation in the YMCA.¹⁰¹

Construction of the Building

The complete dimension of the YMCA service to young men required a huge facility. This included a large indoor auditorium for worship, lectures, debates, and moving picture entertainment, small rooms for classes, a gym for indoor sports, a shower room, a work space for machines and industrial education, and a library. Korea's architectural characteristics mostly consisted of small rooms with low ceilings, making it harder to accommodate such activities; constructing a new building was thus an absolute necessity. The new YMCA building was complete in 1909; the commanding four-story brick building at the center of Seoul made a striking vista along the lines of low straw-thatched roofs and serpentine muddy streets. Just as the stunning orphanage building of Count Zinzendorf resounded the powerful message of philanthropy at the center of Halle, Germany in the eighteenth century, the YMCA building in Seoul amplified its own forceful messages; primarily, the centrality of young men in the nation. The tacit message of the huge building reverberated from the center of the city, announcing the emergence

China and Hyŏn accompanied him a week after his own remission. They returned to Korea together after one month.

¹⁰¹ Gregg, "A Sketch of the Industrial Work of the Seoul, Young Men's Christian Association from 1906 to 1913." YMCA Archives.

of modernity and the novel activities of vitality, affirming the young man's need of physical, mental, and spiritual growth.

Until the Wanamaker building was launched in 1907, George A. Gregg—having just arrived in Seoul as educational secretary of the International Committee that year—built two spacious temporary buildings. The bigger of the two buildings was partitioned into three classrooms and used for school chapel at nine in the morning. In the afternoon the partitions were removed for sports lessons, lectures, debates, and receptions.¹⁰²

Another temporary building, equipped with various furniture, tools, and devices, was used as a trade school offering carpentry, plumbing, and blacksmithing classes. Before the four-story Wanamaker building was complete, the temporary buildings overflowed with students; even the new building, after its completion in 1909, turned out to be too small and soon could not accommodate all the applicants of the YMCA programs. Four Korean buildings next to the Wanamaker building were purchased in 1910. On the ground floor of the main building was a tinsmithing shop, two carpenter shops for advanced and beginner students, a machine shop, a stockroom, and a lumber drying kiln. Outside of the building was a tennis court and athletic grounds, and inside the hall fencing and wrestling classes were offered.

The building was also used as classrooms for the night schools.¹⁰³ The newly-founded Union College used the YMCA building in 1915. In the midst of physical, mechanical, social, and intellectual motley, the building inexorably exhibited the flags of

¹⁰² Gillett, "Annual Report of P.L. Gillett for the Year 1907."

¹⁰³ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

Christian conferences, conventions, and receptions.¹⁰⁴ As the YMCA expanded to other cities and schools, the need for new buildings increased. In 1923, D. Willard Lyon suggested that the Pyöngyang and Tae-gu associations should be equipped with buildings each costing around \$2,500.¹⁰⁵ The external structures of the advisory committee, Board of Directors, and the YMCA building—the frames of the organization—were to be filled with subscriptions, classes, and other programs; but, most of all, should feature its cardinal element: Christian spirituality.

The Pivot of the YMCA: Religious Work

Yi Sang-jae

The authenticity of the YMCA movement, distinct from other secular institutes, rested on its commitment to the essence of Christianity and mode of evangelism. Yi Sang-jae, with his incontestable credentials as a Christian nationalist, was a key element in the religious department of the Korean YMCA. Before his confinement in Chongno prison, his probe into the Bible at the Korean legation in Washington, D.C. brought him to a thorough disappointment with Christianity. Prison life, on the other hand, uncovered his spiritual eyes to discover biblical truths. Religious discussions for years with other

¹⁰⁴ Diary, March 16, 1932.

¹⁰⁵ Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb. Shuntehfu, China, March 16, 1923," YMCA Archives.

Christian inmates and visiting missionaries to the prison sharpened his understanding of biblical concepts. Through comparing the religious tenets of Confucianism and Buddhism with those of Christianity, Yi concluded that Christianity was a religion of character, whereas Confucianism was a religion of scholarship.

Yi's Christian faith, however, did not supply him with vitality or a purpose for his life. Even after the travail of solidifying and refining his faith in the prison furnace, Yi attempted to commit suicide, despairing over Korea's political condition. The YMCA intervened at this point in his life. Frank Brockman, somehow informed of Yi's plan, persuaded him to "postpone this [suicide] for a few months." To refresh Yi's pathological state, Brockman suggested that he be in charge of the religious department of the YMCA. Yi's acceptance indeed ushered in a remarkable religious history of the organization.¹⁰⁶ Yi's Bible training class accounted for nineteen out of twenty-one leaders who returned their learning by serving the YMCA. Yi's Bible study class recorded a total annual enrollment of 628. Within one year of Yi's involvement in the religious department, forty-six religious meetings attracted a total of 18,443 attendees.¹⁰⁷

The figures for attendees of religious meetings are impressive, but Gillett's report indicates that individual decisions for a more demanding commitment to Christianity from the passive intake of intriguing lessons and sermons was not so easy. In 1907 the total number of professed Christian conversions was 475; there were thirty in November,

¹⁰⁶ Frank M. Brockman, "General Report of Twelve Months Ending September 30th, 1908," YMCA Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1909." YMCA Archives.

seventeen in December, 322 in February, thirty in March, forty-six in April, twenty-seven in May, and three in June.¹⁰⁸ The outstanding number of decisions in February should be ascribed to a series of powerful evangelistic sermons by John R. Mott in January, where 6,000 Koreans gathered.¹⁰⁹ Mott prioritized a broad approach to Christian evangelism—culminating in personal decisions for Jesus Christ—thereby reclaiming the axis of the YMCA. In its manifold enterprises, this was the most challenging task of the organization.¹¹⁰ Along with its moderate, modern, and mollifying presentation of Christianity, annual reports reveal how the international secretaries in Korea tried to corroborate the centrality of Christianity into the worldwide movement. P.L. Gillett, George A. Gregg, and F.M. Brockman (the first YMCA secretaries), saw to it that the entire movement revolved around a Christian ethos and the salvation of Korean young men.¹¹¹ Gillett emphasized that his special interest was “foreign missions of the Church and especially the YMCA in foreign lands, helping in churches in this land wherever possible.” This indicates that the identity of the YMCA secretaries was primarily a

¹⁰⁸ Gillett’s report in 1907 contains the following statistics: Number of meetings of the debate club (37); average attendees of the debate club (319); number of lectures (83); average attendance at lectures (390); number of football games (56); number of attendees at games (37); number of gymnasium classes (33); number of receptions (14); average attendance at receptions (115); attendance of members at monthly business meetings (119); number of committee meetings (28); attendance at buildings during the day (265); average attendance at buildings in the evenings (188); number of chapel services at school (64).

¹⁰⁹ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1907 " YMCA Archives.

¹¹⁰ Galen M. Fisher, *John R. Mott, Architect of Co-Operation and Unity* (New York: Association Press, 1952), 122.

¹¹¹ Biographical Files, Gillett’s personal statement 2, YMCA Archives.

Christian missionary, although they interchanged cultural boons with natives.¹¹²

Evangelism was at the heart of the YMCA missionaries as the religious feature of the YMCA. This augmented along with the 1903 and 1907 revivals in the northwestern regions of Korea and with Korean zeal for Bible study. This left an indelible impact, rarely obtainable in other places, on the YMCA missionaries.¹¹³

Million Souls for Christ and the Thousand Club

From 1909 to 1910, as Korea was on the verge of annexation by Japan, Korean Christians launched an evangelistic campaign unprecedented in the country's history under the banner, "A Million Souls for Jesus," as if to prepare for the grinding tribulation under the colonial regime. The 1907 Great Revival of Pyöngyang was owed to the prayer movement of Southern Methodist missionaries in Songdo and Wönsan in 1903, in particular by female Southern Methodist missionaries: Mary Culler White, Louise Howard McCully (Canadian Presbyterian), Arrena Carroll, Mary Knowles, Josephine C. Hounshell, and a male missionary, Robert A. Hardie. Likewise, the Million Souls Movement also started with the week-long pilot prayers by Southern Methodist

¹¹² Biographical Files, World Service Fellowship questionnaire in manuscript, June 18, 1938, YMCA Archives.

¹¹³ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1909," YMCA Archives. He introduces a case of one denomination in 1891 in which seven participants in a two-week Bible study and prayer class swelled to an enrollment of 42,812 with 743 classes in 1909. He records that some Koreans walked two hundred miles for the Bible study and paid all their own expenses plus a matriculation fee.

missionaries in Songdo.¹¹⁴ The missionaries resolved to take a decisive step in their annual conference for the “complete evangelization of the portion of Korea committed to the Church” and to observe weeks-long prayer sessions for “2 million souls” in 1909.¹¹⁵ In observance of the resolution, Southern Methodist missionaries Clarence F. Reid, Foster K. Gamble, and Marion B. Stokes devoted themselves to a week-long prayer and Bible study, experiencing another flare of evangelistic fervor for the million souls for Christ.¹¹⁶ This movement for evangelism inaugurated the tradition of day-offerings for evangelism.¹¹⁷ Some offered several days while others set aside months or even an entire year distributing over three million special tracts and 197,468 Bibles, provided by the Korean Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹¹⁸

The church’s record-breaking campaign of the evangelistic Million Souls Movement augmented its force, flanked by the YMCA’s Gospel Bands in 1911.¹¹⁹ The Gospel Band, or “Preaching Band” started with fifty-eight young students who grouped themselves together to spread the message of Christ to fellow students. The students also left Seoul, marching in prayer to leading cities and counties. They knocked on the doors

¹¹⁴ Yong-Gyu Park, *Han'guk Kidok Kyohoe Sa I. 1784-1910* (History of Christianity in Korea) (Seoul: Saengmyongui Malsumsa, 2004), 828–927. Park refers to the initial role of prayer by the Southern Methodist missionaries for the Wönsan revival in 1903 and the Pyöngyang Great Revival in 1907.

¹¹⁵ F. K. Gamble, “Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission, M. E. Church, South,” *The Korea Mission Field*, November 1909.

¹¹⁶ Park, 925–926.

¹¹⁷ Park, 929.

¹¹⁸ Frank M. Brockman, “Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1911,” YMCA Archives. In 1911, this society successfully completed a translation of the entire Bible after a twenty-four-year endeavor.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

of thirty-three villages, hamlets, and towns with the traditional methods of “the magic lantern” and religious dramas.¹²⁰ Those students grabbed every opportunity for evangelism, reaching out to boys lingering in markets at night after the working boys’ night schools.¹²¹ Explosion of evangelistic zeal frequently exhibited excess; some townspeople ended up being exposed to the oral or written gospel several times a day.¹²²

There has been no suspicion about the contribution of the Million Souls Movement to Korean Christianity, especially when painted by Korean historians’ unstinting paeans. Some YMCA secretaries, however, could not hide their misgivings about the efficacy of the massive and vigorous campaign.¹²³ Frank M. Brockman reported that “although thousands had given in their names to the churches, the average church membership had not perceptibly increased over the previous year.”¹²⁴ Such apprehensions led to the organization of a special care committee to follow up on the new confessors. Tapping its time-tested organization skills, the YMCA devised a “Thousand Club,” a corrective measure to the “Million Souls.” The YMCA recruited volunteer teachers from local churches to lead Bible classes not only at the YMCA building, but also at homes, in shops, and at other suitable quarters. The Thousand Club of the YMCA

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1917," YMCA Archives.

¹²² Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1911," YMCA Archives.

¹²³ Park Yong-gyu’s *Han’guk Kidok Kyohoe Sa I. 1784-1910* (History of Christianity in Korea) is one example.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

offered 1,144 sessions of the Bible classes, recording a total of 27,092 attendees in 1911 and 1912.¹²⁵ The total number of participants was impressive, but monthly attendees dwindled: 3,093 in May, 1,234 in June, 884 in August, a slight increase to 1,284 in September of 1911. These numbers suggest that the ongoing nurturing of small groups within a stable faith community, rather than special programs, is more effective in providing personal care to seekers. Boys were also included in the YMCA's care projects. In the boy's Bible classes, teachers and senior students from mission schools led Bible studies for 590 students from city schools. As the YMCA had complemented the church's ministry with its approach to young men, it again complemented the Million Souls Movement by devising and organizing smaller care groups to strengthen the movement.

Student Summer Conference (1910–)

Another corrective measure to the massive grassroots evangelism of the church was the YMCA's Student Summer Conference launched in 1910. The Student Summer Conference was a hardcore leadership program offering intensive Christian nurturing for students who would become national leaders in less than a decade. Lectures and intensive Bible studies, surrounded by stimulating lush nature, provided an optimum environment for students to experience life-changing moments. The Student Summer Conference also offered a transnational, intergenerational, and inter-scholarly network for uniting young students. Nationally revered Christians, pioneers, patriots, and international speakers

¹²⁵ P.L. Gillett, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1912," YMCA Archives.

infused student delegates with a hopeful outlook that encompassed the world in Christianity.

P. L. Gillett, a volunteer missionary, carried the idea of starting a summer camp since he began his ministry in 1903 with six young men. It was Koreans, however, who first organized his dream summer school. In the summer of 1908, Korean YMCA teachers proposed a summer school not towards a religious goal, but for reviewing academic classes just as Confucian scholars did during the summertime. These Koreans organized the educational committee, elected their president, provided all the expenses, and opened the summer school at the YMCA. Two hundred twenty Korean students defied the notorious muggy monsoon season to learn math, Japanese, English, and survey courses at that summer school, arriving at 5:30 A.M each day. At daybreak the YMCA conducted a chapel service.¹²⁶ The first summer schools of the YMCA were thus academic, with Christianity capping the classes as a courtesy.¹²⁷

The Student Summer Conference for religious renewal started in 1910, the high point of the Million Souls Movement and two months before the annexation of the nation. At a Buddhist temple adjacent to Seoul, Chin'gwansa (famous for its beautiful mountains), the first Student Summer Conference was held. The conference meetings

¹²⁶ Brockman, "General Report of Twelve Months Ending September 30th, 1908," YMCA Archives.

¹²⁷ A summer conference or retreat for the comprehensive nurturing of young men as future leaders of the nation started back in the fifteenth century in Korea, although it had not been for Christianity. The Koryo Dynasty held summer conferences in the capital city, Songdo. It was called the "Conference Under the Summer Sky (夏天大會)." Organized by Ch'oi Jung (崔重), the summer conference sought to reform the national religion, Buddhism, and Korea's degenerate society through trained junior Buddhist scholars. In the midst of forests and under the sky, the young scholars immersed themselves in Buddhist texts with the vision of reforming Koryo society.

were held in the monks' quarters under a grand old tree in front of a Buddhist tablet known as a place for recalling a particular mountain spirit. There under the feet of the Buddha, forty-six student delegates prayed for the Holy Spirit. Sixteen speakers from four countries and six denominations characterized the conference as a distinctively international and ecumenical event.

The impact of the conference's lectures and sermons on participating students was incomparable to that of moderns basking in the benefits of copious amounts of Christian literature and the convenience of lecture recordings.¹²⁸ Not only was the conference a unique privilege for student delegates, it also created cohesion between students and the expectations of nationalists; prospective leaders of national reconstruction would be molded in the conference. While attending the conference, American secretaries recalled their own student conferences in Asheville, Northfield, and Lake Geneva. The Korean student conference, however, appeared to be a beacon bringing "salvation to Chōsun," as expressed by Kim P'il-su, editor of *Chōngnyōn* as well as the first member of the Board of Directors.¹²⁹ The student conferences that had brought Christian students together in Europe, America, Australia, Africa, India, China, and Japan landed in Korea, transmitting inspiration to Korean Christian students. The first student conference in 1910 stimulated student movements in schools, resuscitating the student association at Pae-chai Academy

¹²⁸ W. L. Nash, "Letter to C.A. Hershleb, Jan. 11, 1922," YMCA Archives. According to the letter from Nash in 1922, the appropriate tool for personal devotion was merely four or five translated books. When the most famous "The Manhood of the Master" was sold out, more were hardly available. Paper, publishers, funds, and printing machines were all rare in early-twentieth-century Korea.

¹²⁹ Kim Pil-su, "Kaesung kwa Haryōnghoe" 1. *Chōngnyōn*, August 1924, 1.

and Sangdong. It helped organize new student associations at Kyōng-sin, Severance Hospital, and the Anglo-Korean School, preparing a broader foundation for the ninety-three student delegates for the second conference in 1911.¹³⁰ While the conference was instrumental in broadening its participating schools, it resolved to limit its student delegates so that the spiritual ethos of the conference would be effectively and intensively protected.¹³¹

Yun Ch'i-ho was president of the first and second student conferences and a superlative speaker, attracting many students. The Anglo-Korean School organized its student association after the first conference in 1910, and the school provided its facilities for the second, fourth, and fifth conferences. As for the venue of the student conferences, there were not many appropriate places for the students to meet become inspired. The Anglo-Korean School became a popular venue for the student conference. It was located only forty miles away from Seoul, had a stone dormitory and other appropriate facilities, sat at the foot of Song-ak Mountain, and was part of the history of religious revivals in Songdo.

The fifth conference in 1914 brought forth the National YMCA in coalition with the Seoul YMCA and forty-five students from nine other student YMCA's.¹³² David Lee

¹³⁰ P. L. Gillett, "The Student Summer Conference," *The Korea Mission* Field 8, 1912.

¹³¹ Frank M. Brockman, Annual Report of Frank M. Brockman of Seoul for the Year Ending, September 30th, 1910, YMCA Archives.

¹³² Chosŏn Chungang Christian Association (Seoul city association), Chosŏn Christian Association in Japan, Kichŏng Hakkwan, Pae-chai Academy, Kyungsin, Severance Medical School, the Anglo-Korean School, Chŏnju Shinheung School, Kunsan Yŏngmyŏng School, and Kwangju Sungil School YMCA convened and formed the Chosŏn Young Men's Christian Association. At this conference,

maintained that the most important goal of the student conference was “to show to other nations the best in our own national life and to secure the best that God had given.” He underscored that the greatest need of Korea was the “effective promotion of the Kingdom of God and more workers to carry forward the Christian Movement in this land.”¹³³ For seven days and nights, students absorbed moral and ethical lessons, immersing themselves in the lessons of life, personality, and the living power of Jesus Christ.¹³⁴ We can get a glimpse of what the YMCA student conference instilled in those selected students by a set of resolutions after the conference:

1. Being active in a temperance movement.
2. Being active in a movement against licensed prostitution.
3. Consecrate one’s body.
4. Oppose the concubines against biblical teachings.
5. Being courageous and hopeful always (never entertain in your heart or utter in your speech “despondence and inability”).
6. Try to be an exemplar at schools in responsibility and duty.
7. Encourage the use of local products.¹³⁵

Among all the summer conferences, the second conference was the most vigorous, with speakers from New York (Campbell White) and India (Sherwood Eddy).¹³⁶ Yun Ch’i-ho was again president of the second conference. Yi Sung man had just returned

Horace G. Underwood was appointed as the president, Yi sang-jae as the assistant president, and Frank Brockman as the general secretary.

¹³³ David Lee, “Student Summer Conference,” *Chǒngnyǒn*, September 1921.

¹³⁴ W. L. Nash, "Letter to Mr. Holt, October 7, 1924," YMCA Archives.

¹³⁵ “Uri Haksaeng Haryonghoeui Kyǒrui an” (The resolutions of the students at the Summer Conference), *Chǒngnyon*, October 1924, 11.

¹³⁶ Taek-bu Chǒn, 151; Syngman Rhee, to Friends, July 22, 1911.

from the U.S. for the YMCA student movement with his Ph.D from Princeton. He carried out what the traveling secretaries did with Brockman; for three weeks, visiting eighteen mission stations, conducting thirty-three meetings, and contacting 7,533 people before the conference. The Student Summer Conferences displayed a formidable force with its international and nationwide student and nationalist networks. Also, when combined with the national Million Souls Movement, it appeared only more so to the colonial government. The religious meetings were inscrutable to the colonial politicians. What they perceived from the second conference—with its ninety-three student delegates from twenty-one provincial schools—was the potential of those Christians and students to become a threatening ally and start a huge riot in the country; all those delegates had to do was mobilize fellow students in their respective schools. Suspicion about the expanding force of Christians and the YMCA rankled the Japanese government, which was determined to break their alliance. When the second conference was over in June 1911, the Japanese began to arrest Christian leaders the following October.

Suppression of Christianity by Japanese Colonialism: The Korean Conspiracy Case (1911–1915)

The Korean Conspiracy Case was the Japanese scheme to secure control over colonial Korea by eliminating the most formidable entities undermining the colonial system. The Japanese government began to arrest Koreans for a variety of reasons in

January 1911.¹³⁷ All of a sudden the charges burgeoned ranging from an assassination plot, burglary, and national insecurity. Frequent arrests of Koreans after the annexation culminated in the Conspiracy Case, the grandest lawsuit in the history of Korea. The case's central goal was to fracture the coalition of Korean Christian nationalists and international missionaries.

In October 1911, Japanese police arrested about forty teachers and students of the Presbyterian academy, Pastor Yang Chŏn-baek of the Sŏnch'ŏn Presbyterian Church, and over 100 Christians in the same province. Subsequently hundreds of Korean Christians were arrested with no warrants, detained, and interrogated. They were charged for having plotted to assassinate the newly-appointed Governor-General of Korea, Terauchi.¹³⁸ The arrests and critiques reached the highest court in September 1912, where they arraigned 123 Korean nationalists. Yun Ch'i-ho, who had been arrested on 5 February 1912, was sentenced as a ringleader of the Conspiracy Case to a ten-year imprisonment.

The Japanese government spent \$3,500 to build a provisional court for this unprecedented judicial case behind the Seoul district courthouse. The court had seats at the center for the 123 prosecuted, Judge Tsukahara, two associate judges, two interpreters, including one Korean interpreter. These seats were surrounded by seats for journalists, an audience of 200, twenty foreigners, thirty policemen and six men guarding the prisoners,

¹³⁷ To Chin-sun ed., *Paekpum ilgi* (Diary of Kim Ku) (Seoul: Tolbegae, 1997), 218. Kim Ku was arrested on 5 January 1911 at Anak School in Whang-hae Province, where scores of patriots were arrested and detained.

¹³⁸ Terauchi was on his way to the opening ceremony of the Yalu bridge construction. The bridge was built as a stepping stone to the Yalu River, which borders both Manchuria and Korea, the future site of the Manchuria invasion.

the spectators. An array of nine Japanese barristers and seven Korean lawyers for defense, plus huge piles of documents on the table of the judge, assumed that this was a genuinely legitimate modern trial. Chief Prosecutor Matsudera read the indictment for two hours and called individual names, ages, residences, and positions of the accused for several more hours. All the solemn proceedings of this trial—lasting for twenty days—with lawyers, international witnesses, and journalists would prove to be all fabricated.¹³⁹ The elimination of particular pivotal figures required an ostensibly legitimate procedure unless Japan would choose to forfeit an emerging international reputation as a modern and civilized state.

The scenario of this conspiracy claimed that *Sinminhoe* (New People's Society) and its founder An Ch'ang-ho, returning from the U.S., and Yun Ch'i-ho, the society's president, organized in April 1907 a plot to restore Korean independence by assassinating Governor-General Terauchi.¹⁴⁰ The scenario, composed of long sundry stories, claimed that the *Sinminhoe*—allegedly waiting with eighty revolvers to kill the Governor-

¹³⁹ "The Korean Conspiracy Trial: Full Report of the Proceedings by the Special Correspondent of the Japan Chronicle," *Japan Chronicle* (Korea, Japan: 1912).

¹⁴⁰ *Sinminhoe* (New People's Society, founded in 1907) was similar to, yet distinct from *Singanhoe*, which was subsequently organized in 1927 as a union force of both democratic nationalists and Communists. *Sinminhoe* was organized by An Ch'ang-ho, had headquarters in Seoul, and branches in thirteen Korean provinces; Yun Ch'i-ho was its president. *Singanhoe*, on the other hand, enlisted about 30,000 members in over 100 branches. *Singanhoe* had an associate group of women named *Kūnuhoe*. After the Kwang-ju Student Revolt in 1929, *Singanhoe's* support of students by dispatching an investigative team and participation in rallies caused the organization's dissolution by the Japanese government in 1931. *Singanhoe* underscored patriotism through teaching Korean history and language by native teachers. *Singanhoe* also strived to block Japanese exploitation through the Oriental Development Company.

Yi Seung-hun consulted Yun Ch'i-ho when forming the Young Men's Association, the forerunner of *Sinminhoe* and a secular nationalist counterpart of the YMCA, seeking to cultivate patriots through the moral discipline of Korean young men. The Young Men's Association published a magazine mainly featuring the great people of the world in order to inspire young Koreans.

General—allied with students of the Sinsǒng Mission School and its principal, Presbyterian missionary George McCune.¹⁴¹ Similar activities in the scenario were also occurring in a clandestine patriotic society in Manchuria, North Kando, but the players of the case pointed out that within Korea they were in the wrong.

The trial proceeded, based on the affirmation of the Japanese scenario by a few Koreans, who confessed under prolonged torturing sessions. The Japanese police also used the method of creating suspicion, antipathy, and fracture among Koreans by suggesting anonymous Korean informants. The ultimate goal was the elimination of key figures who united Koreans. The Japanese government claimed that the whole assassination scheme had been laid out by Yun Ch'i-ho and Yang Ki-tak from the headquarters of New Peoples' Society in Seoul, with Yun Ch'i-ho gathering information of Terauchi's itinerary from the Government-General and ordering the plot through the

¹⁴¹ The scenario was that Kim Hŭng-yang, Sin Hyo-pŏm, and Ok Kwan-bin informed the itinerary of Count Terauchi, prepared for the assassination, and quickly moved to Wŭiju; the society received money to carry out the plot from a wealthy widow at Kwaksan. While the ringleaders asked other members to replenish the revolvers, Ok Kwanbin, after finishing his mission to prepare members for the assassination at Sŏnch'ŏn and Wuiju, ordered the assassination of the Governor-General by the students of Shinsŏng Mission School and had held meetings to continue the assassination plot. An Tae-guk came from Pyŏngyang to Sŏnch'ŏn and called a meeting to announce the arrival of the Governor-General the night before. He prepared them by getting them to lay hold of their revolvers, concealed under their clothes, so that anyone who had the best opportunity should fire at the Governor-General. The students and the men went to the train station carrying the revolvers, but the train passed though the station without stopping. The great meeting was held that evening, where Yi Seung-hun again prepared people. They gathered on the next day at another station. Although the plan failed yet again, Yi Seung Hun told his fellows to pretend that things had turned out as they had expected (that is, that they did indeed assassinate the Governor-General). After all, Shin Hyobŏm had joined the faculty at the Sinsŏng School in order to join *Sinminhoe*. Yi Pyŏng-jo gave 100 yen for the purchase of the revolvers. Four thousand yen was collected from the members of *Sinminhoe* and a large number of revolvers were bought. He was also forced to admit this story to the police. The Society bought the revolvers in Mukden, Manchuria. Kim Il-jŏn went to Port Arthur in 1909 to meet An Chung-gŭn, who was under arrest because of his assassination of Prince Ito. Ok Kwan-bin urged Kim Chang-whan to continue the assassination plot of An Chung-gŭn.

society's thirteen provincial branches.¹⁴² Presumed as the chief ringleader of the plot, the whole second day of the court trial focused on interrogating Yun. The court proceedings by the *Japanese Chronicle* correspondent recorded about the appearance of Yun Ch'i-ho:

The main feature of today's proceedings was the examination of Baron Yun, whose pale face and slight figure, combined with his refined and dignified manner, made a favorable impression upon those at least who were disposed to give him a hearing before judging him. He replied to the questions of the Court in fluent Japanese, spoken with an accent and in a style obviously well-bred.¹⁴³

The 135-page detailed report of the trial proceedings by the special correspondent of the *Japan Chronicle* is checkered with discrepancies and indicates that the trial proceeded with no attention given to defendants. The judge silenced reports of prior torture and bypassed allegations of missionaries' involvement. Yun's name was recurring throughout the report as the central perpetrator of the case; he duly received a ten-year sentence along with Yang Ki-tak, Im Ch'i-jǒng, Yi Sǔng-hun, An Tae-guk, and Ryu Tong-sǒl.¹⁴⁴

The Japanese government dealt with Yun as the head of the New People's Movement, the central figure of the case, and the chief threat to the Japanese regime. In Korean national history, however, Yun has been eclipsed as simply one among the

¹⁴² Yang Ki-tak worked with E. T. Bethel for *Taehan maeil sinbo* (Korean Daily) and assumed a central role in *Sinminhoe*.

¹⁴³ "The Korean Conspiracy Trial: Full Report of the Proceedings by the Special Correspondent of the Japan Chronicle," in *Japan Chronicle* (Korea, Japan: 1912), 135.

¹⁴⁴ Seven years penal servitude for Ok Kwan-pin, Chang Eung-chin, Chai Li-sik, La Il-pong, Pyen Ik-syo, Choi Chun-hang, Yang Chom-miung, Kim Eung-nok, Choi Syong-chu, Hong Song-in, O Heui-won, Yi Keui-tang, and Song Cha-hyong. Six years penal servitude for Yi Tok-whan, Yi Choon-ha, Kim Tong-won, Kim Tu-whan, Yun Syong-un, Chyong Ik-no, An Kyong-nok, Sin Sang-ho, Sin Hyo-pyom, Chang Si-ook, Hong Song-ik, Cha Kiun-sul, Yi Yong-hyok, Kang Keui-chan, Yang Chon-paik, Yi Pyong-che, No Hyo-ook, Kim Chang-whan, No Chung-heun, and An Chun Chyon.

accused in the labyrinth of the case. Yun was an international bridge figure who, in his imprisonment, had lost the domestic network that he had worked to create over the past ten years. He previously had developed a strong bond between Korean Methodists and diplomatic luminaries, and was therefore a pacifist. Yun's pacifism could have been an uncomfortable feature to radical Korean nationalists, perhaps partly explaining the historical erasure of his role.

Why did the Japanese judiciary focus on pacifist Yun as the center of the case above other radical and active nationalists? What bothered the Japanese colonial system was not Christianity itself per se, but Christian coalition among Koreans and international secretaries (in which Yun was a key player), notable through the medium of the YMCA. The Summer Student Conference appeared to be a substantial point of Christian coalition, bringing together ninety-six student delegates from twenty-six provincial schools all over the state with international secretaries and luminaries from various countries. The ecumenical and international cauldron of the conference created a Christian coalition between the young and old Koreans, never before seen in churches, mission schools, or organizations in the history of colonial Korea. The Japanese control measure of the Korean Conspiracy Case in 1912 would recur in the Manchurian Moukden Case in 1935. A large number of people, including thirty Chinese YMCA leaders, were arrested without warrants on fabricated accounts of crimes.¹⁴⁵ Organizations with international bonds that extended their influence beyond the Japanese government were the target of such attacks.

¹⁴⁵ Eugene E. Barnett, "Letter to F.S. Harmon, Oct. 25, 1935," YMCA Archives.

The fact that the Korean Conspiracy Case attacked the coalition between Korean nationalists and Western missionaries can be well-inferred from the Japanese attacks on missionaries. Although foreign missionaries were not included in the final tribunal, Japanese authorities alleged that some twenty foreign missionaries had actively abetted and manipulated the conspiracy by transferring weapons, providing ideas, and aiding Koreans' undertaking against Japanese politics.¹⁴⁶ Western missionaries' reports of Korean Christianity as a distinct phenomenon had constituted a formidable barrier to Japanese manipulation and atrocity. Through the Conspiracy Case, the missionaries experienced persecution and manipulation with forged charges, which altered their prior views on Japanese rule in Korea. As with some American modern scholars, up until the Conspiracy Case, missionaries believed that Japanese colonial rule in Korea would precipitate modernization with their advanced legislative and economic systems.¹⁴⁷ They largely had explained away the regime's land policy where significant amounts of Korean farmland slipped to the Japanese as a result of Korean ignorance of the legislative system and the Japanese's rationalization of the land register system. Park Yong-gyu claims that the Conspiracy Case was the watershed event by which missionaries' attitudes toward Japan shifted from a non-committal neutral stance to active denunciation. American

¹⁴⁶ *105-in Sakōn Kongp'an ch'amgwan'gi* (Korean conspiracy trial, 1912) (Seoul: Hanguk Kidokkyo Yoksa Yonguso, 2001).

¹⁴⁷ Carter Eckart, in his analysis of Kochang Kim's land management, supports the argument that Japanese rule in Korea, despite its exploitation, provided modern and rationalized legal devices with which the underdeveloped Korean farming system was replaced by advanced land management.

missionaries from then on allied themselves with Korean nationals in stronger solidarity.¹⁴⁸

Tight colonial purview and regulations of the Japanese government kept every operation within Korea under its surveillance to prevent political struggles. Foreign missionaries, as with high-profile Koreans, cautiously made their missional work appear to comply with Japanese requirements. Japan fully asserted its newly-acquired sovereignty in Korea to eliminate any hindrances that might impinge on its expansionist scheme. The first YMCA missionary, P.L. Gillett, was thus recalled in 1913, alleged by the Japanese authorities as an accomplice to the Korean Conspiracy Case.¹⁴⁹ Most Koreans who fought for Korean independence operated outside of Korea in Manchuria or Shanghai. Ultimately, those under Japanese jurisdiction and condemnation were Korean Christians and missionaries who were penalized for the nationalistic activities happening in Manchuria.

The Result

Koreans suffered a total defeat by the fabricated accounts of the Korean Conspiracy Case. Unlike the March First Movement in 1919, the Conspiracy Case in 1912 succeeded in dividing Koreans. To reach the goal of bottlenecking Christian leaders, Japanese authorities used the methods of torture to extort Koreans' admission of the

¹⁴⁸ Yong-Gyu Park, *Han'guk Kidok Kyohoe Sa II, 1910-1960* (History of the Korean Church) (Seoul: Saengmyongui Malsumsa, 2004), 151.

¹⁴⁹ P.L. Gillett. "Not for publication, private print" Mookanahan, China. July 24. 1913, YMCA Archives.

conspiracy, prohibited communication with people outside of detention quarters, weakened the arrested with prolonged periods of detention, claimed anonymous Korean informants, and made the whole process turbid and confounding. No voice of attorneys for the prosecuted, no mass rally as with the March First Movement, no Ryu Kwan-sun's death to stir public anger, and no publicity by the press brought Japan into a deflection from what the case pushed forth. The Japanese government effectively eliminated national and international leaders from the peninsula, especially the core figures of the YMCA.

The impact of the Korean Conspiracy Case was directly felt at the Student Summer Conferences, as Yun was the chairman. The trial proceeded during the student conference. As a result, Yun Ch'i-ho, Yang Chŏn-baek, and Yang Chun-Myong—the pastors in charge of soul-searching spirituality and aspiring vision for students—were all in court. Seen by the colonial government as the locus of the assassination plan, the student conference was held under the tight supervision of the police. A drop in student participation from ninety-three in 1911 to fifty-seven in 1912 was only the visible result of the Conspiracy Case terror.¹⁵⁰ Invisibly, student delegates at the Student Conference, conscious of the concurrent trial and missing their spiritual leaders, were confused and bewildered at the sudden arraignment of their respected teachers as ringleaders of an assassination plot. Gillett records that the Korean Conspiracy Case redirected the Student

¹⁵⁰ "The Korean Conspiracy Trial: Full Report of the Proceedings by the Special Correspondent of the Japan Chronicle."

Summer Conference in a cautiously apolitical direction and its emphasis focused on attendees' personal relationships with God.¹⁵¹

Yun Ch'i-ho, vice-president of the YMCA and president of the YMCA's student conference, was put in prison. Overcoming the punitive damages of the Independence Club from 1898 to 1904, he worked for the people for over a decade. Now he was thrown into the Taegu prison again. In prison from September 1912 to February 1915, he experienced acute pains that any capable Korean leader would face in order to counter the Imperial expansion.¹⁵² Yi Sang-jae and Cynn Hŭng-wu of the YMCA dodged the Japanese government unquestioned.

In Korean history, An Ch'ang-ho, Sŏ Chae-p'il, and Kim Ku have been addressed as superlative patriots, while Yun has been chronically sidelined as a mere collaborator. The only way to shun the stigma of collaboration in colonial Korea in the 1940s was either to die earlier (as Yi Sang-jae and An Ch'ang-ho both did), to leave the public institutions (like Kim Kyo-sin), or to leave Korea altogether (such as Sŏ Chae-p'il, Kim Ku, An Ch'ang-ho, Yi Sŭng-man, and Kim Kyu-sik). Those who fortunately died before the 1940s are written in the history of Korea as patriots. Yi Sang-jae died in 1927, Yi

¹⁵¹ P.L. Gillett, "Annual Report of Philip L. Gillett for the Year Ending September 30," YMCA Archives. In association with the case, Gillett recorded, "the Church of Christ in this land never gave such prospects of a pure spiritual future as during these days of prayer and reliance on God...Undoubtedly the recent conference of Korean Christian students in Tokyo...had a marked influence on these men and at the closing session their one minute testimonies were largely in the two themes, consecration of self to God and energetic effort to win others to Christ." Gillett's description of the Tokyo YMCA students in this document must have been written in 1913, before the Terms of Affiliation was contracted.

¹⁵² Park Yong-gyu states that the Japanese government—denounced by the Western press on its excessive suppression and torture of Koreans and Christianity—reduced its original plan of a ten-year imprisonment down to four years. Park, *History of the Korean Church*, 151.

Sŭng-hun in 1930, Im Ch'i-jung in January 1932, and An Ch'ang-ho in March 1938, before the Sino-Japanese War broke out in the late 1930s.¹⁵³ Such a blessed death was not given to Yun. Virtually no one with a high profile or in institutions of higher education in Korea survived without staining their names with collaboration stigma. In the 1940s Koreans either had to leave their institutions to the hands of the Japanese or collaborate with them. Those leaders still alive after the late 1930s had to sadly assume leadership in mobilizing students by following Japanese rule.

The conspiracy trial succeeded in removing Christian leaders from the peninsula. Sŏ Chae-p'il had long gone to the U.S. An Ch'ang-ho had left Korea in 1911, before he suffered the Conspiracy Case. Rhee Syng-man escaped after the Conspiracy Case to the U.S. in March 1912, and Kim Kyu-sik in 1913. They would return only after Korean liberation. From the beginning of 1912 to February 1915, exhausting trials and legal proceedings were repeated over fifty times, draining and devastating the arrested. Some died of diseases and from torture. Chŏn Dŏkki, the founder of Kong-ok Academy and the Young Men's Academy at the Sang Dong Methodist Church was imprisoned after this trial as the founding member of the New People's Movement; he was released before the term was up because of tuberculosis, pleurisy, and a malignant tumor, and died in March 1914. The last trial of Yun's prison term with the other five inmates reduced their term to six years. Those six who were convicted were all released mid-February 1915.

¹⁵³ Diary, January 10, 1932.

After his release from prison, the thought of attempting to counter the colonial regime only convulsed Yun. Yi Kwang-su recorded what he heard about Yun's speech to the belligerent young people on his release; he advised them to strengthen moral and spiritual power through education and commerce. Such a stance of Yun's cultural nationalism satisfied neither the resistant instinct of those young men nor that of Yi Kwang-su, both of whom had expected Yun's vitriolic denunciation of the Japanese regime after his experience of its worst kind in the prison. However, it was An Ch'ang-ho in China who persuaded Yi Kwang-su and his friends that Yun's patriotism was and would be never changed.¹⁵⁴ Ok Kwan-bin and Im Ch'i-jöng, who respectively received seven- and ten-year sentences, never joined the March First Movement like Yun Ch'i-ho did.¹⁵⁵ Kim Ku suffered imprisonment around this time, and he, too, never joined the March First Movement; he escaped from Korea in March 1919.¹⁵⁶ None of the tortured and imprisoned by the Korean Conspiracy Case joined the March First Movement again. After the release in 1915, Yun's actions, despite his deep sense of impotence, revolved around educational institutions and the YMCA. Despite the colonial deposition of P. L. Gillett, the YMCA still remained an organization where he could plant seeds of life for

¹⁵⁴ Yi, Kwang-su, "Mobömmüi in Yun Ch'i-ho ssi (A model man, Yun Ch'i-ho)," *Tonggwang* (The Eastern Light)10 (February 1927). 212-214.

¹⁵⁵ Diary, April 2, 1919.

¹⁵⁶ Kim Ku, *Paekböm Kimgu ilgi* (Diary), To Chin-sun ed.

the future of Korea. The mounting denunciation of Japan from international bodies explains in part the earlier release of the prisoners than the original terms.¹⁵⁷

P. L. Gillett, as the representative of the YMCA, and J. L. Gerdine, on behalf of the Korea mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, sent a thirteen-page-long appeal prior to the grand trial to John R. Mott, Chairman of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. Their resolutions included: (1) Gerdine would employ one of the most distinguished lawyers of Japan to plead on Yun's behalf; (2) calling together a conference of leading Christians and non-Christians in Japan and Korea as well as missionaries in both countries to "call attention to the folly of the Government's present policy;" and (3) to "make appeal to the Christian world, hoping that the horror which such a conspicuous piece of persecution on the part of a so-called enlightened Government in the Twentieth Century would bring Japan to a reconsideration of her suicidal course."¹⁵⁸ The imprisonment of Yun nonetheless indicates that the international intervention had limitations.

The Installation of the Korean General Secretary (May 1916)

After Yun's release, he assumed the role as the first Korean general secretary of the Seoul YMCA, succeeding P. L. Gillett and F. M. Brockman.¹⁵⁹ Until Yun's

¹⁵⁷ Park, *Han'guk Kidok Kyohoe Sa Ii, 1910-1960*, 151.

¹⁵⁸ P. L. Gillett, J. L. Gerdine, to John R. Mott, May 22, 1912, YMCA Archives.

¹⁵⁹ Yun's first son, Allen Yun, also became General Secretary of the Seoul YMCA.

inauguration to the position, he had been vice-president of the Board of Directors. Koreans took the responsibilities in various departments and the Board of Directors, but the general secretary—as a decisive channel between the International YMCA and the Korean YMCA—had been carried out by carefully chosen international secretaries commissioned by the International YMCA committee. Yun was about to take over that responsibility. In April 1916, the international secretaries commended Yun that “he is from every standpoint the best qualified man among Koreans for the office of our secretary.” Gillett, particularly highlighting Yun’s character, stated, “If I had money I would rather use it to turn Yun Ch’i-ho into this work than anything else I can think of.”¹⁶⁰ D. A. Bunker regarded Yun as “far and away” the best man for the position.¹⁶¹ H. N. Allen, H. G. Underwood, and J. S. Gale all encouraged Yun to take the position.¹⁶² The International YMCA expected that Yun would “place the work of the YMCA ten years in advance of anything [they] could have hoped to achieve without his leadership.”¹⁶³

The paeans of the YMCA’s international secretaries reflect what elements the association sought to transplant on Korean soil. Yun was regarded most of all as a leader whom people would follow. Not only within the YMCA and the church did Yun gain the

¹⁶⁰ P.L. Gillett, to John R. Mott, 26 May 1903, YMCA Archives.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Diary, March 12, 1916.

¹⁶³ Frank M. Brockman, to John R. Mott, 9 April 1916. Re: Baron Yun Chi’-ho, Biographical Files," YMCA Archives.

trust of the people, he was also seen as a patriot whom the nation loved. Especially people in the north, the secretary noticed, followed him because of his method of government. He eliminated “unjust extortion and the various kinds of evil practices.”¹⁶⁴ The international secretaries linked Yun’s leadership with his “keen insights and broad sympathy.”¹⁶⁵ They found in Yun a reliable reference point for a penetrating understanding of Korea.

The international secretaries consulted Yun, as a point of reference, when facing knotty tasks in Korea. With such an understanding, it was no wonder that the general committee of the International YMCA, convening in Constantinople in 1911, appointed Yun as a correspondent for Korea. His duties were in general to aid in “extending the Student Movement,” and in particular to keep the general secretary of the International YMCA informed of the Christian developments and concerns of Korean students, acting as a “medium” to inform Korean students of the news of the International YMCA.¹⁶⁶ Mott, on arriving in Korea, first met Yun to gain preliminary knowledge of Korean situations before the formal meeting opened.¹⁶⁷ Lyon also consulted Yun for the same reason.¹⁶⁸ The YMCA secretaries saw that Yun’s presence in the YMCA would allow

¹⁶⁴ Gillett, to John R. Mott, 26 May 1903, YMCA Archives.

¹⁶⁵ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

¹⁶⁶ John R. Mott, to Yun Ch’i-ho, 1 August 1911. John R. Mott Papers, Day Missions Library.

¹⁶⁷ Mott first met Yun in Pusan before the conference in 1925 for rural reconstruction.

¹⁶⁸ D. Willard Lyon, to Edward C. Jenkins, 14 September 1923, YMCA Archives. Lyon’s decision was affected by Yun’s advice that the Korean YMCA required secretaries more strong in maintaining good relationships than in technical skills.

them to “exert a strong moral and educational influence for the intellectual and moral welfare of young men not only in Seoul but also throughout Korea.”¹⁶⁹

The installation ceremony of Yun as general secretary of the national association was held with the dedication of a new boys’ building and gymnasium on 16 May 1916. The Japanese government, who had been the target of international denunciation on account of the Korean Conspiracy Case, strived to redress its image toward the international community.¹⁷⁰ Four missionaries, E. M. Cable, bishop Trollope, R. S. Miller, and O. R. Avison led opening, dedication, installation, and closing prayers, and presented the keys on the behalf of American donors. Four Koreans were in charge of the program.¹⁷¹ Notable in this occasion was the deliberately equal number of Japanese representatives to that of Americans and Koreans took charge of the program, implying that the Korean YMCA stood at the center of the three international relations: Korea, the International YMCA, and Japan.¹⁷² Among the Japanese representatives, however, Governor-General Terauchi ironically delivered a keynote address asserting that all Korean institutions—including the YMCA—should be subordinate to Japanese

¹⁶⁹ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives; Diary, April 8, 1916; A. E. Lucas, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1917," YMCA Archives.

¹⁷⁰ Frank M. Brockman, "Dedication and Installation at Korean Central Young Men's Christian Association, Seoul," *The Korean Mission Field* 12, 1916. Park, 151.

¹⁷¹ Scripture was read by Yu Sǒng-jun; chorus of hymns were offered by Ewha students; opening remarks were made by Chairman Rev. Hong Chǒng-suk; the address on behalf of the Korean official was delivered by Cho Jung-ŭng.

¹⁷² Chief Justice Watanabe made a responsive speech as an honorary director; S. Niwa offered an address on behalf of the Japanese National Committee; international secretary to Japan G. S. Phelps delivered an address on behalf of the International Committee.

jurisdiction. Terauchi, who Yun supposedly plotted to assassinate according to the court trial, offered a congratulatory speech through his deputy. On the part of the Japanese government, it was right to take four seats along with the four Korean and four American seats, intrusive as it might appear. The 1914 Terms of Affiliation, as will be addressed later in this chapter, subjugated the Korean YMCA to the Japanese YMCA.

The YMCA had to display a diplomatic stance, as was clearly identified in the confidential letter of G. S. Phelps, YMCA secretary in Japan, to John R. Mott. Phelps, conversing with Yun, pointed out that a concern for an international network in the YMCA and the assumption of immunities from the Japanese government was “absolutely fatal” to the future success of the association. Phelps hammered home on behalf of the Japanese YMCA the point that Korean leaders should eliminate such notions from the Korean members; there must be “whole hearted acceptance of the Japanese regime without reference to the American Association friends.”¹⁷³ Facing the brunt of Phelps’ argument, Yun’s options were either to fight with the amalgamation scheme, therefore divorcing the YMCA, or make a diplomatic gesture of negotiation. Yun took the second course of action, as seen in Phelps’ report that “[Yun] implicitly stated that he is honestly and completely committed to the acceptance of the Japanese regime.”¹⁷⁴

Yun’s accepting amalgamation of the two nations, however, was discrepant with his efforts to ensure the independent identity and operation of the Korean YMCA.¹⁷⁵ He

¹⁷³ G.S. Phelps, to John R. Mott, 15 May 1916, YMCA Archives.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

strived for securing autonomy so that the inner functions of the Korean YMCA were connected directly with the International YMCA in order to strengthen Koreans.

Autonomy of the YMCA was the second-best option for Yun, when subjugating to the Japanese regime had already become the internationally-recognized status of Korea in 1916. While having to accept the political state of Korea, Yun sought within the YMCA a form of federation where Korean leadership could be cultivated toward an independent state.

Japan clarified its intended order of the Korean YMCA structure to the International YMCA. Usami, representing the Japanese Governor-General in Korea, boldly projected his desire to Phelps, “it would greatly please the Korean government if the YMCA would place a Japanese secretary of the National Committee in complete charge of all Associations—in other words—a sort of Association Viceroy through whom they could deal in all official matters and whom they could hold responsible for results.”¹⁷⁶ What the Japanese brazenly expressed here, that is, was taking over the religious leadership of the organization and eventually severing the international connection from the Seoul association. This plan was neither endorsed by the International YMCA secretaries nor by Yun. In the 1910s, both the Japanese YMCA and the Korean YMCA, under the International YMCA, were tackling issues of concord, international unity, and autonomy. Japan sought total integration and Korea sought total independence, but in a diplomatic tone.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

Yun's involvement in the YMCA, beginning in 1904 on the Board of Directors, was temporarily suspended in 1906 on account of the Anglo-Korean School. He continued to lend his insights to the YMCA as vice-president in 1907 and a member of the board. After a period of lapse from 1912 to 1915 while he was in prison, Yun assumed the position of general secretary from 1916 to 1920, and in 1920 served as president of the Seoul association and general superintendent of the National YMCA.¹⁷⁷ Specially celebrating Yun's presidency of the YMCA, *Dong A Ilbo* underscored the implications of Yun Ch'i-ho as its first Korean president, Paik Sang-gyu as the first Korean treasurer, Ryang Chusam as secretary, and Bliss W. Billings, a Methodist missionary (1908–1940) and vice-principal of Yonsei (1917–1922) as vice-president of the YMCA. Yun's dedication to the YMCA indicated that the association, during the heyday of colonialism in the 1920s and the 1930s, was the only channel for transmission of international fellowship and resources. Despite a level of subjugation in the YMCA, Yun's dedication meant that it was the only hope for him to stake his life. While Yun was general secretary in 1916, the Board of Directors had Yun Ch'i-ho, Yi Sang-jae, and Frank M. Brockman on the Korean side, with Japanese counterparts Judge Watanabe, Matsumoto, and Niwa. These six advisors were to communicate and cooperate under the direction of John R. Mott and the International YMCA.¹⁷⁸ Although Koreans were

¹⁷⁷ *Dong-a Ilbo* (Dong A Daily), June 21, 1920.

¹⁷⁸ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1916," YMCA Archives. Brockman draws special attention to John R. Mott to this significant institution in this letter, as he reports the newly elected advisors.

opposed to this structure with profound enmity, the 1913 Terms of Affiliation and 1914 Articles of Incorporation had already steered the YMCA in that direction.¹⁷⁹

Korean Autonomy and the Yokohama Agreement (1922)

While Yun was confined in prison, the Terms of Affiliation were concluded in Tokyo in April 1913. The signatories of the Korean YMCA next to the equal number of Japanese signatories were Yi Sang-jae, Cynn Hŭng-wu, Namgung Ok, Oliver R. Avison, and Horace G. Underwood, who sealed the terms with the presence of John R. Mott. The terms, severing the former affiliation of the Korean YMCA with the Chinese YMCA, enforced marriage of the unwilling Korean YMCA to the Japanese YMCA, resulting in implicit subordination of American YMCA secretaries in Korea to their counterparts in Japan. As an action to follow the Terms of Affiliation, five secretaries from each of the Korean advisory committees of fifteen and the Japanese national committee were exchanged for the other committee meetings, no matter how reluctant Korean secretaries were at such a proposition. Along with the member exchange of the advisory committee, the Seoul YMCA had to replace its title, Hwangsŏng (Imperial City, former Seoul), with “Union.” The Japanese YMCA conserved Korean rights over the YMCA building ownership in consideration of the exclusive role of both American and Korean donors for the building fund. Although the terms inserted a clause guaranteeing Korean autonomy in

¹⁷⁹ Diary, June 26, 1916.

the tasks of the association's expansion and administration, it was largely regarded as nominal by the Korean members, as will be addressed. Such "Terms of Affiliation" were abrogated by the Yokohama Agreement in 1922.

In Yokohama, Japan in 1922, Frank M. Brockman, Yi Sang-jae, Cynn Hugh H. and Yun Ch'i-ho represented the Korean YMCA, met with Japanese YMCA secretaries Kajinosuke Ibuka, Sakunoshin Motoda, and Soichi Saito. Unlike when the Terms of Affiliation had been signed in 1913, this time Yun was present, while Underwood, Avison, and Namkung Ok were absent. With John R. Mott still presiding over the conference, Yun presented his case—the need to abrogate the 1913 terms. How he squarely pressed the point and the interaction of others is better illuminated by direct, albeit lengthy, quotations:

Ibuka: What changes do you suggest?

Yun: To speak frankly, the removal of the present impediment, that is, the cancellation of the Agreement of Affiliation of April 12th, 1913. It is a question of whether the "spirit" should be sacrificed to the "letter" or whether the "letter" should be sacrificed to the "spirit" that the real objectives of the two movements might be attained.

Ibuka: Do you think that the fact of such cancellation would promote greater fellowship?

Yun: Yes, I think so.

Ibuka: In the Agreement there is a clause guaranteeing the "autonomy" of the Korean movement. Has there been any case where that provision has been violated?

Yun: No, but there is a feeling that it may be.

Yi Sang-jae: I do not remember of an instance of interference but the question is whether the "letter" should endanger the "spirit."

Ibuka: We are unconscious of any such interference but I understand—it is the spirit of the age. I believe you have Japanese on your Board and there are Koreans on the Japanese Board; has that policy been successful?

Yun: No. It has not been a success.¹⁸⁰

For the repeal of the terms, Yun used the biblical terms of “spirit” and “letter.” Once he was able to steer the course of the meeting, Yi Sang-jae followed Yun’s use of spirit and letter language. Along with Yun, Cynn pinpointed that the agreement might be interpreted differently in the future by young men who might believe that the YMCA “signed away the spiritual independence of Korea.” Yi Sang-jae added that material interests would ruin the spiritual relationship between the two associations, and that the Japanese political enforcement hampered spiritual fellowship between the two peoples. Embattled Ibuka requested for revision of the terms and Mott who had witnessed the conclusion of the Terms in 1913 now declared that the YMCA rescinded the Terms of Affiliation.¹⁸¹

In reaching the Yokohama Agreement, the biggest point of contention among others for both Korea and Japan was Korean autonomy, by which the Korean YMCA could adopt the term “national” in its title, dropping the former term “union” inserted under the terms. The word “national,” simple though it might seem, was taken as a coup de grâce for Korean nationalists. This point was clear in the insistence of Niwa, the Japanese secretary, to keep the title “Korean General Committee,” or “Korean Union

¹⁸⁰ “Minutes of a Joint Conference of Representatives of the Korean Union Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations and of the National Committee of Japanese Young Men's Christian Associations. From 3 to 8 P.M. At the Pleasanton Hotel, Yokohama, May 16th, 1922,” YMCA Archives.

¹⁸¹ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1917, " YMCA Archives.

Committee.” The use of “national” was agreed, upon the condition that the word would not contain any political implications.¹⁸²

The Yokohama Agreement also confirmed the Korean ownership of the YMCA building. The 1913 terms had resolved to not touch building ownership of the Korean YMCA, as aforementioned. A general state of Korean subjugation, however, inclined international secretaries in Japan to include the Korean YMCA buildings in their reports. For instance, Neil McMillan, a secretary in Tokyo, mentioned the issue of the Korean student building in Tokyo as well as the Korean central building in Seoul in his annual report. Koreans refuted his report, claiming it was “a direct contravention of the Korean autonomy.”¹⁸³ The international committee had to ensure “the autonomy of the Korean Movement” by clarifying that when they consulted with G. S. Phelps, secretary to Japan, the committee was asking for the opinion of the senior secretary of the YMCA, not of the Tokyo secretary.¹⁸⁴ Securing Korean autonomy in the Korean YMCA meant inserting a wedge to initiate Korean independence.

Korean autonomy, furthermore, necessitated revision of a few international issues. It required clarifying the relationship between the foreign secretaries in Korea and those in Tokyo.¹⁸⁵ Once the agreement was made, Cynn pushed further that G. S. Phelps, senior

¹⁸² Kajinosuke Ibuka, to Dr. Fries, 11 March 1925, YMCA Archives; Hugh Heung-Wu Cynn, to Soichi Saito, 5 April 1925, YMCA Archives.

¹⁸³ Frank M. Brockman, to C.A. Herschleb, 2 March 1922, YMCA Archives.

¹⁸⁴ C. A. Herschleb, to F.M. Brockman, 21 January 1922, YMCA Archives.

¹⁸⁵ Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb, Shuntehfu, China, 16 March 1923, YMCA Archives.

secretary of Japan, should remove his residence in Korea and Frank Brockman be appointed as senior secretary of Korea.¹⁸⁶ The agreement also strengthened the function of the union committee in Korea with the investiture of an additional right to request a new secretary, which had been made by an individual missionary.¹⁸⁷

Probably the biggest procurement by the agreement of Korean autonomy in 1922 was the delegation of the Korean YMCA secretaries in its own name to the International YMCA Conference in 1924.¹⁸⁸ Cynn and Yu Ok-kyom in 1925 continued to represent the Korean YMCA at the World Student Christian Federation, held in Hawaii.¹⁸⁹ Korean delegates representing the Korean National YMCA was a remarkable success for nationalists under the colonial besiege, considering the failure for Koreans to represent themselves at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the loss of national sovereignty over the decades, and the first Korean Olympic champion, Son Ki-chöng, who was forced to use the Japanese national flag. The report letter of F. M. Brockman in 1925 accordingly displayed the word “national” instead of “union” for the committee. When Mott visited Korea on 28–29 December 1925, Yun Ch’i-ho, as chairman, introduced him to and presided over a conference of sixty Korean Christian leaders across denominations, who

¹⁸⁶ Edward C. Jenkins, "Memorandum to C.A. Herschleb. Conference with Hugh Cynn. 10 January 1923," YMCA Archives; Herschleb, "Report of Interview with Hugh H. Cynn of Korea, January 25, 1923," YMCA Archives.

¹⁸⁷ D. Willard Lyon, to Henry M. Bruen, 25 April 1923, YMCA Archives.

¹⁸⁸ “YMCA ch’angnip ch’ilsip oju nyön (75 anniversary of the YMCA Foundation)” *Hanguk Ilbo* (Korea Daily), 3 October 1978.

¹⁸⁹ *Dong-a Ilbo* (Dong A Daily), June 10, 1925.

altogether resolved to send no “less than nine delegates, of whom the majority should be Korean” for the 1928 International Missionary Council in Jerusalem.¹⁹⁰

By 1920, the Korean YMCA had a Korean general secretary, a Korean Board of Directors, and a membership of nearly 2,000. Of the two heads of the associations, Yi Sang-jae was regarded as “the greatest Christian leader Korea has ever had” and Yun Ch’i-ho—ten years younger than Yi Sang-jae—was called “the greatest Christian statesman.”¹⁹¹ Brockman also stated that “Second only to the Honorable Yun Ch’i-ho in importance and influence in the Association, it is the Honorable Yi Sang-jae, our religious work director.”¹⁹² With such prominent national Christian leaders and Korean autonomy, the YMCA in the 1920s justified the statement that “the young men of Seoul have nothing they can really call their own except the YMCA.”¹⁹³

The YMCA furthermore was instrumental in organizing the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1925, in which progressive young men in the U.S., Canada, Australia, China, Japan, and Philippines discussed issues of culture and scholarship in order to promote peace, unity, and understanding of participating nations. Owing to the Yokohama Autonomy obtained in 1922, Korea was recognized as an independent cultural and

¹⁹⁰ Alfred W. Wasson, “Observation on the Mott Conference, Seoul, Dec. 28-29, 1925,” *The Korea Mission Field*, February 1926, 31–32.

¹⁹¹ B. P. Barnhart, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1925, 1927, 1933, 1934, 1935, " YMCA Archives. In the Korean source, only the description of Yi as “the greatest” was quoted to magnify Yi’s character, while the same for Yun was ignored. Chŏn, *Hanguk Kidokkyo Ch'ongnyonhoe Undong Sa*.

¹⁹² Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1917 ". YMCA Archives.

¹⁹³ Barnhart.

national entity and invited by the International Committee to the first Pacific Convention in 1925. So Chae-p'il participating in the convention from the U.S. and a Japanese delegate caused a collision, making it necessary to redefine the right of Korea to participate in the Convention. The issue of Korean autonomy, particularly surrounding the question of primacy on political sovereignty or on cultural nationality in deciding the eligibility of the participating nations, had continued to make both Koreans and Japanese bristle to the extent of Japanese threats to recede from the Pacific Relations until Yun in 1929 made a strong case. Yun's forceful speech advocating the Institute's need to recognize cultural and national distinctions for the wealth and development of international relations instantly procured the attendees' unanimous approval of the revision of regulations, solidifying the Korean right to participate in the Institute of Pacific Relations in the assertion of Korean autonomy.¹⁹⁴

The Impact of the March First Movement on Religious Work

The impact of the March First Movement on the YMCA's religious work is too long and complex a story to address in its entirety here.¹⁹⁵ In a nutshell, it caused an immediate standstill on all the YMCA's classes and schools for the year 1919. Not only

¹⁹⁴ Chu, Yo-han. "Monje chungüi t'aep'yöngyang hoeüi, kü mokchök, yönhöök, p'aran düng (The Convention of the Pacific Relations: its objective, history, and conflicts). *Tongkwang* (Eastern Light) (October 1931):10-12; Il gija (A reporter). "Kukche hoehap kwa chosön inüi hwaldong (International conferences and Korean activities)." *Tongkwang* (Eastern Light) (January 1931): 60-65.

¹⁹⁵ Jin-Young Han, "Yun Ch'i-Ho and the March First Movement: A Question of Collaboration During the Japanese Occupation of Korea" (A.B. thesis, Harvard University, 1989). This study specifically focuses on the relation of Yun to the March First Movement in light of his future collaboration with colonial Japan.

were tens of thousands of Koreans arrested regardless of personal participation in the movement, virtually every school and meeting was interrogated as to the indication of a political rally.¹⁹⁶ Japanese police's continual suspicion, sudden intrusions, and random, rough interrogations froze the entire country in terror. During the middle of a Bible class, an armed police officer questioned the students about their reasons for taking the class. The contents of classes were thus prescribed and teachers admonished. General secretary of the Japanese YMCA, Niwa, was recalled on account of his lectures being "too democratic." Extreme enmity between the two countries created severe fractures, tension, mistrust, and trepidation.¹⁹⁷ Even Bishop Herbert Welch, having been previously sympathetic to Japan, recorded in an article that the Japanese government met the movement with sheer "tortures," "the punishment of flogging," and "pitiful" treatment of the sick and invalid in prison.¹⁹⁸ He further denounced Japanese militarism and the policy of assimilation demanded during the World's Sunday School Convention in Tokyo, where over 2,000 delegates represented the countries of the world.¹⁹⁹

In order to dispel the centralizing force of Christian alliance, the Japanese government subsidized alternative religions in Korea—claiming to advocate religious pluralism—while throwing disparaging remarks to Korean Christians and Western

¹⁹⁶ Chŏng-sik Lee, *Politics of Korean Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 114–117.

¹⁹⁷ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year 1919," YMCA Archives.

¹⁹⁸ Herbert Welch, "The Missionaries' Attitude Toward the Government in the Present Crisis," *The Korea Mission Field* 15 (March 1920): 56–58.

¹⁹⁹ H. T. Owens, "The World's Sunday School Convention at Tokyo from the Standpoint of a Korea Missionary," *The Korea Mission Field* 15 (November 1920): 230–232.

missionaries. On the eve of annexation, the Japanese government promoted Buddhism by founding Buddhist schools in almost all the large cities, alleging to promote political unity in Korea.²⁰⁰ After the March First Movement, a Shinto festival was instituted for which Koreans were obligated to pay the entire expense. Whenever a carriage—supposedly containing the Shinto god—passed by, Koreans had to close the windows of their houses and refrain from looking out.²⁰¹ Religious regulations legislated in Japan proper were rampantly enforced in Korea after the March First Movement in 1919. After the March First Movement, Japan's government policies increased cultural complications, muddying Korea's religious map.

The religious halt in 1919 transformed into a surge in 1920 with the new cultural policy of the government (as opposed to the prior militaristic policy). The membership of the Korean church doubled and tripled. Yi Sang-jae, released from jail for the movement, began an evangelistic campaign in the spring of 1920. Over 3,000 yen was raised by Koreans to carry out the work, and evangelistic bands of young men and women from the churches were sent to all parts of Korea.²⁰² The national evangelistic campaigns of the YMCA lasted from July to December 1920. Rev. Kim P'il-Su, who was the first board member of the YMCA, now stood at the front of the campaign as its captain. The bands were commissioned to bring people to Christian belief in the provinces of Kyōng'gi and

²⁰⁰ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives.

²⁰¹ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year 1918, Confidential, Not to Be Published," YMCA Archives.

²⁰² Barnhart, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1925, 1927, 1933, 1934, 1935," YMCA Archives.

North Kyöng-sang, North Ch'ungch'öng and North Chöllra, Kangwön and South Ch'ungch'öng, and Hamkyöng.²⁰³

Korean Initiatives

Yun's inauguration as general secretary in 1916 spurred a refreshed movement of Korean initiatives. Notable projects launched during Yun's leadership included evangelism, equipment of the press, and reconciliation efforts between the two estranged provinces and people.²⁰⁴ In June 1916, the Korean YMCA launched a national membership campaign supported entirely by Koreans, reaching out in bands to villages and provinces. Not only did the campaign increase the number of subscribers to the YMCA, the evangelistic efforts—reaching out to unfamiliar neighbors—also emboldened Koreans with a stronger sense of solidarity as well as a new public spirit. Evangelism functioned as a spiritual form of social networking.

Moreover, YMCA alumni, spearheaded by Paek Sŭng-ch'öl (a son of a former Korean ambassador to America), made the first endeavor to collect \$250 for the organization's educational department. On the wave of self-support spreading to Japan, in 1916 Korean students in Tokyo sent to the industrial department of the Korean YMCA a gift package containing a cylinder press, a card press, a lead cutter, and 84,270 characters

²⁰³ Tong A Ilbo, June 24, 1920.

²⁰⁴ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1916," YMCA Archives.

of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese type.²⁰⁵ With the gift, the YMCA press could start printing the *Korea Mission Field*. The press appliances also enabled the YMCA to publish the periodical *Chǒngnyǒn* beginning in March 1921, as the Japanese militaristic policy was modified to the cultural policy after the March First Movement in 1919. The cultural policy released the suppressed literary force of the nation into an avalanche of educational publications. During this time the organ magazine of the YMCA, *Chǒngnyǒn*, was launched, which would record the longest publication life of any magazine during colonial Korea. *Ch'ongnyǒn* promoted public spirit, social accountability, and perspectives on political, scientific, literary, and religious currents throughout the world.

The third project during Yun's leadership as general secretary was reconciliation between the people of Korea. The 1916 Student Summer Conference was held neither in Songdo nor in Seoul, but at Union College in Pyǒngyang. Seemingly negligible, yet significant in its implications, Yun's decision of the venue meant more than a choice of a place for the watchful eyes of Koreans. Student Summer Conferences had been held beginning in 1910, and although Pyǒngyang had shown a particular zeal for the YMCA—to the extent of forming a quasi-YMCA in 1900—the Student Summer Conferences had never been held there until 1916. The second-largest city in Korea, Pyǒngyang was internationally known as the origin of the great 1907 Christian revival. It was the implicit tensions between the Seoul faction and the Pyǒngyang faction, however, that prohibited the shift of the conference venue to Pyǒngyang. Even An Ch'ang-ho averred that Seoul officials should associate with Pyǒngyang officials, who had had

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

centuries-old enmity between each other. Lamenting the divide and factionalism among Korean leaders and people, Yun made the deliberate choice of Pyŏngyang as soon as he was in charge of deciding the place of the Summer Student Conference. Yun first of all endeavored to promote unity among Koreans and to pay compassionate attention to the alienated province of Pyŏngyang for national reconciliation.

The First Missionary of the YMCA to Korean Students in Japan (1906): Kim Chŏng-sik

Only three years after its launch, the YMCA in colonial Korea extended a branch to Korean students in Japan. As for the missional fervor of Korean Christians, Park, a single Korean participant at the 1920 World's Sunday School Convention in Tokyo, made a pithy point in his address on Korean Christians' mission to China. Although his speech was cut off in the middle by the Japanese chairman, Pak pronounced the Korean vision of world missions, overcoming colonial shackles under Japanese rule. Park asserted, "In view of the fact that God has given such great blessings to the Korean Church I believe that God has committed to that Church the preaching of the Gospel in all these Eastern lands. I believe it is the purpose of God that the Korean Church shall be used for the conversion of Mohammedans and of Buddhists and of all non-Christian Oriental peoples."²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ H. T. Owens, "The World's Sunday School Convention at Tokyo from the Standpoint of a Korea Missionary," *The Korea Mission Field* 15(November 1920): 230–232.

Charles Allen Clark, appealing for two more international YMCA secretaries to Korea in 1922, echoed Pak's address; Korea was the "strategic point in all the East, for winning Asia for Christ." As a missionary to Korea, Clark saw Korean young men as largely responsible for the mission work. Clark further stated that Koreans had a "peculiar genius for religion," so Western missionaries would do "more to evangelize Asia by evangelizing Koreans than in any other way, for Koreans would evangelize China better than [missionaries] could possibly hope to do it."²⁰⁷ Even the report of Edinburgh 1910, only twenty-five years after the opening of the Protestant missions in Korea, described the Korean churches as "a missionary Church," since the Gospel accompanied Koreans, as they were voluntarily or involuntarily transferred to Hawaii, California, Mexico, Manchuria, and Siberia.²⁰⁸ It also reported that the first Korean autonomous presbytery in 1907 established a mission on the Quelpart Island with one of its first ordained ministers, Yi Ki-poong.²⁰⁹ In 1911, Rev. Yi's mission in Quelpart grew so rapidly that the Korean church sent an assistant missionary.²¹⁰ By 1924, Koreans sent five missionaries to Laiyang, China, about twelve missionaries to Manchuria, and more

²⁰⁷ Clark. Herschleb, "Report of Interview with Hugh H. Cynn of Korea. January 25, 1923," YMCA Archives. Mott also referred to the strategic importance of Korea for the evangelism of Asia.

²⁰⁸ 1910 World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I, Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World, with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 15th June 1910* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, Ferrier, 1910), 76; Hwang Hyön, *Maechönyarok*, vol.4 (Kwangmu 9 nyön, 1905), 30 Hawaii imin kümji (Prohibition of immigration to Hawaii). Hwang Hyön records that Korean immigrants to Hawaii by 1905 totaled 10,000. He also records that, left without any protection from a Korean consulate or minister, some of these Koreans were transferred to Mexico as slaves by a Japanese, 大庭寛一. He also points out that Yun Ch'i-ho was appointed to take care of these Koreans in Hawaii and Mexico, but a lack of funds did not allow Yun to proceed to Mexico.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

²¹⁰ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1911," YMCA Archives.

to Siberia. In addition to the aforementioned “Preaching Club” for home missions, the YMCA extended its evangelistic campaign to Korean students in Japan in 1906, marking the beginning year of Korean missions to Japan.

The YMCA’s mission to Japan started in 1906, ironically, with the unfortunate resignation of Secretary Kim Chŏng-sik, who had been reputed as one of the “best men in the country,” yet troubled by some intrigues of young folks in the YMCA. Frank Brockman viewed that these young men had been “instigated” by men under the influence of Western education, and “intoxicated with the idea of reform, of progress, and of their own importance.”²¹¹ Brockman further explained that they threw on Kim “various charges” out of “jealousy,” none of which could be proven. Although those young men would be later “profoundly ashamed of their actions” according to Brockman’s report, the YMCA found its resolution too difficult to handle and decided to dispatch Kim to Tokyo.²¹² Just as persecution in Jerusalem had only multiplied Christians in adjacent countries in the first centuries, the young men’s persecution of Kim in Korea only led to a momentous mission in Japan among Korean students in 1906. By the time Kim prepared for Japan, he had been offered a position as a governor of a province. Kim declined the secure position, however, and headed toward the uncertainty of Japan.²¹³

Kim’s transfer to Tokyo proved to be fortuitous for Korean students. Within six months of Kim’s influence, 163 of about 500 Korean students in Tokyo converted to

²¹¹ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives.

²¹² P. L. Gillett, “Annual Report of P.L. Gillett for 1907,” YMCA Archives.

²¹³ “Mr. Kim Chŏng-sik’s Record for the Y.M.C.A” trans. I. P. Chung, YMCA Archives.

Christianity. These students organized themselves into the Korean student YMCA in Tokyo.²¹⁴ Kim's missionary work in Tokyo is significant compared to the Seoul YMCA, which was founded with the forty invited members in 1903, through P. L. Gillett's hard work for two years after his arrival in Korea. Four hundred seventy-five students from the 50,000 young men in Seoul made decisions for Christianity in the YMCA by 1907.²¹⁵ Kim's work, growing with such vigor within only a year, compelled the Korean church to send Rev. Han Sök-chin, one of the seven ministers ordained at the first Korean presbytery in Pyöngyang (1907), to ordain three elders, Kim Chöng-sik and the noted patriot Cho Man-sik in Tokyo. On this Korean mission to Japan, Gillett commented, "considering the quality and importance of these young men, it may be safely said that this is one of the most important pieces of work that is being done anywhere in the world."²¹⁶ The YMCA's lay mission to Tokyo in 1906, hence, preceded the commission of Rev. Yi Ki-Pung to Quelpart Island in 1907 and Park Tae-ro, Kim Yöng-hun, and Sa Pyöng-sun to Shantung Peninsular, China, in 1913.

Kim Chöng-sik's ministry in Japan, set apart for the sole purpose of mission, was distinguished from the case of Hong Seung-Ha, who accompanied Korean immigrants called to farm sugar cane in Hawaii in 1902. As their chaplain, serving for the spiritual

²¹⁴ Ibid, 5.

²¹⁵ P. L. Gillett, "Report of P. L. Gillett to the International Committee in 1904," YMCA Archives; P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report of Gillett in 1907," YMCA Archives; P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report in 1902," YMCA Archives.

²¹⁶ P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report in 1907," YMCA Archives. Kenneth S. Latourette records in his *World Service* that the Korean YMCA in Japan was opened by Jorgensen's devotion in 1906. In his survey of the Korean YMCA, Latourette only gives attention to Yun Ch'i-ho and Syngman Rhee.

care of these immigrants, Hong began the landmark Korean Church in America in 1903. Similarly, Kim's work in Tokyo resulted in the first Korean church in Japan (1908). Both Hong's missionary work in Hawaii (1902) and Kim's missionary work in Japan (1906) preceded the revivals in Wönsan (1903) and Pyöngyang (1907).

As with other international YMCA secretaries, Kim Chöng-sik rendered his service to Korean students in Japan as a lay secretary. His ministry soon necessitated an ordained minister, fulfilled by Han Sök-chin, under whose guidance Kim rendered a servant leadership to the church as subordinate presbyter, while also serving as the first general secretary of the YMCA in Tokyo in 1906.²¹⁷ Korean students required special ministerial care not only because of the cultural differences they struggled with in Japan, but also due to the increased hardship their home country faced. Those students in trouble benefitted from Kim Chöng-sik's remarkable magnetism, which resulted in instant and massive student responses. Just as Koreans in Quelpart Island struggled with the unique problems of their insular condition, Korean students in Japan struggled with particular problems different from those in Korea. Kim's insights, organizational skills, and appeal—appropriated by founding the Korean YMCA and as its key member from the beginning of 1903—were applied again for these students in Japan. As he had been in charge of constructing the Seoul YMCA building, he was again instrumental in erecting a four-story Korean YMCA building in Tokyo.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ P. L. Gillett, "Annual Report of Gillett for 1907," YMCA Archives.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

Kim Chŏng-sik converted to Christianity in prison on account of the Independence Club with such inmates as Yi Sang-jae and Yi Sŭng-man, owing to the tenacious efforts of James S. Gale. On founding the YMCA in 1903, Yi Sŭng-man and Gale introduced Kim to Gillett, when the YMCA was still amorphous. Kim became Gillett's chief assistant in founding the Seoul YMCA in 1903. Kim, a police magistrate in Seoul, thus became a secretary of the Seoul YMCA in 1904 and took an active role in increasing Korean subscriptions from officials in the Korean government. Kim also received \$5,000 a year from a Japanese official (the head of the Custom House) for the educational department of the YMCA.²¹⁹ It was Kim who persuaded Hyŏn Hŭng-taek to donate his estate for the YMCA building. Later he supported the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai, as with other early YMCA members noted for their outstanding stance of nationalists.²²⁰

Kim had followed Yun Ch'i-ho as a mentor. It was Yun who advised him to start the YMCA in Japan, to subsequently resume the secretary position in Seoul, and to take

²¹⁹ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett to the International Committee for the Year Ending September 30, 1904," YMCA Archives.

²²⁰ Diary, March 19, 1919. Despite Kim's patriotism, he was seen as having pro-Japanese character in Yun's diary due to his conciliatory and international stance. Kim was invited to a meal by a Japanese pastor. At the same time, Kim's great concern for the Independence Movement, especially his support of the Provisional Government in Shanghai, caused him to ask Yun for help in order to unify the fragmented patriots in the Provisional Government in September 1919. See, Diary, October 6, 1919. By this time, Yun had been repeatedly frustrated by his attempts at nationalistic enterprises, the culmination of which was the traumatic event of the Korean Conspiracy Case in 1912. Yun had indicated to Ryang Chusam that he had lost courage to pour out his life for the volatile and violent movement of political independence. See, Diary, July 31, 1919. Yun resolved to use whatever sources he had for the education of young people in his country.

charge of the newly-founded Congregational church in Korea.²²¹ Yun's missionary outlook for the world within his Christian internationalism often placed him in important chapters of missional enterprises. The government appointed Yun, vice minister of foreign affairs in 1904 to strengthen Koreans in Hawaii who had been left without any consular protection.²²² Yun was engaged in drawing special attention to the three million Korean immigrants around the world, the *Dong-a Daily's* project of inviting Korean students in Hawaii to Korea, and of supporting the building of a Hawaii Korean school in 1922.²²³

Kim's Korean students in Tokyo had been hostile at first toward Christianity. In addition to Kim's personal magnetism, the YMCA language school caused rapid growth in YMCA subscriptions, drawing in students who sought a modern education. Moreover, when a policy of compulsory residency for new students was enforced in Japan, 80% of new students in the first year converted to Christianity through the missionary language school. The Korean Friendship Society in Tokyo was attracting almost all the Korean students, implying that the students needed a congenial community to act as a surrogate family or neighbor. The emergence of the YMCA caused some collision of activities between the two groups, as both organizations had weekly meetings on Sundays. The president and vice-president of the Korean Friendship Society, along with the editor of its

²²¹ "Mr. Kim Chung-sik's record for the YMCA," YMCA Archives.

²²² Part of Yun's mission here was to resolve the exploitation of Korean immigrants in Mexico who had been induced by the Japanese Daishow in 1904 and had labored for twelve hours a day, receiving the remuneration of half of what had been contracted.

²²³ *Dong-a Ilbo*, March 6, 1922; July 8, 1923.

magazine, all eventually joined the YMCA Christians; consequently, the conflict resolved in peace.

As in Korea in 1910, the Korean Student Summer Conference was held in Japan in 1912. Bible classes occupied its prime time, and platform meetings addressed such lectures as “Christ’s Call to Students,” “The World’s Great Men and Religion,” “Korea’s Need for Christian Teachers,” and “Christianity and Other Creeds.” A Christian meeting was held on Sunday afternoon and four elective Bible classes throughout the week. A Bible school on Sunday mornings ran four to seven classes, while prayer meetings were held on Sunday and Wednesday evenings. Attending this first student conference in Tokyo, P. L. Gillett recorded the zeal Korean students showed in Bible study:

One notable feature of the Conference was the genuine interest manifested in the study of the Bible. The early morning hour was given to the study of the Gospel of John. At this period all the students were in their places, eager to study the deep spiritual truths of this wonderful Gospel. It was remarked by one prominent man who was present, that he had no idea that these men were prepared to receive and study such spiritual words.²²⁴

In Tokyo, enthusiasm in Bible study inspired Korean student evangelists who desired to obey the scriptural commands. At the first Student Summer Conference in Japan, twenty-two students volunteered to undertake evangelistic work in Tokyo. As with Koreans in the Million Souls Movement for Christ, these students pledged to make time as well as monetary offerings for evangelism, the result of which amounted in a collection of 1,365 yen for the Korean YMCA building, not in Tokyo, but in Korea itself. Gillett stated that the amount of money and the number of participants in this sacrificial

²²⁴ P. L. Gillett, "Christian Work among Korean Students in Tokyo," *The Korea Mission Field* 8, no. 7 (1912).

collection proved “one of the most remarkable instances of sacrifice and united effort the Christian Church in the Orient has yet seen.”²²⁵ The Korean students in Japan extended their mission to Shanghai in 1914. Lim Hak-chun, trained in the machine shop of the YMCA, went to Shanghai, found work, and organized the Shanghai Korean YMCA and a church among Korean residents, renting a room in the Chinese Navy YMCA.²²⁶

The YMCA in Tokyo that Kim launched grew to enlist a significant number of Christians in Japan, assuming the role of a transfer station for Korean students to take language lessons as well as fellowship under a nationalistic ethos. In 1912, Tokyo saw 213 professing Christians out of a total of 509 Korean students. The number of students grew every year, as Korea did not have educational institutions high enough to challenge aspiring students. In 1913, the steady growth of the Korean YMCA membership in Japan underwent a severe setback. While the Korean student population grew to over 600 in Tokyo, the association membership dropped from 213 to 118 in one year.²²⁷ The reduction in membership was due to the Korean and the Japanese associations’ signing of the Terms of Affiliation in April 1913.²²⁸

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Gregg, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

²²⁷ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report. Oct. 1st, 1912-September 30th, 1913, Korean Student Association, Tokyo, Japan," YMCA Archives.

²²⁸ Ibid. "Terms of Affiliation. Tokyo, April 12," YMCA Archives.

Comprehensive Programs for National Regeneration

Lectures and Debates

The *Kabo* Reform in 1894 abolished the centuries-old system of the civil service examination, the final gate in the educational programs during the Chōsun Dynasty for young men to enter the hall of national leaders, elites, government officials, and law-makers of Korea. As the exam essentially became obsolete overnight by the *Kabo* Reform, the disoriented educational system heightened evermore Koreans' need for new learning.²²⁹ The educational department of the YMCA supplied during this transitional time three programs of enlightenment: lectures, debates, and classes. The lectures were designed to enhance the modernization of Korea in Christianity by imparting new values and information on labor ethics, sanitation, science, technology, agriculture, commerce, industrial developments, and laws; these were the most popular among Koreans. The speeches effected a double-edged reform for Korean society, attacking such harmful customs as child marriage, concubines, and drinking while resuscitating the pride of Korean identity, history, and historical legacies in the hearts of young men. They geared Christianity toward social as well as personal regeneration, guiding young men to be attuned to world news and to see Christians working in other countries in the world.

²²⁹ P.L. Gillett, Annual Report 1904, YMCA Archives, 2.

The average attendance at lectures at the beginning of 1905 was 178, increasing to 390 in 1907.²³⁰ Lectures were held twice a week for a total of over eighty-four times in 1905, and the hall was packed each time with people to the extent that “ventilation was impossible” and the yard was crowded. Based on this, it is not hard to measure the educational impact of the lectures on Korean young men.²³¹ The popularity of the lectures later led the YMCA to ask everyone to stand during lectures in order to allow in some of the 200 people outside in the yard who were “clamoring for admission.” Yi Sang-jae and Cynn Hŭng-wo were popular speakers, but Yun’s speeches, as Gregg pointed out, had been recognized as supreme, polished through years of speeches at Vanderbilt and Emory in the U.S. and international conferences.²³² The lecture program also invited foreign speakers. When international guests and speakers such as R. C. Morse, J. R. Mott, W. A. Hunton, F. S. Brockman, R. S. Miller, R. E. Lewis, and Yale’s George Ladd visited Korea, the YMCA was the best place to hear them. This revitalized the international secretaries in Korea and confirmed the unique relationship between the International YMCA and the confined Korean YMCA, with their supply of knowledge, information, and spiritual blessings.²³³

²³⁰ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905," YMCA Archives.

²³¹ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives.

²³² About 1,000 students attended one of Cynn’s lectures. (*Dong-a Daily*, May 21, 1920). Yun’s lectures were reported by *Dong-a Ilbo*. July 10, 1920, May 27, 1921 (“How can we be treated as others,” “The changes of the age”), July 3, 1921 (“The power of self-support and self-propagation”), April 20, 1922, May 3, 1922 (on the Past, present, and future), May 11, 1922 (“The power of wealth, or the power of weapon?”). George A Gregg, "Report of George A. Gregg, YMCA, Seoul, Korea. First Quarter-1907," YMCA Archives.

²³³ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1907," YMCA Archives.

Debates enabled students to deepen their understanding and widen their views of the issues through opportunities to express their own thoughts and listen to fellow students.²³⁴ Lectures and debates, with their interactive dynamics and collective didactics, contrasted to the prior method of education in Korea that revolved around individual rote memorization, reading books, and writing letters. Lectures and debates at the YMCA also reclaimed the lost activities of the Independence Club such as the All People's Meeting, lectures, and debates, preparing Koreans for the future in a conciliatory, systematic, and regular discipline.

P. L. Gillett, at the outset of the YMCA, put his primary emphasis on religious and educational activities.²³⁵ Gillett deemed the educational approach the best fit for Asians in general and Koreans in particular who tended to associate Christianity with Western civilization.²³⁶ After all, education had been the pivot of Korean society for centuries. As he expected, student enrollment at the various classes reached 150. The initial zeal of the students, however, dwindled as they found classes neither systematic nor regular, conducted by Gillett alone whose energy scattered all over. Education was

²³⁴ Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907." YMCA Archives; Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1907," YMCA Archives. More microscopic issues such as "a good reputation versus high rank," "personal example versus precept," "moral teaching versus law in its influence over a man," "education of a child versus birth of many children," "general reading of books and newspapers versus a school education," and "a poor man independent versus depending on a wealthy man for help" led the participants to pay attention to what they usually overlooked.

²³⁵ Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett to the International Committee for the Year Ending September 30, 1904," YMCA Archives.

²³⁶ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1917," YMCA Archives. Brockman introduces the motive of Yi Sang-jae to delve into the Bible while Yi was in Washington. Yi heard from the Chinese ambassador about the reason for American greatness: the "Bible and its influence."

the standing concern of the Yi Dynasty from the founding king, Yi Sŏng-gye, to King Kojong in the 1894 reform with his special edict. This reinforced the centrality of education in order to strengthen the country; students had expectations as high as their zeal. Educational project of the YMCA required a dedicated secretary; Frank M. Brockman, brother of Fletcher S. Brockman, became education department secretary in 1906.

George A. Gregg's arrival in 1906

The education department also indicated that Korean leadership and initiatives were well-sponsored by the international secretaries. When George A. Gregg arrived in Korea in 1906—certainly a boost to the department—the Korean educational committee insisted on conferences without the supervision of Gregg, to the latter's embarrassment. Koreans regarded themselves more knowledgeable than the American secretaries as far as educational curriculum was concerned.²³⁷ Finishing the conference, the committee proposed to both the Board of Directors and Gregg that the Korean YMCA redesign its organizational structure to promote efficiency by unifying the educational bureau directly under the Board of Directors, abolishing the sundry sub-committees who handled educational issues, claiming their incompetence to address all educational issues.²³⁸ In response, Gregg, with those Korean members, organized in his first year in Korea a new

²³⁷ Gillett, "Annual Report of P.L. Gillett for the Year 1907," YMCA Archives.

²³⁸ Ibid.

structure, bringing in significant progress for the department. Gregg first helped the general education department, but he focused later on industrial education, which required more of his technical skills.²³⁹

The education department was developed into a YMCA school in 1907 with twelve voluntary teachers, 280 students, and twenty-eight classes.²⁴⁰ Schools could not easily find competent teachers or substitute teachers who could offer a modern education, since the teacher turnover rate was high on account of social upheavals, nor was there a developed higher education system to raise up teachers. Sometimes Japanese, Chinese, and American teachers could not be substituted by Korean teachers, who lacked training in such subjects as physics, chemistry, and English. Japanese teachers were mostly rejected by the "bitter anti-Japanese" sentiment of Korean students.²⁴¹ As teachers were in such high demand, Frank Brockman and Ruk Chŏng-su as educational co-directors, and Yi Kyo-sŭng as head of the mathematics department, having served the department for ten years, received a hearty celebration by Koreans in 1916.²⁴²

²³⁹Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907." YMCA Archives.; George A Gregg, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1912," YMCA Archives.

²⁴⁰ Gregg, "Report of George A. Gregg, YMCA, Seoul, Korea. First Quarter-1907," YMCA Archives.

²⁴¹ Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907." YMCA Archives.

²⁴²Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1916," YMCA Archives.

In 1907, a step toward self-support was taken by charging program fees to students, which the YMCA secretaries had deemed impossible two years before.²⁴³ The YMCA followed the model of the Anglo-Korean School, who charged tuition to students from its establishment in 1906 on the founder's conviction that education should be gained with a price not only for the students, but for the school's maintenance of high-quality education.

Library

In January 1906, the YMCA library flung wide open an innovative educational arena with books available to the general public, where access to a library had previously been only an exclusive privilege for scholars. Although educational institutions such as Sŏwŏn, Hyanggyo, or Sŏdang housed libraries, the main purpose of these libraries was for Buddhist or Confucian scholars to conserve books. When the famous printing press was invented in the Koryŏ Dynasty in the twelfth century, Buddhist scripts were printed for the limited number of scholars. Scholars in the Chosŏn Dynasty regarded the repository of Chinese classics, history, poems, and philosophy as a prerogative of the elites.²⁴⁴ The exclusive concept of libraries underwent a revolutionary change as a

²⁴³ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1907," YMCA Archives.

²⁴⁴ "Library" in terms of collecting and preserving valuable books in Korea traces back in 372 A.D. The king of Koguryŏ, Sosurim, instituted higher education (Taehak), corresponding to a present-day college. Koguryŏ not only established the aristocratic educational institution (Taehak), but also extended education to people through Kyŏngdang. Kyŏngdang institutions provided space for reading and collecting books. The basic form of a library as it is known today began to involve a more elaborate system of

modern library emerged where the general public could read books or magazines not only in Chinese, but also in Korean and English.

The Government General chronicles that the first library in Korea was *Ch'oldo Tosŏgwan* (Railway Library), which was founded with a government subsidy in Seoul in 1920. The biggest in size was the second library built, established by the colonial government in 1923, which housed 231,230 Chinese books and 13,464 Western books by 1941. The earliest community library was built in Pusan (1901) in a Japanese settlement, and was thus a Japanese library. The second community library was Kangryang Library, built in 1915 at the Kang-ryang Elementary School in South Chungch'ŏng Province, noted for its *yangban* heritage.²⁴⁵ In the same year, the educational bureau of Kimje, North Chŏnra Province, built the Kimje library, which had fifty-eight western books by 1941.²⁴⁶ This documentation was constructed from the Japanese perspective, ignoring the previous libraries in Korea established by organizations other than the Japanese. As the colonial government ruthlessly focused its administration primarily for the benefit of the Japanese and demanded the use of Japanese in all public sectors, books of professional

preservation during the Chosŏn Dynasty. During the reign of King Sejong, Chiphyŏnchŏn was established as a platform for distinguished scholars' discussion and research, equipped with five rooms preserving valuable books. Hongmungwan in particular was established as a repository for books. The printed letters and books, albeit only for elites, were the essence of Korean national culture. The first books produced in Korea, such as Muguchong'gwangtae taranigyong (無 垢精光大陀羅尼經) in the eighth century and *Chikchi Simkyŏng* (直指心經) printed with Korean metal types in the fourteenth century, were pioneering inventions in the history of the world, powerfully indicating the importance of books in Korean culture.

²⁴⁵ Kangryang Library collected 915 books by 1941.

²⁴⁶ Government-General, Education Department, (Chosŏn Ch'ongdokpu Hangmuguk) *Chosŏn Chehakkyo Ilam* (General statistics of schools in Korea) (Kyŏngsŏng: Chosŏn Ch'ongdokpu Hakmuguk, 1940), 230–231.

knowledge were readily available in Japanese and the government had no compelling reasons to translate them into Korean.

Yun's idea for a library started much earlier than the government records of libraries. His plan to build a library in the Independence Club in 1898 was fulfilled in 1903 by the Independents, ironically, in the *Chongro* prison, the first modern library for Koreans. The second library was the YMCA library that attracted thousands of people to its opening in the new YMCA building.²⁴⁷ Prison inmates who had learned the benefits of a library unsurprisingly became avid patrons of the YMCA library, where Christian magazines, journals, and tracts as well as books in Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and English nourished visitors.²⁴⁸ No matter how small the room was or how few the volumes were, the YMCA library was not only an innovation for the popularization of knowledge and empowerment of the people, but also a window to the wider Western world for the younger generations. In 1915, the new library was opened in the new building with 2,600 volumes and periodicals from Japan, China, and Korea, with 9,276 annual visits.²⁴⁹

The international YMCA secretaries deemed the influence of classic Chinese books more pernicious than edifying. They imagined that such texts would lead young Korean men back to the decadence of Confucianism or Buddhism, leaving people to agnosticism and negligence of the practical tasks of daily life.²⁵⁰ As Christianity was to

²⁴⁷ W. N. Balir, "A Public Library in Korea," *The Korea Mission Field*, October 1906, 234.

²⁴⁸ Brockman, "General Report of Twelve Months Ending September 30th, 1908," YMCA Archives.

²⁴⁹ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

be the religion of houses, markets, streets, farms, schools, hospitals, stadiums, fields, and orphanages, YMCA missionaries underlined the critical role of Christian literature to penetrate daily lives and inform practical ways to apply the gospel message in individual and communal life. Christianity was also spreading to the much younger generations in Korea.

Boy's work

Cooperating with the religious department of the YMCA and local churches in Seoul, the YMCA conducted a very successful movement for boys.²⁵¹ In 1911 and 1912, the Seoul association led a series of Sunday afternoon Bible classes at local churches that over 400 boys attended, most of whom had had no prior Bible study experience.²⁵² The morning Bible study from ten to eleven for adults was very popular, yet it was the boys who needed special attention that the YMCA targeted with the movement. The Bible study movement for boys developed into a Sunday school vogue in 1911, with Sunday afternoon Bible schools established in most of the churches in Seoul by 1912.²⁵³ In 1906 the YMCA cultivated future leaders of the YMCA among young men at its outset by the

²⁵⁰ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1907," YMCA Archives.

²⁵¹ Boys' work was snubbed by some missionaries as inferior to men's work. "[Mr. Gifford] thinks that 'ordained men ought not to be asked to teach boys,' that this work ought to be left for ladies & YMCA men. In fact he declined to teach in the Orphanages & asked me to give up one of my hours at the hospital & to come up & teach boys at the Orphanage so that he could have men & not boys." See H. G. Underwood, to Ellinwood, January 7, 1889.

²⁵² Gillett, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1912," YMCA Archives.

²⁵³ Ibid.

Committee of Management, where young men could exert and practice leadership skills. The Boys' Department also prepared future young men of the YMCA by organizing small bands of Bible studies.²⁵⁴

Boys of the YMCA extended their activities beyond Bible studies to debates, where they usually occupied half of the audience. Just as the Committee of Management allowed leadership opportunities for young men, boys conducted the big meeting of the Seoul association every other Sunday. Boys swarmed the YMCA building at night for night school, for which Korean teachers volunteered. Bible classes had been attended by thousands of boys, and evening recreation programs were also popular with boys in the newly-built gymnasium.²⁵⁵ The lack of secretaries was a chronic problem as programs hardly lacked participants. Boys' work affected the summer schools as well, undergirding the supply line of the young men and women who attended.

Boys were the first to respond with the biggest turnout when the Korean Daily Vacation Bible School Movement was launched in 1923 under the aegis of the World Daily Vacation Bible School Association, holding a conference at Ewha College and challenging the students with the imagination of the plan.²⁵⁶ In the first year of its launch, the Daily Vacation Bible School enlisted 3,013 boys and girls from forty-six schools in eleven cities and towns. The program was conducted by 154 young men and women

²⁵⁴ Brockman, "Report of F.M. Brockman to September 1906," YMCA Archives.

²⁵⁵ Barnhart, "Annual report of Barnhart, September 1916," YMCA Archives.

²⁵⁶ Marion L. Conrow, "Vacation Service" *The Korea Mission Field* 19 (November 1923): 229–230.

teachers, mostly student members from the YMCA, the YWCA, and with the mobilization of other students from the churches.²⁵⁷ The Daily Vacation Bible School Movement was so successful in the first year that the National Committee was organized the same year. Once again, Yun assumed vice-president and Horace H. Underwood became honorary vice-president for the Korean National Association within the World Association of the Daily Vacation Bible School Movement (as was also the case of their enjoined speeches at the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance in 1891).²⁵⁸ Korean teachers, who dedicated an entire month to organizing and preparing teaching manuals, were with students every morning for one summer month in worship and teaching Korean, Bible, music, hygiene, stories of heroes, and handwork; in the afternoons or on the weekends they visited places of interests and played sports. Time-consuming though it might appear, the procedure of the Daily Vacation Bible School created an arena where young men practiced their leadership skills and channeled their holistic resources to the service of their younger brothers.²⁵⁹

Baseball, etc.

²⁵⁷ K. O. Kim prepared a teacher's manual in Korean and offered tutorials for the student teachers, traveling through various provinces.

²⁵⁸ As Horace G. Underwood paid particular attention to Sunday schools for children, his role as honorary vice-president was a due resolution. See Horace G. Underwood, to Ellinwood, N.D. Received by Ellinwood on 15 April 1896.

²⁵⁹ W. L. Nash, "The Korean Daily Vacation Bible School Movement for 1924," *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (June 1924): 113–115.

YMCA sports brought to Korean society a derivative social reform that the sport programs initially did not target: erosion of class distinctions. For centuries, the Yi Dynasty held a hierarchical class distinction as a ruling ideology to maintain social order among kings, subjects, capital and district officials, scholars, soldiers, *yangban* gentries, farmers, merchants, technicians, wives, concubines, and pariahs. To abolish the entrenched custom required a revolutionary measure, which had been attempted in the abortive *Kapsin* Coup in 1884 by the Progressive Party and the *Kabo* Reform in 1894 by the Deliberative Council. The latest *Kabo* decrees on class problems had however been unsuccessful. The Reform Council attempted to exterminate class discrimination by abrogating the civil service examination, eliminating public and private slaves and class status, prohibiting human trafficking, and discriminating against traditionally despised group of people such as postmen, artists, acrobat entertainers, and butchers, all of which failed to penetrate ordinary lives and uproot such a die-hard custom. When George A. Gregg arrived in Korea in 1907, the conspicuous scenes of high officials with regalia and handmaids indicated that the custom, as a salient feature, gripped Korean society.²⁶⁰

The YMCA ushered in a laboratory where social egalitarianism was practiced between *yangban* and commoners. Men of the highest rank, sometimes even of prince pedigree, shouldered side by side with men of obscure birth not only in the gymnasium, but also in the classrooms, kitchens, library, and reception rooms, where Koreans of high and low lineages together built fires, worked drills, sported balls, and learned modern

²⁶⁰ Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907," YMCA Archives.

inventions. The role of sports was in particular significant in demolishing the centuries-old class distinctions. In the 1900s the YMCA introduced baseball, basketball, volleyball, track, and other indoor exercises to cultivate stamina and vitality. By the 1930s these not only became the most popular sports among young men, but also a provided a springboard to catapult world champions Son Ki-jöng and Nam Süng-nyong to the 1936 Berlin Olympics.²⁶¹

Yun's inauguration as the first Korean general secretary of the Korean YMCA transpired on the celebration day of the completion of the athletes' gymnasium, a symbol of his course of action that would promote physical strength in colonial Korea. Fitting with that trope, Yun was president of the YMCA as well as the Chösun Athletic Society.²⁶² In order to popularize sports, Yun stood at the forefront of the track with short pants and a tucked shirt, his lower arms bare, ready to run. Like little boys, national leaders stood next to Yun on the starting line.²⁶³ Yun also instituted the "Yun Ch'i-ho Cup Award" following his Newspaper Award.²⁶⁴ Not only did he encourage swimming, skating, and ball games, he also became famous for introducing bicycles to Koreans.

²⁶¹ "Message Given over Radio by Mr. Hugh Cynn from Westinghouse Station, Newark, N.J. Sunday, December 10, 1922." Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

²⁶² "Chosön ch'eyuk kye yōha munje chwadam hoe (A round table discussion on issues of sports in Korea)," *Tong A Ilbo*, 14 November 1934. Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

²⁶³ Photograph, YMCA Archives.

²⁶⁴ A column of a newspaper (no. 5552), 3. The title of the paper is cut and is thus unidentifiable. Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

Yun particularly highlighted the importance of fair play in sports through his articles and roundtable talks, attributing the importance of sports more as a moral dimension of society than as mere physical strength.²⁶⁵ In his article, “Cultivate sportsmanship as well as techniques,” Yun informed the people of the importance of fair sportsmanship, teamwork, a sound mind, character development, and the courage of knights. The goal, Yun stressed, was not to win, but to cultivate fortitude and endurance that would yield victorious Koreans.²⁶⁶ In 1934, the Athletic Society prepared Olympic contestants by discussing the issue of foul play and emphasizing the importance of fair sportsmanship.²⁶⁷ While both encouraging the Olympic players to not lose heart in the international competition and inculcating the important rules of sports, Yun regulated and steered the sport culture in Korea, which culminated in the honor of Son Ki-jŏng and Nam Sŭng-nyong’s 1936 Olympic champion medals, bringing hope to the nation in the darkest time of its history. The track athletes Son Ki-jŏng, Yu Chang-ch’un, Kim Ŭn-bae, Kwŏn Tae-ha, Nam Sŭng-nyong participated in the discussion with Yun Ch’i-ho and Yu Ŏk-kyŏm.²⁶⁸ Receiving the gold medal at the Olympics, Son Ki-jŏng confessed,

²⁶⁵ Yun Ch’i-ho, “Kisul kwa byŏnghaeng hayŏ chŏngsindo palhwi hara (Cultivate sportsmanship as well as techniques)” from Chosŏn ch’eyuk hoejang (from the president of the Chosŏn Athletic Society), 1926. 1.1. The title of the newspaper is cut. Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch’i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

²⁶⁶ Yun Ch’i-ho, Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch’i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

²⁶⁷ “Chosŏn ch’eyuk kye hyŏnha munje chwadam hoe (A round table discussion of the sports issues in Korea),” *Tong A Ilbo*, 14 November 1934. Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch’i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL. In other articles, Yun emphasized the importance of cultivating science, techniques, and invention as president of Kwahak Chisik Pogŭp Hoe (A Society for Propagation of Scientific knowledge). *Chungang Ilbo*, Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch’i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

“chakchŏn e itchi anko chŏngsin e iddŏra (The victory was attained not by techniques but by spirit).”²⁶⁹ Yun’s emphasis on the cultivation of sportsmanship along with athletic techniques made a deep impression on Son.

Training National Leaders and the Fellowship Fund

While cultivating national leaders through religious inspiration, education, and sports, the YMCA also trained national leaders by sending promising Korean secretaries to the United States and other foreign countries for international conferences with the provision of training fellowships. The YMCA sent Korean delegates to the Shanghai Convention of the YMCA and the Tokyo Conference of the World’s Student Christian Federation in 1907.²⁷⁰ Confirming the international role of the YMCA through direct access to these world conferences was a rare opportunity in colonial Korea.²⁷¹ To stabilize those opportunities, in 1922 the International Committee of the YMCA allocated \$1,800 for this purpose, which amounted to one-fifth of the entire subsidy budget (\$10,050) for that year.²⁷² David W. Lyon suggested that the International Committee

²⁶⁸ “Chŏlmŭn chosŏn ūi yŏl gwa ki ūi chwadam hoe (A round table discussion on the zeal and spirit of the Korean young people), *Tong A Ilbo* 6 January 1936. Yun Mun-hwi Scrap book, Yun Ch’i-ho Papers, 1883-1943, box 20, MARBL.

²⁶⁹ Kim Kyo-sin, “Son Ki-jŏng gunŭi segye marathon chep’ae (Son Ki-jŏng’s world olympic championship),” *Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn* (Bible Korea) no. 92 (September 1936).

²⁷⁰ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1907," YMCA Archives.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² C. A. Herschleb, to F.M. Brockman, 3 April 1922, YMCA Archives. Considering the total budget gathered from international support, the amount for training leaders in the U.S. took a significant portion of the entire budget.

earmark the fund for training Korean secretaries for years to come, increasing the aspiring Korean secretaries' expectation and preparation for the opportunity. The locale of the training, Lyon suggested, could be extended to China or Japan where the association work set a level of model and training classes were held.²⁷³ The ratio of the subsidy provided by the International Committee versus the National Committee for the annual travel budget was set at four to one.²⁷⁴ This training fellowship, Frank Brockman called, was "one of the most statesmanlike provisions that any missionary movement has yet made."²⁷⁵

The First Orphanage by Koreans

²⁷³ Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb. Shuntehfu, China, 16 March 1923," YMCA Archives.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. Frank Brockman "suggested" a two to one ratio in order to enhance the self-supporting dimension of the organization.

²⁷⁵ Owing to this training fund, Koo Ja-ok, assistant secretary of the Korean Central Association, received one year of training in the U.S. in 1922. After receiving the training, he was elected by the Korean Board of Directors as General Secretary of the Korean Central Association in Seoul, which raised the entire budget to 100,000 yen for the year. Cynn Hugh H., receiving the benefit, visited and investigated many U.S. city YMCAs in 1923. Hyŏn Dong-wan, assistant secretary of the boys' department of the Central Association, spent a year in training under Robert Lewis in Cleveland. On his return, Hyŏn became general secretary of the boy's department, succeeding Byron Barnhart. Lee David (Tae-wi), assistant student secretary of the National Council, also had the opportunity to train in the U.S. for one year because of the fund. Lee took this opportunity to finish his master's degree at Columbia University after his studies at Yale. Hong Pyŏng-sŏn, national secretary for rural work, visited Denmark under the fellowship in 1928. The training was conducted not only in the U.S. and Denmark, but also reversely in Korea. Herr Sung, a Korean who was trained in the Chicago Association Training School and worked for the Detroit schools in physical work, received this fund for his one-year stay in Korea, working for the physical department of the Central Association. See, Frank M. Brockman, to C.H. Herschleb, 14 October 1927, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

Young men's revitalization in the YMCA resulted in the stimulation of humanitarian work in society, laying the foundation for a united front to reach out in social service. Orphans had not received an adequate public care from Korean society. Horace G. Underwood started an orphanage with a view to developing it to a school where he brought in stray children on the streets (and which later turned a rendezvous with his future spouse, Liliias Horton Underwood).²⁷⁶ Over time, it transformed into Kyongsin School and Yonsei University in conjunction with the Severance Medical College.²⁷⁷ In January 1920 Yun Ch'i-ho, in cooperation with Oh Kŭng-sŏn and eight other charter members, started the first Korean orphanage, *Kyongsong koa guje hoe* (Seoul Orphanage). Despite the economic crisis of the 1920s, the orphanage fared well, partly owing to 400 volunteers and the subscription of about \$10,000 at the outset.²⁷⁸ The *Dong-a Daily* featured a report on the compassion of these volunteers, mostly composed of business young men.²⁷⁹ Prompted by the initiative of Yun, these young businessmen followed the beacon of their captain toward service to the orphanage. Yun's emphasis on the importance of the public spirit galvanized the young men into participation in social welfare.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Horace G. Underwood, to Ellinwood, January 20, 1886.

²⁷⁷ An orphanage that had been run by a Catholic priest, M. J. G. Blanc, was handed over to the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres in 1885. Yu Hong-ryŏl, "Ch'ŏnjugyo poyukwŏn ūi yurae (An origin of the Catholic orphanage) (Seoul, September, 1960), 1–25.

²⁷⁸ Sang-nak Ha, "Kyŏngsŏng koawŏn e taehan sogo (A study of the Kyŏngsong orphanage)," *Sahoe pokchi* (Social welfare) (Seoul: Han'guk sahoe pokchi hyŏpŭi hoe, 1989), 156–167.

²⁷⁹ E. W. Koons, "Orphanage for Korean boys" *The Korea Mission Field* 16 (April 1921): 80–81.

Industrial Work

Industrial Education

On opening seaports in 1876, Koreans were exposed to piles of new bricks and the rise of stone buildings, yet they were only employed for day labor in ground digging and carrying bricks and tar. The deluge of Western technologies and commerce swept away Koreans' legacy of their past prestige and inventive spirit. Korea was proud of numerous innovations that were essentially made obsolete in the deluge of imperial forces: highly advanced techniques of *Koryŏ Sang'gam* ceramics that were coveted by Japan; thousands of wooden types for letterpress printing from the eighth century, arguably the first in the world; metal types for printing from the fourteenth century, invented seventy-three years before the German Gutenberg press; King Sejong's invention of Korean alphabets; the sundial clock; rain gauge; a suspension bridge made of twisted vine across the Imjin River (built in 1592); Admiral Yi Sun-sin's invention of famous ironclad warships called turtle boats; as well as the mortar and bomb Flying Thunderbolt in the sixteenth century.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ *Dong-a Ilbo* (Dong a Daily), May 30, 1920. The charter members included Yun Ch'i-ho, Ko Yun-muk, O Kŭng-sŏn, Kim Pyŏng-ch'an, Kim Kwang-jun, No Ik-hyŏng, Pak Sŭng-bin, and Song Toe-su. A. I. Ludlow, "Dr. K.S. Oh, Dean of Severance Union Medical college," *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (May 1925): 102.

²⁸¹ The Kigiguk (機技局, the Machine Hall) was instituted by the Korean government on 15 June 1883. It was a repository, holding machinery and steam engines, mostly imported from China by government officials. Cho Yŏng-ha, Kim Yun-sik, and Möllendorf were the primary agents for importing the machinery. The government hired students who had been trained in China along with four Chinese

Despite the remarkable heritage of the past, there was little progress over the centuries. Now Korea looked to Japan for pottery skills. Clothes, machinery, and tools were all imported from foreign countries. Carpenters had to be solicited from China, mechanics and cabinet-makers from Japan. Once the waves of Western goods pervaded Korean society, Korean sources could not supply their needs, except with some crude native products. In 1908, Korea imported 20 million dollars worth of manufactured products but exported only about 7 million dollars worth of agricultural products, such as beans, rice, ginseng, cowhides, livestock, and minerals. Brockman deplored that no single manufactured product was exported from Korea.²⁸² Except for simple handicrafts made in homes, no factories for mass production were established in the capital city. Rudimentary manufacturing skills had to be taught step by step, although students were quick in learning. The Japanese and Chinese monopolized architecture and other techniques, as they governed modern buildings and manufacturing in Seoul.²⁸³

Seoul had no technical or industrial schools in 1906.²⁸⁴ Even in 1924, the YMCA secretary, Yi Tae-wi, bemoaned that the centuries-old philosophy of *yangban*, impeding their use of hands except for reading books, resulted in such a dearth of specialists in

artisans to repair and manufacture military equipment. This hall would have been used to train future technicians, which would reclaim the practice of the old Kun'gisi, instituted at the beginning of the Yi Dynasty. See, Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885* (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 156.

²⁸² Frank M. Brockman, "Some of the Problems of Industrial Education in Korea: A Partial Report of a Lecture Delivered before the Educational Society in Seoul," *The Korea Mission Field* (July 1910), 172

²⁸³ Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907," YMCA Archives.

²⁸⁴ Hulbert, 341.

techniques.²⁸⁵ Yun had early on lamented that the sedentary life of *yangban* and their disdain of manual labor resulted in technical devolution in Korean society. On account of his profound awareness of such shortcomings, Yun emphasized the establishment of an industrial department at the Anglo-Korean School. Along with it, the Korean YMCA launched what would become “the largest industrial educational work in any foreign field”²⁸⁶ with thirty-two classes.

The YMCA built an industrial center in the temporary YMCA quarters, right next to the American electric company Colbran and Bostwick, a symbol of imperial encroachments and one of the concessions that King Kojong gave away to the U.S. Yun deplored with indignation this transaction and its dealers:

His Majesty had agreed to pay over 7 hundred thousand Yen to Colbran and Bostwick and Company and to give over the whole plan of the Electric Car onto them-all this concession without any compensating service on the part of the Colbran and Bostwick and Company. Yi Hak-kyun was the villain who got this hellish business through, while he was hiding in Miss Sontag’s house. The Emperor signed away the plan and money – One and half million Yen all together from the start-just to get the American protection falsely promised by Colbran and Bostwick through Yi-H.K.²⁸⁷

The king’s deal with Colbran and Bostwick secured no protection from the U.S., proven by what happened the following year. In 1905 Korea lost its diplomatic rights and political sovereignty by the Japanese Protectorate Treaty, and within months the U.S.

²⁸⁵ Yi Taewi, “Segye kako jung Chosunŭi nodong munje (On the issue of labor in Korea in the world of enlightenment)” *Chōngnyōn*, August 1924, 2.

²⁸⁶ Philip L. Gillett, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

²⁸⁷ Diary, April, 1904.

recalled its diplomat and consuls.²⁸⁸ With the same American force, the YMCA launched industrial education programs for Koreans, paying for its industrial secretary.

The YMCA industrial department started with teachings on how to knit stockings, scarves, wristlets, and mittens, lessons feasible without capital investment in heavy appliances. An American general secretary's sister led these classes. As in Yun's Anglo-Korean School in Songdo, industrial classes at the Seoul YMCA stirred a considerable vogue in the city, attracting over 150 pupils. Subsequently supplying classes on pottery, candle-making, soap-making, tanning, and dyeing, the YMCA eventually drew the students' attention to Korea's bountiful cattle. The YMCA offered classes in tanning (a skill that Koreans were previously unaware of), where the hides were exported. Although pottery had been a specialty of Korea, precious ceramics of the twelfth century were burglarized and the skill was transmitted to Japan through captured artisans in the sixteenth century. Now, pottery teachers came from the Japanese technical schools.²⁸⁹ However, the classes had to be closed within six months, as the colonial government decided to take over pottery education in its technical school. YMCA General Secretary

²⁸⁸ Hulbert, 347–348. Enumerating the great profits the U.S. had gained from the Korean concessions, Hulbert recorded that the “best gold-mining concession,” the first railroad concession, the first electric tramway and lighting plant, a modern water system concession, and the “unbound confidence of both the King and people,” only led America to be the “first to push her over the brink, to accept the outrage of November 17, 1905.”

²⁸⁹ Gregg, "A Sketch of the Industrial Work of the Seoul, Young Men's Christian Association from 1906 to 1913," YMCA Archives.

Brockman was called to the Japanese Minister of Finance and was ordered to close the department. Those 150 students were transferred to a government school.²⁹⁰

The arrival of George Arthur Gregg (1863–1939) in September 1906 resuscitated the industrial department after the pottery incident. Gregg, principal of an industrial institute in Hartford, Connecticut, was not only an industrial techniques expert, but also an educator. Compared to other young missionaries sent in their twenties to Korea, Gregg left his home at the age of forty-three, harnessed with a variety of field experiences as superintendent of a department of the Railroad Car Lighting and Heating Company of Albany, New York. His specialties included architecture, mechanical drawings, photography, and machinist trade; all were used as a specialist of the International Committee of the YMCA on industrial education.²⁹¹ In addition to using his drawing skills, Gregg led a glee club and an advanced Bible class.²⁹² His faithful commitment to the YMCA's in New York and Hartford as educational director and secretary was fully employed in strengthening the various departments of the YMCA in Korea.²⁹³

On arrival in Korea, Gregg—building himself a temporary wooden shed—began teaching carpentry, blacksmithing, photography, plumbing, and mechanics trade. As American tools arrived to the makeshift building in 1907, the YMCA opened a trade school where students, after passing an arithmetic exam and paying a deposit, started

²⁹⁰ Frank Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year," YMCA Archives.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² George A Gregg, "Report of Geo. A. Gregg for the Year Ending Sept. 30th, 1913," YMCA Archives.

²⁹³ "Gregg, George Arthur, Biographical Files," YMCA Archives.

with making benches, T-squares, a bench hook, and other furniture for the YMCA sales corner. This apprenticeship arrangement, in combination with work and study, offered opportunities to trade experiences and earn a livelihood, in addition to acquisition of practical skills and other types of education. The industrial department took the functions of both a school and a commercial cooperative, allowing students a source of income and society the advantage of excellent student employees at the same time. Plumbing and pipefitting skills were so much in need that certain foreign customers supported the YMCA industrial department for their personal use.²⁹⁴ The YMCA industrial department continued to flourish, even during the stringent time around the March First Movement in 1919. The colonial government encouraged industrial development, as was most conspicuous in the symbolic white towers of the new Industrial Exposition at the place of the former North Palace in 1915. The Korean masses sought industrial and vocational education, and the YMCA took advantage in offering an opportune response during a time of industrialization.

Extension of the Industrial Department

The YMCA industrial department generated a new line of technicians and entrepreneurs in Korea. For instance, Kim Paing-nyun, one of its graduates, returned to the department as a foreman and opened his own flourishing business at the center of

²⁹⁴ Gregg, "Annual Report of George A. Gregg, Educational Director for the Year Ending September 30th, 1907," YMCA Archives.

Seoul.²⁹⁵ Choi Chŏng-sŏn, another graduate, using his knowledge of applied chemistry, made soap and candles and developed lithography. He also devised toilet appliances fit for Asian usage. One graduate made a daunting attempt to launch an institute for industrial education in the far-flung province of Hamhŭng. Although frustrated by the cost of basic equipment (\$2,500), his attempt indicated the regenerative effect of the YMCA industrial department.²⁹⁶ Willingness alone of a trained technician could not launch an industrial department, which required an expert in chemistry, photography, printing, and machinery; then raw materials and supplies from home and abroad; then such appliances as engine lathes, a microscope, a drilling press, a milling cutter, a grinder, an acetylene welder, a shaping machine, emery wheels, a clamping device, and other accessories. This equipment required repair and maintenance as with wiring, plumbing, and heating of the building. Once the basic machines were provided, the department generated over four hundred jobs for Korean students and income from the YMCA shops. In the woodworking department for the year 1919, the total output was about \$5,000, delivering 700 separate orders. Knitting needles for the Red Cross and extension dining tables were among the most popular items. YMCA industrial training was proffered with spiritual instruction, cultivating skilful as well as faithful Christian lay professional engineers and technicians. George A. Gregg, Educational and Industrial Secretary, taught the Bible to those artisans.

²⁹⁵ Gregg, "A 1915 Mid-Summer Report of the Seoul Industrial Work," YMCA Archives.

²⁹⁶ Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb. Shuntehfu, China, 16 March 1923, YMCA Archives.

Provision for Mission Schools

The YMCA's industrial department facilitated the general education at other mission schools by providing tools and printing educational materials. The YMCA furnished the classrooms of two mission schools with furniture worth \$4,000. The largest single orders came from the new Pierson Memorial Bible Institute for its entire furnishing and the Chōson Christian College that had been using the YMCA building and needed its own furnishings in 1915.²⁹⁷ When Union Theological Seminary was destroyed by fire in 1919, four years after its construction, the YMCA furnished the rebuilt seminary.²⁹⁸ The Union College in Seoul, Pae-chai Academy, the Anglo-Korean School, the Union Christian College in Pyōngyang, and the Sōnch'ōn School were all supplied with tables, desks, and chairs made at the YMCA. Demand for the YMCA's products, exceeding its supply capacity, attracted the best-trained men from all over the country. Promising students from the nation enjoyed the privilege of industrial training at the YMCA.

By 1924, the YMCA industrial department had grown to form an industrial compound filled with state-of-the-art products. The carpentry department produced chairs, desks, bookcases, tables, closets, stools, benches, vanity tables, work desks, chests, and wicker products. School desks and folding chairs were understandably the most popular products for schools, but tables for chemistry and physics classrooms, library desks,

²⁹⁷ Gregg, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

²⁹⁸ George A Gregg, "Annual Letter for the Year Ending September 30, 1919," YMCA Archives.

revolving tablets, armchairs with cast-iron bases were also ordered for schools.²⁹⁹ The metal division produced machinery, tools, building iron, automobile parts, skates, typewriters, audio-phones, printing machines, and provided machinery repairs such as for sewing machines, automobile shafts, and pumps. The photography department provided picture-taking, film development, and correction.³⁰⁰ The YMCA expanded not only the invisible kingdom of God, but also a conspicuously visual kingdom of new inventions.

The printing department became active under the supervision of S. A. Beck, a missionary from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Korea (1896–1919). For the YMCA printing department, Beck used his prior experience with the Methodist Printing House. In addition to the printing gift from the Korean students at the Tokyo YMCA in 1916, the YMCA also loaned several hundred pounds of type and three old Washington presses from the English Church Mission, equipping type for Korean, Japanese, Chinese, English, and some European languages. With this equipment, printing service was provided not only for missionaries with magazines such as the *Korea Mission Field* and *Chǒng-nyŏn*, but also for annual reports, textbooks, government offices, government schools, factories, and hospitals, including bookkeeping, staples, invitation cards, and name cards.³⁰¹

The YMCA also provided translation services. Its specific techniques for translation began to have a significant role in the Christian Literature Society (CLS) that

²⁹⁹ George A Gregg, "A 1915 Mid-Summer Report of the Seoul Industrial Work," YMCA Archives.

³⁰⁰ Gregg, "Report of Geo. A. Gregg for the Year Ending Sept. 30th, 1913," YMCA Archives

³⁰¹ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives.

had been established in 1890. In 1938 the 316 life-long members of the CLS seemed to be a roll call of foreign missionaries and their families who had deep attachments to Korea and its affairs in the U.S., Canada, England, Australia, Manchuria, and China, although the majority of these members (90%) were from the U.S. Yun was a life-long member among the fourteen Korean associates. The largest of the literature the CSL printed was Sunday school literature, lessons, and hundreds of Christian tracts and books including the *Korea Mission Field*. The income and expenditures of the CSL in 1938 reached 103,681 yen. The sale of 148,662 books in 1938, much less compared to the 212,692 books sold in 1935, indicated the significance of Christian literature for the propagation of Christianity, despite wartime hardship. The YMCA press printed massive amounts of literature for the CSL, printing 87,586,735 pages in 1938.³⁰²

Working Boys' Night School and Industrialization

The YMCA also reached out to working boys at newly-emerging factories in Seoul in the early twentieth century. These boys from working-class families had to earn a full-time living and could hardly afford time or money for a regular education. It was Korean YMCA members who suggested a night school for those boys, but the international secretaries balked at the potential financial barrier. Seven Korean graduates of the YMCA school, securing help from the YMCA colporteur, Pyŏn Hun, volunteered

³⁰² The Christian Literature Society of Korea, "The Forty-Eighth Annual Report, Year Ending June 30," Missionary Files, 1897-1940, United Methodist Church Archives, GCAH, Scholarly Resources, 1-30, passim.

to teach the working boys at night. This was the first time in their lives that most of these factory boys had an opportunity to obtain an education. The curriculum thus consisted of rudimentary subjects such as the Bible, mathematics, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Korean history, and singing. The boys were so eager to take these lessons that some of them walked for miles so as not to miss classes. Filled with the spirit of service, Korean volunteer teachers were dedicated to teaching the boys. Students learned at this school free of tuition, except for a few cents a month, at the old association building. The Chōsun Christian College also used the YMCA building, fully equipped with new furniture made in the industrial department; these night school students benefited from the new classrooms as well. The night school began with twelve students in 1911 and increased its student enrollment to 195 in 1912 and 392 in 1913, mostly from the tobacco factories. The Working Boys' Night School continued to attract students away from the streets into the school to its full capacity. When the school session opened in 1916, more than 600 applicants rushed at the gate, though the school could accommodate only 300 students.³⁰³ As with the students in the industrial department, those at the night school showed appreciation of the provision by their attendance at chapels and lectures.³⁰⁴ Seven out of 195 in 1912 and twenty-three out of 392 students in 1913 were baptized, while 134 students were probationers.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ George A Gregg, "Report of G.E. Gregg for the Year Ending September 30, 1916, Hand-Written," YMCA Archives; B. P. Barnhart, "Annual Letter for the Year Ending September 30, 1918," YMCA Archives.

³⁰⁴ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1911," YMCA Archives.

The National Government Industrial Exposition in October 1923 spurred what the YMCA had endeavored regarding both industrial and agricultural developments. This exhibition demonstrated how four specific categories were organically intertwined in industrial and agricultural projects: raw products from land and sea, small products or home manufacturing, the promotion of new and improved machinery, and educational exhibits and demonstrations.³⁰⁶ The exposition indicated that the colonial government began to pay attention to the mounting problems of agriculture in the country.

To the Farms: Agricultural Work

From noblest Patriotism to humblest industrial Mechanism; from highest dying for your country, to lowest quarrying and coal-boring for it, a Nation's Life depends upon its Land. Again and again we have to say, there can be no true Aristocracy but must possess the Land.³⁰⁷

Land is the fundamental element of the world. When fundamentals are orderly, then everything will be orderly. If fundamentals are ruined, everything will be ruined.³⁰⁸

The farmers of any nation are its back bone. If you fail to reach them you are short of the great object of the Church of Christ...Country work is the glory of the work in Korea.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report of Frank M. Brockman, Seoul, Korea. For the Year Ending September 30, 1914," YMCA Archives.

³⁰⁶ D. N. Lutz, "The Educational Significance of the Industrial Exposition," *The Korea Mission Field* 14 (December 1923): 259–262.

³⁰⁷ Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (New York University Press: 1843, 1965), 176.

³⁰⁸ Yu, Hyöng-wön, 礪溪隨錄, Vol.1, Land Policy, cited from Yong-ha Sin, *Chosön Hugi Sirakp'aüi sahoe sasang yön'gu* (a study of social thoughts of *Sirhak* scholars of the late Yi Dynasty) (Seoul: Chisik Saopsa, 1997), 252.

³⁰⁹ W. G. Cram, "Country Work," *The Korea Mission Field* 4 (January 1908), 10–11.

Studies on Agriculture by Sirhak Scholars

The YMCA's rural work was the restoration of an earlier concern from the seventeenth century regarding land reform by *Sirhak* (Practical Learning) scholars such as Yu Hyöng-wön (1622—1673), Yi ik (1681—1763), Pak Chi-wön (1737—1805), and Chöng Yak-yong (1762—1836). Called the School of Agriculture (重農學派, 利用厚生, or 經世致用學派), *Sirhak* scholars paid attention to the centrality of agriculture and the role of farmers for the rejuvenation of the nation.³¹⁰ Shattered by the Japanese and Chinese wars, the lives of the excessively exploited farmers and the disrupted agricultural order caught the sympathetic attention of scholars who were forced to eke out their livelihoods on marginalized farms. *Sirhak* scholars, like Carlyle, saw in the land the heart of both national wealth and destruction, much as in Yu Hyöng-wön's statement in the preamble of this section. What differentiated *Sirhak* from Neo-Confucian scholars was *Sirhak's* inductive approach toward the solution of land problems. Probably owing to exile and demoted status, these scholars had direct contact with farmers and agricultural life, the observation of which brought them profound scholarship. *Sirhak* scholars thus proposed ways of land reform that would bring genuine benefits to the farmers.

³¹⁰ Yi Ik's Gyöngse ch'iyongp'a (經世致用學派) means the School of Pragmatic Statecraft and Pak Chi-wön's Iyong husaengp'a (利用厚生) means the School of Improvement of life through Practical Utilization.

Yu Hyöng-wön (柳馨遠, 1622–1673) led a farming life in Cholla Province for twenty years, establishing the foundation of *Sirhak* based on his observations of farm life.³¹¹ His hands-on experience yielded *Pangye surok* (磻溪隨錄), which proposed a palace initiative to redistribute land in proportion to the respective service weight to the country by farmers, soldiers, provincial officials, court servants, scholar statesmen, etc. He believed that in a monarchical society all land belonged primarily to the king, therefore his proposal for land reform was directed to the king. Although the concept of land reform considered a social consciousness of class divisions, the basic idea of land reform itself challenged his contemporaries too radically to become a reality.³¹²

Yi Ik (李穡, penname 星湖, 1681–1763), succeeding the scholarship of Yu Hyöng-wön, observed throughout his life in the vicinity of Seoul how farmers were estranged from their land by the vicious system of commercial usury. Yi's idea of land reform was concerned more with the poverty of farmers than fair redistribution of land for the entire population. Yi believed that land belonged to the government, but land privatization resulted in the protracted downturn and poverty of farmers. His alternative suggestion was thus a protective system of the minimum amount of arable land for each farmer.³¹³ Contrary to Yi's suggestion, Pak Chi-won in a farm in Ch'ungchöng Province

³¹¹ Ibid, 253–254.

³¹² Ibid, 253–264; 磻溪隨錄, Vol. 1 (land policy); Chön, kwan-wu, *Pan'gye Yu Hyong-won yŏn'gu* (A study of Yu Hyong-won), *Yöksa hakbo* (1952-2). This study largely relies on Sin's study. Sin discusses in detail the contents of Gyunjönje (a system of uniform land distribution) suggested by Yu Hyöng-wön.

suggested land reform by regulating and curtailing individual's excessive possession of land by limiting the maximum size of fields that could be owned by rich proprietors.³¹⁴

Sirhak's masterpieces are arguably *Kyŏngse Yup'yo* (경세유표, 經世遺表, on the administration), *Hŭmhŭm Sinsŏ* (흠흠신서, 欽欽新書, on jurisprudence), and *Mokmin Simsŏ* (목민심서, 牧民心書, on the art of governing), all by Chŏng Yak-yong (丁若鏞 1762–1836). Chŏng, a devout Catholic, proposed his ideas on behalf of farmers, *Yŏjŏnje* (여전제, 閩田論) in his treatise, “An Argument for a Land System (田論).” The core of his argument was the institutionalization of labor and collective ownership and cultivation of land. Knowing the importance of cooperative *modus vivendi* in agriculture, Chŏng espoused that land should be the property of the community and distribution of its crops should be proportionate to the amount of labor contributed by individuals. These scholars' literary products for farmers' weal and independence, however, were not realized as tangible improvements in the agricultural life of the nation.

After half a century's dormancy of scholarly contributions to agriculture, the nation opened its doors to world powers and the progressives reclaimed serious attention to farm problems. An Chŏng-su, on a mission in the gentlemen's sightseeing group in 1881, learned from a Japanese agricultural guru (律田 仙, 1837–1895) who had established a school of agriculture, appropriating techniques imported from the U.S. and

³¹³ Ibid, 265–280. 星湖僿說, Vol. 3, Insamun, Gyunjŏnje, Han, U-kun, *Chosŏn hugi sahoe wa sasang* (Social thought of the late Yi Dynasty), (Seoul: Ŭlyu Muhwasa, 1961), *Sŏngho iik yŏn'gu* (A study of Sŏngho Yi Ik) (Seoul: Seoul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1980).

³¹⁴ Ibid, 274–280. 課農小抄, Land policy.

the Netherlands. On his return, An composed *Nongjung Sinp'yŏn* (農政新編, *New Arguments on Agricultural Institution*, 1881), where he introduced Western agricultural methods.³¹⁵ Other agricultural efforts by progressives included Yi U-kyu (李祐珪)'s *Chamsang ch'walyo* (蠶桑撮要, *Important Facts of Sericulture*, 1881) and Chŏng Pyŏng-ha (鄭秉夏)'s *Important Facts of Agriculture* (農政撮要, 1886).³¹⁶

Tributaries of literary work on agricultural problems gained force to begin an aggressive experimental farm, arguably the first for modern agriculture and farming by a progressive, Sŏ Kyŏng-sŏk. Like many progressive reformers and *Sirhak* scholars, Sŏ Kyŏng-sŏk was from the second-rate *chungin* class. His exposure to the U.S. agricultural advance through the Goodwill Mission in September and October 1883 emboldened Sŏ to launch a model farm in the vicinity of Seoul. Sŏ, a soldier, was more intrigued than the others on the team by the farming machines exhibition at the Boston Fair of Industrial and Agricultural Products and the J. W. Walcott Model Farm.³¹⁷ When Sŏ returned from his one-month survey in America, he chose a different course of action from the other members of the mission, such as Hong Yŏng-sik, Sŏ Kwang-bom, and Pyŏn Su, who would later become the protagonists of the 1884 *Kapsin* Coup. Instead, Sŏ Kyŏng-sŏk appealed to the king for the support of his new venture of the agricultural experiment

³¹⁵ Kwang-rin Yi, *Han'guk kaehwa sa yŏn'gu* (A study of the Korean history of enlightenment) (Seoul: Iljokak, 1969), 224.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 210–211.

³¹⁷ *New York Times*, December 16, 1883.

farm and ranch, *Nongmu Mokch'uk Sihöm Chang*. King Kojong showed zealous support, granting him a large tract and subsidy for the project.

Sö's farm on the royal subsidy broke remarkable records of experimenting new vegetables, fruit trees, plants, seeds, and cattle.³¹⁸ Min Yöng-ik, one of the nine members of the same mission in 1883, helped Sö by asking Everett Frazer to ship farming machines and tools, which arrived in Seoul in 1884. At Sö's experimental farm machines such as air seeders, field cultivators, plows, rippers, hoes, blades, feed grinders, manure spreaders, utility vehicles, headers, combines, grain augers, conveyors, scales, rakes, spades, and mowers were both exhibited and used. The palace's support endorsed Sö's travel and other expenses, but could not secure an American consultant to live in Korea and impart the much-needed techniques of farming and cattle care, as Sö had hoped. The U.S. merchant Freysenhuis and Marine lieutenant Admiral George C. Foulk lent some help. The death of Sö in 1886 halted the promising project. R. Jaffrey succeeded the project by starting a farm school, but the death of Jaffrey, coupled with the suppression of the Chinese General Yuan Shi-kai, put an end to farm modernization efforts in July 1888. No government attempts were made later as a gesture to ameliorate farmers' plights in between Sö's farm and the advent of the collective YMCA effort.³¹⁹ The significance of

³¹⁸ Homer B. Hulbert, *History of Korea*, vol 2. ed. (New York: Hillery, Methodist Publishing House, 1905), 232. *Sihömchang Kakchong Mongrok* (A list of items in the experimental farm), Seoul National University, No. 11507.

³¹⁹ Yi, 190–205.

Sŏ's attempt, however, is in the Korean initiative and royal endorsement for modernization efforts for agricultural development between 1884 and 1886.

Aligned with the concern of *Sirhak* scholars and some progressives, the *Independent* drew the attention of the nation to agricultural improvement. Sŏ Chae-p'il, for example, in his 1897 editorial in the *Independent* criticized Confucian society and its impotence in practical spheres of everyday life, especially its disdain of agriculture and industry for the benefits of the populace. He denounced that Confucian society suppressed younger generation's potential and creativity by forcing them to only look at the past and the old.³²⁰ Yun, as editor of the *Independent*, also criticized that Confucianism as a socio-political ideology had given literati high honors in society and consumed national energy at the expense of developing other domains, while material progress stagnated.³²¹ More for positive suggestions, the *Independent* compared the state of farming between the West and traditional Korea. Introducing Western efforts for the improvement of farming, the *Independent* suggested that the government should subsidize farming, translate Western agricultural books, and establish experimental farms and institutions.³²² The paper also encouraged industrial modernization by inviting Western professionals who could teach methods of farming, cattle raising, and wood crafting. Simple words, yet the press created an image of how to concentrate efforts for

³²⁰ *The Independent*, July 25, 1897.

³²¹ Diary, November 11, 1897.

³²² "*Tongnip Shinmun Nonsoljip* (A collection of editorials of the *Independent*)," (1896.4-1899.12), July 25, 1896.

farming and industry to strengthen the nation, which would all be realized by the YMCA's rural work.

Rural Conditions under Japanese Rule

While earlier efforts for rural reconstruction floundered during the dusk period of the nineteenth century, Japan—through a modern device of the Asia Colonization Company called *Tongyang ch'uksik hoesa*—had taken over a massive tract of Korean farmland by imposing a modern land legislature system on Korean farmers who were struggling to figure out the new legal code. Land had thus been conspicuously handed over to the ownership of Japanese entrepreneurs who took advantage of loopholes in their own regulations. Korean farmers fell into the ever-increasing traps, becoming tenant farmers of their own farmland. Absentee Japanese landowners demanded from those tenant farmers 70% of the product, overriding the previous government regulation of 50/50 product division. The Korean tenants moreover had to pay taxes and for their fertilizers—landowner's obligations—with only 30% gain, suffering from ever-increasing debts.³²³ To make matters worse, the worldwide agricultural depression after World War I exacerbated Japan's economic situation, not to mention that of Korean farmers already under severe destitution. The post-war downturn expedited Japan's export of Korean rice in massive amounts in order to meet the need in Japan, while

³²³ John H. Reisner, to Y. Mitsui, 25 May 1926, YMCA Archives.

accelerating the use of Korean labor and tax revenue. Korean farmers roamed about, uprooted from their homeland.³²⁴

By 1925, it was estimated that there were approximately 1.5–2 million Koreans in Manchuria and Siberia. Koreans in Japan, underbidding Japanese laborers, were as many as the Japanese in Korea.³²⁵ The destitution of farmers led to child labor. Children at the age of eight in the south and ten in the north worked at farms for a living, and one-sixth of Korean children had to take care of an entire household while their parents worked out in the fields.³²⁶ The interest rate of debts—caused by the unfair division of products—hovered at an exorbitant percentage, perpetuating the indebted condition of farmers which in turn aggravated migration, child labor, and the potential for a Communist takeover. As observed by John H. Reisner, no sympathizer of Bolshevism, such a situation was optimum for Bolshevik undertakings.³²⁷

The first sign of an attempt to resolve their desperate situation was strikes. When those failed, farmers were more inclined towards an organized Communist Party.

Between 1927 and 1931, desultory protests against exploitation and starvation rose to

³²⁴ D. Willard Lyon, "Notes of a Conference on YMCA Rural Work in Korea, Held in Seoul, April 5-9, 1926," YMCA Archives. His report shows the population of Korea: Seoul, over 75,000; six cities, population of between 25,000 and 75,000; sixteen cities, population of between 3,500 and 25,000; the rest had less than 3,500. Approximately three-quarters of a million people in Korea lived in cities, while 16.5 million lived in villages or hamlets of less than 3,500 people.

³²⁵ Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner, "Rural Korea: A Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social, and Religious Conditions." March 24-April 8, The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, 1928, *The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems*, vol. VI (New York: International Missionary Council, 1928), 113

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

³²⁷ John H. Reisner, "Exhibit I: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Korea and Their Bearing on the Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Church," YMCA Archives."

3,681 cases. To these abandoned and exploited farmers, possessing nothing more to lose and barely knowing how to marshal their forces into an organized shield of power, Communism emerged as a way to counter institutional and imperial exploitation.³²⁸ Communism surfaced with the name of *Koryŏ Kongsan dang* (Korean Communist) in Russia in April 1919, and in the 1920s developed into an anti-Christian movement. In June 1925, *Chosun Chŏngnyŏn Ch'ongdongmeang* (Korean Young Men's General Union) declared communism and began anti-Christian rallies, right across the street from where the second National Sunday School Conference was held.³²⁹ The party denounced Christianity as suppressing human liberty, advocating for capitalists, serving the imperial bourgeois, and seducing weak people. Both aggressive and subversive forces of communism infiltrated into the country. The targets of their attacks were Christian missionaries and the YMCA.³³⁰ The YMCA rural work thus included a battle against Communist expansion.

The Beginnings by the YMCA

Current scholarship claims that Cynn Hŭng-woo, General Secretary of the YMCA in 1925, lived in a vicinity of Seoul called Pugok-ri and Chamajang for three

³²⁸ Chosŏn Ilbo (Chosŏn Daily), Editorial, March 8, 1928. Tong-A Ilbo (Tong-A Daily), editorial, November 22, 1926.

³²⁹ *Kidok sinbo* (Christian messenger), Editorial, November 11, 1925.

³³⁰ Cynn Hugh H. regarded the Communist attack as a stimulus to the regeneration of Christian institutions. Min.

months in the winter of 1923 in order to gain practical knowledge about village life, which led him to initiate the agricultural program of the YMCA. The claim originates Chŏn Taek-pu's history of the YMCA and subsequent scholars have echoed Chŏn with no provision of evidence.³³¹ A discourse on the need for rural work, however, appears in the editorial of the *Korea Mission Field* in January 1908 by W. G. Cram, Yun's partner missionary at the Anglo-Korean School, underlining the importance of agricultural work.³³² The discourse continued in Yun's articles in 1911 and 1916. Cynn's article on rural work, on the other hand, appears in 1928 only after his participation in the Jerusalem International Missionary Conference. Cynn, at the beginning of 1925, announced the YMCA's new-year agenda that it would shift its orientation from urban to rural projects.³³³ Frank Brockman's 1926 essay supported the case for the rural program of the YMCA.³³⁴

³³¹ Chŏn, *Han'guk Ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe Undongsa* (1994), 310; Kyong-bae Min, *Seoul YMCA Undong Paengnyon Sa* (A centennial history of the Seoul YMCA) (Seoul: Sangrok Munwha, 2004); De Ceuster, Koen. "The YMCA's Rural Development Program in Colonial Korea, 1925-35: Doctrine and Objectives." *The Review of Korean Studies* 3-1 (July 2000): 5-33. Chŏn claimed that Cynn's initiative in rural work had no provision of evidence. Min Kyong-bae repeats this criticism by citing Chŏn, but with the wrong page number. Koen de Ceuster repeats Chŏn's claim with a footnote from Gordon Avison's article, "The Beginnings of YMCA Rural Work," *The Korea Mission Field* (September 1928). Avison made no such comment in his article. In fact, Avison echoed Yun Ch'i-ho's reasoning for the advocacy of the rural program.

³³² "Country Work," *The Korea Mission Field* 4 (January 1908), 10-11.

³³³ Cynn, Hung-woo, "Tosieso nongch'onuro (From the cities to the farms)," March 23, 1925; *Kidok Sinbo*, May 6, 1925; Cynn, Hŭng-woo, "What May be Learned from Other Countries in Regard to the Solution of Korea's Rural Problems" *The Korea Mission Field* (December 1928), 146; Cynn, *Dong-a Ilbo*, January 1, 1925.

³³⁴ Frank M. Brockman, "Projected Policy for Rural Work of the YMCA of Korea" *The Korea Mission Field* (November 1926): 231.

Yun's earlier discussion of rural problems, on the other hand, surfaced again in December 1923. Carrying a tint of distress in a public paper after his fruitless emphasis on agro-industrial improvement, this article, written in both Korean and English, describes Korea's situation where "trades gone, industries gone, positions gone, and worst of all, with rice fields going fast." It raised a question whether Koreans, with their growing pessimism, could save their disintegrating agricultural life.³³⁵ It was a penetrating diagnosis of Korean society. The bizarre situation staked its last hope in the rice fields that were rapidly vanishing. Yi Tae-wi, educational secretary of the YMCA, echoed Yun's desperation five months later, stating that the only hope for rural democratization rested on the drastic revolution of society into a Socialist system with revised land ownership and new policies for all farmers, reflecting the infiltration of Bolshevism into Korea.³³⁶ Yun's consistent argument for attention on rural problems found its only counterpart in Dexter N. Lutz, an agricultural missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church. Making more specific propositions for the solution of agricultural problems, his February 1923 article suggested that rural work should start with a revision of school curricula:

With a rural population of over 80 per cent our problems are mostly rural and must for the most part be solved by rural remedies. But the curricula of our mission schools are on an urban rather than rural basis.³³⁷

³³⁵ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Why we laugh less?" *Dong-a Ilbo*, December 2, 1923.

³³⁶ Yi Tae-wi, "*Minjunghwa hal kumil gwa nongch'on kaeryang munje* (Democratization and the improvement of agricultural problems)," *Chǒngnyǒn*, April, 1922, 9.

³³⁷ D. N. Lutz, "The Educational Significance of the Industrial Exposition," *The Korea Mission Field* 18 (December 1923): 259–262.

Yun and Dexter's intermittent and individual voices for the rural problems would see a truly nationwide collective movement in the YMCA's rural work in 1925.³³⁸

The YMCA's collective rural work would fulfill the dreams of many others who had ventured into this aspect of society, including the attempts of *Sirhak* scholars, the aspirations of the progressives, Sŏ Kyŏng-sŏk and his experimental farm, the *Independent's* outcry, Yun's earlier suggestions in his agro-industrial emphasis at the Anglo-Korean School, and Yun's repeated appeals for abandoned farmland. The significance of the YMCA's rural work is its catalytic invocation of cooperation among previously fragmented entities in Korea: the central YMCA, the student associations, the city YMCAs, the National Christian Council, the Federal Council of Protestant Missions, and the international professionals.³³⁹ The program is also significant because it compelled the colonial government to cooperate with the YMCA secretaries while Western missionaries carried out partnership in the farms, working side by side Korean secretaries. Not only did the YMCA's rural work bind together the broader segments of Korean society, but it also resuscitated the agricultural bonfire that Korean *Sirhak* scholars and progressives had earlier strived to raise (as aforementioned). Above all, the significance of the program rests on its attention on the most marginalized people in the society, farmers. With such steerage of its efforts, the YMCA's rural work drew Korea's

³³⁸ The rural work of the YMCA in India by K. T. Paul and in China by James Yen preceded the rural work of the Korean YMCA.

³³⁹ Brockman, to Hugh Kennedy: Crossing the Tsushima Straits, 31 December 1925, YMCA Archives.

attention to its most valuable—and most abandoned—assets of the past. Belatedly aware of the immense implications of the YMCA’s rural work for the nation as well as international communities, the colonial government ultimately usurped the YMCA’s program and launched instead its own rural revitalization program in 1932.

The pilot ignition of the YMCA’s rural work started with John R. Mott and Fletcher S. Brockman, who had almost passed by Korea in the tight schedule of their Pacific Rim tour in December 1925. Fletcher Brockman recalled with “tremble” what such an omission would mean for world Christianity. Exposure of no longer than four days in Korea impinged on Mott so profoundly that he uttered an “impeachment” of Brockman on his failure to “portray the gravity and urgency” of the Korean agricultural condition. Exclaiming, “I wish I could drop everything and get free to help;” he concluded that the Korean situation required immediate action without delay, or else the redemption of the impoverished people would be “now or never.” Mott decided that the action with which to solve the urgent condition rested on a man “with the habit of victory” and a “germinator of ideas,” one who would set the movement aflame; a man who was both “original and practical.”³⁴⁰

Mott and Brockman learned from their preliminary consultation with Yun Ch’i-ho, president of the YMCA, that Korea had exhibited three dispositions in the 1920s: anti-Japanese, anti-Imperialist or Bolshevist, and anti-Christian.³⁴¹ The nation, well-known for

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Brockman wrote in the letter, “I can perhaps give you some impression of it in the words of one of the most distinguished Korean Christians, a man whom I have known for more than twenty-five years.” Brockman was referring to Yun, who was his roommate at Vanderbilt.

its revivals in the 1900s, now fell to a spell of anarchy by the mid-1920s.³⁴² A previously renowned evangelist was “jeered by a howling mob,” and order of his service was maintained “only by calling the police.”³⁴³ Disillusioned young men were quickly leaving the church. Yun recounted to Mott and Brockman what he had written in his article in 1923. Among the four traditional pillars that held up Korean society—the so-called *sanongkongsang* (士農公商), meaning scholar statesmen, farmers, artisans, and merchants—all sectors had already been destroyed except farmers, the last remnant of society, who were rapidly vanishing. Conspicuously high buildings arose along the paved streets in large cities, subsidized by the Japanese colonial government, yet the countryside showed almost a total demolition of agricultural life, which had previously occupied 85% of the state’s population. Yun’s unmasking of Korean society was trenchant, yet reliable, coming from a witness who had strived so long with the Korean people. Yun’s exposé was confirmed by a formal conference with John R. Mott in Seoul, 27–29 December, 1925. Yun, as chairman, conducted the meeting, where sixty delegates from four representative groups of the Korean church and all church missions analyzed and presented rural problems and findings.³⁴⁴ Mott, upon hearing the information in the

³⁴² Frederick T. Shipp, “The Young Men’s Christian Association in China, Japan, and Korea,” *The Korea Mission Field* 20 (November 1925): 245–247. Shipp had an optimistic outlook on the Korean situation after having compared the conditions of YMCAs in three countries over the course of two years through repeated visits. He observed that in China an acute anti-Christian movement was developing, while numerous secular institutions replaced the benefits of the YMCA youth movement in Japan. By the mid-1920s, however, Korea displayed such trends as well.

³⁴³ Diary, December, 1925.

³⁴⁴ Brockman, *Ibid.*; C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. In North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 649.

reports, decided to shift the YMCA's focus towards the agricultural reconstruction of Korea. Mott did not propose the idea of the YMCA's rural work, but his endorsement signaled the cooperation of the International YMCA.

In its operative mode, the YMCA International Committee sent John Reisner, professor of agriculture and forestry at Nanking University in China, to Korea for a field investigation in 1926. Reisner's report of the aforementioned Korean rural condition made it obvious to anyone who read it, as D. Willard Lyon did, that any national program that did not take into consideration farmers was not adequate for Korea.³⁴⁵ Reisner pinpointed the locale of Korean farmers' plight more than anywhere else in the unfair product distribution of their labor. Ensuing Lyon's reports, Edmund Brunner was commissioned by and in preparation for the 1928 International Missionary Council in Jerusalem. Brunner revealed that debts, as the nationalists had apprehended, had increased ten times during the Japanese protectorate from 1905 to 1910. These professional findings and in-depth sociological analyses of the Korean situation were reported in a series of international meetings, culminating in the Jerusalem Missionary Council in 1928, revealing the systematic exploitation of Korean farmers under the colonial government. Japanese attempts with the Agricultural College and experimental farms had not extended benefits for the wealth of Korean farmers, and the literature on agriculture was mostly in Japanese. The exposure of Korean farmers' destitution to the international conferences forced the Governor-General to make some gesture of support

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

for the YMCA's rural work. It was a coup de grace barely possible in the colonial context that such reports could ever be presented at the international conferences, considering previous colonial practices.

Only five years prior in August 1920, the colonial government erected a thorough barricade against the American Congress Party's attempt at investigating the Korean situation. The police authorities blocked the entrance of the eleven American legislators and their families to the YMCA building, the appointed venue of their conference with Koreans. The Japanese police ordered the conference to be cancelled, and fully armed the police's double cordons surrounding the YMCA building. An American congressman, Hersman, had the effrontery to push through the thick wall of gendarme and police, entering the YMCA building alone; his presence at once attracted hundreds of awaiting Koreans in the large auditorium. Yun Ch'i-ho presided and interpreted Hersman's impromptu speech and Yi Sang-jae made a supporting statement. The police entered in the middle of the meeting and threatened to arrest the audience. They of course changed their attitude when addressing Herman and A. G. Gregg, asking amicably for them to exit the auditorium. Hersman's firm resistance, however, prevented the police arrest that, he argued, would amount in "not a little trouble" for Koreans. Yi Sang-jae and Yun Ch'i-ho had to testify that the crowd did not shout "*mansei* (long life!)" in order for the crowd to be safely dismissed. The lack of shouting "*mansei*" and the Korean's discontent, Yun recorded, rather loudly humiliated the Japanese government.³⁴⁶ The Koreans probably

³⁴⁶ Diary, August 27, 1920.

hoped to make the American legislators presence an occasion for the second March First Movement. The incident illustrated the way in which any international intervention or investigation of the colonial governing state would face the Japanese powers.

Considering the incident in 1920, the YMCA's 1925 investigation of vast areas of Korean farmland with such sociological scrutiny was a masterly feat, not to mention its 1928 report to the international council.³⁴⁷ Seemingly apolitical, the movement at first did not take any semblance of threat to the colonial government. Humanitarian work with destitute peasants and farmers even garnered cooperation from the colonial government. Given the dismal situation of Korea in 1925, the YMCA's rural work meant more than just the success of an organization or program. Not only did it work for the modernization of Korea, but is also saved the country from a total disaster. The rural work revealed the YMCA's sensibility and adaptability to perceived needs with Christian compassion. Whereas the rise of the London YMCA and American fraternities were Christian responses to youth problems arising from industrialization and urbanization, the Korean YMCA set its attention to the uncharted territory of farmers' rights. Unlike Western experiences of industrial development, where the YMCA boasted its cumulative acumen in the service of young men, rural work required a creative contextualization of the YMCA message.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Diary, August 17, 25, 26, 27, 28, 1920; Min, 202–204.

³⁴⁸ Not only in Korea; farmers or peasants occupied two-thirds of the world's population, approximately one billion people. Kenyon L. Butterfield, "Christianity and Rural Civilization: Notes on the Rural Problem from the Point of View of Christian Missions," in *The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems, the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, March 24-April 8, 1928* (New York, London: International Missionary Council, 1928), 7.

In March 1923, Lyon made an urgent request for two secretaries who would work in various countries, as Korea had more small than large cities. He did not mention the names of specific villages, but his reference to smaller villages and call for attention on account of their large Christian populations seemed to operate decisively for the response of the International Committee in 1925.³⁴⁹ Consequently two agricultural secretaries were sent to Korea, Frederick Ship in April and Gordon Wilberforce Avison in August 1925. As detailed in Appendix III, they had been equipped with no prior training in agriculture per se. Although regarded largely as agricultural missionaries, they were at first engaged more in strengthening the YMCA, probably on farms.

In the spring of 1926, the enlarged Korean National Agricultural Committee was organized to plan rural work. With Yun Ch'i-ho as its chairman and F. O. Clark its executive secretary, the committee consisted of representatives from various parties: the National Christian Council, the Federal Council of Protestant Mission, and other constituent bodies.³⁵⁰ The rural project paired ten Western missionaries and ten Korean secretaries: A. C. Bunce with Yi Sun-gi, Frederick Shipp with Kye Byŏng-ho, Gordon Avison with Choi Yŏng-gyun, and F. O. Clark with Hong Pyŏng-sŏn. The rest included B. P. Barnhart, D. N. Lutz, O. V. Chamness, and E. L. Campbell of the Presbyterian Mission

³⁴⁹ Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb. Shuntehfu, China, 16 March 1923. YMCA Archives.

³⁵⁰ In 1905, four Presbyterian Missions and two Methodist Churches formed the General Evangelical Council. In 1912, representatives of the YMCA and the Bible societies joined the council, forming the Federal Council of Missions. T. Stanley Soltau, *Korea; the Hermit Nation and Its Response to Christianity* (New York, Toronto: World Dominion Press, 1932), 58

North, F. E. C. Williams of the Northern Methodist Mission, E. Emmerich of the Southern Methodist Mission, and W. A. Burbidge of the United Church of Canada.

At the same time in the spring of 1926, the International Committee and Fletcher Brockman (Administrative Secretary for the Far East, the Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the YMCA's in New York) asked John H. Reisner, dean of the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking, to investigate the conditions of Korean farms.³⁵¹ Reisner and Brockman interviewed farmers and visited typical rural communities. Reisner led a few conferences with Koreans, missionaries, and government officials. Based on his analysis, appeal of the churches, and government representatives' reports, one important meeting was convened in April 1926 to draw a blueprint for rural reconstruction. Four groups attended this consultation: the Korean consultants were Yun Ch'i-ho as Chairman of the National Council, Yi Sang-jae as a religious work director, Cynn Heung-woo as General Secretary, and Koo Cha-ok and Hong Pyöng-sön as secretaries of the rural department. American secretaries for Korea included F. M. Brockman, B. P. Barnhart, W. L. Nash, and George A. Gregg. Here attended new agricultural secretaries recently commissioned to Korea, Gordon Avison and Frederick Shipp, added by international secretaries F. S. Brockman from New York, Reisner from Nanking, and D. W. Lyon, a training specialist in the China association.

³⁵¹ Reisner, "Exhibit I: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Korea and Their Bearing on the Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Church." YMCA Archives; John H. Reisner, "Agricultural Missions Foundation, Strictly Confidential for Use of Board of Directors, Report on Study of Certain Agricultural and Rural Projects in China, Korea, and Japan, February to July, 1931," YMCA Archives; Report on Korea, June 9-18, 1931, YMCA Archives, 66-87; "Nash, William Lewis, Biographical Files," YMCA Archives.

In the fall of 1927 and winter of 1928, Edmund de S. Brunner conducted a field survey for five months in Korea in preparation for the 1928 Jerusalem International Missionary Council. Brunner's report on Korea was circulated in advance to all the delegates of the council. Japanese delegates listened to Brunner's presentation made at the world conference. The report significantly challenged Japanese agricultural policies and practices in Korea; the investigation was tantamount to an exposé of the monopolizing Japanese government in Korea.

Rural Work and the Home Church

Rural problems deeply affected church life as constituents were largely poverty-stricken farmers, damaging the church's goal of self-support. Reisner's interview with missionaries in Korea revealed their escalating anxiety and fear of the cataclysmic situation. The appalling scenes of struggling farmers were ubiquitous across the entire nation.³⁵² What struck Reisner as he conducted his investigation was the marked disinterest of Korean churches regarding what the YMCA was about to do with and for the churches. The church understood its role as saving individuals from sin, relegating the farmer's issues to the secular government's estate. When missionaries attempted to introduce a course on rural development in their mission schools, Korean Christians, especially in the northern regions, were hesitant to allow such a course in their seminaries

³⁵² Reisner, "Exhibit I: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Korea and Their Bearing on the Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Church." YMCA Archives, 1.

and educational programs. Along with some foreign missionaries, Koreans viewed the churches and seminaries as sites for spiritual training only.³⁵³

Before tackling rural problems themselves, the work first required a consensus among the church about Christian worldviews, their appropriation in practical life, the mission of the church, the importance of Christian social service, and the indigenization of the Gospel message in specific Korean contexts.

In response to the church's reluctance to secular involvement, Reisner argued for holistic missions of the church, or what could be called a social gospel or a comprehensive approach to mission:

As I study the life of Christ and try to understand Him, upon whose revelations and teachings Christianity is centered-but not always the church, I fear – I am more and more impressed by the things that he did and by his evident interest in everyday life. The controlling passion of his life was to lead men to God and to an understanding of God in the world, including human relationships, but he never, for a moment, lost a vital, throbbing touch with humankind. He was no theorist; He prayed for them, He taught them, He scolded them, He healed them, He forgave them and He fed them. And in the account of the judgment, Christ was quite certain of the reward of those who had clothed the naked, fed the hungry, visited the sick and responded generally to the needs of mankind. It's a strong and yet apparently deep rooted idea that such services as were mentioned in the story of the judgment, when undertaken by missionaries and Christian groups, somehow "don't belong" and will result in despiritualizing the church.³⁵⁴

In 1926, Charles A. Clark and the YMCA secretaries began to teach the relationship between church and society, secular and sacred, and temporal and eternal.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ John H. Reisner, to Charles Allen Clark, 2 June 1926, YMCA Archives.

³⁵⁵ Charles Allen Clark, to Reisner, 13 May 1926, YMCA Archives.

The YMCA incorporated topics in its evangelistic campaign such as: “Purpose of life” by Billings, “Christ and the problem of the home” by YWCA secretary Lee, “The aim of knowledge” by H. H. Underwood, “Christ and women’s rights,” by Helen Kim, “Christ in industry” by Hong Pyöng-sön, “Christ and the present economic crisis” by Hugh Cynn, and “Intelligent faith” by Yi Sang-jae. These lecture titles clearly indicate the realignment of the YMCA’s operation for application of the Gospel message in the economic, industrial, educational, and social spheres.³⁵⁶ Christian messages were to percolate into the whole of Korean life, calling for Christianization of industry, farms, and family beyond the wall of the church. The YMCA reinforced that the secular sphere, under God’s sovereignty, was to be integrated into the Kingdom of God.

The YMCA also had to recast its image of the church/YMCA relationship. As the majority of Korean Christians were inclined to be church-centric, the YMCA highlighted—especially to Christian volunteers for rural work—that it was called “to aid the churches and to supplement them in their work.”³⁵⁷ Cynn, the current General Secretary, declared the stance of the YMCA to be at the service of the church, underlining the point that unless all churches were mobilized, any attempt for rural reconstruction would be in vain.³⁵⁸ Indeed, rural work benefited from the Korean

³⁵⁶ F.M. Brockman, to F. S. Brockman, 27 September 1926, YMCA Archives.

³⁵⁷ Lyon, "Notes of a Conference on YMCA Rural Work in Korea, Held in Seoul, April 5-9, 1926." YMCA Archives; F.M. Brockman, "Projected Policy for Rural Work of the Young Men's Christian Association of Korea," YMCA Archives.

³⁵⁸ Hugh Heung-Wu Cynn, "What the Korean YMCA Hopes to Accomplish During 1929," YMCA Archives.

churches' greatest asset: its rural Christian demography and host of sacrificial farmer ministers who were willing to travel long distances between cities and remote villages. The rural problems of Asia in general were aggravated by the disproportionate concentration of Christians (80%) in urban areas while approximately 80% of the general population lived in rural areas. Resolving rural problems in Korea benefited from 73% of Christians occupying rural areas and Korean farmer ministers' in-depth knowledge and familiarity with rural life, making rural work in Korea far more effective and far-reaching.³⁵⁹

Rural Work and the Colonial Government

The third problem to settle was the YMCA's relationship with the colonial government. Every single village and district was under the jurisdiction—that is, tight surveillance—of the Japanese government and its hired officers. The activities of the YMCA could not proceed an inch in counteracting government policies, as was shown earlier in the American Congressional Party's case in 1920. At the outset, therefore, John Reisner from Nanking and D. N. Lutz from the Presbyterian mission in Pyŏngyang paid a cautious visit to, asked for information on farmland from, and wrote a detailed letter on the need of land reform to Y. Mitsui, Governor-General in the Bureau of Industry.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ E. S. Brunner, "Rural Korea: A Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social, and Religious Conditions," in *The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems, the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, March 24-April 8, 1928* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1928), 138–139.

Especially appealing to the Christian spirit, Reisner poignantly broached the gruesome toils of tenant farmers and nudged at the sense of justice by the Japanese government for land reform. He reasoned that land reform would not only strengthen Korean farmers, it would also benefit Japan, a win-win game. Reisner's diplomatic approach to the Japanese authorities in rural concerns never compromised the core of his suggestion: "just division of the products of the land."³⁶¹ Unless the government enforced the law of fair product divisions, most practical solutions to rural problems would be left untouched, as no land-owners would relinquish the prerogatives afforded by the status quo. Reisner, therefore, appealed to the Christian spirit of Mitsui as well as his position, Director of Agricultural Department.³⁶² Fair division of products required that the Japanese relinquish half of their vested profits, the point that Reisner hammered home four times in his letter.³⁶³

Connections and Circulation of Resources

Rural work facilitated circular movements of information through the YMCA's international network of consultants and agricultural specialists among Seoul, Pyöngyang, Tokyo, Nanking, and New York.³⁶⁴ Monthly meetings of the Board of Directors in Korea

³⁶⁰ John H. Reisner, to Y. Mitsui, 25 May 1926. YMCA Archives.

³⁶¹ John H. Reisner, to Fletcher S. Brockman, 27 May 1926, YMCA Archives.

³⁶² Reisner, to Y. Mitsui, 25 May 1926, YMCA Archives.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Butterfield, 16.

shared the letters and notes of agricultural experts in other parts of the world.³⁶⁵ The National Council organized a national network, along with city and student associations, to implement rural work in their respective areas. When no agencies reached a particular area, the National Council directly took care of that region by organizing regional committees. The churches, in cooperation with the YMCA, invited the YMCA's rural program, and the National Council directly supervised any areas of negligence.

While the International Committee of the YMCA imparted agricultural information to Koreans, Korean Christians shared their resources of time and labor. Gordon Avison recorded how Koreans built the road for his automobile to welcome his visit to their town.³⁶⁶ Just like Yun—who had offered his own personal resources from the beginning of his Christian life for service to prison inmates in the United States—Koreans offered what they had for rural work: teaching at night schools or at farmer's schools, or laboring with the farmers themselves. For Koreans, financial burdens were particularly difficult burdens to bear. When Yun spoke to Songdo people about starting rural work, his proposed budget of 8,000 yen “scared all like a nightmare.”³⁶⁷ The volunteers' expenses hence were provided by the Korean YMCA.

Three-fold Reform

³⁶⁵ Clark, to Reisner, 13 May 1926. YMCA Archives.

³⁶⁶ G.W. Avison, "Kwangju Project, Windy Top Farm, White Cloud Village, Kwangju, Korea, March 15, 1937," YMCA Archives.

³⁶⁷ Diary, May 4, 1925.

The YMCA's rural work launched a three-fold reformatory education, touching on the various phases of rural life. First, the YMCA had to grapple with the spirituality and character of farmers. Rural work would not regenerate people and their farms unless they had peaceful relationships with God, discovered core moral values, and received a divinely-ordained sense of vocation in their ordinary manual work. Moreover, operating best through cooperative labor, purchasing, marketing, and borrowing among each other, rural work required training in the way farmers built right relationships with fellow farmers, with brotherly expressions that would remain consistent despite facing obstacles.

Before any attempts to offer agricultural education for the improvement of farming, rural work first addressed the issue of literacy. Instruction in mathematics, science, and technique all required a preliminary literacy education in order for farmers to be able to read books, pamphlets, leaflets, and periodicals. Only after literacy and arithmetic were offered was it that rural work went on to instruct how to organize meetings and cooperative societies, in addition to how to secure part-time jobs for the winter. In addition to helping farmers develop agricultural production and improvement of hens, turkeys, pigs, and calves, complementary lessons were offered for relieving starvation, building a better economic future, applying chemical soil fertilization, restoring family life, thrift, sanitation, and temperance. Rural work especially addressed ecological issues such as how to prevent barren land and deforestation of mountains,

which had caused serious hazards to villages with floods and landslides of sand and rubble.³⁶⁸ Rural work thus constituted a holistic revitalization of human life.

Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council (1928)

The YMCA's rural work began to modify its orientation from a broad regeneration of farm life to a focused agricultural project, calibrating the movement with a professional standard highlighted by the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council (IMC). In 1928, the itinerary of Cynn Hŭng-wu (1883–1959, worked 1920–1935), General Secretary, and Hong Pyong-sun, Rural Secretary, included Gruntby's farmers schools in Denmark, the Jerusalem Conference of the IMC, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the YMCA conference in the U.S.³⁶⁹ After investigating Denmark's rural work, cooperatives, and folk high schools, Cynn, along with Kim Helen, participated in the Jerusalem conference on behalf of the Korean YMCA as one of fifty nationals from non-Western countries. There Cynn had encountered among the 200 delegates William E. Hocking, who had written *Human Nature and Its Remaking* and *God in the Experience of Man*.³⁷⁰ He also met E. Stanley Jones, author of *The Christ of the Indian Road* and *Christ at the Round Table*, and

³⁶⁸ Reisner, "Exhibit I: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Korea and Their Bearing on the Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Church," YMCA Archives.

³⁶⁹ *Dong-a Ilbo*, January 6, 1928.

³⁷⁰ The other delegates included Helen Kim, Ryang Chusam, Chŏng In-gwa, Samuel Moffett, and William Noble. Helen Kim used her alternate name, Ki-duk. Basil Mathews, *Roads to the City of God: A World Outlook from Jerusalem* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928), 17.

Hendrick Kraemer, expert on the Islamic world. The outstanding themes of the Jerusalem conference informed Cynn of the concept of the kingdom of God. Themes included the Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems, religious education, the relation between the younger and older churches, Christian mission in light of racial conflicts, Christianity and the growth of industrialism in Asia and Africa, the Christian mission in relation to rural problems, and the future of international missionary cooperation.³⁷¹ Edmund De Schweinitz Brunner reported on Korea's rural condition with his five-month-long field research and analysis of his findings.³⁷² Although Brunner was commissioned to report on agricultural missions in Asia in general and India, China, and Korea, his reports on Korea in particular were the most substantial and rich section, so it was circulated in advance. For "Rural Korea: A Preliminary Survey of Economic, Social, and Religious Conditions," Brunner assigned more than half of his attention in his entire report on Asia, which confirmed Cynn's conviction on the importance of rural work in Korea.

At this conference, Samuel Moffat, a Presbyterian missionary in Pyöngyang, pointed out that the Japanese Governor-General's complete control of education policy, curriculum, language, and teaching qualifications prohibited Presbyterian missions from taking free initiatives for rural education in Korea. Moffat presented an undisguised

³⁷¹ Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 70.

³⁷² Brunner was Director of the Town and Country Studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which took charge of field research for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry.

exposure of colonial constraints in Korea, which was counterbalanced by Cynn's report on the YMCA's rural work. Cynn used Reisner's earlier investigation of the Korean rural conditions, stating that while over eighty percent of the Korean population and their churches were mostly in rural areas, the Korean church had focused mostly on city education. He introduced the YMCA's initiative in tackling this problem by its "new policy of traveling to villages and founding agricultural social clubs, and cooperative societies."³⁷³

Although the YMCA had succeeded in inaugurating and transforming its rural work into a nationwide movement for farm regeneration years before, the Jerusalem conference's attention to the agro-industrial problems of the East revealed the feats, as well as shortcomings, of the YMCA's rural work. The Jerusalem conference especially pointed out the lack of agricultural knowledge in rural secretaries. At the outset, the YMCA set expectations of the rural secretaries to be experts more in administration, advice, and connection among the association, denominational missionaries, government officials, and businessmen than in agriculture per se.³⁷⁴ Agricultural training, therefore, was not required for agricultural secretaries as a primary condition for YMCA training. Neither Gordon Avison nor Frederick Shipp nor William Nash, to whom supervision of rural work had been entrusted in 1925, had prior agricultural training, albeit as notable their qualities were as YMCA secretaries. As a consequence of the Jerusalem conference, Arthur C. Bunce (graduate of the Saskatchewan Agricultural College and teacher at

³⁷³ Mathews, 88–89

³⁷⁴ Lyon, "Notes of a Conference on YMCA Rural Work in Korea, Held in Seoul, April 5-9, 1926," YMCA Archives.

Pickering College) and Francis O. Clark (graduate of Cornell University and Columbia University) were newly-dispatched to the Korean YMCA as agricultural secretaries in June 1928 and February 1929, respectively. With their arrivals, rural work had more secretaries than any other departments or projects in the Korean YMCA.

As a continuation of the Jerusalem conference and Brunner's report, in 1931 Reisner also underlined the importance of "college training in agriculture on a background of farm life" as an item of consideration for rural secretaries.³⁷⁵ The post-Jerusalem emphasis on rural professionalism for agricultural improvement led the YMCA's rural work to focus more on science than Christian confessions in enlisting rural experts on government as well as recently-trained students in agriculture and science.³⁷⁶ Kenyon Butterfield, emphasizing the rural work's comprehensive impact on country life, also focused on the professionalism of rural secretaries in his more diversified qualifications for them: trained scientists, agricultural specialists who would experiment with new crops and seeds, social engineers who would organize cooperative societies, trainers of teachers and rural leaders, and preachers for rural work.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ Reisner, "Exhibit I: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Korea and Their Bearing on the Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Church," YMCA Archives.

³⁷⁶ Reisner, "Agricultural Missions Foundation, Strictly Confidential for Use of Board of Directors, Report on Study of Certain Agricultural and Rural Projects in China, Korea, and Japan, February to July, 1931," YMCA Archives; Brunner, 151.

³⁷⁷ Butterfield, 17; History of Rhodes conference, 518–521 regarding the importance of a rural approach, and O.A. Clark. Publication and movement in 1920s.

The Success of the Farmer's Institute

The YMCA incorporated rural instruction first into the existing curriculum of seminaries and churches, overcoming the Korean churches' initial misgivings of such an arrangement. Especially successful were night classes for rural education, at which 5,000 students were enrolled from 108 villages in July 1926.³⁷⁸ Although the classes had the name "rural," the content was centered on literacy.³⁷⁹ Although the rural education was successful, Reisner pointed out that agricultural education at those fixed institutions slowed down agricultural service itself by taking labor forces from farms. In response, a portable system of rural education was proposed. Extension schools and courses with intensive lessons for a week or several months served as alternatives.³⁸⁰ The moving school, called the Farmer's Institute, became what Kenneth Scott Latourette deemed as "the outstanding and the most successful feature of the rural program."³⁸¹ The ten-day Farmer's Institute was accompanied with an experimental farm where modern methods of farming and fruit-growing were demonstrated.

³⁷⁸ Frank Brockman, to Fletcher S. Brockman, 27 September 1926. YMCA Archives; Brockman, "Projected Policy for Rural Work of the Young Men's Christian Association of Korea," YMCA Archives.

³⁷⁹ Frank Brockman, to Fletcher S. Brockman, 27 September 1926; *Dong-a Ilbo*, November 25, 1926. The article states that Farmer's Night Schools proliferated in provinces for literacy and instruction of rudimentary knowledge during the winter intermission when no farming work was available. It records that the farmers enthusiastically attended the schools.

³⁸⁰ Reisner, "Exhibit I: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Korea and Their Bearing on the Work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Church," YMCA Archives. At the Jerusalem Meeting of the IMC, Cynn also pointed out the problem.

³⁸¹ Latourette, 195.

The Farmer's Institute or Folk High School (農民修養所) was overwhelmed with applicants.³⁸² The success of the institute was partly ascribed to its customized response to the farmers' pressing need of improving agricultural skills at their specific locations. The Folk High School adopted, as referred to by Butterfield at the Jerusalem conference, the model of Denmark, whose concentrated and collective effort for agricultural improvement suited well in the Korean situation. On each session of the school, which could admit only seventeen student representatives from twelve provinces, more than seventy applicants came. The Farmer's Institute accepted a limited number of students in order to maintain a quality education.³⁸³ During the winters of 1929 and 1930, the YMCA ran twenty-five Farmer's Institutes; the total number of day school attendees was 4,280 while approximately 40,000 farmers attended the night school. Yun, president of the Korean YMCA, recorded that the Farmer's Institute was the best achievement of Cynn as the general secretary of the Korean YMCA.³⁸⁴ Along with Yun Ch'i-ho, Cynn Hŭng-wu, Cho Byŏng-ok, Sin Sŏk-wu, Song Chin-wu, and An Ch'ang-ho organized a farming reclamation company in northern Manchuria on 28 February 1929, in which the Japanese record indicates Yun as the supreme leader of the rural work.³⁸⁵ Except for, or perhaps

³⁸² Diary, February 4, 1933.

³⁸³ Diary, November 15, 1932. At first, twenty students were planned to be accepted, but the school adjusted the limit because of too many applicants; only fifteen were accepted. Yun advised only ten or twelve be accepted.

³⁸⁴ Diary, November 16, 1935.

³⁸⁵ Japanese Foreign Affairs Documents, Northern Manchuria Farming reclamation Company. http://www.history.go.kr/url.jsp?ID=NIKH.DB-fs_005_0020_0050_0040_0050 National Institute of Korean History, accessed on February 15, 2011.

because of that success, Cynn almost drove the Korean YMCA to a deadlock of his own kingdom. Building Cynn's kingdom began with his elimination of one rural secretary whom he deemed unqualified for rural work: William N. Nash.

**Crisis: Suppression of Christian Internationalism by Korean Nationalism:
The Positive Faith League and Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry**

The recall of Nash

The recall of William N. Nash, a YMCA rural secretary, at the height of the successful rural work emerged as a precursor to the forthcoming ultra-nationalism that would extricate internationalism from the Korean peninsula, building instead the kingdom of Korean nationalism, and over time capitulating to the Japanese demand of *Asian* nationalism. The expedient measure of exorcising Nash would deepen divides in the Korean YMCA as well as Korean Christianity as a whole. The recall of Nash returned in five years, causing Cynn to step down from General Secretary of the Korean YMCA. Yun Ch'i-ho, as the top authority of the Korean YMCA, had to assuage the shock of *Dong-A Daily* readers by reporting that "the recall of Nash was entirely subject to the decision of the New York Headquarters," the note read that Nash was disinterested in the work of the Korean YMCA and had discordant relationships with Cynn and Byron Barnhart, another rural secretary.³⁸⁶ What Yun reported in the *Dong A Daily* reflected the

³⁸⁶ *Dong-a Ilbo*, November 12, 1930.

New York headquarters' decision to take a redemptive measure in order to save the Korean YMCA by salvaging the face of Cynn, who was responsible for Nash's recall.³⁸⁷ Yun shunned a further explanation of the discordance between Nash and Cynn/Barnhart to prevent additional troubles from surrounding the incident.³⁸⁸

Nash was recalled to the U.S. because of Cynn's opposition and Byron P. Barnhart's blind endorsement of Cynn's request, and thereby the New York headquarters' rash response.³⁸⁹ While Cynn was in the U.S. to receive his honorary Doctorate of Law from the University of Southern California in 1930, he informed the New York YMCA headquarters that Nash had interpersonal problems with the National Christian Council.³⁹⁰ In response to the reports of Cynn and Barnhart, the International Committee, according to D. Willard Lyon, made no examination of Nash in Korea to resolve the problem, instead responding to the complication by a swift recall of Nash. As soon as Barnhart made the request in August, referring to Nash as "unhappy and out of harmony with the policy of the Korean National Council," Herschleb in New York recalled Nash in the same month to save "time and the useless expenditure of money." On 15 August 1930, Nash received the notice to come home.

³⁸⁷ Gerald W. Birks, to C. A. Herschleb, 11 December 1930, YMCA Archives. Birks states that the "the situation was so critical and so complicated with the Oriental fear of losing face it seemed perfectly plain to me that the only possible way of saving the organization from going to smash was to shift the blame from Cynn and Barnhart, for otherwise it looked absolutely impossible to bring the different sides together."

³⁸⁸ *Dong-a Ilbo*, September 29, November 12, 1930.

³⁸⁹ Charles A. Herschleb, to D. Willard Lyon, April 7, 1931, "YMCA Archives; D. Willard Lyon, to Herschleb, 30 March 1931, Strictly Confidential," YMCA Archives.

After Nash was removed, Cynn explained why he and Barnhart had made such a request: Nash tried to separate the student movement from the YMCA, he lacked organizational skills, he was not a trained rural worker, and he did not know how to cooperate well with others.³⁹¹ In making all these accusations, Cynn misused his position as General Secretary, reporting to the New York headquarters as if his own judgment reflected the consensus of the National Council and the Pyöngyang association where Nash served. Barnhart simply endorsed Cynn's decision without serious deliberation. Herschleb explained later how the New York Committee reached their decision:

I only wish we had had sense enough at the time to communicate with you before any drastic steps were taken in Nash's case. We based the whole thing on the fact that the nationals of the country, represented by Hugh Cynn, did not care to have him continue, on the principle that an ambassador to a foreign country who is *persona non grata* should be recalled and another one sent. This principle, however, does not hold good in every detail, and I think probably we might have handled the case somewhat differently by taking a stronger stand in our original recommendation to Dr. Cynn that we do not withdraw Nash at least until his furlough time in order not to create difficulties. Cynn was not willing to agree to this and felt we should recall him at once.³⁹²

D. Willard Lyon, a long-standing patron of the Korean YMCA (and as persistent as Yun), regretted that the New York headquarters had not given fair deliberation to Nash's conscientious and faithful service in Korea. He mentioned, "Barnhart is good in maintaining diplomatic relations with the Japanese, where outward relationships are primarily involved, but is not so skillful in dealing with matters of the inner life," implying complex relations within the Korean YMCA among Korean nationals, Japanese

³⁹¹ Chung-oe Ilbo, May 13, 1930; Sinhan minbo, June 12, 1930. These columns record Doctor of Philosophy. Diary, August, 15, 17, 1930.

³⁹² Herschleb, to D. Willard Lyon, 7 April 1931. YMCA Archives

officials, and American missionaries.³⁹³ As for this recall, Yun, Chairman of the National Council, recorded the following:

The Nash recall is a regrettable affair. According to Cynn, he had intimated to Mr. Herschleb that Nash is not a good organizer, and that, if a foreign secretary is to be placed in one of the 5 regions of Y. work, he must be a man trained for rural work—which N. is not. Hence N's sudden recall. With all my admiration for Cynn's ability, I don't quite agree with him in that every American secretary should be sent home who is not perfectly fit for the work. I remember only too well there was a conspiracy against Frank Brockman years ago and no doubt the conspiracy might have succeeded but for the fact that F.B. had his powerful brother back of him. Even Mr. Yi Sang Chai was in the conspiracy. Barnhart has been time and again criticized as too coarse for his position- as successor of Mr. F.B. Nor did that good man, Mr. Gregg escape the ill opinion of some of the leading lights who thought he was good for nothing and that the Industrial Department would do better without him. I am decidedly opposed to these thoughtless plotters-everlasting plotters. To me all foreign missionaries who love his work and like the Koreans well enough to stay should be gratefully received and retained.³⁹⁴

Nash, after a ten-year service and years of difficult language learning, left Korea in tempestuous bewilderment. The swift and simple incision, however, was ensued with a series of breaches. As soon as Nash was recalled, another rural secretary, A. C. Bunce of the Hamhŭng association (the only graduate from the Agricultural College in the Korean YMCA, thus a rural expert), vehemently protested.³⁹⁵ He sent in his own resignation to the National Christian Council, expressing his frustration with Cynn's moral turpitude and maneuvering.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Lyon, to Herschleb, 30 March 1931, Strictly Confidential," YMCA Archives.

³⁹⁴ Diary, August 17, 1930.

³⁹⁵ Diary, August 19, 1930.

Even more ominous to the Korean YMCA following Nash's recall was the divide of Koreans into two factions, widening under Japanese rule. The northwestern section fell out with the mid-south faction, including Seoul. The hidden motive of Cynn's request of Nash's recall was not simply his lack of talents in organizing or rural training; after all, Gordon Avison, son of O. R. Avison, also had no prior training in rural education but had been serving as a rural secretary from the beginning until then. Avison had worked at the southern Kwangju association, with which Cynn's Seoul association formed a faction, while Nash served the northern Pyöngyang association that was in tension with Seoul. Yun, having strived to unite Koreans by holding the Student Summer Conference in Pyöngyang, perceived the heart of the matter: "Cynn maneuvered to remove Nash because N. prejudiced the West against Seoul. Now, N's recall will altogether alienate the West and North from Seoul... which is a greater evil."³⁹⁷ The Nash incident indeed deepened the fracture between the Pyöngyang YMCA and the Seoul YMCA.

The northern associations in Sönc'h'ön, Pyöngyang, and Hamhüng fell into disfavor of the Seoul association.³⁹⁸ Chairman Kim Tong-wön and General Secretary Cho Mansik of the Pyöngyang association strongly urged that Nash should stay in Korea. The indignant delegates of the Pyöngyang association at the National Christian Council

³⁹⁶ "A. C. Bunce, to Herschleb, 21 August 1930, YMCA Archives; A. C. Bunce, to Yun Ch'i-Ho, Chairman Korean National Council, 21 August 1930 YMCA Archives; A. C. Bunce, to Yun Ch'i-Ho, 23 August 1930, YMCA Archives; A. C. Bunce, to Herschleb, 28 August 1930, YMCA Archives; Yun Ch'i-ho, to Bunce, 25 August 1930," YMCA Archives.

³⁹⁷ Diary, September 23, 1930.

³⁹⁸ Diary, October 4, 1930. They did not celebrate the anniversary of the Seoul Association out of a strong expression of protest.

threatened to request the repeal of Nash's recall to the International Committee. O. R. Avison, however, dissuaded them, stating that the request, whether it was approved or rejected, would only hurt Cynn, Barnhart, and the International Committee, who had all been working together for rural work. Due to Nash's case, the people of Pyöngyang viewed Cynn as "theologically dangerous" and a politically "maneuvering dictator," reflecting the age of dictators: Stalin's succession of Lenin in 1924 and Hitler's rise to power in 1933. They even attacked Cynn as a "fascist" who was inclined toward theological liberalism.³⁹⁹ As the Korean YMCA was embroiled in feuds, Yun's role as chairman of the Nation Christian Council and the National YMCA became more complicated between the two parties.⁴⁰⁰ The latent factionalism or sectarianism that Yun had worked so hard to mend resurfaced by this event, which, as Yun had maintained, required leadership of service and character rather than of talents. Cynn's infraction of leadership, however, resulted in forming a clandestine organization, the Positive Faith League in the Korean YMCA, creating a wider fracture in Korean Christianity. Behind its formation was the idea of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry and its *Rethinking Missions*.

Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry

³⁹⁹ Diary, January 30, 1932. The traditional dancer, Choi Süng-hwi, and her troupe infused their performance with Bolshevism. Francis S. Harmon, to Slack, 18 March 1935. YMCA Archives.

⁴⁰⁰ Diary, January 30, 1932.

When Cynn visited the New York YMCA headquarters in January 1930, a group of laymen gathered in the same city to launch what would be called the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry (LFMI) with William Ernest Hocking as its chairman. Following the contemporary signs of change in praxis and attitudes towards missions, yet still respecting the immense legacy of American participation that had shaped a remarkable century of world missions, thirty-five lay representatives from seven denominations (Baptist, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian Church in USA, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Church in America, United Presbyterian) gathered as directors of the LFMI. The group sought to propose, in reaction to global changes, a corrective for the future foreign missions. For a diagnosis of the contemporary state of missions, the Inquiry first delegated field researchers to India, China, Burma, and Japan. The agent to conduct the research was the Institute of Social and Religious Research (ISRR), through which Director Edmund Brunner had conducted agro-industrial field research for the 1928 Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council.

Based on the year-long research findings of the ISRR, fifteen members of the Commission of Appraisal, including three presidents from the University of Chicago, Brown University, Drew University, two deans from the Medical College of the University of Iowa and the Medical School of the University of Indiana, headed by its chairman, William Hocking, set off for a second field inquiry from the fall of 1931 to the spring of 1932. Having finished their field inquiry—including interviews with the National Christian Council, government officials, school and hospital staff, missionaries, and nationals of each country—the commission reported what it deemed as the most

comprehensive and accurate findings to the directors of the LFMI. The condensed statements of their analysis and synthesis appeared as *Rethinking Missions*, published in 1932.⁴⁰¹ Cynn visited New York again in 1932, when *Rethinking Missions* attracted “unusual attention” and “controversy” from the New York Christian entities as well as the YMCA.⁴⁰²

Cynn had been particularly impressed by William Hocking, professor of philosophy at Harvard University, from the time at the Jerusalem conference in 1928. Among the contributors to *Rethinking Missions* were a couple of Cynn’s acquaintances that made the book even more familiar to him: Galen M. Fisher (YMCA secretary to Japan) as General Director of the first field research corps with the ISRR for the LFMI and D. Willard Lyon (YMCA secretary to China) provided his seasoned field knowledge to the Commission of Appraisal. The purposes of the LFMI, as clarified by the commission, naturally appealed to Cynn as a layman: “to aid laymen to determine their attitude toward Foreign Missions,” “to work out a practical program for today, offering recommendations as to the extent to which missionary activities of every sort should be continued or changed,” and “to observe the effect of Missions on the life of the peoples of the Orient.”⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ The Commission of Appraisal, William Ernest Hocking, Chairman, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1932), 7–14.

⁴⁰² William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1987), 158. Cynn attended the General Conference Commission in the U.S. from April 28 to 29. Diary, March 29, 1932. As the chairman of the financial department of the general board, Yun knew that Cynn was not transparent with financial matters.

⁴⁰³ *Rethinking Missions*, 11.

What particularly inspired Cynn in *Rethinking Missions* was its proposal of “a plan of administrative unity on a comprehensive scale” and “a single organization for Christian service abroad in place of the complex, costly, and duplicate machinery.” *Rethinking Missions* also underlined that “the goal of the mission must be the transfer of its responsibility to the hands of the nationals. The desire to make himself unnecessary is a mark of the true missionary.” Cynn had a clear awareness of the impact that the recall of Nash had left on the Korean YMCA and the whole of Korean Christianity. He could not have found a stronger champion of Nash’s recall than in the Inquiry’s prescription of highly qualified missionaries: missionary devolution, national decision-making, and native’s participation in the careful process of selecting qualified missionaries. The report moreover made repeated use of a phrase that would be included in the title of Cynn’s organization, “a positive effort.” “It is his [the Christian missionary’s] primary duty to present in positive form his conception of the way of life and let it speak for itself.” Based on the proposal of *Rethinking Mission*, Cynn would launch an organization named the Positive Faith League (PFL).

On Cynn’s return trip over the Pacific, with the statements of *Rethinking Missions* pulsating vividly in his mind, he hastily wrote down five articles of a declaration and twenty-one rules for the reconstruction of life that would guide the Positive Faith League.⁴⁰⁴ The next spring (1933), Cynn presented an “Appraisal of the re-appraisal of

⁴⁰⁴ Diary, June 17, 1932; Hollis A. Wilbur, to F.S. Brockman, 14 June 1932, YMCA Archives; Hugh Heung-Wu Cynn, to Friends, April 3rd, YMCA Archives. In his letter, Cynn stated that he received the “assistance and advice of some eminent Christian leaders in America, and upon [his] return home [he] sought and received criticisms and suggestions from different groups of missionaries and Christian

missions or of rethinking missions” to a large gathering of missionaries and the Fellowship League, which sounded to Yun too “diffused” to “catch the point.”⁴⁰⁵ This meeting, however, stimulated some missionaries’ interest in *Rethinking Missions*. Hollis Wilbur (an acting General Secretary in that year in place of B. P. Barnhart on furlough) attended Cynn’s presentation and made a reference in his annual report to *Rethinking Missions*. He claimed that the book, among others he had read that year, had been the most analytical and inspiring.⁴⁰⁶ In presenting his ideas at the missionary meeting, Cynn had solidified the construction of the PFL that would eventually overshadow the YMCA, the home field of Cynn’s influence. The PFL would also extend its subscriptions to the *Christian Messenger* and other denominational leaders, therefore dividing Christians between the pros and cons of the Positive Faith League.

The Positive Faith League

The Positive Faith League started with the laudable vision of the “reconstruction of life” in Korea’s low spiritual condition in the 1930s, a state that Hollis Wilbur described in his report as “torpor.”⁴⁰⁷ Cynn attempted to revive the low morale of Korean society with “positive faith,” including the concrete ideals of egalitarianism, iconoclasm,

leaders.” Ch'i-ho Yun, Ryang, Chu-sam, "A Personal Letter Regarding Our Attitude toward the Positive Faith League, Confidential, Not to Be Published, October 21, 1935," YMCA Archives.

⁴⁰⁵ Diary, April 6, 1933.

⁴⁰⁶ Wilbur, "Annual Report of H.A. Wilbur, 1932-1933," YMCA Archives.

⁴⁰⁷ Hollis A. Wilbur, "Annual Report of H.A. Wilbur 1932-1933; Wilbur, to C.A. Herschleb," YMCA Archives; Latourette, 195. Latourette points out the low spiritual condition of Korea in the 1930s.

diligence, unified systems, and discipline. Despite its commendable vision, the PFL developed over time into what Brockman had earlier apprehended about Koreans who tended to “practice politics” in the YMCA. Considering that the colonial regime did not allow Koreans to develop political capacities, it was understandable that Koreans displayed a mixed attitude toward making a socio-political atelier as well as a religious and educational niche in the YMCA. The political proclivity that desired to form a government was now revealed in concrete form in the PFL, developing an exclusive nationalism and hierarchical management system.⁴⁰⁸

The Contents of Faith Promoted in the Positive Faith League

The Positive Faith League revolved around its pronounced five creeds:

1. I believe in God who is revealed in nature, history, Jesus, and experience.
2. I believe that to be one with God and to fight evil, so as to make good triumphant, is the first principle of human life.
3. I believe that in human rights, duties, and conduct, there should be perfect equality, without regard to sex; and that in things which do not interfere with others there should be complete liberty.
4. I believe that the individual acquisitive motive should be replaced by the humane contribution motive for the construction of a new society.
5. I believe that society is to guarantee to all an ascending equity and security in the economic, cultural and spiritual life.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30th, 1917," YMCA Archives. Brockman states, “Another serious problem is the desire of the Koreans to have a place in which to practice politics. Our Korean general secretary [Yun Ch’i-ho] says that since the Koreans no longer have a part in the Korean government, they desire to let their political aspirations bud in the security of the Association.”

⁴⁰⁹ “A Declaration of Positive Faith,” YMCA Archives.

While the compact formula of this creedal declaration might be conducive in hammering home some messages of Christianity, the statement “I believe” barely mentions one of the pillars of the Protestant Reformation: the Scripture, the definitive means of God’s revelation. Kenneth Scott Latourette found that the LFMI made “no emphasis on the doctrine of the Cross and Atonement, none on the resurrection or on the Holy Spirit,” “none on ministry, ecclesiological creeds, sacraments or the church as the body of Christ,” not did the PFL’s creed.⁴¹⁰ The creeds also indicated a dualistic worldview between God and evil, disregarding the complex and organic nature of human depravity in the world. In order to provide specific guidelines to carry out these creeds, Cynn formulated twenty-one articles containing practical points for the reconstruction of life:

1. Clean body
2. Clean mind
3. Devotion to work
4. Love of land
5. Co-operative economics
6. Boycott of usury
7. Temperance in alcohol and tobacco
8. Simple weddings
9. Abolition of early marriage
11. Single standard in sex morality
12. Equal treatment in home and society
- 13 Equal pay for equal work
14. Mixed group activities
15. Unquestioned loyalty to the group
16. Group safeguards for the weak and under-privileged
17. Promotion of group interest and increase
18. Destruction of obsolete customs and usage

⁴¹⁰ Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 91–92.

19. Rationalization of morals
20. Subjugation to truth and righteousness
21. Spreading of living spirit and fruitful ideas⁴¹¹

These articles could have been interpreted as innocuous, provided simply for group cohesion and development, but some Korean Christian leaders viewed the 15th, 17th, and 19th articles with suspicion. Cynn formulated these creeds and articles alone, before the PFL began to take shape in an embryonic stage. Hearing in June 1932 of Cynn's idea of the PFL, Yun advised,

All genuine movements seldom start with written statements first. They begin with life and then creeds and rules are added on to them, as clothes are out on babies, grammars on languages. Besides we have organizations enough and principles enough and rules enough, all enough to spare.⁴¹²

In his warning, Yun had applied his life-rule principle used in founding the Anglo-Korean School, contrasting with Cynn's top-down strategy.⁴¹³

The articles and rules were printed as a "decision" or an identification card in order to differentiate the ins of the club from the outs.⁴¹⁴ The goal of the PFL was for the creeds and articles to penetrate the nation and reform Korean society. It was designed to prevail in each sector of society through a "simple" artery.⁴¹⁵ The unified organization had an internally stratified structure: group leaders supervised each group of Boy's and

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Diary, June 17, 1932.

⁴¹³ Ch'i-ho Yun, "The Anglo-Korean School, Song Do," *The Korea Mission Field* 3 (1907).

⁴¹⁴ Yun, "A Personal Letter Regarding Our Attitude toward the Positive Faith League, Confidential, Not to Be Published, October 21, 1935." Ryang, a personal letter. YMCA Archives.

⁴¹⁵ Hugh Heung-Wu Cynn, to Dear Friends, 3 April 1935, YMCA Archives.

Girl's Positive Divisions (age 10–17), Young Men's and Women's Positive Divisions (age 18–25), and Adult Positive Clubs (age over 26). The leaders were appointed directly by six councilors and their apex figure, the National General Secretary, Cynn Hung-wu, whose headquarters was at the YMCA.⁴¹⁶

YMCA members as well as other Christians suspected that this militaristic organization could quickly degenerate into a destructive force, if the summit director's motive became mixed with selfish interests. The PFL depended too much on one person's design and leadership, which could subvert democratic wisdom into Christianity. Over the course of its existence, the organization propagated its creeds and expanded the network of the PFL instead of Christianity. The leaders of the PFL solidified their camaraderie by acting in union and helping other PFL members occupy important positions in Christian organizations such as the YMCA, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the *Christian Messenger*, the *Union Christian Weekly*, the boards of the Pierson Memorial Bible School, the Christian Literature Society, and the Central YMCA. On 10 March 1934, the members of the league were elected as delegates to the Methodist Episcopal Church's General Conference. On 8 October 1934, the PFL actively attempted to promote their members as principal leaders in the Korean National Christian Council. Similar modes of expansion and attempts to dominate other Christian entities occurred repeatedly at the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church in September

⁴¹⁶ Chŏng-sik Kim, Won, Ik-sang, "The Second Declaration of the Christian General Conference, Outline of Organization of Dr. Cynn Heung Woo's Positive Party. Translated by I.P. Chung. March 16, 1935," YMCA Archives; "Outline of Organization of Dr. Cynn Heung Woo's Positive Party," YMCA Archives; Diary, February 16, 1933.

1934, the Seoul Presbytery, Methodist Theological Seminary, the Central Methodist Church in 1933, the YMCA, and in such churches as Suk Kyo and Chung-Ang Church.⁴¹⁷ Like the expansion of the kingdom of God, the PFL would uniformly expand the domain of Cynn and his cohorts.

Divides in the Church

The PFL planted seeds of division that resulted in a severe reduction of YMCA membership and activities. As a way to “reform the church,” the PFL, acting in a group, eliminated who were unsympathetic to their activities from important positions in Christian organizations. As he had done with the recall of Nash, Cynn induced the resignation of Hyön Dong-wan, a faithful secretary for fifteen years at the YMCA boys department, as well as a nephew of Hyön Hŭng-taek, who donated the estate of the YMCA at its beginning. This act caused serious division between PFL members and the others on the board of the Central YMCA “for the first time in its history.”⁴¹⁸ Cynn, claiming that laymen had the right to supervise the church, conspired to become General Superintendent of the United Methodist Church, attempting to depose incumbent Ryang Chu-sam. The attempt, requiring a revision of the Methodist Constitution, failed in agitation. The methods the PFL adopted in these personnel replacements were reported as

⁴¹⁷ Kim, Won, *Ibid*; Yun, *Diary*, *Ibid*; “The First Declaration.” Yun Ch’i-ho, Ryang Chu-sam, “A Personal Letter Regarding Our Attitude Toward the Positive Faith League.” Confidential, October 21, 1935. YMCA Archives.

⁴¹⁸ Yun Chi’i-ho, Ryang Chu-sam, *Ibid*.

“the skillful working on the prejudices of each person,” and “making each person to imagine that the League was what he had been looking for.”⁴¹⁹

Two of the important partners of Cynn were Chŏn P'il-sun and Ch'oi Sŏk-chu, president and chief editor, respectively, of the *Christian Messenger* (*Kidoksinmun*). With them, the PFL veered in a direction that attempted to downplay the influence and activities of missionaries, arguing that ties with Western missionaries had diminished Korean opportunities for exercising leadership, as well as minimized independence efforts and initiatives of Koreans. The *Christian Messenger* and *Chŏngnyŏn* became the major vehicles through which Chŏn and others spread antipathy toward missionaries.⁴²⁰ In September 1935, Chŏn moved the publisher of the *Christian Messenger* from the Christian Literature Society building to another quarter, “claiming the newspaper as his own private property.” Korean Christian leaders suspected that this move was to make the *Christian Messenger* the PFL’s organ.⁴²¹

In response, over fifty members of the Seoul Christian General Conference raised oppositions to the PFL. The opponents experienced the PFL’s divisive activities in the Korean church and the YMCA. The opposition, involving the key members of the YMCA, became so adamant that the PFL could not continue its expansion and Cynn

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ “Editorial,” *Kidoksinbo* (The Christian Messenger), February 21, 1934.

⁴²¹ Yun Ch'i-ho, Ryang Chu-sam.

resigned in February 1935.⁴²² Kim Chŏng-sik, who was sent to Japan to found the Korean YMCA there, spearheaded the anti-PFL movement (along with Wŏn Ik-sang), declaring that the doctrines of the PFL detracted from the biblical soteriology of Christianity. Kim Kyo-sin for that matter sent a tribute to Kim in his article in *Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn*.⁴²³ The Korean churches decided not to accept any PFL members in their staff.⁴²⁴ The rupture of the YMCA made by the PFL and the ecclesial disputes caused a negative ripple effect in Manchuria and Japan. Pyŏn Sŏng-ok, with four other pastors, declared their independence from Korean Christianity—the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in particular—claiming that the Korean Protestant churches as well as the YMCA had become degenerate with their corrupt leadership.⁴²⁵ Denouncing the divides among the Methodist and the Presbyterian churches and the conflicts among the Holiness Church, centering around the PFL, Kim Kyo-sin justified his non-church stance. The conflicts the PFL had introduced made him view the Korean church corrupt beyond reparation.⁴²⁶

Cynn vindicated the PFL, claiming that he and his friends were accused of “acting too much in unanimity and partisanship,” and “partisanship as such is to be repudiated,

⁴²² *Dong-a Daily*, January 18, February 23, 1935. *Chosŏn chung-ang Ilbo*, February 24, April 5, 1935.

⁴²³ Kim Kyo-sin, “Ko Kim chŏngsik sŏnsaeng (In remembrance of Kim Chŏng-sik),” *Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn* (Bible Korea) no. 100 (May 1937). Kim Kyo-sin saw that Kim Chŏng-sik, as the “father of the YMCA,” had broader perspectives in faith.

⁴²⁴ *Sinhan Minbo* (People’s Weekly of the New Korea), March 28, 1935.

⁴²⁵ *Kamri Hoebo* (Methodist Monthly), April 10, 1935. “Manchu sŏn’gyo saŏpe taehayŏ (On the missions in Manchuria) The report of O Ki-sŏn, Ryu Hyŏng-gi, and Ryang Chu-sam.

⁴²⁶ Kim Kyo-sin, “Naüi mugyohoe (My nonchurch stance),” *Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn* (Bible Korea) 92 (September 1936).

but unanimity actuated by a worthy motive is not partisanship.”⁴²⁷ Cynn admitted that he planned to organize the PFL, formulate its creeds, twenty-one articles, and many more group meetings, but denied its final implementation. He confessed that the creeds and articles were formulated while at a loss during the post-World War I period with the assistance from “some eminent Christian leaders in America.” He also stated that he had “erred too many times in judgment.”⁴²⁸

After the PFL’s disruption, the membership of the Seoul YMCA dwindled significantly, from over fifteen hundred to about three hundred in 1935. The National Christian Council, which formerly consisted of over twenty YMCA’s, lost more than two-thirds of its members. In the fall of 1935, Presbyterians refused participation in the National Christian Council.⁴²⁹ The Joint Methodist Annual Conference “came near being broken up by sharp division for and against the PFL members.” As a protective measure, the Methodist as well as Presbyterian General Assembly refused to countenance the PFL’s membership in September 1935.

There was a much deeper issue than the surface phenomena of the rejection of the PFL, the secession of the Presbyterian Church from the National Christian Council, and the formation of a separate presbytery by some Presbyterian churches. Beneath the surface lay a disagreement in faith represented by the liberalists and fundamentalists, as “one group more or less accepted the Laymen’s Missionary Report, and the other group

⁴²⁷ Cynn, to Friends, April 3, 1935, YMCA Archives.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ B. P. Barnhart, to Francis S. Harmon, 24 November 1935. YMCA Archives.

simply cannot abide it being mentioned unless in a derogatory manner.” Barnhart believed that the differing perspective was “the real cause of a hard and bitter battle here in the Church which will probably seep into all social structure.”

The stance of Yun as the premier advisor in the YMCA as well as the Methodist Church was decisive in Cynn’s resignation. Yun and Ryang Chu-sam made a final verdict that the five creeds of the PFL, seemingly harmless, had “no new value distinct from the Christian Religion,” nor had they “any spirit for a religious revival in the Church,” neglecting “many essentials of vital Christianity.” They regarded the most dangerous of all were “the possibilities for the use of such an organization as a clique with self-aggrandizement as its aim under a thin cover of religious nomenclature.”⁴³⁰ Even after his resignation, Cynn continued to disturb the church. The ruptures made by the PFL were hard to mend and the Korean YMCA found difficulties in recovering from the wounds. It was not easy to find a Korean general secretary who would be equipped through education and experience, with strength, a breath of vision, and spiritual power, capable enough to handle the politically and nationally complex situation in colonial Korea.

The Celebration of Yun’s Seventieth Birthday (1934)

Until the 1940s, Yun had declined many times Japanese offers of the highest position at the Privy Council (Central Council), which guaranteed liberal money as well

⁴³⁰ Yun Ch’i-ho, Ryang Chu-sam, *Ibid.*; B. P. Barnhart, to Harmon, *Ibid.*

as a stable position. The Japanese Government-General's choice of Yun was inevitable, considering the honorary Doctor of Law Yun received from Emory University in 1930; additionally, over 560 guests who had altogether celebrated his seventieth birthday were almost tantamount to a roll call of Christian leaders in Korea. As Barnhart recorded without reservation or qualification, Yun was "the strongest man in the Christian group in Korea."⁴³¹ Both the birthday celebration—prepared by his associates at the YMCA as a surprise and led by foreign and home notables—and his biography (published in 1934) sent an unambiguous message that Korea had no other statesman to match Yun.⁴³² The celebration committee included Ryang Chu-sam (General Superintendent of the Methodist United Church), Pyŏn Yŏng-sŏ (President of Methodist Theological Seminary), Alice R. Appenzeller (President of Ewha College), Kim Il-sun (Board of Directors of the Korean National YMCA), Oliver R. Avison (President of Chŏsun Christian College [Yonsei]), Hugh Miller (General Secretary of the Korean Bible Society), Cho Man-sik (General Secretary of Pyŏngyang YMCA), Kim Mellisa (Principal of Gŭnhwa Girls' School), Hyŏn Che-myŏng (the internationally famous composer), and other representatives of the Methodist United Church and major Christian colleges such as

⁴³¹ B. P. Barnhart, to Francis S. Harmon, 24 November 1935, YMCA Archives; Chu Woon-sŏng, "Chwaong Yun Ch'i-ho ssi hŭinyŏn taehoe insanggi (Impressions on the Seventieth birthday of Yun Ch'i-ho)," *Samch'ŏlli* 1 January 1935. 84. 85.

⁴³² Yi Sang-jae passed away in 1927 and Yi Sŭng-hun passed away in 1930. Yun assumed the role to preside over the social funeral of Yi Sang-jae.

Hyöpsöng Methodist Theological Seminary, Yonsei College, and Ehwa Women's University.⁴³³

The committee of seventy international and national Christians from seven missions and churches prepared the ceremony, honoring Yun's twenty years as Chairman of the National Council of the Korean YMCA, eleven years as diplomat and educational cabinet member in the Korean government, as well as the foundation of the Anglo-Korean School (Songdo Higher Common School), and service on various boards of directors of Christian organizations, colleges, hospitals, and literature societies.⁴³⁴ Yun became aware of the plan when it was far advanced; he remarked that preparation of such a grandiose ceremony was "one of the silliest, though well meant, and one of the most imprudent things."⁴³⁵ As for the biography, Yun noted that nobody would care to read his biography any more than people cared to read the life of a national patriot like Yi Sang-jae. Although Yun downplayed his own life, the colonial government saw him differently.⁴³⁶

It was such an unreserved tribute that compelled the Government-General to court Yun so persistently. Given Yun's role and influence in both educational and religious spheres in Korea, securing him for the highest position in the colonial government was a matter of Japanese success or failure to correct the negative prevalent understanding of

⁴³³ Yun Ch'i-ho, Biographical Files, the YMCA Archives.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Diary, January 8, 1935.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

the practices of the colonial government. The Japanese government would not only appear to hire highly-qualified Koreans, but it would also be able to display its sensibility toward Korean sentiments by honoring such a prominent figure. Beginning at the celebration of Yun's birthday, Japan persistently asked Yun to accept the position at the Privy Council. Yun continued to decline the offer for years, to the relief of his friends. The Japanese pressed on several times, but Yun's refusal was unchanged throughout the 1930s.

Conclusion

Close investigation of the formation and development of the YMCA reveals that Koreans were active entrepreneurs, participants, and transformers of the YMCA and its programs, while the international secretaries (often Western missionaries) were crucial connectors with the worldwide YMCA movement and its resources. From birth to growth of its religious, educational, and industrial departments—particularly of its nationwide rural work—the success and crisis of the Korean YMCA relied on its Korean constituents, as the YMCA was primarily a people movement. At the same time, this study shows that the Korean National YMCA thrived on the circulation of Christian internationalism. The Korean YMCA required both native initiatives and international exchanges not only in light of its London birth, New York development, and Paris basis, but due to its dynamic contextualization in the specific Korean context in a way that gave life to its historical legacies.

The 1922 Yokohama Agreement (which repealed the 1913 Terms of Affiliation) contracted through the leadership of Yun Ch'i-ho was significant for recapturing the fullness of Christian internationalism proffered by the YMCA. The agreement invested Korean YMCA members with the hard-won right to participate independently in international conferences. Such autonomy endowed to Koreans made the YMCA the only organization that Korean young men could call their own under the colonial government. Moreover, the in-depth rural surveys and reports by international scholars (at the Jerusalem conference in particular) were the prerogatives of the YMCA, made possible only through diplomatic negotiations with the colonial government, which might have appeared as bordering on collaboration.

The diplomatic and conciliatory stance, however, allowed a shelter for Koreans to cultivate their own historical, albeit neglected, legacy in the agro-industrial sphere. The autonomous space also gave Korean young men a venue to breed their own spiritual, intellectual, and physical strengths to equip themselves as future leaders of the society and world. The YMCA was the magnet of patriots in Korea at the most important junctures of its modern history. The YMCA's circuitous methods of cultivating leadership, unlike other overt nationalist enterprises, were the most persisting means of weathering colonial constraints and nourishing younger generations of Koreans. The YMCA's thirty-year effort lasted long enough to see its results, thus fulfilling the Korean reform impulse for modernization that was first manifested in the *Kapsin* Coup and the Independence Club.

Yun Ch'i-ho, through his service for decades at the YMCA as the first Korean General Secretary and President of the National YMCA and Board of Directors, functioned as a connector between Korean nationalists and international secretaries, guarding and guiding the YMCA and preparing the younger generations of Korea for the future service of society and the world. Yun Ch'i-ho's life-long aspirations for national reconstruction—partially implemented in the Independence Club but fully manifested in his Songdo Christian Village and Anglo-Korean School—found in the Korean YMCA the most powerful organization to revitalize Korean youth, touching their rural and urban environments, and society, drawing on national and international collaboration. Yun Ch'i-ho and the Korean YMCA were thus active transformers of the modern history of Korea.

More than anyone else, Yun Ch'i-ho represented those Koreans who placed the locus of the YMCA's unique power to render spiritual, intellectual, and physical renewal of Korean youth—thereafter national reconstruction in colonial Korea—on its vibrant international network. The accounts laid out in this chapter clearly refute a blanket scholarly judgment on Western imperialism and missionary paternalism: Yun's unambiguous opposition to Nash's recall and Cynn's Positive Faith League (the adamant confrontation of Cynn's PFL and its shift toward exclusive nationalism) versus the Korean churches and the Korean YMCA.

CHAPTER FIVE
ONLY NATIONALISM

An American diplomat was heard to say that, in choosing his posts, if he had to choose between Siam and Hell, he would take Siam, but if the choice lay between Korea and Hell he would prefer the latter. As a Korean I sincerely hope he got his preferred appointment, yet I can't help feeling that Korea-the political Korea-hasn't been very much better than hell for the 70 years past. Under the last Korean ruler- the vain Old Great Emperor as he styled himself – no man in public life felt easy especially during the last three decades of his rotten misgovernment. The crimes of which public men were usually accused and for which they were arrested, imprisoned, exiled, and even killed were having correspondence with the political refugees in Tokyo, attempts or plots to revive the Independence Club, or being too pro-Japanese. Now, our new rulers are treating us with the hellish policies of the corrupt officials of the old Korean Emperor, only in this case, the refugees live in faraway America while the charges are plotting or wishing for independence, and Anti-Japanese speech or thoughts.¹

The world was changing rapidly. Japan began to implement a drastic policy of Japanese nationalism after launching the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident in September 1931. Japan first internally arranged its political system into the national union cabinet with a total national mobilization policy, launching a thorough process of synchronizing Christianity and Shintoism with Japanese nationalism. Such a step prepared Japan's declaration of a "New Order in East Asia." Seceding from the League of Nations in 1933, Japan proceeded with the full scale Sino-Japanese War in July 1937.² Beginning in the

¹ Diary, August 20, 1938.

² Byron P. Barnhart, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1935," YMCA Archives; Ki-baik Lee, 353.

following month, the unified national force invaded Shanghai, Peking, Nanking, Canton, and Hangchow, punctuating history with the hideous atrocities of the Nanking Massacres, comfort women, rape, opium trafficking, experiments with poisonous serum, bacteriological warfare, decapitation, mutilation, annihilation, mass execution, drowning, burning, looting, and vandalism.³ Japan enforced the National Mobilization Law and the National Service Draft Ordinance in 1938. In 1940, before the Second World War broke out, the trade treaty between Japan and the U.S. was dissolved. Japan, allying with Germany and Italy under the Tripartite Pact, attacked Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. In response, the U.S., with Britain, declared war on Japan the same day. While the Japanese military attacks resulted in tens of millions of corpses and hundreds of thousands of raped in Asia until 1945, the U.S. Air Force dropped 40,000 tons of bombs—culminating in the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945—resulting in cataclysmic disaster in Japan that led to Korea’s liberation. The war transformed theology, economy, politics, people, and the nations.

Upon ending its trade pact with Japan in 1940, the United States recalled American missionaries from Korea. Even before the recall, however, various reasons brought the missionaries back to the U.S. A series of farewell dinners appeared in Yun’s diary. Yun grieved to send off those international witnesses who had stood by Koreans for decades throughout the colonial bondage. In 1935, Robert A. Hardie and his wife, the missionary doctor of the Canadian YMCA and of Southern Methodism, terminated their

³ “日本侵略暴行-南京大屠殺,” *China News Digest InfoBase*, cnd-ib@cnd.org, Internet; accessed 12 February 2011; Gao Xingzu, Wu Shinmin, Hu Yungong, Cha Ruizhen, *The Nanking Massacre: Japanese Imperialism and the massacre in Nanking* tr. Robert Gray (Vancouver, 1996).

forty-five-year service. Oliver R. Avison left Korea in 1935. Hugh Miller, secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Christian Literature Society in Korea, ended his thirty-two-year service in 1937. Another missionary of the Christian Literature Society, Gerald Bonwick, resigned from his forty-six-year service in 1938. Charles A. Clark, the Presbyterian missionary, put a period to his forty-year service in 1940. In November 1940, Alice Appenzeller at Ewha College and the last YMCA secretaries, Byron Barnhart and Gordon Avison, left Korea. By November 1940, approximately 250 missionaries departed Korea.⁴

The merge of the YMCA with the Japanese YMCA (August 1938)

In preparation for war, Japan promulgated the National Mobilization Bill in 1938 and ordered a complete merge of the Korean and Japanese YMCAs, along with the merge

⁴ Diary, April 17, 1934. At the installation of Oh Kŭng-sŏn as president and D. B. Avison as vice-president of the Severance Union Medical College, Yun admired the achievements of Oliver R. Avison in Korea. "To many of us who saw the beginning of the College and Hospital 40 years ago can't help being deeply moved with a sense of profound respect for Dr. Avison and love for him for the great work he has so successfully achieved. May the new heads of the institution have the benediction of God and co-operation of the Korean people so as to make of the great institution a success as significant as Dr. Avison has made it—out of nothing." Yun's paean of Oliver Avison continued in Diary, 19 November 1935. "A farewell supper in honor of Dr. Mrs. Avison who are going to leave Korea for good. A big crowd (230) representing all professions. In bidding him good bye we lose two personalities: viz a public benefactor and a personal friend. As a benefactor he leaves certain memorials which any man may be proud of. There is a bronze stature erected by his friends on the Severance Compound. Better still he leaves two sons engaged in missionary work (the first son- Douglas Avison serving the Severance Union Medical College as a doctor/ professor of pediatrics and the second son, Gordon Avison serving the YMCA as a rural secretary) Greater than these he has founded three institutions, the Severance med. College and the Hospital and the C. C. C. to perpetuate his memory. But the best memorial is the hundreds of graduates from these institutions."; Diary, 20 November 1935. "But his departure creates a void in our hearts that none of these memorials can fill. All I could say was God be with you till we meet again! Where and when God alone knows. If not in flesh in this world then till we meet again at Jesus' feet."; Diary, 2 December 1935. Yun saw off O. R. Avison at the Station. He blessed, "A great crowd of friends and students all sincerely sorry to see them leave. It's worthwhile to have been born in this world to have lived and done as Dr. O.R. Avison has. God be with them!"

of the Korean Methodist Church and the Japanese Methodist Church. Accordingly, on the eve of the Second World War, 19 August 1938, the Korean YMCA severed its association with the International YMCA, instead adopting a new constitution and regulations affiliating the National Korean YMCA with the Japanese YMCA for the new council.⁵ As with the Korean Conspiracy Case and Yun's arrest in 1912 before Japan contracted the 1913 Terms of Affiliation, Yun faced repeated summons by the police. This time, Yun was arraigned because of his role as the president of the Hŭngup Club.⁶ Association with this club also detained some other members for over a month.⁷ Regardless of its urgency and legitimacy, the police threat was a mere Japanese mechanism, a precursor to the total enforcement of the Japanese system.

As was the strategy of the totalitarian regime, information control preceded the grand mobilization for war. Already from the beginning of 1934, the two last secretaries of the YMCA, Barnhart and Avison, could not freely give reports on the Korean situation.⁸ Printed media became the first target under Japanese surveillance. The National Mobilization Bill required the unification of national identity under the Japanese Empire, therefore *Tong-A Ilbo*, *Chosun Ilbo*, and other *han'gŭl* (a particular Korean

⁵ Diary, August 19, 1938.

⁶ Diary, August 16, 1938. The Hŭngup club (興業俱樂部, the club to revive commerce) was organized in 1925 primarily to support Yi Sŭng-man's independence movement in the U.S, because of which Yun was arrested as stated in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter. The noted YMCA members such as Sin Hŭng-wu, Yi Sang-jae, and Yun Ŏk-kyŏm as with Yun were its key members. Yi passed away and Sin resigned the general secretary of the YMCA by this time on account of the Positive Faith League.

⁷ Diary, August 22, 28, 31, 1938.

⁸ Barnhart, "Annual Report for the year 1937," YMCA Archives; Barnhart, to Barnett, 14 April 1937, YMCA Archives.

alphabet) magazines and newspapers were banned in 1940. Korean history and language were to be eradicated, and the *Chindan Hakhoe* (a historical society) was forced to close. In the successful Farmer's Institute, the police prohibited teaching Korean national history and patriotic songs in 1932.⁹ Japanese was the only language to be used in schools and at home. Individuals had to change their names from Korean to Japanese.

The process of molding Japanese nationalists was systematic and thorough. All activities of commerce—the purchase of even an ounce of ginger, a handful of chestnuts, or a bag of rice—were under scrutinized surveillance. The entire country was under the control of the colonial government, and everything from rice to vegetables was rationed and distributed. Armed officers were on guard everywhere in order to search and confiscate any sort of agricultural produce, including meat or eggs, in the name of Japanese patriotism. Thousands of little stores were all closed. In the constant stream of extortion, Korea was left with “nothing to make, nothing to sell, nothing to buy.”¹⁰ Japanese officials robbed Korean farmers of their chemical manure and straw; young men were drafted from villages to supply labor demands in mines, farms, and factories in Japan. The barely-surviving Korean farmers turned into day laborers, while a lack of rice made the people starve almost to death.¹¹ Yun stated, “What’s the use of our toiling to

⁹ Diary, November 15, 1932

¹⁰ Diary, September 6, 1943.

¹¹ Diary, May 17, 1943.

produce more rice? We can't get a grain of it. We would be happier dead than living under these hard conditions."¹² Indeed, death would be a boon in such grim times.

The next Japanese scheme was merging Korean Christianity with Japanese Shintoism, for which Japan had already laid the groundwork beginning in 1935. As with the typical Japanese method of changing politico-religious systems, Japan first advanced religious pluralism, elevating all religions to the same level. During this phase, Japan presented Shamanism as a form of Korean witchcraft and popular mythologies. Japan then elevated Shintoism as an advanced religion. A prominent Korean patriot, Choi Nam-sŏn (one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence in 1919), underwent a religious transformation in 1935, formulating a theory connecting Japanese and Korean religious traditions. He claimed that Korea and Japan shared one national root; that Japan's sun goddess, Ama-Terasu-Ohmikami, the ancestress of the imperial family, was in fact the same as Tangun, the mythological founder of Korea.¹³ While the populace was in the midst of confusion over religion, Japan elevated "Shintoism as supreme in Korea" as "inseparably bound up with the Divine Dynasty Worship of Japan."¹⁴

With Shintoism and the worship of Japan as divine—inexorably conjugated with the label of "patriotism"—shrine worship became mandatory of all people in the Japanese jurisdiction. Delegates of the biennial meeting of the Korean Council of the YMCA had

¹² Diary, September 6, 1943.

¹³ Diary, December 9, 1935. Ch'oi Nam-sŏn became the member of the Privy Council in June 1936.

¹⁴ Diary, December 8, 1935.

to march at the beginning of each session to the Shinto shrine.¹⁵ Outside in the ground of the first Methodist school, Paejae Academy, Koreans had to erect a place for worshipping a Shinto shrine and the Japanese Emperor and to pledge to the Imperial government. The hall of the prominent Women's Seminary in Seoul was used as the Shinto shrine. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea reached the decision on 10 September 1938 to pay homage to the Shinto shrine.

At the Shinto shrine, the Seoul anti-English Language association rallied and held an all-Korea anti-English meeting, where speakers from thirteen provinces gave speeches on “the iniquities of the British nation in dealing with the Oriental peoples.” Subsequently, the organization developed into the All-Korea-Anti-English Union, for which Yun “had to act as Chairman.”¹⁶ While he was forced to act as chairman, he recorded the ludicrous exaggeration that there were 50,000 participants; however, the number of participants, Yun observed directly, was less than one tenth of that number. He protested; “they denounced [the] English as the blood suckers of the Far East.” The Japanese abolished teaching English language from public schools; Yun as chairman resisted, claiming that English was the communicative language of “millions upon millions of the English speaking commonwealth throughout the world.”¹⁷ The Japanese General Mobilization of National Forces (國力總聯盟), the army, and the police held a round table conference on topics such as “how to destroy America and England?” and

¹⁵ Diary, November 23, 1940.

¹⁶ Diary, July 22, 1939

¹⁷ Diary, August 6, 1939.

“how to rectify the erroneous understanding of the American and English peoples so as to heighten the sense of indignation and anger against them?”

Japanese Christians underwent transformation as well. Earlier, Ebina Danjo (1856–1937, a Congregational minister, President of Doshisha University) deplored, as in the report of Frank Brockman, that totalitarianism, militarism, and imperialism were staunch barriers to Christian expansion in Japan. Danjo had hoped the Japanese would become international people by breaking the hard husk of nationalism. He anticipated Christianity—in place of Buddhism—with Christian internationalism would become the national religion of an international Japan.¹⁸ These thoughts, however, experienced transformation; Danjo became famous for his religious nationalism in which he claimed that Japan excelled German and Roman Kaisers because Japan created a religion of emperor worship and Japanese imperialism. He moreover held that militarism and imperialism were subordinate to the veneration of the emperor. His theology, thus, turned syncretistic, conflating Shintoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. Danjo, a disciple of American Leroy Lansing James, later claimed that Western missionaries and evangelists were Japan’s enemies who opposed militarism and imperialism.¹⁹

As the door to the international community closed, Yun became tightly trapped by Japanese ideology and submerged in the ocean of Japanese nationalism. Up to the merge of the Korean YMCA with that of Japan in 1938, Yun stood all his life by missionaries,

¹⁸ Frank M. Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year 1919," YMCA Archives.

¹⁹Shuma Iwai, “Toward a Critical Analysis and Constructive Engagement of Ebina Danjo's Contextualized Theology and Worldview, ” (Ph. D. diss., Reformed Theological Seminary, 2009); “Japanese Christianity in the Meiji Era: An Analysis of Ebina Danjo’s Perspective on Shintoistic Christianity,” *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* 25, no. 4 (October 2008): 195-204.

as he understood, as agents of Christianity and progress for the nation. When all the missionaries were deported to their home countries by 1940, he displayed a spiritual demise, drowning without resistance into Japanese nationalism. Christianity and the YMCA, surrounded by its international fraternity, provided a framework for hope and reform in Korea. Now, to the seventy-five year old man, with the YMCA and Christianity no longer extant, his earlier resistance and refusal became prostrated to a rapacious nationalism. It was as if a poison that pervaded his whole body contaminated him; his earlier stance of guarding and guiding Christian internationalism turned bitter after 1939 towards the Anglo-Saxon hemisphere, including their missionaries, while extolling the triumphs of Japan. Yun, at the center of gyrating ultra-nationalism, exhibited the most tragic symptom of bereavement: the erosion of faith, pollution of thoughts, and loss of identity.

The news of Japan waging war against America and England on the Pacific Ocean appeared to Yun a war of races, “the Yellow against the White.”²⁰ Moreover, Yun ascribed blame to the U.S., claiming its responsibility for the war, and for forcing Japan into it, as Japanese newspapers described. He wished that “Japan may succeed in not only puncturing the balloon of Anglo-Saxon racial prejudices and injustices and arrogance but in tearing that balloon to shreds and tell them ‘Go to hell with your boasted science discoveries and inventions with which you have kept the colored races in subjugation and shame for so many centuries.’”²¹ The sore memory, tucked back somewhere in his

²⁰ Diary, December 8, 1941.

²¹ Diary, December 11, 1941.

reminiscence of China, was brought to the forefront of his mind: his shock by the sign at the entrance of the British settlement, stating, “No dogs or Chinese admitted,” as well as his own perception that Americans equated Chinese with dogs. Yun revisited these memories and conspired to justify the war against the Western countries, believing that the sign he saw in China represented what was in fact hung at the gates of all Anglo-Saxon countries.

Japan succeeded in superseding Christianity with shrine worship, the worship of Japan. Yun’s usual practice of praising and praying to God on the first day of the New Year was combined with his visit to the Chōsun shrine in 1939.²² In 1940 he relinquished his five-decade-long Christian practice on the first day of the New Year. Instead he paid homage only to the Chōsun shrine, the Governor-General, and the Commander of the Army of Korea. On Thanksgiving Day in 1940, Yun went to the Chōsun shrine for the celebration of the new harvest offering. That year, Yun’s previous resistance succumbed to the Japanese demand to change his Korean name to Japanese.²³ A Chōsun shine service was also held for the thanksgiving offering to “celebrate the promulgation of the decree to allow Korean volunteers for sailorship in the Imperial Navy.”²⁴ In 1941, his New Year visit to the Chōsun shrine became routinized. In 1941 Yun and Ryang Chusam and in 1943 Yun and Helen Kim made New Year visits to the Governor-General. As the first day of the year began with a full celebration at the Shinto shrine, the rest of the year

²² Diary, January 1, 1939.

²³ Diary, October 17, 1940; *Dong A Ilbo*, June 18, 1940.

²⁴ Diary, May 14, 1943.

also followed in that direction. The conscription law was consecrated at the Shinto shrine service along with its enactment ceremony, where nearly “ninety thousand” young boys and girls were mobilized.²⁵

In the 1930s, Yun had persistently refused the Japanese’s offer of a position in the Privy Council.²⁶ He now reasoned that Koreans had no other options than to choose between the Japanese regime and Russian Bolshevism. On 3 April Yun was reported as being appointed as a Council of the Central Council, of which his diary indicates his refusal until 1938. Just as Yun used to meticulously record sermons and lectures of Warren Candler, Tillet, and Young J. Allen, now Yun—at the age of eighty—recorded the “wonderful” lectures of the preeminent Japanologist, Yosiko Imaizumi (今泉宣子), as inculcated in various cities of Korea:

The god’s of heavens gave commandment to us Japanese people to the ten-thousands of ten thousand generations to rule the universe. That is certainly big orders... We must be in a hurry building ships and airplanes to carry our laws, regulations, armies, natives, governors and officials of every kind to these far off planets. How are we to rule or administer or manage them without putting them under our officials? But what about the millions and billions of stars of the infinite space which the word universe (宇宙) implies. We have certainly a big task far bigger than the Great Asia War we are now engaged in. How are we to put these billions upon billions of starry worlds under our rule and administration?... According to Mr. Imaizumi, we Japanese being the children of gods we are all righteous and good as matter of course. We have no errors to be enlightened from as the Buddhists say, nor sins to be saved from as the Christians teach. Our Japanese morality, religion and thoughts are absolutely right while they are relatively right in other peoples.²⁷

²⁵ Diary, August 1, 1943.

²⁶ Diary, March 23, 24, 31, April 3, 11, 13, 1934;

²⁷ Diary, January 24, 1943.

Deification of the Japanese infiltrated his life, resulting in the thorough demise of his mind and soul. Yun now prostrated to the clamors of Japanese patriotism, recalling a “great” eulogy in the eighteenth century. Occasionally oscillating between confidence in Japan and perceiving people’s struggles in reality, Yun exhibited pathological bipolar symptoms in the last years of his life.²⁸ In the 1910s, Japanese students had been constantly inculcated with praise of Japan’s superiority in all aspects, which led them to be convinced that their country belonged to “the front rank of the world’s greatest powers,” feeding the dream of Japan’s world domination.²⁹ By 1943, Yun was becoming incorporated into that mainstream Japanese ideology.

To Yun, the world appeared to be madly spinning around either Hitler or Bolshevism. In such a structure, Yun hoped that Japan—having successfully liberated itself from the “miserable League of Nations”—would unhitch itself from Hitler’s grip, as Korea did from Bolshevism, so as to “act independently in the Pacific affairs.”³⁰ In the belief of Japan as the root and source of all nations, all countries should become subordinate to it for the complete manifestation of the Japanese national structure, as well as domination of the world. Only nationalism would build the Japanese Empire as the center of the universe, just as China used to believe in the same delusion about itself centuries ago. Only nationalism was all that mattered.

²⁸ Diary, July 15, 1943. Yun loathes the colonial situation, recording, “we have to borrow money to pay the ever rising taxes, to make the patriotic deposits, to buy the patriotic bonds, to make patriotic contributions, to meet the demands of living expenses of 5 or 6 families besides paying the interests on borrowed money.” While refuting in English in his diary, Yun recorded that he had to act as president of Anti-English Society.

²⁹ Brockman. “Annual Report for the year 1913,” YMCA Archives.

³⁰ Diary, July 27, February 22, 1943.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Juxtaposition of the three historical events—the *Kapsin* Coup, the Independence Club, and the YMCA—connected by Yun Ch'i-ho's life, reveals how the YMCA, the Christian laymen's mission for youth renewal, realized Korea's earlier reform agenda in a paradoxical way. With its self-conscious apolitical stance, the YMCA achieved its goals of building the nation and reviving popular life in a way more successful than avowed Korean nationalists sought in their socio-political methods. Under colonial rule, the YMCA secured Korean autonomy, affording a uniquely independent home government as well as a capacity to delegate Koreans to international conferences. Navigating its way with diplomatic tactics between Korean nationalists and the Japanese colonial government, the YMCA ultimately fulfilled what was sought abortively by the *Kapsin* Coup in three days and the Independence Club in three years. Over the course of the YMCA's long life of over thirty years, the organization built a wider foundation of people and power through the minefield of the colonial regime that dissolved political organizations. The international Christian mission that served the nation's peripheries conversely became the pivotal force that empowered the entire nation. Its united forces of old and young, elite and common, and clergy and laymen encompassed the churches and

the colonial government and were scattered throughout the country and the world. In doing so, the YMCA advanced towards the renewal of such marginalized sectors of society as young men, youth, boys, technicians, and farmers, traditionally neglected as well as colonially abandoned. The YMCA thereby propounded that Christian mission history was inexorably intertwined with the national history of modern Korea.

Yun Ch'i-ho represented the binary identity of the YMCA, mediating between nationalism and internationalism. Not only did he represent the YMCA at Vanderbilt and Emory, his earlier exiled life in China and the U.S., after the failure of the *Kapsin* Coup, was also a part of the process assimilating Christian internationalism that carried the YMCA into Korea. In moving away from ethnocentrism and converting to Christianity, Yun imbibed a internationalism deeply embedded in his new faith. The universal fraternity that transcended his prior parochialism, however, was paralleled only by his aspiration for national reform throughout his exiled life, intensifying Yun's binary stance between nationalism and internationalism. By the end of his time in America, Yun's experience of Christian values convinced him even more of the importance of particularity in an ocean of universality, as was proven in the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago and its propaganda of religious pluralism. Yun's vision remained devoted to national reconstruction, and his determination to stay with suffering people had already taken root in his newly formed Christian internationalism.

Yun's repatriation to Korea and his plunge into secular reform attempts as president of the Independence Club and the *Independent* terminated with the debacle of

the democratic device, demoting him to marginal provinces in Korea. The five-year punitive term inflicted by the Korean monarchy was an opportunity for Yun, however, as there in the fringe villages Yun witnessed the plights of people, as did the old *Sirhak* scholars, and drew a final draft for national reconstruction. The blueprint consisted of neither the political revolution by the *Kapsin* militants, nor the democratic agitation by the All People's Meeting of the Independents. He had gone through the haunting memories of the assassinated *Kapsin* progressives, dogged dangers following his overseas refuges, imprisonment of his colleagues, and his own internal exile and death of his wife. Yun had a vivid recollection that his fellow Independents, furthermore, were not flawless themselves, only the motley crew of precarious justice activists tainted with questionable ulterior motives. From that point, Yun's final draft was all about Christian education, not through a single institution, but through communal reformation.

Yun believed Christian education should be implemented through comprehensive approaches and collective actions. Collective growth of national strength was to be realized through Christianity combined with instructions for practical skills, on-site demonstrations, ongoing disciplines, and daily practice; not by overturning elites, but starting with grassroots campaigns would gradual growth come through day to day nurturing in a conciliatory environment. Revolution produced heroes with blood, but people learned more effectively in long-term amity and peace, via something like maternal nurturing with stable presence and perseverance. Yun's blueprint was thus realized in comprehensive education in Christianity at the Anglo-Korean School and

Songdo Christian Village with its churches, hospitals, farms, dairy, and industrial quarters. The communal Christian compound Yun founded in Songdo thereby modeled a holistic mission including a healer, teacher, and preacher.

The Songdo Christian Village, however, was limited in scope by its geographical location, despite its wider repercussions in subsequent attempts of villages to recreate the model. Yun's last choice of a vehicle for nationalism, as with other prison Independents, thus, was establishing the YMCA in colonial Korea. As a foot soldier of Christian internationalism, the YMCA was a formidable fortress for Christian nationalism, partly because of the remarkable role of the Western missionaries as subordinate supervisors. Koreans were active entrepreneurs, participants, and transformers of the YMCA, as Yun Ch'i-ho had been with Songdo Christian Village, rather than being the passive victims of Western imperialism and paternalism. Koreans organized their own YMCAs before the International YMCA authenticated them with the commission of international secretaries. The release of Korean Independents from Chongno prison explained the phenomenal growth of the YMCA in its early formative stage. Even risking refraction from the traditional mode of the Western Student Summer Conference, Koreans started student summer schools and night schools in their own style. They moreover took a definitive role in expanding the YMCA through national evangelistic campaigns as well as the organization of the Tokyo YMCA. Not unrelated to their lay leadership, the International YMCA missionaries were more submissive than likely to supersede Korean leadership throughout the YMCA's rise and fall.

The YMCA missionaries' subordinate supervision and the Korean nationals' initiative leadership evince that the depiction of Western missions solely with imperialism and paternalism does not portray the entirety of Christian missions in colonial Korea. Korean demand for international missionaries, as Yun argued for at the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, outweighed the supply capacity of the international headquarters. The argument that Western missionaries were vanguards of Western imperialism does not fully reflect both sides of mission history; this is especially true in considering the successful YMCA rural work and Yun's agro-industrial enterprises at the Anglo-Korean School and the Songdo Christian Village. The responses of Korean farmers on the field, as supported by archival sources, more strongly hold that the YMCA missionaries were dearly welcome by nationals more than anyone else.

The early YMCA missionaries, products of the Student Volunteer Movement's missionary fervor, began to accommodate themselves to the variegated field needs in colonial Korea. They collaborated with Korean nationalists who strove to equip the nation to counter as well as shoulder the infringing powers in the transitional era. As with Yun's binary identity, the YMCA missionaries—between the call of conscience for the Korean associates and that of peace and unity for the international associations—were often stigmatized both as political instigators of Koreans (as in the Korean Conspiracy Case) and as colonial collaborators with the Japanese (as in the March First Movement). The YMCA missionaries nonetheless remained staunch shareholders of the Korean fate as alien sojourners in colonial Korea.

Despite the harsh conditions of colonial Korea, the YMCA reached remote provinces and towns. It revived the lives of abandoned people in the iron grip of the Government-General with industrial education and handcrafts, seemingly trifle and simple, yet important livelihoods for ordinary people otherwise without means. Libraries previously exclusively for select scholars were now made available to the masses through the YMCA, reclaiming past legacies. The YMCA empowered ordinary people while infusing them with vitality through sports and social clubs. Not only did it cultivate future merchants, middle class artisans, technicians, and businessman, it also nourished future leaders through its educational programs and publications. By circulating the thoughts of prominent patriots through lectures, debates, and publications, the YMCA effectively challenged the ossified preconceptions, brewed democratic ideas, cultivated egalitarianism, highlighted moral values, and mobilized younger generations for national strength.

The YMCA's rural work illuminates how both Western missionaries and Korean Christians, having developed a stronger bond with each other than with overseas mission theorists, had to undergo a process of adjustment together in order to launch rural work at their churches and seminaries. After the Jerusalem conference's emphasis on professionalization of rural work, both the New York headquarters and Koreans had to modify the direction of their rural work—even though they had already made much progress—focusing more on rural skills than on saving farmers by employing non-Christian rural experts. The social gospel theory, thus, was not the initial agenda of

YMCA missionaries in Korea, but a reflex development stimulated by field needs and Korean aspirations, espoused by the YMCA's comprehensive approaches and adjusted to the international missionary shift later in the 1920s. Among the YMCA missionaries and Korean nationals—with their primary concern for evangelism and search for comprehensive missions—was there no divide between liberals and evangelicals.

The case of William Nash's recall indicates that both the YMCA missionaries and the international headquarters were subservient to national initiatives in the early 1930s. The concomitant formation of the Positive Faith League (influenced by the Laymen's Missionary Report) illustrates all the more how the shift of missionary fulcrum toward the ascent of nationals and the descent of alien missionaries—a presumably ideal state of Christian indigenization per se—can be adulterated by unbridled ambition for power to build a personal kingdom instead of God's kingdom, much to the detriment of Christian life. The expulsion of missionaries and the merge of the Korean and Japanese YMCAs, a form of missionary euthanasia enforced by the colonial government, illuminate how monopolized nationalism could result in the unlikely demise of Christian faith both in individuals and the collective forces of social renewal. Exclusive nationalism thus destroyed the broader basis of national reconstruction.

Christian nationalism thrived on Christian internationalism in the YMCA, as it did in Yun's Songdo Christian Village with the internationalism of the Georgia Southern Methodists. When the Korean YMCA divorced its international fraternity, causing the devolution of missionaries, it quickly hurled into the juggernaut of Japanese Shintoism

and its dominant nationalism. The missionary spirit that had sustained Yun throughout his life, sometimes prominent or tenuous, but clearly extant, lost its life as well, losing altogether his vision for the nation. Unlike noted patriots such as An Ch'ang-ho, Kim Ku, Yi Sŭng-man, and Sŏ Chae-p'il, who were all in America or China, Yun chose to remain in Korea at his earlier determination. As he had guarded and guided the YMCA from its birth to growth, Yun persevered during the colonial clutch and World War II, holding on to the husk of the YMCA, tightly bound with morbid nationalism and its will for win in war without its core spirit of world friendship. He did so to the point of Korean suffocation, as well as his own spiritual extinction along with the fate of Korea. Why Yun had to capitulate his Christian internationalism—so deeply grafted into his existence through his missionary teachers in China and the United States—to one nation's demand of only nationalism, still remains a conundrum.

APPENDICES

1. A KOREAN'S CONFESSION

A Synopsis of What I was and What I am.

I had not heard of God before I came to Shanghai- For

I was born in a heathen land.
I was brought up in heathen society.
I was taught in heathen literature.

I continued in sin, even after having been informed of the Divine Religion – For

Sensual gratifications were preferred to sober and godly life.
I reasoned that human life being short, one must be allowed to enjoy as much pleasure as he is able.
I thought that “a whole man does not need a physician,” i.e., I was contented with my own righteousness, as if there were any in me. The more I thought I was righteous, the more debased I became.

From the early part of 1886 to the close of the same year I found myself walking in a different path from that which I had pursued – For

I became conscious of my wickedness and of the necessity of preparing a pure soul for the future world, which I never before believed (in).
I discovered the utter impossibility of living a truly sinless life by any human help. I lately read over the four principal Confucian books, and found many good proverbs. But since no one is bound to obey them, and since they-- the maxims -- cannot satisfy the demands of the soul, I failed to find what I sought for.
I attempted to shake off many evil practices, and in some measure succeeded in doing away with some of the leading sins which I loved like honey.
This effort was helped by the Bible, other religious books and religious lectures.

The obstacles to my conversion – Were

The fear of persecution and mockery.

The liability of making adversaries of former friends.
The frequent attacks of doubt and other temptations.

I desire to be baptized, for the hope – That

I may bend my time and talents, whether they be five or one, on improving my knowledge and faith in the religion, so that I may, God willing, live a useful life for myself and for my brethren.

I may when night comes, have no need of seeking for salvation at the gate of death, as many do.

I may thereby be acknowledged as a different man from what I was, and lessen the number of temptations into which one is liable to be led when he stands midway undecided which way to go.

I believe – That

God is love.

Christ is the Savior.

If the prophecies concerning this physical world have been so literally fulfilled, those concerning the future world must be as true.

(Signed)

March 23, 1887. T. H. Yun.¹

¹ W. B. Bonnell sent Yun's confession to *the Gospel in All Lands* with an introduction that reads, "who lately converted and become a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The confession and experience is in his own original and systematic method of expression and is very characteristic." Yun Ch'i-ho, "A Korean's Confession," *The Gospel in all Lands* (New York: Methodist Episcopal Church, Missionary Society, 1887), 274, 275.

2. YUN CH'I-HO'S ADDRESS AT THE CHICAGO AUDITORIUM 19 MAY 1910

My topic is the Far East. Being but an atom of the vast humanity of the East from a land which is but a geographical expression at the eastern extreme of Asia, one may question my right to stand before this great audience of the West as a representative of the mighty East. But as a drop of water is as truly and essentially water as an Ocean, so truly and essentially is Korea the Far East and as a spark of light that scintillates in one of these little lamps so truly and essentially electric as the great electric force that pervades the universe, so truly and essentially am I a child of the East. I shall try to show that the East and the West are not and should not, be contradictory but complementary. I know this is a big bargain, and I know too that I shall fail in my attempt, not because the task is impossible but because it passed my understanding. In the East it is a young man's ambition to be old. In the West it is the ambition of the old man to be young.

I represent the East whose watchword for the last 20 centuries has been Backward, while that of your race has been Forward! The East thinks that the Past was best, that the Present is bad enough, but that the Future will be worse. Your sentiment is well expressed in the word of Southern Methodist Bishop who said Great days are gone, greater days are to come. We of the East think and act as if we had an eternity to meditate in, instead of a generation to live for. You of the West rush and hustle as if you had only two minutes to dress, to eat, to rush into a taxicab, to dash into the station to catch the last train as it pulls out of the depot.

The East is the land of rest, of contemplation and of simple life. The West is the land of action of progress, and of strenuous life. Stability and changelessness are the characteristics of the East. You love change and variety as the spice of life. An Oriental bride makes dressed at 17, whose style will suit her at 70, but your ladies need change the style, the shape and the size (especially) of their hats alone seven times a week. So I mean to say, then, that these opposite tendencies can ever be harmonized? Yes; we need and need badly to learn of the West your push and pluck to catch up with the time we have look in fruitless contemplations. May it not help you to learn of the East the restfulness and contemplativeness to relax the terrible tension of your nerves? The East must learn of your forward and upward activities to lift us into a higher life. May you not need the calmness and love of silence of the East to deepen and sweeten your inner life? Here is the vision of a perfect whole; but here also is the danger of an imperfect half.

The energy and aggressiveness of the West without the constraining love of Christ tends to materialism and brutality. An Oriental people are quicker to copy and more eager to practice the maxims of Western diplomacy such as "Treaties are made to break," "Might is right," etc. than the high and broad Christian principles of justice and of humanity that have given the real greatness to the Western civilization in spite of its many deficits. An Eastern nation that takes trains of the Occidental culture minus its

Christian heart, is liable to run the mill of Asiatic despotism over an unfortunate neighbor, with the resistless dynamo of Western science.

You may say you don't care for the Eastern love of rest and contemplation. If so, how will you explain the existence of many Buddhist temples in America and Europe? What does the growing appetite for the dreamy Oriental philosophies mean? Just as the western civilization, as we Orientals understand it, without Christ will curse us with brutalism & materialism, so the Oriental philosophic tendencies without Christ will curse you with philosophic and religious opiates that may soothe at first your overwrought and irritated nerves but gradually and inevitably paralyze your higher moral ideals of the West.

Who is to save us the East from a soul-less civilization and the West from a fruitless philosophy? The Apostle did not exaggerate when he said; there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved. Give the East a Christian civilization and we will give back a Christianized rest and a Christianized contemplation. Just as neither the glowing splendor of the noon day alone, nor the dewy morning and the refreshing shades of the evening alone can make a whole day, neither can --- Our "Christ Jesus hath made both one that he might reconcile both (the East and the West) to God in one body by the Cross, having slain the enemy thereby."²

² Yun Ch'i-ho, Speech script, Handwritten, Yun Ch'i-ho Papers, Box 17, MARBL

3. LIST OF MODERN SCHOOLS DURING THE ENLIGHTENMENT PERIOD

Year	School	Founder	Location	Source
1883	English language school ³	P. G. Mollendorf and T. E. Halifax	Seoul	
1883	Wönsan Academy ⁴	Chöng Hyön-sök	Wönsan	Korean
1886	Ewha Hakdang (May 31) ⁵	Mary Scranton	Seoul	U.S. Methodist, North
	Paejae Academy (June 8)	Henry G. Appenzeller	Seoul	U.S. Methodist, North
	Yukyöng Kongwön (September- closed in 1894))	Government (public)	Seoul	Korean — U.S. Teachers George Gilmore, Dalziel Bunker, Homer Hulburt
	An orphanage was opened on 11 May 1886, added by a boarding school in 1890, and turned later into Yesugyo Hakdang (to Kyöngsin School 1905 and later to Yonsei) ⁶	Horace G. Underwood	Seoul	U.S. Presbyterian, North
1887	Chöngsin Girls School ⁷ (Yesugyo Yöhakdang)	Annie Ellers (later Mrs. D. A. Bunker)	Seoul	U.S. Presbyterian, North
1895	Hansöng Sabörm Hakkyo (Seoul Teachers' College)	Government	Seoul	Korean
1897	Soongsil School (Started with a guest room school and renamed	William Martyne Baird	Pyöngyang	U.S. Presbyterian, North

³ George Gilmore claims that T. E. Halifax began to teach at the “school of interpreters.” See Paek Nak-chun, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*. 126.

⁴ Lee Ki-baek, *Han'guk sa sillon* (A new history of Korea) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). 331-332. Lee claims that Wönsan Academy was the first modern private school, founded in 1883 by Chöng Hyön-sök, the magistrate of Tögwön (Wönsan) county and a man of progressive views. This school was built in response to the request of the Wönsan Traders Association and other local residents. Despite its presumed significance as Korea's first modern school established at the initiative of the local residents, with their own resources, and in response to the challenges the nation confronted from abroad, no source is provided to support this claim.

⁵ “The first purchase [of a property] was made in October, 1885. It consisted of nineteen straw huts and an unsightly strip of unoccupied land.” See M. F. Scranton, “Woman's Work in Korea,” *The Korean Repository* (January 1896), 4. Paek, *ibid*.

⁶ The orphanage started with one boy, which later turned into Yesugyo Hakdang (Kyöngsin in 1905) and eventually Yonsei University. *A Centennial History of Yonsei* claims that Yonsei originated in Kwanghyewön in 1885. *Yonsei Taehakkyo Paengnyon Sa 1885-1985* (A centennial history of Yonsei University 1885-1985) (Seoul: Yonsei Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1985). Kwanghyewön was the royal medical school and hospital launched by the Korean court in order to teach and practice Western medicine. Underwood started the orphanage on 11 May 1886. See H. G. Underwood to Ellinwood, June 17, 1887.

⁷ *Chöngsin Paengnyönsa* (the centennial history of Chöngsin Girls' School) (Seoul: Chöngsin Yöja Chunggodünghakkyo). The queen gave the name of the school, as with Ehwa, while the name of Paejae was given by the king. Ellers began the “work of forming a girls' school in connection with the orphanage.” See G. W. Gilmore, *Korea From the Capital*, 299; Paek, 131.

	as Soongsil in 1901, and as Union Christian College in 1906)			
1898	Paehwa Girls' School (Carolina Institute, October 2)	Josephine Campbell	Seoul	U.S. Methodist, South
1899	Sanggong Hakkyo (School for Commerce and Industry)	Government	Seoul	Korean
1903	Sungŭi Girls' School	Samuel Austin Moffett ⁸	Pyöngyang	U.S. Presbyterian, North
1903	Nusi Hakdang (Lucy Cunnigim School, November 19)	Arrena Carol, Mary Knowles	Wönsan	U.S. Methodist, South
1904 ⁹ (1899) ¹⁰	Holston Institute (Hosudon Girls' School)			U.S. Methodist, South
1905	Yangjöng School	Öm Chu-ik		Korean
1906	Mary Helm School (April) (renamed to Mirihüm School in 1909/ Songjae Hakdang)	Mrs. W.G. Cram	Songdo	U.S. Methodist, South
	Anglo-Korean School (October 3, renamed to Hanyöng Söwön, Songdo Higher Common School)	Yun Ch'i-ho	Songdo	Korean Methodist, South
	Sinsöng Boys' School & Posöng Girls' School		Sönnchön	U.S. Presbyterian, North
	Chinmyöng Girls' School	Lady Öm	Seoul	Korean
	Suk-myöng Girls' School ¹¹	Lady Öm	Seoul	Korean
	Poin School	Poin School Association	Seoul	Korean
	Yanggyu Girls School	Chin Hak-sin	Seoul	Korean
	Posöng School (September)	Yi Yong-ik		Korean
	Hwimun School	Min Yöng-ik		Korean
	Söjön Academy	Yi Sang-söl	Kando, Manchuria	Korean
1907	Sinhüng Boys' / Kijön Girls' School		Chönju	U.S. Presbyterian, South
	Tae-Söng School	Yi Chongho, Yun Ch'i-ho, An Ch'ang-ho	Pyöngyang	Korean
	Osan School	Yi Süng-hun	Chöngju	Korean
	Osöng School	North and West Educational Association	Seoul	Korean
	Pongmyöng School	Yo Pong-nae	Seoul	Korean
1908	Kiho School (later Chungang Boys' High School)	Kiho Educational Association	Seoul	Korean

⁸ The present Soongŭi Women's College.

⁹ *Han'guk kamni kyohoe sa* (History of Korean Methodism) (Seoul: Kidokkyo taehan kamnihoe ch'ongniwön ch'ongniguk, 1975), 113.

¹⁰ *Hosudon Paeknyönsa 1899-1999, Hosudon Yöja Chunggodüng hakgyo.*

¹¹ Mary F. Scranton, "A Royal School," *The Korea Mission Field* (1907), 162. Here Mary Scranton introduces Chinmyöng Girls School (Progressive Enlightenment School) as founded by Lady Öm, inspired by Christianity and a belief in God. Hwang Mary, one of the first students of Ehwa, was in charge of Chinmyöng where Scranton led two morning classes a week and Mrs. Miller offered classes.

	Tongdök Girls' School	Yi Chae-gük	Seoul	Korean
	Taedong Technical School	Taedong School Association	Seoul	Korean
1909	Söüi School The first country school for girls	Jang Ji-yöng	Seoul Wonsan	Korean The Women's Board of foreign Missions, Methodist, South
1924	Kyöngsöng Cheguk Taehak ¹²	Colonial government	Seoul	

4. Total Students and Graduates of the Anglo-Korean School¹³

Year	Total students	Principal	Graduates/Total Graduates	Year	Total students	Principal	Graduates/ Total Graduates
1906	14	Yun		1917	317	Wasson	6/54
1907	116	Yun		1918	390	Wasson	25/79
1908	243	Yun		1919	472	Wasson	15/94
1909	329	Yun		1920	664	Wasson	0/94
1910	425	Yun	10/10	1921	953	Cram	29/123
1911	224	Yun	17/27	1922	1698	Yun	18/141
1912	260	Cram	0/27	1923	1666	Yun	0/141
1913	301	Cram	3/30	1924	1647	Yun	29/170
1914	297	Cram	3/33	1925	1610	Yun	37/207
1915	379	Wasson	9/42	1926	1471	Weems	69/276
1916	521	Wasson	6/48	1927	1235	Snyder	92/368

¹² The university was built in response to the Private College Foundation Movement (*Minrip taehak söllip undong*).

¹³ Lim Do-hwa, "Songdo School," Ryang, Chu-sam, ed. *Thirtieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Korea* (Seoul: Chosun Namgamni Kyohoe Chöndoguk, 1929), 108,109.

5. The YMCA General Secretaries and Presidents¹⁴

Year	General Secretary	Honorary General Secretary	President	Vice President
1903	Philip L. Gillett		James S. Gale	Homer B. Hulbert
1904	=		=	=
1905	=		=	=
1906	=		Arthur B. Turner	Yun Ch'i-ho
1907	=		=	=
1908	=	Frank M. Brockman	=	=
1909	=	=	=	=
1910	=	=	Joseph L. Gerdine	=
1911	=	=	=	=
1912	=	=	=	=
1913	Yi Sang-jae	=	Horace G. Underwood	
1914	Frank M. Brockman	=	=	
1915	Yun Ch'i-ho	=	=	Hong Chong-suk
1916	=	=	Hong Chong-suk	Kim P'il-su
1917	=	=	=	
1918	=	=	James S. Gale	
1919	=	=	Kim P'il-su	
1920	Cynn Hŭng-wu	=	Yun Ch'i-ho	Bliss W. Billings
1921	=	=	=	James Gale
1922	=	=	=	
1923	=	Byron P. Barnhart	=	
1924	=	=	=	
1925	=	=	=	
1926	=	=	=	
1927	=	=	=	
1928	=	=	=	
1929	=	=	=	
1930	=	Holis Wilbur	=	Bliss W. Billings
1931	=	=	=	
1932	=	=	=	
1933	=	=	=	
1934	=	=	=	
1935	Ku Cha-ok	=	=	H. H. Underwood
1936	=	=	=	=
1937	=	=	=	=
1938	=	=	=	Ryang Chu-sam

¹⁴ Min Kyŏng-bae, *Seoul YMCA Undong paengnyon sa, 1903-2003* (A centennial history of the Seoul YMCA) (Seoul: Sangnok munhwa, 2004), 712, 713. = indicates that the person assumed the same role in that year as in the previous year.

6. YMCA PROGRAMS

Attendance at Religious Meetings of the YMCA

	1905	1907	1909	1911	1912 (Yi Sang-jae in charge)	1913(Choi sung-mo in charge)	1914
No. of Bible Study class	49	89	628 members		1144/ 27092 (at churches) 97,724 (at the Y building)	16 sessions 750 members	896 sessions/850 members
No. of Religious meetings		43/161	46/18,443		18,859 attendance		
Decisions to lead Christian life		475		1068	542 decisions for a life-long Christian service, 57 baptized.		272

The YMCA Industrial Education by Gregg¹⁵

	Students	Special Japanese	Special English	General Courses	Trade course Enrollment—280
1 st year	37	18 24hrs/week	48 24hrs/week	Elementary arithmetic (6hrs), Korean geography (6hrs), Korean history (4hrs), physics (3hrs), Bible (2hrs), English or Japanese language (6hrs), Total 24 hrs/week	Carpentry (12), mechanical drawing (6hrs) arithmetic (6hs) physics(3hrs) Bible(2hrs) Total 29hrs/week
2 nd year	25	19 24hrs/week	10 20hrs/week	Advances arithmetic (6hrs), world history (4hrs), world geography (3hrs), bookkeeping (3hrs), Bible (2hrs), English or Japanese (6hrs), Total 24hrs/week	Evening courses Physiology (11/3h/w) chemistry(11/3h/w) elem. English (30/5hs/w) adv. English (22/5hs/w) elem. Japanese (24/5hs/w)
3 rd year			14/18hrs/week		

¹⁵ George A. Gregg, the annual report of Gregg, 1907, YMCA Archives.

Financial Statistics of the Seoul YMCA Industrial Department¹⁶

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
General budget of Association	12,721	15,025	20,735	24,860	32,558	36,285	34,500 ap.
Total receipts industrial dept.			57.	1,502	4,039	12,892	15,000 ap.
Total cost industrial dept.			3,000 ap.	6,232	12,932	17,726	17,000 ap.
No. of students and paid graduates, approximation	11	17	32	40	45	48	46

One Day Schedule of the YMCA Summer Program

7:30-8:00am	Bible Study in groups	Study in the life of Christ
		The relation between God and Man What should a young man do?
		Suggestions as to Bible study
9:00-10:00am	The work of the YMCA	
10:00a.m.-6:00 p.m.	Recreation	Walks to famous places,
		hill-top talks on different forms of work: (ex., "religious education," "business")
8:00-9:00pm	Lectures	Suitable Leaders for the Present Time
		On the Foundation of Faith
		On the duty of the Young Man

The first YMCA Student Summer Conference in 1910 (June 22-27, at Chin'gwansa)¹⁷

6-7 a.m.	A quiet hour
9-9:45 a.m.	Bible study in the Gospel of John (Philip L. Gillett)
10-11:00 a.m.	"Work for new students/ Bible Study for Students" (Frank M. Brockman)
	"Responsibility of students for the rest of the world" (Niwa of the Japanese YMCA)
11:00-12:00 a.m.	Student work (James Gale/ Horace Underwood)
Afternoon	Recreation (indoor baseball, fencing)
7:00-8:00 p.m.	Address — "the value of decision" (Kim Kyu-sik)
	"the callings of medicine, teaching, ministry" (H.H. Wire, Alfred Wasson, James Gale)
	"Essentials to be considered in determining one's life work" (Bishop Turner)
	Talks on devotional subjects (Yang Chōn-baek)
	Decision making for schools and students

¹⁶ G. A. Gregg, "A Sketch of the Industrial Work of the Seoul, Young Men's Christian Association from 1906 to 1913, YMCA Archives. Ap. Means approximately.

¹⁷ Frank Brockman, "Korea's First YMCA Student Conference," The Korea Mission Field (1910), 256-259.

The YMCA Summer Program in 1924 (10th Songdo, at Park U-hyŏn's House)

Day		Topic	Speaker
25 (Mon)	Opening speech	Present situation of Korea and her needs	Yun Ch'i-ho
26 (Tue)	Speech	Lessons of Christ and materialism	Kim Ch'ang-je
	Bible Study	Jesus and the Bible	
27 (Wed)	Lecture	Courage in the time of new year	B.W. Billings
	Bible Study	Jesus and Science	
28 (Thurs)	Lecture	Economic Situation and Students' duty	Kim Ch'ang-je
	Bible Study	Jesus and Daily Life (Marriage, new and old customs)	
29 (Fri)	Lecture	Young men the new age needs	Yi Sang-jae
	Bible Study	Jesus and daily life (Sabbath keeping, Freedom and obedience)	
29 (Sat)	Recreation		
	Bible Study	Jesus and Brotherhood	
	Evening service		O Kŭg-sŏn

The YMCA Student Summer Conferences

Year	Place	Participant	Speaker
1910	Seoul, Chin'gwansa (Buddhist temple)	46 participants, representatives of 10 different schools	The first ecumenical, trans-national student conference 16 speakers from 4 nationalities(English, American, Japanese, and Korean), 6 denominations,
1911	Songdo, The Anglo-Korean School	93 students	Speakers: Campbell White, Sherwood Eddy ¹⁸ Yun Ch'i-ho was president of the conference, which attracted the biggest number of student representatives from 21 schools from all over the country. Yi Sŭng-man, newly come from the US, and Frank M. Brockman traveled for three weeks, visiting 18 mission stations, 33 meetings, and meeting 7,533 people before the opening of this conference. 8/3-12 Niwa and Kim Rin conducted a group tour to Tokyo.
1912,	Seoul, Pukhan swansong	57students	Yun Ch'i-ho and Yang Chŏn-baek were imprisoned and the conference was held in the austere censorship of the police. Speakers: W. A. Cram, Cynn Hŭng-wu, B. W. Billings, Cha Chae-myong, Yi Sang-jae, O Si-sŏn, Kim Ch'ang-je, Choe Byŏng-hŏn, Chang Nak-do, Choe Sŏng-mo, Philip L. Gillett, Lyall, Macrao, H. H. Weir ¹⁹
1913	The Anglo-Korean School		
1914	The Anglo-Korean School		Formation of the National YMCA
1915	Kwang-ju		Oh Kŭng-sŏn was the chairman of the conference and trained student leaders who took three months course in advance of the Conference, using Dr. Wright's book, "The Will of God and a Man's Life Work." Arthur Jorgensen of the Student work in Tokyo made a series of addresses. The Student

¹⁸ Chŏn, Taek-bu, 151. Syngman Rhee, to Friends, July 22, 1911

¹⁹ P.L. Gillett, "The Students' Summer Conference," *The Korea Mission Field* 8 (1912).

			discussion Bible study groups under the student leadership were the most distinguished feature of the conference. ²⁰
1921 (8 th)		46 participants, 22 delegates from 8 different associations	4 invited as speakers. The Chairman of International Union Committee of YMCA in Korea was Yi Sang-jae.
1924 (10 th)	Songdo, at Pak U-hyŏn's house	35 students and 20 leaders	Speakers: B. W. Billings (Yonsei Professor), Alfred Wasson (former principal of the Anglo-Korean School, professor at the Hyŏpsŏng Methodist Theological Seminary), Ryang Chusam (District Head of the Methodist Episcopal Church, south, Department of Evangelism), Pyŏn Sŏng-ok (Professor at Hyŏp-sŏng Methodist Theological Seminary). ²¹ This conference strived to equip students with values, weathering the intrusion of the new waves of liberalism and Bolshevism.
1925	Kong-ju, Yŏng myŏng school	60 participants	Students boarded at an inn.
1926			Speakers: Yun Ch'i-ho (Central YMCA, president), Pan Bokki (Yonsei College Medical School professor), Cho Byŏng-ok (Yonsei Professor), Im Du-hwa (Methodist Theological Seminary, professor), Pyŏn Yŏng-ro (Yonsei Professor), Chai Pil-gŭn (Sungsil College Professor), Philip L. Gillette (Nanking, China, YMCA Secretary), Chŏng In-gwa (Chosun Sunday School Union, General Secretary)
1933	Hoeryongam (回龍庵)	40 boys and girls	Yun Ch'i-ho spoke on the topic of "Ideals and Practice." ²²
1935	Jang An Sa		Began its meeting in the Town Hall. Speakers: Yun opened the meeting with a short talk. Kim Ch'ang-je, Cho Man-sik, Chae P'il-gŭn. Chai spoke on the "life of a preacher."

²⁰ Brockman, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1915," YMCA Archives

²¹ "Che siphoe Chosŏn Haksaeng Kidokkyo ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe; Haryongoe sunsŏ" (The 10th Korean Students Young Men's Christian Association; Summer Conference Time Schedule and Contents), *Ch'ŏngnyŏn*, August 1924. 11.

²² Diary, August 24, 1933.

7. THE YMCA MISSIONARIES IN KOREA²³

Name	Korean Name	Nationality	Arrival	Departure	Region	Major Work
Avison, Gordon Wilberforce	어고돈	Canada	1925	1939 (14)	Seoul, Kwangju	Agricultural mission
Barnhart, Byron Pat	반하두	USA	1916	1940 (24)	Seoul, Pyong Yang	Sports, boys
Brockman, Fletcher Sims		USA	1901		China 1898-1915 USA 1915-1929	
Brockman, Frank Marion	파락만	USA	1905	1929 (22)	Seoul (furloughs: November 1911–March 1913, May 1917–June 1918, June 1923–January 1925)	Educational director 6 months in 1905 Associate general secretary 1905–1910 General secretary, Seoul, 1910–1922
Bunce, Arthur Cyril		Canada	1928	1934 (6)	Hamhŭng	Agricultural mission
Clark, Francis Orville	구을락	USA	1929	1934 (5)	Seoul	Agricultural
Gillett, Philip Loring (1892-1938)	길레태	USA	1901	1913 (12)	Seoul China 1913–1927 Poland 1927–1928 China 1929–1937	Foundational
Gregg, George Arthur	구레구	Canada	1907	1928 (22)	Seoul	Industrial
Lucas, Adolph Edward			1915	1920		
Mott, John R.	목덕	USA	1907	1929 (22)	USA	
Nash, William Lewis	나익수	USA	1921	1930 (9)	Seoul, Pyong yang	Agricultural, boys
Shipp, Frederic Thomas	심익섭	USA	1925	1928 (3)	Seoul, Sŏnch'ŏn	Industrial
Snyder, Lloyd H.		USA	1911	1916		
Wilbur, Hollis Adelbert		USA	1925	1934	Seoul Japan 1909–1913 China 1913–1925	

²³ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *World Service, A History of the foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada* (new York: Association Press, 1957); Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

Short Biographies of YMCA International Secretaries

Philip Loring Gillett (1872–1938, General Secretary of Seoul City YMCA and secretary for Korea from September 1901–1913)

Philip Loring Gillett was born in Lasalle, Illinois, to a father who was a surgeon and professor at Iowa State Medical School. Gillett worked his way through high school and college as a janitor in banks and offices, a journeyman feeder and brakeman, and a sexton of a Methodist church. He was engaged in religious work as an exhorter in his Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as joining the Congregational Church when there was no Methodist church in the town. He led a Bible class at Colorado College, from which he graduated in 1897.²⁴ Gillett was the first leader of Student Volunteer Band as well as chairman of a missionary committee. Refusing two job offers after his graduation in 1897, he continued to study for a year and a half at Yale Divinity School from 1897 to 1898 and there received an M.A. and an honor of philosophy in 1909.²⁵

He served the YMCA as assistant secretary, vice-president, and president of the Colorado College YMCA, the Colorado Springs City Association, and as superintendent of the Boy's Club. He obtained an additional bachelor's degree at Springfield YMCA

²⁴ Philip L. Gillett, to Black, September 16, 1901, handwritten, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

²⁵ Philip Gillett. Church relationship and recode of participation in Church work, personal vita. "The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, Who's Who," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

College in 1901, and on his graduation from Yale, Gillett was provided with positions as general secretary at two associations and assistant pastor at a church, yet he opted for further discipline at the Springfield Training School. Various records indicate that Gillett was aggressive, capable, enthusiastic, earnest, energetic, and excellent at organizing.²⁶ At Springfield Training College, Gillett organized a glee club. During the summer, he helped with the YMCA encampment of militia, State Executive Committee of the YMCA of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.²⁷

As with other YMCA secretaries, Gillett's athletic talents were remarkable. He was on the college football and baseball teams, captain of the second baseball team, and president of the College Association of Tennis, his favorite sport. While in Korea, these sports skills provided transnational rapport and contact points when the vernacular was not yet commanded for effective communication with Koreans. Gillette's athletic talents were also combined with literary talents. He not only organized a literary club, becoming its first president, but also was editor in chief of his school paper. Later in Korea, he authored the *Korean Village Guilds*.²⁸ Gillett was so excellent in debates that he represented a prize debate society. He was engaged in various activities with a clear sense of mission, "What I am aiming at is to gain the knowledge and experience necessary to

²⁶ L. L. Doggett, to John R. Mott, April 23, 1901; P. L. Gillett, to W. A. Lloyd, April 11, 1901; Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

²⁷ P. L. Gillett, to John R. Mott, July 9, 1901. YMCA Archives.

²⁸ P.L. Gillett, Secretary's Service Record, 1923, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

go into a mission field and help establish a work for young men in a new country.”²⁹ As he entered Korea, he sensed that the YMCA was “the only agency of the kind in that entire country and upon its success depended this forward movement for the salvation of the young men of Korea” and associated the building project with the “Master’s work” to strengthen young men in Korea.³⁰

Gillett required another skill once arriving at the Korean YMCA. Once he arrived in Korea in October 1901, after two months of sailing, the task of language acquisition for effective communication lay ahead as the biggest barrier to be overcome. Gillett spent seven hours every day for years studying Korean, while he simultaneously led Bible classes with English-speaking Japanese and Koreans and classes in sports. In three years, Gillett communicated in Korean for almost all of his regular work.³¹ By 1905, Gillett’s multifaceted talents, combined with his enthusiasm, were employed in full swing for organizing the Seoul City YMCA, the student YMCAs, an English literary club, a debate club, lecture events, a temperance club, Bible study classes, a glee club, a sports club, monthly socials, and annual picnics in the YMCA, the scope of which few other Christian leaders matched.³² During his service in Korea, two YMCA buildings were erected, as he had endeavored while preparing to go to Korea.³³

²⁹ P. L. Gillett, To Lloyd, April 21, 1901, YMCA Archives.

³⁰ Philip L. Gillett, to Black, September 16, 1901, handwritten, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

³¹ P. L. Gillett, “Annual report for 1902,” YMCA Archives. Gillett’s reports show that he continued his focus on Korean study until 1905.

In 1903 Gillett married Bertha Allen, who had been actively engaged in Christian Endeavor, Epworth League, and Sunday schools in the Methodist Episcopal Church. They gave birth to their daughters Alice and Elizabeth in Korea. Bertha Allen led classes at the YMCA, girls' mission schools, and taught English at two government schools. The couple's missional vision was clear, considering Philip Gillett's record that his special interests and hobbies were "foreign missions of the church and especially YMCA in foreign lands, helping in churches in this land wherever possible." Gillett in particular liked "to speak in churches."³⁴ As the only YMCA international secretary from October 1901 to November 1905, Gillett organized a key structure of the YMCA; Board of Directors, Advisory Committee, and the Committee of Management for young men. Despite his passionate dedication to the Korean YMCA, the Korean Conspiracy Case forced Gillett to be transferred to China in 1912.³⁵ When he died in 1938, the *New York Herald Tribune* recorded that he was a social worker in Korea and China.³⁶

³² P. L. Gillett, "Report of P.L. Gillett, Seoul, Korea for the Year 1905." YMCA Archives.

³³ Philip L. Gillett, to Black, September 16, 1901, handwritten, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

³⁴ Philip L. Gillett, "World Service Fellowship Questionnaire," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

³⁵ Gillett was transferred to the national Committee of the China YMCA in 1913, studied Chinese until 1915 and in 1916 became acting general secretary of Nanking YMCA. He was a secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Korea. "The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, Who's Who," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

³⁶ "Philip L. Gillett," *New York Herald Tribune*, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

James Scarth Gale (1863–1937)

James Scarth Gale was commissioned to Korea in 1888 by the College YMCA at the University of Toronto even before the first YMCA secretary, P. L. Gillett, was appointed by the International YMCA. Gale zealously supported the opening of the Korean YMCA and duly assumed the role of its first president of the Board of Directors from its birth in 1903 for three years.³⁷ A director of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions at the University of Toronto, Gale was another product of the student volunteer movement.³⁸ Gale was later transferred to the Northern Presbyterian Mission.

Gale was fascinated by Korean culture, literature, and history. He was an avid advertiser of Korean cultural achievements in the Western hemisphere. Gale's life, immersed in Korean language on account of his deep desire to acquire Korean sensitivity, made him an unmatched authority in Korean literature. Lest he lose the touch of Korean ethos, Gale carried his massive writing project, "sitting all day on a heated stone floor," as with the customs of Korean gentlemen. Gale hazarded the awkward posture, twitching his legs for three hours and incurring pains in his ankles, hip joints, and knees.³⁹ As much as he prized Korea's literary and historical legacies, he deplored that Koreans did not

³⁷ Min Kyöng-bae points to the scholarly controversy regarding the first president of the YMCA as either J. S. Gale or H. B. Hulbert. See Min, 80. As the first president, Chön claims Hulbert, while Min claims Gale. Min's claim stands reliable, based on supporting evidence. See, Chön, 67.

³⁸ The College YMCA contracted with Gale for eight years to provide a remuneration of 500 dollars. In addition to Gale, the University of Toronto sent to Korea other missionaries including Malcolm C. Fenwick (1863–1935, a Baptist), Robert A. Hardie (a Southern Methodist), George A. Gregg (Industrial secretary), Arthur C. Bunce (Agricultural secretary), and Gordon Avison (Agricultural secretary), the last three as YMCA secretaries.

³⁹ William Scott, *Canadians in Korea; Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea, Part One to the Time of Church Union* (1970).16.

appreciate them enough.⁴⁰ Gale's lament in fact was proportionate to his profound appreciation of Korean literature. Gale invested hundreds of dollars from his personal meager funds to build a Korean library.

Gale's deficiencies in theological training and clerical ordination denied him the recognition he deserved. Prodigious amounts of his translation work and literature in Korean and English and his bibliography of Korean literature for Western audiences, however, were recognized by Yale College and Gale's valuable notes were handed over to the college. The first translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Korean by Gale was printed on a wooden press as early as in 1895. The first Korean-English dictionary owes also to Gale in 1897. Gale authored *Korean Sketches* (1898), *Vanguard: A Tale of Korea* (1898), and *Korea in Transition* (1909). He translated a Korean classic by Kim Man-chung, *Kuunmong* into English as *The Dream of the Nine Clouds*. Other efforts to introduce Korean literature into English included his translation of Korean *Hŭngbuchŏn* (A Story of Poor Man, Hŭng-bu), *Simch'ŏngjŏn* (A Story of Filial Daughter, Sim-ch'ŏng), *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (A Story of Faithful Woman, Ch'un-hyang).⁴¹

Gale's passion for Korean literature and history solidified Yun's camaraderie with Gale. Two years older than Yun, Gale associated with Yun more in the work of translation than in that of the YMCA, although both of them were founding members of the YMCA. The translation of the Bible was especially the height of Gale's achievements

⁴⁰ Chŏng Tae-ŭng recorded that Gale regretted Koreans' dismissal of things Korean, while they strived to learn things of the West. See, *Chokwang* (Morning Ray) April 1937, 96.

⁴¹ Yun Ch'i-ho, "Taepaksikka (Great Man of Knowledge)," *Chokwang* (Morning Ray) 4, 1937. 95.

in Korea. After his arrival in 1888, the first work he launched was Bible translation at the British and American Bible Society in 1889. From 1890, as the core member of the Bible translation committee, he began translating the Bible, which was complete in 1927 with the help of six other Koreans. What Yun valued in this version was its vernacular expressions and grammar, unlike other versions that were mostly based on the principle of transliteration. The version for easy reading of the Bible for the masses resonated with Yun's consistent interests in the suffering masses. Yun therefore furnished the entire publication expense, amounting to 15,000 won (USD \$3,300) published by Ch'angmunsa, where Yun was a charter member and president.⁴² The sales of Gale's New Testament translation reached 222,423 copies by 1937.⁴³

Frank Marion Brockman (1878–1929, worked in Korea from October 1905–1927)

Frank Marion Brockman, younger brother of Fletcher Sim Brockman, was appointed to Korea in October 1905. Along with his three brothers who all became

⁴² T. Stanley Soltau, *Korea; the Hermit Nation and Its Response to Christianity* (New York, Toronto: World Dominion Press, 1932). 84,85. Yun. 96. Here Yun regretted that Gale's work of twenty years for the translation of the Bible was not adopted by the Evangelical Council of Korea. Only to James Scarth Gale, the YMCA associate, Yun confided the most private issue of his life, his third marriage in 1905, for which Yun's mother chose his wife and arranged the ceremony, according to the traditional custom of Korean aristocratic families. See Diary, April 20, 1905. Yun did not cherish this new nuptial event because of his strong attachment to Sientsung. Even after Sientsung's death and Yun's third marriage, he continued writing letters to his deceased wife, reporting important events in Korea and issues of his private life. Another person Yun confided this matter to was Horace Allen, the Foreign Minister and the first medical missionary to Korea, who secured Foreigner' Cemetery for Sientsung's burial.

⁴³ Hugh Miller, "Geil Paksa Ch'udosa (Commemorating Dr. Gale)," *Chokwang* (Morning Ray) 4 (1937). The translation of the Bible was enabled by the help of Yu Sŏng-jun and H. G. Underwood.

YMCA secretaries, Brockman cherished a vision of reconstruction in Korea that would last for centuries; he arrived one month before Korea lost her diplomatic rights and America consigned Korea to the purview of Japan. Working for Korea under the protectorate of Japan, Brockman had to use particular tactics when walking through the labyrinth of the potentially explosive relations between Japan and Korea. A letter reveals difficulty confronting the YMCA in colonial Korea and Brockman's knack in handling the difficulties. David Willard Lyon's interviews conducted separately with R. S. Miller, S. Niwa, and Yun Ch'i-ho in order to discuss the future course of Brockman revealed one common point agreed upon by the three representatives. They conceded that Brockman was strong in "harmonizing discordant factors" and serving as a peacemaker, a trait deemed much needed by the YMCA under colonial constraints. He was reputed as being excellent at recruiting young men, including Yi Sang-jae, although he lacked the talents of organizing and training them. Brockman's conciliatory character held that the YMCA ought not to be broken up in "volcanic" tempers of strong-willed young men situated among the secretaries of Japan, Korea, and the United States.⁴⁴

Frank M. Brockman came to Korea three years (1905) after his graduation from the University of Tennessee with a bachelor's degree in physics and chemistry in 1902. Prior to the University of Tennessee, he attended Moody's Mt. Hermon School in Massachusetts (1894–1895) and the University of Georgia (1899–1900). Brockman was vice president, secretary, treasurer, and chairman of the Bible study department, the

⁴⁴ D. Willard Lyon, to Edward C. Jenkins, September 14, 1923, confidential, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

missionary committee of the college YMCAs at the University of Georgia and president of the Bible study department at the University of Tennessee. While at college, he was assistant secretary of the Athens YMCA (Georgia), the place of his birth. He was intercollegiate secretary at the Louisville YMCA (Kentucky, 1902–1903), social, educational, and religious secretary at the Omaha City Association from 1903 to 1904, student secretary at the Missouri state committee, giving time to college work from 1904 to 1905. He was a leader for three years in the first-year Bible course, for one year in the second year course, the three year course in the life of Christ, Murray’s course of the life of Christ, and missionary courses of the international committee in China and Japan, and *the Making of the Nations*. He was a Sunday school teacher at the Methodist Episcopal Church, South before coming to Korea. He recorded that he did not carry any particular honors at colleges or participate in athletic activities.⁴⁵

In the Korean YMCA, he was associate general secretary from 1905 to 1913, acting general secretary of the Seoul YMCA from 1913 to 1916, to be succeeded by Yun as general secretary from 1916 and Brockman as honorary general secretary during that time. He was called general secretary of the “union committee” of the Korean YMCA in 1913 and honorary national secretary from 1922 to 1923, while Yun was its president.⁴⁶ He was also engaged in the Federal Council of Protestant Churches of Korea as treasurer, treasurer of the Korean Religious Literature Society, member of the Executive

⁴⁵ Frank M. Brockman, “Personal Biography of Frank M. Brockman, September 6, 1905,” handwritten, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁴⁶ This change of titles resulted from the Terms of Affiliation in 1913 and the Yokohama Agreement in 1922, as expounded in Chapter IV.

Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Seoul Union, an athletic and social club.⁴⁷ Brockman edited Fosdick's "Manhood of Master," a number of pamphlets on student activities, and wrote articles for *the Korea Mission Field*, for which he was a member of the editorial board.

Brockman's wife, Jessie Willis Brockman, graduated from Mt. Holyoke (B.A.) and Clark University (M.A). She was chairman of the missionary department of the YWCA, president of the Silver Bay Club, on the editorial board of college publications, and was engaged in debating club, college choirs, and the YWCA's extension work. She taught at Barre Public Schools for one year and at Mt. Hermon Boys School's department of English for two years. With such expansive experiences, Jessie Brockman, in Korea, taught English for ten years at the Seoul YMCA, Ehwa Women's College, and led an English club for Japanese girls. Acquiring Korean, she could lead classes of the women's Bible school in Korean. As a pianist, she taught music there, and offered vocal lessons as well as Sunday classes to both Korean girls and foreign children at Sunday Bible schools.⁴⁸ Of course, she also functioned as a private secretary to Frank Brockman. As with Frank Brockman, she wrote articles for *the Korea Mission Field*.⁴⁹

Splenomye-logenous leukemia forced him to return to the United States, where he suffered for two years and passed away in July 1927. The memorandum for his funeral

⁴⁷ Frank Brockman, "Who's Who, the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, Foreign Department," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁴⁸ Brockman, Frank Marion, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁴⁹ Frank Brockman, "Secretary's Wife's Record, the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, Foreign Department," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

highlights his connectional role for harmonious relations between Japan and Korea.⁵⁰ His friendships with Prince Ito, Admiral Saito, and Yun Ch'i-ho especially received special attention of the press media.

Will Light Nash (1895, w. September 1921–1931)

Nash graduated from University of Texas with a B.S. in architecture in 1917 and Ohio State University with a M.A. in sociology in 1921.⁵¹ When a sophomore at college, he converted to Christianity and became an active member of the church, then a Sunday school teacher of high school and college students, and president of the Epworth League. He handed in his student volunteer pledge card in 1915 for a life-long foreign service, giving up his prior plan to be an architect. He prepared himself for foreign service in a mission society, Texas Methodist Students, supporting missionaries and starting a school and building churches in Brazil. At graduate school in Ohio, he was active in debate clubs, sociology club, and a faculty and graduate students club. He acquired business administrative and public speaking skills in social work under community chest

⁵⁰ “Frank Brockman Dies: Friend of Koreans,” *The Christian Century*, June 26, 1929; Howard Kelley to J. G. Vaughan, February 27, 1929; J.G. Vaughan, to C.A. Herschleb, March 1, 1929; From Bureau of Information, June 10, 1929, sent to the 19 most important religious magazines; Memorandum. Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁵¹ *Dong-a Ilbo*, September 8, 1921. The column erroneously records that Nash graduated from “Wesleyan University in the State of Ohio,” which contradicts Nash’s own records in his biographical file of the YMCA Archives.

secretaries. He was also instrumental in incorporating hard military drills with outdoor games and sports for hundreds of soldiers.⁵²

Since converting to Christianity, Nash kept a practice of daily devotional time, praying for his personal life, the Church, and the world. David W. Lyon viewed Nash as “unpretentious and humble.”⁵³ According to his pledge for the student volunteer movement, he was sent to Korea as soon as he graduated as a national associate student secretary in 1921. He was deeply interested in the moral and spiritual conditions in Korea. He deemed service to Koreans as the “greatest joy of [his] life” and attached to it a great deal of meaning.⁵⁴ During the first term from 1921 to 1927 he married Margaret Nash, who graduated from Blackstone and Randolph-Macon women’s colleges. Editor of the college annual magazine, basketball player, pastor’s assistant, high school teacher, YWCA Industrial Committee, Margaret was talented in a variety of activities. She was trained in Bible and mission courses at Scarritt Bible Training School. In Korea, Margaret organized girls’ clubs among factory girl workers, taught sewing, visited primary schools, and assisted nurses with medical examinations of children, while Will Nash organized boy’s clubs as honorary student secretary. While his primary role was

⁵² Nash, William Lewis, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives. YMCA Archives

⁵³ D. Willard Lyon, to Hershleb, March 30, 1931, Strictly Confidential. , YMCA Archives.

⁵⁴ Nash’s articles in the Korea Mission Field include: W. L. Nash, “Winning the Students in Governmental School,” *The Korea Mission Field* (October 1929), 205–206; “Student Conference of the Korean YMCA national Council,” *The Korea Mission Field* (January, 1927), 14–15; “Following the Example of Jesus at the YMCA Student Conference, Kong Ju,” *The Korea Mission Field* (March 1926), 45-48; “Where Union is Strength,” *The Korea Mission Field* (January, 1926), 3-5; “The Korean Daily Vacation Movement,” *The Korea Mission Field* (June 1924), 113–114; “A Korean World Series in Three Days,” *The Korea Mission Field* (October 1923), 208-209.

promoting the student associations, Nash showed also excellent skills in building constructions, proven in the erection of the second International Committee residence in Seoul.⁵⁵

When he was on furlough in 1927, Nash used the opportunity to study vocational guidance, mental testing, education, religious education, group discussion, and psychology at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary with a view to further serving students and young men of Korea upon his return. As Korea needed more secretaries for the agricultural program that began to operate in full swing in 1928, Nash was transferred to Pyöngyang, the second largest city in Korea, as general secretary from 1929 to 1930. He was also engaged in daily vacation Bible schools as treasurer and commander of the American legion in Korea.⁵⁶

Although Nash was dispatched to Pyöngyang for the rural program of the YMCA, his work as the only Western missionary in that province made him engage in various phases of “millions” of villagers. While working for farmers through improving cattle, chickens, hogs, rabbits, and sheep, diversifying crops from the proverbial 2 to 7, and educating farmers in hygiene, he seemed to put more focus as before on infusing higher moral values of religion into village life. While he was assigned to rural work in Pyöngyang, Nash’s concern for boys in the city constantly gripped him to the extent of organizing for the first time five boys’ clubs and industrial groups in a rubber factory in

⁵⁵ Lyon, to E.C. Jenkins and C.A. Herschleb. Shuntehfu, China, March 16, 1923, YMCA Archives

⁵⁶ Nash, William Lewis, Biographical Files. YMCA Archives

Korea.⁵⁷ It was when he was expanding his vision toward 26,642 impoverished villages in Korea that he was entangled in the tension between the Pyöngyang and Seoul factions which would drive a wedge between the two regions and result in his regrettable recall.⁵⁸

Frederick Thomas Shipp (1898–1992)

Frederick Thomas Shipp (1898–1992 w. May 1925–1928) was the first agricultural secretary to Korea, sailing in April 1925. When the rural department was organized in Korea on 9 February 1925, the international committee of the YMCA swiftly dispatched Shipp in April. A private secretary and accountant of Sherwood Eddy (January 1920–October 1921) and Fletcher S. Brockman (January–June 1923), Shipp had a high profile in the committee. He was interested and capable in organizing boys' program and leadership training. He gained knowledge of foreign work through field observations in Europe and the Near East from 1920–1921, and in the East Asia in 1923. He took courses in sociology, psychology, and education from Stanford, Leland, Junior University and graduated in 1922. He also studied theology at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary for one semester.

⁵⁷ W. L. Nash, to A.W. Hanson, September 9, 1931, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁵⁸ Eugene E. Barnett, "Remarks of Eugene E. Barnett at the Memorial Service for Dr. Philip L. Gillett, Congregational Church, Barre, Mass., December 1, 1938.;" W.L. Nash, to C.A. Hershleb, Jan. 11, 1922, YMCA Archives.

He was coxswain on crew at Stanford, “stunt man” and “song leader” at the association, and skilled at basketball and handball. At the YMCA, he was president and secretary of the college YMCA (1921–1922) and secretary at the high school YMCA (1916–1917, 1923–1925), chairman of the district high YMCA commission, secretary of the district boys’ work conference, secretary of the older boys’ training conferences, and chairman of the boy’s work committee. He served two YMCA summer schools (1918, 1923) and as a member of the executive committee of the Pacific summer school (1924). In short, Shipp had worked for city boys. As a Y-man, he led Bible studies, served as a Sunday school teacher, a club leader, and assistant pastor of Park Street Presbyterian Church in New York City in 1922. After his service in Korea, Shipp assumed vice-presidency at San Jose High School, and became the first principal of San Jose’s Lincoln High School and an official with the U.S. Agency for International Development.⁵⁹

Shipp clearly showed that the first secretary of the YMCA for rural reconstruction in Korea was more concerned with consolidating and mobilizing young men for development and leading them into Christian life, rather than elevating the standard of agricultural skills and modernization of farms and villages. Shipp was excellent in boys’ work but he had neither expertise nor experience in agricultural work. It was the same with the second rural secretary who stayed longest in Korea for the task, Gordon Avison.

Gordon Wilberforce Avison (September 1891–1967 w. 1925–1938)

⁵⁹ Shipp, Frederic Thomas, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

Avison came to Korea when he was nine months old with his father Oliver Avison, a medical missionary. While Oliver Avison offered medical service to King Kojong as his private doctor and taught at Chejungwŏn, established by the Korean government, Gordon played with the Crown Prince and other children, which made him fluent in Korean.⁶⁰ Gordon grew up being inspired by missionaries and reading books on foreign missions throughout his life.⁶¹ Father Oliver was instrumental in founding the Severance Medical College, the Chŏsun Christian College (Yŏnsei), and the Severance Hospital. He assumed, until Yun Ch'i-ho succeeded his role, presidency at Yŏnsei College and Severance Medical School for eighteen years from 1916 to 1934.⁶² Oliver did not want to leave Korea, but an alleged tension with younger missionaries arising from Avison's conservatism led his decision to leave Korea.⁶³

His son Gordon regarded the Severance Hospital as his permanent address. When Oliver retired at the age of 75 and returned to the U.S., receiving much regret from a great crowd of Korean friends and students over two hundred and thirty in 1935, Oliver's elder son, Gordon, continued his work for rural work in a southern province, Kwangju,

⁶⁰ Kwang Hye Wŏn was founded by Horace Allen in 1885 by the request of the Korean government and later renamed as Chejungwŏn. Oliver Avison started teaching in 1893 and developed the clinic into the Severance Medical school.

⁶¹ Avison, Gordon Wilberforce, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁶² President for the Severance Medical School started in 1913.

⁶³ Diary, November 20, 1935.

and the younger son, Douglas, born in Pusan, taught at the Severance Medical College and Hospital.⁶⁴

Gordon left his parent's and home in Korea for America when he was 11. At 24, he entered Western Reserve University in Ohio where he studied sociology, economics, and history by working as a physical director of church gyms, selling Asian goods, and laboring in copper mines. While at college World War I broke out and he enlisted for the army service in 1917. When the war was over, he took up boys' work as a secretary in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania for three years, which he enjoyed until he came back to Korea.

Gordon married Frances Anna Goheen, a registered nurse and missionary in India, born in Bombay. Frances became a student volunteer for foreign missions in 1909 and met Gordon in 1910.⁶⁵ The pledge led the Gordon couple to apply for YMCA work in Korea two months after their marriage in 1920, yet it took five years for their application to be accepted, since the rural program in Korea did not start until 1925. When they arrived in Korea, they first resided in the Severance Hospital compound until he was assigned to a post as an agricultural secretary for South and North Ch'olla Provinces.⁶⁶

Rural work of the Korean YMCA fascinated Gordon Avison so much that he had never before felt so productive and energetic as he worked as an agricultural missionary in a remote country (Kwangju). Gordon's report to the 1928 Jerusalem International

⁶⁴ Diary, November 19, December 2, 1935.

⁶⁵ Avison, Gordon Wilberforce, Biographical Files. YMCA Archives.

⁶⁶ Katherine Brignoni, to Harry Dale Collier, March 25, 1976, YMCA Archives.

Missionary Conference reads, “It is a long time since I have become so enthusiastic over anything as over this rural program of the YMCA in Korea.”⁶⁷ In one of Gordon’s reports, he portrayed his rural work in backward Kwangju as follows:

My assistant and I are off to the country; it is early in the morning, for we must make two hundred miles between now and noon, and the roads are deep in mud. Our meeting with a group of farmers is called for 2 P.M., and as many of them will have walked many miles, we must not disappoint them. Arriving about noon, we find a little workroom, eight square feet, in which we set up our little gas stove and cook lunch. We eat it under the steady gaze of many Korean eyes. These Korea friends tell us that we eat too quietly to be polite. After our conference on farm methods and better ways of living we hold a prayer meeting. Then after supper and a good sleep on the floor we start off for another village.⁶⁸

Avison had the best time of his life while organizing cooperative societies for and offering instructions to farmers and villagers, teaching boys for the Farmers School, and writing for the *Korea Mission Field*. Farmers Practice School and Kwangju Project were not only the epicenter of the YMCA’s rural work, they also infused vitality into Gordon’s searching life. Gordon, knowing the language and people, carried deep sympathy towards the poverty-stricken people in Korea. Gordon himself made a living in the U.S. by laboring at the copper mines and being a peddler. Despite his absence of agricultural training, Gordon had a remarkable sensibility toward Koreans. His sympathy and engagement with the rural lives of Koreans led him to side with Koreans and to throw

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

unrestrained denunciation towards the Japanese's atrocity and brutality.⁶⁹ His resonance with Koreans led him to regard Japanese crimes "too frightful" to print.⁷⁰

Gordon's annual report for the year 1934 shows that he traveled 3,600 miles, visited 75 places, taught at two farm schools, had 32 farmer apprentices, taught at seven night schools with 350 students, purchased land for school and the YMCA building, built dormitories for schools and the new YMCA building, held 500 meetings, 500 social gatherings, and saw an enrolment of 25,000 attendees at meetings. While the YMCA received membership dues, Gordon's sympathy led him to view that the concept of membership, by differentiating those who could afford to pay and those who could not, was awkward and even destructive to the villagers of small towns who dedicated their lives and time instead of money. Therefore, figures in his report appeared not very meticulous. His zealous service moved the national committee of Korea to consider Gordon as national student secretary in 1937.⁷¹ When informed that he was recalled because of the Great Depression in the U.S., Gordon was deeply distressed.⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Avison, Gordon, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁷¹ Eugene E. Barnett, to John T. Underwood, April 23, YMCA Archives.

⁷² Ruth Haston, to Robert H. Baker, March 31, 1966, YMCA Archives.

Arthur Cyril Bunce (1908– ? w. June 1928–1934)

The international committee found it hard to appoint secretaries with the combined talents of the YMCA as well as agricultural techniques for the rural work. Considering the difficulties, it is easy to see why the International Committee was so excited about securing Arthur Cyril Bunce. He was the first agricultural secretary for Korea who had Bachelor of Science in agriculture from the Saskatchewan University School of Agriculture and with distinction of the Memorial Scholarship Medal for the highest scholarship in agriculture. Moreover, he received the Governor-General's Gold Medal for being the best all-round man. After graduation, Bunce continued examining and experimenting various phases of agricultural situations in Canada. He was excellent in sports, winning college badges for soccer, swimming, water polo, and indoor track. Prior to his commission to Korea, Bunce was trained as secretary at the Westmount YMCA (April to September 1926), summer school at the League of Nations at Geneva (1925), and president of the student Christian movement of Saskatchewan (1925).

Bunce came to Korea in 1928, renouncing his position on the faculty of Pickering College and his work at the horticultural department at the Saskatchewan University, which he held for three years. In Korea, he was assigned to Hamhŭng, a northern province, for his agricultural mission headquarters.⁷³ For farmers' schools, Bunce traveled all over the country. Returning to the U.S., Bunce served as professor of economics and sociology at Iowa State College. With a membership at Episcopal Church,

⁷³ Brockman, Frank Marion, "The New Canadian YMCA Secretary for Korea- April, 1928," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

Bunce led a study group on social implications of Christianity.⁷⁴ He was also secretary of Ames Peace Council.

Francis Orville Clark (1886-? worked March 1929–1932)

Francis O. Clark graduated from Berea College in 1908 with a Bachelor of Science and pursued courses at the University of Michigan, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Columbia University of Wisconsin and graduated from Cornell College Academy in 1904. His zeal to develop agricultural products led him to make special investigation trips to Europe in the summer of 1910. He was excellent in football in high school and continued to play football, basketball, and track at college. Even after his college graduation, he continued service at the Kentucky State YMCA (1908–1925) and two summers at Blue Ridge YMCA.⁷⁵ He sailed for Korea in February 1929. Before coming to Korea, Clark was manager of the J. C. Penny Farms in Florida that was noted for its 360 square miles and for its outstanding experiments for the betterment of farm life in America.

⁷⁴ Bunce, Arthur Cyril, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁷⁵ Clark, Francis Orville, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

George Arthur Gregg (1863–1939, worked from November 1906 to October 1927)

George Arthur Gregg was born in 1863 to an Irish Presbyterian minister and missionary sent to Toronto, Canada, by the Church of Scotland. One among eleven siblings, Gregg studied at Toronto Model School for five years, at Toronto Collegiate Institute for five years, and matriculated with honors at Toronto University in mathematics and English. He accumulated work experiences in clerical work and architecture for two years, spent for four years as apprentice to a machinist and draftsmen, and was employed as a designer of machinery and heating and ventilating expert in Detroit, Albany, and Montreal for thirteen years.

He joined the Detroit YMCA in 1887, attracted by the YMCA's vocational training of young men under Christian influences. He went on serving the YMCA in Hartford, Connecticut as educational director (June 1901–April 1903) and New York International Committee as associate educational secretary (April 1903–September 1906). He taught mechanical drawing at the Albany YMCA and at the night school of the Montreal YMCA. Gregg was a member of the Presbyterian Church in Toronto and Reformed Church in Flushing, Long Island, in 1903. He taught in the Sunday school as assistant and superintendent from 1880 to 1903.

Beginning in September 1906 Gregg served the Korean YMCA as educational secretary and finished his 26-year service in Korea in October 1927.⁷⁶ The educational department was organized in 1903 by P. L. Gillett; Frank Brockman added force to the

⁷⁶ George A. Gregg, "Biographical Outline," Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

department from 1905 to 1927 and Lloyd Snyder from 1911 to 1915. In the same department, Gregg focused on “Industrial School,” which Barnhart claimed was an “unheard of, discounted school.” Brockman and Snyder put their efforts into the Day School, Night School, and underprivileged Boys’ School.⁷⁷ Through this industrial school, Gregg was instrumental in bringing the largest enrollment of 19,520 students in 1939, hundreds of contractors, iron and wood workers, railroaders, shoemakers, photographers, brass pounders, typesetters, printers, blacksmiths, welders, wicker weavers, and manual artists. He was an organist for 16 years and Sunday school superintendent for 12 years at Seoul Union Church. Gregg remained single. For 26 years, his work for the industrial department started at 8:00 a.m. and ended at 6:00 p.m. with a one-hour break for lunch, hardly missing a day, a fact that was famous even after his retirement.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ B. P. Barnhart, to E. R. Leibert, April 25, 1939, Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

⁷⁸ Ibid; George A. Gregg, “Secretary’s Record, Foreign Committee of the National Councils of YMCA,” Biographical Files, YMCA Archives.

8. CHRONOLOGY

918	Wanggŏn's establishment of Koryŏ Dynasty in Songdo
1101	Copper coins, having a hole in the center, were invented.
1317-	"A Korean book is known which dates authentically from the period 1317-1334." Written in Yi Kyu-bo's writing.
1392	Taejo's establishment of Yi Dynasty in Seoul
1404	Movable type invented.
1446	The <i>Hunminjŏngŭm</i> , the Korean alphabets, completed by a committee, Chiphyŏnjŏn, appointed by King Se-jong (published on September 29)
1592	Yi Sun-sin's invention of the first iron-clad Turtle Warship
1598	Nabeshima took with him to Japan a colony of Korean potters to learn ceramic skills
1601	A Korean prince baptized and killed in Japan. Among 205 martyrs at Nagasaki, nine were Koreans.
1777	Kwŏn Ch'ŏl-sin's study of Christian tracts that was brought from Peking. Yi Tŏk-cho, Yi Sŭng-hun, Kwŏn's conversion to Christianity
1784	A Royal decree was issued against Christianity. Thomas Kim martyred
1794	A Chinese Christian priest, James Chu, the first foreign missionary of Christianity to Korea.
1801	James Chu martyred in Korea
1864	Andrew Kim was decapitated Sep. 16.
1865	Yun's birth (February)
1876	Sŏ Sang-yun's baptism in Machuria,
1876	The Kanghwa Treaty with Japan (February)
1881	The Susinsa to Japan (April–June1); Yun's accompaniment with Ŏ Yun-jung
1882	The Korean-American Treaty (May 22)
	The Korean-British Treaty (June 22); The Korean-German Treaty (June 30)
	A Korean Embassy headed by Min Yŏng-ik arrival in San Francisco, to Washington (September 2)
1883	Lucius H. Foote and Yun Ch'i-ho's arrival at Chemulp'o (May 13)
	Yi Su-jŏng (Rijutae)'s conversion and translation of the Gospel of Mark in Japan.
1884	Robert Maclay acquired Kojong's permission to open educational and medical missions (June 24)
	Horace H. Allen's arrival in Korea (September 20)
	<i>Kapsin</i> coup (December 4) — Allen's saving of Min Yŏng-ik
	Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yŏng-hyo, Sŏ Kwang-bŏm, Sŏ Chae-p'il's departure to Japan (December 8)
1885	Yun's departure to China (January 19)
	Horace Allen's proposal for founding a hospital (January) — Kwanghyewŏn (House of Extended Grace) opened (April 10) in the confiscated house of Hong Yŏng-sik — later turned to the Severance Hospital
	Horace Underwood and Horace Appenzeller's arrival in Korea (April5).
	Mary Scranton and William Scranton arrival in Korea (May 1)
1886	Easter Sunday, "the first Protestant baptism took place in Korea –the infant daughters of Dr. Scranton and Rev. Appenzeller." ⁷⁹
	Underwood baptized the first Korean convert, No Tosa, and administered for the first time the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. (July 11)
1887	Yun's baptism (April 3)
1888	Yun's arrival in the U.S. (October 20)
	Yun's matriculation at Vanderbilt University (November 6)
1889	Yun as a charter member of the Wesley Hall Mission Society (February) after Robert Wilder's lecture
1890	Yun's attendance at the Vanderbilt YMCA (February 28)
	Sŏ Chae-p'il became the first Korean to receive American citizenship (June 10)
	Yun and Fletcher Brockman as the Vanderbilt delegates at the American Inter-Seminary Alliance
1891	Yun's matriculation at Emory College under the aegis of the Emory YMCA (July)
	Yun as the Emory delegate at the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance (October)

⁷⁹ Harry A. Rhodes, ed. History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education), 582.

1892	Yun as the Emory YMCA delegate to the Georgia state YMCA convention
1893	Yun's return to the Anglo-Chinese College (November)
	Sŏ Chae-p'il receives M.D. in the U.S.
	Oliver R. Avison became director of Kwanghyewŏn.
1894	Yun's marriage to Sientsung (March 21)
	Kim Ok-kyun's death in Shanghai (March 28)
	The Sino-Japanese War (August)
	<i>Kabo</i> Reform (August)
	Kwanghyewŏn handed over to Northern Presbyterian Mission
1895	Yun's return to Korea (February 12)
	Yun appointed as advisor to the state council (Chamŭi of the Cabinet, February 27)
	Yun appointed later in the year to Vice Minister of Educational Department. ⁸⁰
	The Shimonoseki Treaty (April 17)
	Queen Min's death (October 7)
	Eugene Hendrix and Clarence Reid's visit to Korea (October 13)
	Yun's daughter, Laura, baptism (October 17)
	The East Gate Incident, the escape of the Royalists including Yun and his father (November 28)
The birth of the Chinese YMCA (December 8 by David Willard Lyon)	
1896	The government offered to Sŏ Chae-p'il a position at the General Bureau of the Information on a contract running 20 years. Sŏ declined the offer. (January 15)
	Yun's return to his home from his escape. "I walked home...without fear and trembling." (January 24)
	Sŏ's suggestion to Yun for the <i>Independent</i> (January 28)
	Agwan P'ach'ŏn (February 11) – the rise of the Royalists and the execution of Kim Hong-jip, Ŏ Yun Chung, Chŏng Pyŏng-ha, and the escape of Yu Kil-jun to Japan. Russians rose to power.
	The appointment of Yun as Vice-Minister of Education (February 12)
	Yun left for Russia with Min Yŏng-hwan, Minister of Russia (April 1)
	The first issue of <i>the Independent</i> (April 7)
	The birth of the Independence Club (July 2)
	Clarence Reid's arrival (August 14)
	1897
Yun's meeting with Sŏ Chae-p'il at Underwoods' (February 2)	
The Independence Arch building (February 22)	
Yun's departure to Shanghai (March 25)	
Yun's waiting for direction from Seoul (April 25)	
The first congregation by Reid in the Koyangŭp Church (Kwanghwamun Church) (May 2)	
Yun's departure from Chefoo for Seoul (June 15), arrival at Chemulp'o (June 17)	
Clarence Reid's opening of the first Southern Methodist Church (June 20)	
Yun's meeting with Sŏ Chae-p'il – long dialogue on political issues (July 2)	
The commencement exercise of the Paejae Academy	
Yun's attendance at the debate (July 8).	
Yun's attendance at the Independence Club (July 25). The club seemed "a farce."	
Josephine Campbell's arrival as the first Southern Methodist woman missionary (October 9)	
1899	Horace Underwood and 150 signatories asking for the YMCA
	The first church of the Southern Methodism opened at Koyang ŭp. Yun's donation of a house and a lot to the church.
	John L. Nevius' conference with missionaries in Korea on <i>The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches</i> .(June)
1900	John R. Mott asked Lyon to survey Korea (March)
1900	D. Willard Lyon's investigation of Korea for 4 months , interviews with Horace Underwood, Yo Byŏng-

⁸⁰ Hwang Hyŏn, *Maechŏnyarok* vol. 2 (1895).

	hyön, William Scranton, Henry Appenzeller, and James Gale; Boxer Movement in China (June)
	The completion of the New Testament translation by the Board of Bible Translators
1901	Underwood invited Fletcher Brockman to Korea
	The quasi-YMCA present in Pyöngyang
	Philip Gillett arrival (October)
1902	Gillett started Gym class/English class with young men in the mountains
1903	March: Advisory Meeting (\$3,000 collected, prepared a draft for the constitution of the YMCA)
	October 28: 12 members as the Board of directors; 28 official members and the 12 associate members of the YMCA (the first international meeting)
1904	Gillett's Bible class with 500 soldiers in British & American Legation; 1 st student Association (35 Paejae students), 1 st City Association (40 invited members)
	Yun Ch'i-ho, Yi Sang-jae, Yö Pyöng-hyön, Yi Süng-man, and Gillett spoke for the first YMCA meeting (October 11)
	Yun's appointment to vice-minister of foreign affairs (March 11)
	Release of the Independence members and the affiliation with the YMCA (July), Yi Sang-jae (August); Yi Süng-man's release after six-year imprisonment (August 8)
1905	Membership grew to 600; unofficial YMCA members counted about 5,000–10,000
	Yun Ch'i-ho and four other ministers dispatched to Japan for investigation of the Japanese government institutions (June, July) ⁸¹
	The General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea organized with 150 missionaries from 6 missions (September 15)— changed to the Federal Council in 1912.
	Frank Brockman arrival (November)
	Protectorate Treaty with Japan (November 17); Yun tendered his resignation on the same day
	Knitting, soap, candle, pottery, tanning, pottery class suspended by the government's demand
1906	The committee of management with progressive young men
	Yun: President of Taehan Chaganghoe (the Korea Self-Strengthening Society, July 31) ⁸²
	The Anglo-Korean School (October)
1907	Kukch'ae Posang Undong (January)
	Yun's speech at the speech at the first World Student Christian Federation in Tokyo (April 24)
	Yun's mother's death (May 19); Yun's suspension of presidency at the Korea Self-Strengthening society ⁸³
	Kojong's dethronement (July 21); Korean riots
	Summer: All the organizations crushed including Chon Dökki's Sangdong ch'öngnyön hakwön
	The ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the YMCA building attended by Crown Prince, Prince Ito, A.B. Turner, T. Sammons in the name of John Wanamaker, Yi Sang-jae ⁸⁴
	George A. Gregg's arrival (September)
	Gregg built temporary shed buildings: a gym, a trade school
	Carpentry, photography, blacksmithing, plumbing, machinist trade
	Arrival of American tools
	Mott's visit to Korea: 6,000 gathered
1908	Yun Ch'i-ho with An Ch'ang-ho founding Taesöng Academy in Pyöngyang (November 1) ⁸⁵
	The American Bible Society appointed Samuel Beck for the independent work (January 1)

⁸¹ Hwang Hyön, *Maech'önyarok*, vol. 4 (1905). 韋庵文稿, 年譜. <http://db.history.go.kr>. HOI: NIKH.DB-sa-004-0110-0010. (accessed on 12 February 2011.)

⁸² *Taehan Chaganghoe Wölbo*, July 31, 1906.

⁸³ *Taehan Chaganghoe Wölbo*, May 25, 1906; Hwang Hyön, *Maech'önyarok* vol. 5 (1907).

⁸⁴ "The YMCA Building," *The Korea Mission Field* (December 1907), 189.

⁸⁵ *Söbuhkakhoe wölbo*, 1 November 1908; Hwang Hyön, *Maech'önyarok*, vol. 6 (1908). Hwang Hyön erroneously records that Yi Chong-ho founded Hyöpsöng Academy, which was the first of its kind.

	The British Bible Society continued under the supervision of Hugh Miller.
	H. M. Hamil's visit to Korea for the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, → the birth of the Korea Branch of the World Sunday School Association (Yun as president, March 19)
	The beginning of the Salvation Army
1909	John Wanamaker building complete
	Beginning of the Million Souls for Christ Movement
	Missionary Benedictines to Korea and started an industrial school shortly after their arrival in Seoul.
1910	Yun's participation in the World Sunday School Association in Washington (May 19-24)
	The first summer conference in Chin'gwansa
	The purchase of four Korean buildings next to the main YMCA building
	The completion of the Old Testament translation by the Board of Bible Translators
1911	The second student summer conference in Songdo
1912	Yun arrested on the Korean Conspiracy Case (February)
	Yun received a ten-year sentence (June)
	The 3 rd student summer conference
1913	Terms of affiliation in Tokyo (12 April, John Mott, Yi Sang-jae, Cynn Hŭng-wu, Namgung Ŏk, Oliver R. Avison, - changing name of the National YMCA into the Union YMCA, new constitution based on the Japanese model)
1914	The first triennial conference
	National Sunday school association (14,700 at the yard of Kyōng-bok Palace)
	Snyder's arrival (October)
1915	Yun's release from the Taegu prison (February 13)
	Education law for private schools
	The YMCA Building rent to the Chosŏn Christian College (formal organization in 1915)
	The Federal Council of Churches was first organized in the Korean YMCA building. → renamed to Korean national Christian Council of Churches and Missions in September 1924.
	Lucas's arrival from Japan (December)
1916	Barnhart's arrival (March)
	Yun Ch'i-ho installation to General Secretary, dedication of the boys' building and Gym (May)
	Horace Underwood's passing (October 12)
1920	Japan's barricade to the American congressmen: entrance of H.S. Hersman only (August)
1921	Nash's arrival (September)
	Yun's foundation of the Kwangmunsa (August 31, renamed as Ch'angmunsa on 31 January 1923) with Yi Sang-jae, Pak Sŭng-bong, Yu Sŏng-jun, Kim Sŏk-tae
1922	Yokohama Agreement (Yun Ch'i-ho, Yi Sang-jae, Cynn Hŭng-wu) –The Korean National YMCA
	The World's Student Christian Federation in Peking
	The Korean YWCA organized by Korean women.
1923	Pang Chŏnghwan's Children's Day
	The World Christian Temperance Union organized with Miss C.Tinling
1925	The first Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (July 1)
1925	Mott and F. S. Brockman's visit to Korea (December 27-29)
1926	Yun became the member of the Chŏngŭmhoe.
1928	The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council (March 24–April 8)
1929	John Mott present at the Enlarged Meeting of the National Christian Council at the Central YMCA (April 18-20)
	Yun Ch'i-ho as a delegate to the Institute of Pacific Relations
1930	Cynn's report of Nash's problem in New York (January)
	Yun received Honorary Doctor of Law at Emory (May)
	The recall of Nash (August)
	The Union Methodist Church of Korea organized. Ryang Chu-sam elected the first General Superintendent.
1931	Manchuria Incident, Japan's secession from the United Nations
1932	Cynn's design of the Positive Faith on the deck of the Pacific (April)
	Emergence of the Positive Faith League; Yun's suspicion (June)
1933	Discussion of the appraisal of the reappraisal of Laymen's Rethinking Mission (April)
	The Positive Faith League formed (November 12)

1934	Delegation of the Positive members to the Methodist conference (March)
	Yun's seventieth birthday celebration (February)
	The Positive Faith League's attempt to put the members in the national Christian council (October)
1937	Beginning of the Sino-Japanese War (July 7)
1938	Japan's National Mobilization Bill (March); National Service Draft Ordinance
	Merge of the Japanese and Korean YMCA (August 19)
1939	The end of the Russo-German pact
	World War II (December)
1941	Japan's attack of Pearl Harbor (December)
	Yun's appointment to President of Yŏnsei College (April)
	Yun's resignation of President of Yŏnsei College (April)
1945	Korea's liberation from Japan (August 15)
	Yun's death (December 6)

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