

WILLIAM T. PURINTON¹

United We Sing: Union Hymnals, Holiness Hymnody, and the Formation of Korean Revivalism (1905-2007)

Abstract

The history of Christianity long has recognized the transatlantic revival connections in both the First and Second Awakenings, with preaching being noted as the primary means of communicating the revival message. During the past century, transpacific revivalism has become a significant part of the world history of Christianity. In Korean Protestantism, revivalism has been rooted within the majority religious experience, with hymns and gospel songs as an important medium. While North American denominations have used separate hymnals and have tended to exclude revival hymns from their selections, Korean Protestants have used the same hymnal from the beginning and have retained those hymns that are more expressive of revivalism, especially those from the Holiness movement. Martial hymns that convey the spiritual warfare of Christians in Korea were criticized by Yun Chiho as being meaningless to Korean culture, which he portrayed as connected to the “pen” and not the “sword.” However, the martial hymns, such as “Up, and fight against the devil,” have been included in all subsequent editions of the Union Hymnal, and they remain an important source of revival piety. From the earliest efforts to select and translate hymns, through music education for Korean congregations, and on to the final process of editing and publishing a Union Hymnal, the Korea missionaries have placed a premium on congregational singing. In conclusion, although much of holiness hymnody in Korea was taken from the “margins” of the Salvation Army and the Oriental Missionary Society, a closer look at transpacific revivalism will reveal that it was led by missionaries from “mainline” denominations in North America, was enhanced further by visiting evangelists such as H. C. Morrison, G. W. Ridout, and R. A. Torrey, and was contextualized finally by Korean Protestants in the recent publication of the *New Hymnal* in 2007.

Key words: Korea, Union Hymnal, Revivalism, Holiness Hymnody, Evangelical, Oriental Missionary Society

William T. Purinton is assistant professor of the Humanities at Seoul Theological University (Bucheon, South Korea) and special assignment missionary with One Mission Society (OMS).

Introduction

With 5,000 years of history, Korea is an avid keeper of the calendar. That means national events are remembered and celebrations reach the heights, especially when it comes around to the hundredth year. The year 2007 marked the centennial of the Great Revival in Pyeongyang.² Because the Pyeongyang Revival was not merely a historical event to be remembered, but an expectation of a further outpouring of the Holy Spirit, a fifteen-song tape/CD titled “Again 1907” was released in October 2004, as a perpetual reminder that revival came in 1907 and that it can return in 2007. After the tape had been played by Christians for almost three years, the big event was celebrated on July 8, 2007. The site was the Sangham World Cup Stadium in Seoul. The day and evening were replete with preaching, prayers, and singing. In attendance were members of the Korea National Council of Churches and all major denominations in Korea, including Presbyterian, Methodist, Holiness, Baptist, Salvation Army, Anglican; a total of twenty-five Protestant denominations were represented.³

With the large numbers and the persistent theme of revivalism in Korean Christianity, it becomes apparent that the Pyeongyang revival carried and continues to convey a strong sense of national religious identity among Korean Protestants, which we will mark as revivalism. In fact, revivalism continues as the life-blood of Korean Protestantism. Revivalism pulses through the Protestant churches in Korea, reaching across denominational and confessional lines, to impact all traditions.

In Korea, the North American missionaries generally identified revivalism with prayer and preaching. But one can mention a third factor involved in the enduring interest in and occupation with revival: the singing of hymns and gospel songs. Sermons and hymns/gospel songs are part of the warp and woof of the North American Evangelical landscape, but both have been overlooked in surveys of religious history. Mark Noll and Ethan Sanders emphasize the need for further study of sermons and singing, as components of worship that change over time and are themselves change agents.⁴ The rich texture of evangelical hymnody is represented by “[l]ayers of Watts, Wesley, Sankey, and the Salvation Army mingled in different proportions throughout North America.”⁵ It was this newly-formed tradition of Evangelical hymnody that was transported *in toto* from North America to Korea in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In its translation from English to Korean, Evangelical hymnody became an active force in promoting revivalism and further was preserved through the Korea Union Hymnal to become the mainline hymnody in Korea to this day. Revival hymns that were birthed by the British and North American Holiness movements of the late-nineteenth century found a new home in the mainstream of Korean hymnody by 1949: the year that many of them

finally were included in the Union Hymnal. In the twentieth century, both Evangelical and Holiness hymnody have moved from the margins of North American revivalism and fundamentalism into the mainstream of South Korean Protestantism, resulting in a unique mixture of both evangelical and ecumenical movements in the twenty-first century.

The period of this study is from 1905 until 2007. The beginning year 1905 was when a union hymnal was discussed as part of the cooperation and proposed merger between the Presbyterian and Methodist missions in Korea. The ending date 2007 is when the most recent revision of the Union Hymnal was published.

For the purpose of this study, only the lyrics of hymns will be studied. Although music was always an issue that confronted the hymn writers and composers, especially whether or not to use the western tune in Korea, this study will treat exclusively the lyrics of the hymns, rather than try to study the affective use of certain tunes to bring about a heightened revival expectation. In 1915, William C. Kerr, a North American missionary in Korea, explained the importance of understanding the lyrics for “real worship.”

It takes only a glimpse of the swaying of the bodies and the intent expression of the faces, not only of the children but of the adults as well, to show that the music, however foreign it may have been at the beginning, is one of the powerful inspirational features in a large gathering. How much of this is psychological and how much spiritual may be a question; but a brief explanation of the meaning of the words before the hymn is sung helps to elevate the singing to the level of real worship.⁶

Finally, as only the lyrics are being studied in this paper, it might help to review the precedent for studying the lyrics only and the rationale for such a study as they were offered by Sandra Sizer in her landmark study, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism*.⁷

Singing in Our Own Language: Early Hymn Translations and the First Hymnals

The last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth were times of immense change in Korea. When the first full-time resident missionaries arrived in 1885, the “hermit” nation had only recently opened up to diplomatic relations with the West.⁸ Also, the Korean peninsula was divided in its opinion over the intrusion of western learning. Even before the Boxer Rebellion in China (1900-1901), Korea experienced a movement calling for an exclusive reliance on eastern thought and a rejection of all things western that spread throughout Korea: the Donghak Rebellion.⁹

When Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916) and Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902) set foot on Korean soil in April 1885 they were the first ministerial missionaries to become permanent residents in Korea.¹⁰ Underwood was sent by the Northern Presbyterians and Appenzeller was sent by the Northern Methodists. Along with the so-called “baggage” that all people carry of nationality, culture, and ideology, these two missionaries also carried church hymnody.

Underwood and Appenzeller arrived with a desire to communicate their message and to convey it in language that fit within the Korean context, to use language that reflected more the common people’s tongue and exclusively print in the vernacular script.

These were both revolutionary moves that staged the position of the newly-planted Presbyterian and Methodist churches as being “of the people.” This decision to print the first hymnals and Bibles in the Korean script *hangeul*, rather than the mixed script of *hangeul* and Chinese characters, as was most common for literature of the period (late Jeoson dynasty), meant that from the beginning Christian literature would belong to the common people and would never again remain the exclusive property of the literati.

Nine years after his arrival in Korea (1894), Horace G. Underwood published *Changyangga*, [Hymns of Praise]. His hymnal was an independent venture that tested the patience of the Presbyterian missions in Korea. Originally, the plan was that Methodists and Presbyterians were to join together in preparing a union hymnal, with G. H. Jones representing the Methodists and Horace G. Underwood the Presbyterians. Because of Jones’s absence from Korea, having traveled to the United States, Underwood began the work alone and it was funded by his brother John T. Underwood, the owner of the Underwood typewriter company. Many of the hymns were the work of other translators, but due to the difficulty of communication in Korea at the time, Underwood went ahead without consulting the translators, believing that the faulty translations were in dire need of editing and that the translators would not mind his pen. When he presented the completed work, ready for press, to the Presbyterian Mission, he was stunned to find that it was not received as a gift but was rather rejected. Part of the reason, of course, was his independent spirit and maverick methods, having failed to receive the approval of the mission. But there was also a majority opinion opposed to Underwood’s refusal to use the Korean word for God: *Hananim*. For the most part, Underwood had translated all the hymns by using either “Father” or “Jehovah” to express God, rather than the indigenous term for deity, which he considered to smack of syncretism.¹¹ Meanwhile, while Underwood acted alone in producing a Presbyterian hymnal, the Methodists had compiled a hymnal for use in their churches by the year 1896.¹² An official Presbyterian hymnal,

Changsongshi, was finally published in 1897.¹³ The first Union Hymnal, however, would have to wait until 1908.

The task of translating hymns involved three kinds of challenges. First, the contextualization of theology meant that some ideas “foreign” to Korean religious traditions would have to be communicated and understood by the Christians in Korea. Second, after translations were made literally from English to Korean, the more cumbersome task remained of making the new Korean lyrics fit within the meter. Third, there was an ongoing struggle over whether or not to use western tunes among the Korean congregations, since traditional Korean music was so much different from the newly-introduced western expressions of music.

One illustration of the challenge over contextualization is found in the ministry of Malcolm C. Fenwick (1863-1935), an independent missionary from Canada who is viewed popularly in Korea as the founder of Baptist churches.¹⁴ When Fenwick began to organize his ministry in a village, he came to the realization that after education came the task of translating hymns. Fenwick explained, “I wanted to sing in Corean and get the people singing. This could not be done until the hymns were translated. I somewhat dreaded this task, as my vocabulary was so limited.” He began with the easier hymns to translate, such as “Jesus Loves Me” and “I Am So Glad.”

Fenwick described a Korean Christian’s response to his translation of “Look and Live” by William A. Ogden (1840-1897). The trouble spot was with the words “life is offered unto you” in verse three. In Korean culture, only a servant would offer something to another person, thus the hymn lyrics conveyed the idea that God Almighty would be reduced to the status of our house servant.

Fenwick recorded the conversation in *The Church of Christ in Corea*:

I asked his opinion of it. He read it through verse by verse, saying, “Choso” (good), until, like the men of Sorai, he came to the word “offer.” Then he, as they, stopped short and said that would never do—it was awful, it was putting God in the humiliating position of a servant. There followed practically the same prolonged discussion as had taken place in Sorai, when, reminding this beloved Corean brother that he had forgotten Philippians 2:6-11, I asked him to look it up and read it. He did so, and after pondering for a while the wonderful truth of this passage, he said quietly, “Thank you, shepherd.” Then followed a few moments of delightful communion, as the yellow man and the white man met together in Christ and talked of the amazing grace and condescension of our God. While conversing thus, a young man, the teacher of my host, who was a missionary, came in, and as all writings not hidden away are common property in

Corea, he immediately began reading the hymn. Not a word of comment followed until he too reached the word “offer.” Then, just as the others had done, he became greatly excited and indignant. I sat still and let the Korean brother answer him. The Testament still being open at Philippians ii, the older brother held it out to him and said, “Have you seen this?” In silence the young man read and as silently walked away. As he opened the door, he turned, and two big tears rolled down his cheeks as he said, “Choom poasso” (“I have seen it for the first time”). This emphasized experience with the hymn caused me to realize fully that I had already started over the hill of “custom” which was long and steep and difficult to climb.¹⁵

Fenwick’s concern over the translation and use of hymns in the Korean church was extended beyond his initial efforts to the publication of his *Boguum Chanmi* [Gospel Songs] in 1904, which contained 20 hymns, words only. His sixth edition of *Boguum Chanmi* (1925) was expanded to contain a total of 243 hymns, again words only. Indeed, Malcolm Fenwick’s ministry had expanded beyond the village where he lived to a rising national movement called the Church of Christ in Korea.

The challenge of making the Korean translations fit with the western tunes usually was handled by excluding the Korean honorifics and by employing the shorter (*banmal*), more informal language. To many Korean ears this was unforgivable, but for the translators with a meter to match with twice as many syllables, it became the only possible option. The shortened lyrics meant that “it was impossible to use the proper honorifics to and of the Deity, and often the low or half-talk of the drinking song was addressed to Him.”¹⁶

In order to become more adept in their Korean literary skills “some of the hymn writers took up the study of Korean poetry as a help, making note of figures of speech, and the parallelisms, alliterations and refrains that take the place of rhymes in Korean poetry, rhymes being impossible in this language.”¹⁷

Using a western-composed hymn tune in Korea was not always the only option. There were times when original hymn tunes were composed and they worked well with the new Korean translations, some were written by missionaries and others by Korean Christians. Certain technicalities stretched the creative talents of the North American missionaries in Korea, for example:

In the second edition of the “*Chan song si*” (1898), the eight-foot hymns were all rewritten in iambic or, where that seemed impossible, were marked “to Korean music” or “Chant.” The chief trouble was that the Korean language is not adapted to iambic meter, few words having the accent on the second syllable, so that the writer had to place a one syllabled word

at the beginning of nearly every line and this became monotonous. It might have been better to have omitted all iambic hymns.¹⁸

Music was viewed as a means of both moving the heart with spiritual fervor as well as appealing to the higher tastes. But with such a disparity between traditional Korean music and the newer western forms that were introduced by the North American missionaries, it became necessary to spend lots of time in music education. Indeed, music education became an important part of religious education, to help tune Korean ears to western sounds. In all the Bible classes, “an hour is set aside after the afternoon study for the teaching of music.” Kerr would also report that “with all the mistakes that are made, [occidental music] is one of the ties which bind together the Christian brotherhood in all the different parts of the world.”¹⁹ The same edition of *The Korea Mission Field* has these words in its editorial, indicating the high esteem, nearly prejudicial view, that North American missionaries had toward western music and its being taught and sung in Korea.

Even some missionaries may never have realized that our main business in this country is to teach Koreans to sing, for the true Christian is distinctively a singer. He first of all “makes melody in his heart to the Lord” and because “out of the heart are the issues of life,” in body, mind and spirit he steadily become reattuned to God in even as the members of our body are in accord, so that right here we have, or ought to have, a segment of the hallelujah chorus of creation.²⁰

Obviously the time invested had paid off; what seemed tedious at first and time consuming had become by 1938 a beautiful rendition in Korea of Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart’s “Gloria” from his Twelfth Mass.²¹

The product at the end of the long translation process was a book full of hymns that would comfort “tens of thousands of souls.” From an early stage in Christian publication that continues to this day, the New Testament (and later Bible) and hymnal were bound together as one volume. The first hymnbooks were published before even the New Testament was first published in 1904, and the first Union Hymnal (1908) was published before the Old Testament had been completely translated in 1910 and published in 1911.²² In a sense the Korean hymnal was the Korean church’s first “Bible,” as it spoke powerfully of God’s redemption and expressed so powerfully the language of human emotions. Also, the Korean hymnal was a reading primer for many Korean women; they learned how to read by singing the hymns.

In summary, F. S. Miller provides an eloquent testimony of the importance of hymns in the early Korean church.

When one stands looking at a house he cannot possibly appreciate the amount of thought, labor and attention to detail

that have gone into the structure. So no one can estimate the hours of labor that went into the weighing and measuring of every syllable and note of the hymn that for many years have sustained the Korean Christians in their trials and eased their deathbeds.²³

Singing with One Voice: Evangelical Cooperation and the Union Hymnal

The diverse and unique religious backgrounds of the first two full-time missionaries from the United States (Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller) acted as a seed for further and continual cooperation and later evangelical union between Methodists and Presbyterians.

Horace G. Underwood was born in England and migrated with his family to the United States in 1872. After their arrival in the US, the family joined the Dutch Reformed Church. Horace would later begin his undergraduate studies at New York University and continue in divinity studies at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary (Dutch Reformed). While he was a seminary student, his family was concerned over Horace's involvement with the Salvation Army, for it appeared he was ready to transfer to their work.²⁴ After he arrived in Korea in 1885, he was frequently called "the Methodist preacher of the Presbyterian mission."²⁵

Henry Appenzeller, the pioneer Methodist missionary, was raised in the Reformed Church, being of Swiss-German ethnic heritage, and only later became a Methodist while pursuing undergraduate studies at Franklin and Marshall College. Later he completed his seminary studies at Drew before his departure for Korea.²⁶

Because both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches arrived in Korea the same time, there was a sense of cooperation rather than competition between the two largest Protestant denominations. It was nothing like the rivalries that had been nurtured by fierce competition for souls in other mission fields.

Cooperation reached far beyond the usual comity agreement; the four Presbyterian and two Methodist denominational missions joined together officially in 1905, to form the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea, with a stated aim for "cooperation in Christian work, and eventually the organization of one evangelical church in Korea."²⁷ Part of the work of transitioning from denominational missions to one evangelical church in Korea included the normal comity agreements, a standard Sunday school curriculum for all Korea, a union Christian newspaper, and a union hymnal. In the end, however, organic union did not come about because of the resistance to such a merger from both the denominational offices in North America and from the Korean church leaders themselves.

It is significant that faraway from North America and Europe, at the ends of the earth, one might say, there was a prophetic move toward unity. As George Thompson Brown aptly described it, “Five years before the great Edinburgh conference, which is usually considered to mark the threshold of the ecumenical movement, the missionary enterprise in Korea had achieved a workable, grass-roots ecumenicity based upon evangelical principles.”²⁸ It should be noted that the word “evangelical” rather than “ecumenical” was used by Protestant missions in Korea to indicate their common identity and joint endeavors.

During the first twenty-five years of mission work in Korea, cooperation was the norm. Bible translation work was a joint effort of both Methodists and Presbyterians, along with some assistance from the Anglicans. In the process of translating the New Testament, it was decided by the Board of Official Translators that they would arrive at a standard translation of the Lord’s Prayer in Korean for use by all Protestants.²⁹

Later, when the initial Union Hymnal (1908) was published, a standard translation of the Apostles’ Creed would be placed in the hymnal, after the hymns. It is interesting to note that the standard form of the Apostles’ Creed omitted the phrase “he descended to hell,” which had previously been included in the Presbyterian hymnal, but had been deleted from the Methodist version of the creed. Initially, the pace of ecclesiastical cooperation between the Presbyterians and Methodists was so fast that it appeared the first edition of a union hymnal would be at press by 1905. In 1904, one year before the planned publication date, the annual Hymn Book Committee reported that a total of thirteen hymns made it to the committee, five were accepted and the others were sent back to the translators for further work. The plan was for an edition with music, unlike the previous hymnals in Korea that only had words. Everything seemed to be in place, including the typesetting, ready for printing in 1905, when it was delayed officially. Apparently, it was not a breakdown in inter-church relations as much as a lack of financial resources to complete the publication.

In the eighth session of the twelfth annual meeting of Presbyterian Missions in Korea, the following words concluded the report of the Hymn Book Committee. “The committee believes that the time has not yet come for a Union Hymn Book for the Protestant Churches in Korea but will endeavor to work toward this end as fast as advisable.”³⁰ If, indeed, the delay was due to lack of funds, it would not be remedied until 1907, when the Presbyterian Council’s Hymn Book Committee authorized the transfer of the necessary monies to complete the printing, when the Union Hymnal was finally readied at the press.³¹ In anticipation of the printing of the Union Hymnal, the Presbyterians decided not to reprint their own hymnal, to allow all the extra copies to be sold out. According to the minutes of the

Presbytery meeting in 1907, the Union Hymnal would be printed and ready for marketing in Spring 1908.

There were 317 hymns in the first edition of the Union Hymnal (1908), but they were all without music. An edition with music was prepared and printed the next year (1909). This edition contained 267 hymns and was now accepted by Presbyterians and Methodists in Korea; it is the one that is referred to as the first Union Hymnal in this study.

Selections for the Union Hymnal had been made and translations prepared from mainly two North American hymnals: Charles S. Robinson, ed., *The New Laudes Domini* (New York: Century, 1892) and I. D. Sankey, J. McGranahan, and G. C. Stebbins, eds., *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6 Complete* (New York: Biglow and Main, 1894).³² Out of a total of 276 hymns, 175 were taken from these two hymnals.

Within the 1908 Union Hymnal was a selection that would be considered broadly evangelical, with pride of place going to the eighteenth-century hymn writers: Charles Wesley (12 hymns), Isaac Watts (10), William Cowper (3), John Newton (2), and Augustus Toplady (1). There are nine of Fanny J. Crosby's hymns in the 1908 Union Hymnal. That number would rise to twenty-three in the 1984 Korean-English edition of the Union Hymnal, making Fanny J. Crosby the most represented hymn writer. There is a noticeable switch from the majority of hymns being from the eighteenth century in the 1908 edition to the nineteenth century in the 1984 edition. Another major change in hymn authorship is the high number in the 1908 Union Hymnal of hymns (21 total) written by North American missionaries in Korea, including A. A. Pieters, W. L. Swallen, H. G. Underwood, and J. S. Gale. Only seven of the twenty-one hymns written by missionaries survived subsequent editions to make it into the 1984 edition. Also, the count of hymns written by Korean Christians almost doubles from the 1908 edition (24 hymns) to the 1984 edition (47). And, last of all, when one counts the number of hymns written by Korean Christians in the latest edition of the Union Hymnal (2007), the number more than doubles again, from 47 to 123.

The first major revision of the Union Hymnal after the 1908 and 1909 publications was called for in September 1923 by the Hymnbook Committee of the Federal Council. James S. Gale (1863-1937) was the most critical of the current edition of the Union Hymnal. He forcefully expressed his opinion:

These hymns of the Changsongka are hopeless. They are made by a brutal process of squeezing so many Korean words, charged with as much of the thought of the original as possible, into an iron-clad receptacle called a Western tune. The method is one unheard of in the whole realm of Hymnology. We shall get no good hymns this way.³³

By December 1928, however, there was still no revised Union Hymnal at press. H. D. Appenzeller wrote an update in *The Korea Mission Field*, indicating that the publication of the revised union hymnal was delayed because the publishing company in Shanghai did not work out; the printing was moved to Korea where it was being done by the Seventh-day Adventist Mission press in Seoul. The Korean lyrics were handwritten in the staff, proof-read, and finally photographed and made into printing blocks for the press.³⁴ With the long delay, it was suggested that the many available copies of the current edition be used and sold until the entire stock is exhausted.³⁵ A “revised and enlarged” version of the Union Hymnal was published in 1936 by the Christian Literature Society of Korea, with a total of 314 hymns, but the new edition that had been planned back in 1923 did not become a reality until 1949. It had a greatly expanded number of hymns: 586 as compared with the 267 of the 1908 edition. Of that increase in hymns was the introduction of several from the Salvation Army and more than a dozen from the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition, especially emphasizing the cry for revival, belief in divine healing and the second coming of Christ. Next, we will consider the context of Korean revivalism and the introduction of Holiness hymnody.

Singing to Bring Revival: Holiness Hymnody and Revivalism in the Korean Church

In 1903, Korea experienced its first revival in Wonsan, among a group of Methodist missionaries, led by R. A. Hardie, a Canadian medical doctor and missionary who had come to Korea as an independent missionary sent by the Y.M.C.A. of Toronto. Later he affiliated with the Methodist mission. By August 1906, the hunger for revival led the missionaries in Pyeongyang to invite Hardie to lead a series of similar prayer meetings and Bible studies, as he had in Wonsan. In addition, the visit of Howard Agnew Johnston to Pyeongyang further intensified the call for revival, as he told “of the wonderful manifestations of the Spirit in India.”³⁶ Knowing that revival had fallen in Wonsan and in India encouraged the missionaries and Christians in Pyeongyang to continue to pray until the fire fell from heaven, and fall it did on the evening of January 14 (Monday), 1907.

W. A. Noble offered an eyewitness account of the revival, complete with all its physical manifestations.

We are having the most wonderful manifestations of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the native church that I have ever seen or heard, perhaps there has been no greater demonstration of Divine power since the Apostles' days. At every meeting the slain of the Lord are laid out all over the church and sometimes out in the yard. Men and women are

stricken down and become unconscious under the power of conviction.³⁷

From that single twenty-four hour period in January 1907, revival spread throughout the nation, from the north to the south, from the city to the countryside, and from adults to youth. More than mere journalistic descriptions of the revival experiences, there arose a theological language replete with Pentecostal expressions. One term that now found a home among Presbyterians and Methodists, after it had become the common language of Keswick and the Holiness movement in Britain and North America, was the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

It was reported in *The Korea Mission Field* that “Mr. Kil, an earnest student of the Scriptures and the most gifted preacher in the native Presbyterian church, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in Pyeng Yang in the revival meetings conducted in that city, and came to Seoul to preach in the churches here. His preaching is in power and in demonstration of the Spirit.”³⁸

Only two years after the 1907 Pyeongyang revival, another revival was being prayed for and planned by the missionaries and Korean pastors. During 1909-1910, the “Million Souls Movement” was the vision for a national evangelistic outreach and church awakening. In one single year, the goal was that one million souls would be saved and added to the churches in Korea. In order to help launch this national revival, Pastor Gil Seonju and one of the elders of his church assembled every morning at 4:00 am for morning prayer, the first morning five hundred believers joined them in prayer. When the campaign was officially adopted by the General Council, a group of North American evangelists arrived to begin some meetings, including J. Wilbur Chapman (1859-1918), the hymn writer Charles M. Alexander (1867-1920), and the author of the hymn that promoted the revival movement, Robert Harkness (1880-1962).³⁹ Harkness’s “A Million Souls for Jesus” was included in the 1909 edition of the Union Hymnal, at number 267, it was the final one in the book.⁴⁰

Revivalism goes beyond “revival” and is defined as “the use of techniques of mass organization and leadership, and emotional stimulation centering on repentance and dramatic conversion, to transform the faith of apparently lukewarm Christians, and to increase the number of converts.”⁴¹ Hymns and gospel songs could also be added to the list of components of revivalism. Hymns are not the only carrier of revival fire, and perhaps, are not the most significant, but there is a message in the hymns that are sung that connects with hearts across an ocean and across a nation. The spread of revivalism in the eighteenth century was positioned over the Atlantic Ocean, with George Whitefield (1714-1770) journeying back and forth between the British colonies in North America and Great Britain, spreading revival wherever he went. The nineteenth century witnessed further transatlantic

traffic with Charles G. Finney (1792-1875) and Phoebe Palmer (1807-1874) leading the spread of holiness. The twentieth century, however, saw a partial diversion in the standard traffic pattern; some of the carriers of revival began to sail the Pacific in addition to the Atlantic. Thus, when Korea emerged from being the “hermit” nation in the 1880s to an open nation to both commerce and diplomacy to the West, many of the luminaries of North American and British revivalism added the “land of the morning calm” to their Asian itineraries.

Although the key evangelists of this period, Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) and Billy Sunday (1862-1935), never personally traveled to Korea for a revival crusade, many other evangelical luminaries did manage the trans-Pacific journey.

R. A. Torrey and his wife were in Korea in 1921, visiting Busan, Wonsan, and Seoul. Later, Torrey’s son would serve as a Presbyterian missionary in China and his grandson, Reuben Archer Torrey III, would serve as an Episcopalian missionary in Korea, where he established Jesus Abbey in Gangwon province.

Later, in 1923, William Edward Biederwolf (1867-1939), the Presbyterianevangelist, and formerly assistant to J. Wilbur Chapman and Homer Rodeheaver (1880-1955), arrived in Korea for evangelistic meetings.

Henry Clay Morrison (1857-1942), founder and president of Asbury Theological Seminary visited Korea in 1910. The crowds at Morrison’s meetings at the Y.M.C.A. in Seoul were so large that “they had to issue tickets of admission and the altars were filled, both by sinners seeking pardon and Christians seeking sanctifying grace.”⁴²

Another Asburian, Dr. G. W. Ridout, professor of evangelism at the seminary, arrived in Seoul on January 31, 1929, as part of his world-wide tour, and preached evangelistic meetings for more than one month throughout Seoul.⁴³ This is only a partial list of visitors during the first three decades of the twentieth century, but more significant was the visitor who came and stayed: Holiness hymnody.

Holiness is a historical and theological category that can, at times, be very inclusive. It can be shaped broadly, as the term “evangelical” has been, to describe everyone and everything. Or, it can be used narrowly to exclude anyone who has not given a verbal testimony of a definite, instantaneous experience of entire sanctification. In the broad category, Fanny J. Crosby would be counted as a Holiness hymn writer, for she showed great interest in the Holiness movement, although never personally professed the experience of entire sanctification.⁴⁴ We will limit our view of Holiness hymnody to two groups that arrived in Korea in 1907 and 1908: the Oriental Missionary Society and the Salvation Army, respectively. They were both late comers to Korea, when compared with the Presbyterians and Methodists,

but the dates of their arrival were auspicious in that 1907 was the year of the Great Revival in Pyeongyang and 1908 was the publication year of the initial Union Hymnal in Korea. These late-comers would contribute a distinctive Holiness hymnody to Korea that would act as a perpetual call for revival. From the Oriental Missionary Society would come two hymnals that expressed the need for spiritual warfare, employing martial language to sing through to victory over sin and Satan. The Salvation Army's unique contribution to the Union Hymnal would come through a hymn related to its motto: blood and fire.

The Oriental Missionary Society (hereafter OMS) in Korea was an extension of its beginnings in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century. Charles Elmer (1868-1924) and Lettie Burd (1870-1960) Cowman, Ernest Albert Kilbourne (1865-1928), and Jugi Nakada (1870-1939) were the key persons in the formation of OMS.⁴⁵ There were definite ties between the early OMS and God's Bible School in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the theological influence of Martin Wells Knapp (1853-1901) and William Baxter Godbey (1833-1920) clearly could be seen.

Although a short collection of gospel songs was used by the first OMS missionaries in Korea, the first full-size Korean hymnal, *Jeungsŏin Bogeumga* [New Gospel Songs] was not published until 1919.⁴⁶ Later, a revised edition was issued under a new title *Buheung Seongga* [Holy Revival Hymns] in 1930. In their introduction to the 1930 edition, Charles Cowman and E. A. Kilbourne described the songs as being a useful collection of "soul-stirring songs and hymns." But when one opens either one of the two editions, the first nine hymns are a bit more than "soul-stirring," they are fighting words against both sin and the devil. Spiritual warfare hymns are located in the front of the hymnal as the initial category.⁴⁷ The first hymn is "Fight the Good Faith," the second is "The Banner of the Cross." The third hymn is translated from the Japanese and in later editions of the Korean Union Hymnal it is put to the music of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic"; the first line of the hymn is "Up, and fight against the devil, you whose sins are wash'd away!"⁴⁸

The militant tone of "Up, and fight against the devil" would not have been a surprise to anyone in the Holiness movement. Nurtured on camp meeting hymnody, such martial language in song was standard fare. Charles A. Johnson, in his study of North American camp meetings, identifies the various categories of songs. The mourner's songs were used to urge people on to holiness. "[The campers] viewed themselves as soldiers enlisted under the banner of Christ, pledged to wage 'unceasing warfare against sin.'"⁴⁹ Although martial language in hymns as expressions of fighting against sin and the devil was standard fare in Holiness camp meetings, not everyone in Korea was convinced that fighting hymns needed to be sung in church.

Yun Chiho (1865-1945), baptized as a Methodist and educated at Vanderbilt and Emory, was a leader in Korea's Independence Movement. Yun grew to resent the foreign missionary's attitude of aloofness and superiority, as he viewed them from his position as a member of Korea's yangban class. He criticized the free usage of military language in hymns as being "almost meaningless words to the Koreans who have been compelled to worship the pen—a brush—rather than the sword."⁵⁰

By 1961, the Korean church affirmed the singing of spiritual warfare hymns when it included "Up, and fight against the devil" in the 1961 printing of the 1949 edition of the Union Hymnal.⁵¹ It continues to vote in this hymn's favor by including it in every subsequent publication of the Union Hymnal to include the most-recent edition (2007).

The Salvation Army published its first hymnal, *Gusegunga* [Salvation Army Songs] in 1912, containing ninety hymns. The 1928 edition of the same hymnal was expanded to include 251 hymns. The Salvation Army's motto of "Blood and Fire" was distinctive in its use of two powerful spiritual symbols. From Britain to the United States, the Salvation Army also had a distinctive musical style.

In 1880, as the Salvation Army was starting in the USA, its music was described by the *National Baptist*:

The meeting began with singing. The lung-power and unction that these people throw into their singing is immense....[T]here is a clapping of hands, keeping time to music....[R]efrains...are repeated an indefinite number of times. No particular person starts the tunes; each of the officers, man or woman, takes a hand at it as the spirit moves; often before a new verse of the hymn can be commenced, a voice strikes in with the chorus once more.⁵²

All in all, the Salvation Army's music in North America had the sounds of the "working-class saloon and music-hall culture."⁵³

With that kind of musical sound, one would need some powerful lyrics to further touch and transform human hearts. Again, the "Blood and Fire" carried enough passion to reach the coldest heart. One example of Salvation Army's hymnody should suffice. The symbol of "fire" was no more powerful than in the hymn written by Charles William Fry (1837-1882): "Come, thou burning Spirit, come" (1882). Charles Fry and his three sons were the beginning of Salvation Army brass bands.⁵⁴ He is more well-known in North America for his "I have found a friend in Jesus/Lily of the Valley." Both hymns were included in the Union Hymnal, but it is significant that "Come, thou burning Spirit, come" was such a vivid expression of the longing and cry for revival. The last line of the chorus is "Fire, fire; fill us with Thy holy

fire!” Fry’s “Come, thou burning Spirit, come” is number 184 in the 2007 edition of the Union Hymnal.

Holiness hymnody and its inclusion in the mainstream Union Hymnal in Korea can be further illustrated by selections from Russell Kelso Carter (1849-1920), Fanny J. Crosby (1820-1915), Manie Payne Ferguson (1850-1932), Charles H. Gabriel (1856-1932), Paul Rader (1879-1938), A. B. Simpson (1843-1919), and Edgar B. Sites (1836-1921), to name only a handful. The list continues when one considers the contributions of Japanese Holiness hymn writers: Mitani Tanekiti (1868-1945), Nakada Jugi (1870-1939), Nakada Ugo (1896-1974), and Sasao Tetusaburo (1868-1914). Also, a recent addition to the Union Hymnal (2007 edition) is “My rock, my shield” by Lee Myeongjik (1890-1973), a leader in the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church.

Conclusion

As we have perused the pages of the Union Hymnal, we have gone beyond the normal boundaries of what we term the Ecumenical movement to find that revivalism has created a bond among Christians of many Protestant confessions. The margins have become the mainstream, and to use a word from Donald W. Dayton, “the riffraff” of the Holiness movement have entered, and they have become family.⁵⁵

Using the same hymnal has meant that Baptist, Holiness, Methodist, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Stone-Campbell, and “Independent” churches are singing from the same page, making more than a symbol of unity, but creating a true bond of the Spirit, bringing unity and carrying revival.

James S. Gale viewed hymns as both universal and particular, as being expressive of the church’s fullest and truest identity.

Wherever the gospel goes, hymns spring up, glad hymns, pathetic hymns, hymns that win the wayward and the wandering. Among those most in use in Korea are “Jesus loves me” (“*Ye-su na-rul sa-rang hao*”), “Nothing but the blood” (“*P’I pak-kei up-nai*”), “nearer, my God, to Thee (“*Ha-na-nim kat-ka-bi*”), “Jerusalem, my happy home” (“*Ye-ru-sal-lem nap ok toin chip*”). These are finding their way into huts that you have to bow down to crawl into, into high-class homes, into palaces, and the children are growing up with their vibrations in the air. The place that hymns have in the forward march of the gospel is worth noting, a place large and permanent. Thus far the foreign missionary has had much to do with the composition of Korean hymns, but later we shall have our Watts and Wesley, who will give us compositions that will stand like “Rock of Ages.”⁵⁶

Endnotes

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² On the Pyeongyang revival, see William Blair and Bruce Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1977, originally published 1910); Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*, rev. ed. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971); Jonathan Goforth, *When the Spirit's Fire Swept Korea* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel, 1984); George Heber Jones, *The Korean Revival* (New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910); and Yong-Kyu Park, *Pyeongyang Daebunheung Undong* [The Great Revivalism in Korea: Its History, Character, and Impact, 1901-1910] (Seoul: Saengmyeong Ui Malsseumsa, 2000). On Korean revivalism as a movement, see Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

³ "Hanguk Gyohoe Dashi Ileona Minjokeul Ggaewura" [Church in Korea Arise, These People Wake Up], Keuriseuchan Tudei, 9 July 2007, <<http://www.christiantoday.co.kr/view.htm?code=cg&id=186353>> (24 March 2010).

⁴ As noted by Noll and Sanders, the corpus of studies on Christian hymnody is ever expanding. Recent studies include Edith L. Blumhofer and Mark A. Noll, eds. *Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Hymnody in the History of North American Protestantism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); Stephen A. Marini, *Sacred Song in America: Religion, Music, and Public Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, eds. *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2004); Mark A. Noll and Edith L. Blumhofer, eds. *Sing Them Over Again to Me: Hymns and Hymnbooks in America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006); and David W. Stowe, *How Sweet the Sound: Music in the Spiritual Lives of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). Christianity, ed. Mary Farrell Bednarowski (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 172-173.

⁵ Mark A. Noll and Ethan R. Sanders, "Evangelicalism in North America," in *Twentieth-Century Global Christianity*, ed. Mary Farrell Bednarowski (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 172-173.

⁶ Wm. C. Kerr, "Music in Men's and Women's Bible Classes," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1915): 105.

⁷ Sizer provides three reasons for studying lyrics only: 1. In many cases, lyrics appeared as religious poetry, independent of musical tune, 2. Tunes were given names according to the lyrics, and 3. Words were emphasized by vocal and instrumental musicians. Sandra Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978), 9.

⁸ For further reading on Korean history and the history of Korean religions, see Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History, updated edition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005); James Huntley Grayson, *Korea—A Religious History*, rev. ed. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002); and Everett N. Hunt, Jr., *Protestant Pioneers in Korea*, American Society of Missiology Series, 1 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1980).

⁹ Romanization has changed as well as some orthography from the time of the publication of many of our primary sources. The Republic of Korea's official Romanization system for the transliteration of the Korean language will be used throughout this paper. Also, the Korean custom of listing the surname first, followed by the given name, will be followed. The government's current Romanization system will be followed when I write the text, but for the older sources the Romanization will not be altered. For further reading on the Donghak movement, see Susan S. Shin, "The Tonghak Movement: From Enlightenment to Revolution," *Korean Studies Forum* 5 (Winter-Spring 1978-1979): 1-79.

¹⁰ The dates for mission beginnings include: Methodist Episcopal Church (1885), Presbyterian Church (1885), Australian Presbyterian (1889), Church of England (1890), Presbyterian Church US (1892), American Baptist (1895), Methodist Episcopal Church South (1896), Canadian Presbyterians (1898), Seventh-Day Adventist (1905), Oriental Missionary Society (1907), and Salvation Army (1908).

¹¹ Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), 121-123. For the larger context, see Sung-Deuk Oak, "Shamanistic Tan'gun and Christian Hananim: Protestant Missionaries Interpretation of the Korean Founding Myth, 1895-1934," *Studies in World Christianity* 7 (2001): 42-57.

¹² L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea* (Pyeng Yang: Union Christian College Press, 1920), 238-239.

¹³ *Chan Mi Ka* (1897 edition of the Methodist hymnal), *ChanSyeongsi* (1897 edition of the Presbyterian Mission, North hymnal), and *Chan Yang Ka* (edited by H. G. Underwood, 3d. ed., 1896) are listed in "Literary Department," *The Korean Repository* April 1897): 154. Mention is also made of all three hymnals in the "Preface," in *Chan Song Ka: The Hymnal of the Federal Council of the Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea*, revised and enlarged (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1936), 1.

¹⁴ Malcolm C. Fenwick was an independent Canadian missionary that arrived in Korea in 1889. Unlike the other North American missionaries to Korea, Fenwick was neither college educated nor a graduate of any Bible college or seminary. Yet he managed to become one of the most innovative of missionaries, founding the Korean Itinerant Mission. Although there is no full-length biography on Malcolm Fenwick in English, his *The Church of Christ in Corea* (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911) contains much autobiographical material. For a study on Fenwick in the Korean language, see Ahn Huiyeol, *Malkom Penwick* [Malcolm Fenwick] (Daejeon: Chimryeshinhakdaehaggyo Chulpansa, 2006).

¹⁵ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ in Corea*, 26-27.

¹⁶ F. S. Miller, "Early Korean Hymnology," *The Korea Mission Field* (September 1930): 190.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Wm. C. Kerr, "Music in Men's and Women's Bible Classes," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1915): 107.

²⁰ Allen F. DeCamp, "Editorial Notes," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1915): 96.

²¹ Allen D. Clark, "The Itinerator Goes Musical," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1938): 79.

²² Brown, *Mission to Korea*, 75.

²³ Miller, "Early Korean Hymnology," 190-191.

²⁴ Hunt, *Protestant Pioneers in Korea*, 24.

²⁵ W. B. Scranton, "Historical Sketch of the Korea Mission of Methodist Episcopal Church," *The Korean Repository* (July 1898): 257.

²⁶ Hunt, *Protestant Pioneers in Korea*, 24-26.

²⁷ George Thompson Brown, *Mission to Korea* (Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education, 1962), 77.

²⁸ Ibid., 78.

²⁹ "The Lord's Prayer in Korean," *The Korean Repository* (February 1897): 71-73.

³⁰ F. S. Miller, "Report of the Hymn Book Committee," in *The Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Council of Presbyterian Missions in Korea, Seoul*, Sept. 13-19, 1904 (Seoul: Methodist Publishing House, 1904).

³¹ *1907 Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Council of Presbyterian Missions in Korea* and the First Annual Meeting of the Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (Pyeongyang, Korea: n.p., 1907), 16.

³² Sukja Jo, ed., "*Changsongga*" (1908) *Yeongujaryojib* ["Hymnal" (1908) Research Information] Seoul: Hanguk Choichoui Gaesungyo Tongilchansongga, 1995), 14-15.

³³ Wm. C. Kerr, "The Revision of the Union Hymnbook," *The Korea Mission Field* (November 1925): 241.

³⁴ H. D. Appenzeller, "Report on the Union Hymnal," *The Korea Mission Field* (December 1929): 256.

³⁵ F. E. C. Williams and Gerald Bonwick, eds., *The Korea Missions Year Book* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1928), 145.

³⁶ G. Lee, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field* 3, no. 3 (March 1907): 33.

³⁷ *The Korea Mission Field* (March 1907): 43.

³⁸ "Recent Work of the Holy Spirit in Seoul." *The Korea Mission Field* 3, no. 3 (March 1907): 41.

³⁹ Harry A. Rhodes, ed. *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A.*, vol. 1, 1884-1934 (Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education, 1934), 286.

⁴⁰ Sukja Jo, "Changsonggda" (1908) *Yeongjaryojib*, 600.

⁴¹ J. N. Morris, *Renewed by the Word: The Bible and Christian Revival Since the Reformation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 13.

⁴² Henry Clay Morrison, *Some Chapters of My Life Story*, CD-ROM (Wesleyan Heritage Library, 1998).

⁴³ M. B. Stokes, "Dr. Ridout in Seoul," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1929): 77-78. For information on Ridout, see the dictionary entry "Ridout, George Whitefield" in William C. Kostlevy, ed. *Historical Dictionary of the Holiness Movement*, 2d ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 252-253.

⁴⁴ Edith L. Blumhofer, *Her Heart Can See: The Life and Hymns of Fanny J. Crosby* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 263.

⁴⁵ For further reading on the history of the Oriental Missionary Society (later called the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church), see Korea Evangelical Holiness Church Historical Research Center, *Hanguk Seonggyeolgyobwi 100nyeonsa* [One Hundred Year History of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church] (Seoul: Korea Evangelical Holiness Church Publishers, 2007); Myung Soo Park, *Chogi Hanguk Seonggyeolgyobwisa* [Early History of the Korea Holiness Church: Its Background and Early Development] (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 2001); and Myung Soo Park, "The 20th Century Holiness Movement and Korean Holiness Groups," *The Asbury Journal* 62 (2007): 81-108.

⁴⁶ Korea Evangelical Holiness Church Historical Research Center, *Hanguk Seonggyeolgyobwi 100nyeonsa* [One Hundred Year History of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church], 117.

⁴⁷ Both *Jeuungsbin Bogeungga* [New Gospel Songs] (1919) and *Bubeung Seongga* [Holy Revival Hymns] (1930) have located Spiritual Warfare hymns in the front, as their first category. Hymn #1 is "Fight the Good Fight," #2 is "The Banner of the Cross," and #3 is "Fight Against the Devil." Both hymnals have nine hymns in this category, compared with only two hymns listed in the "warfare" category in Paul Rader's *Tabernacle Hymns*, No. 2

(Chicago: Tabernacle Publishing Company, 1921). The two warfare hymns in *Tabernacle Hymns* are “At the Battle’s Front” and “Hold the Fort.”

⁴⁸ In the latest edition of the Union Hymnal, “Up, and fight against the devil” is hymn number 348. It is listed in the category Buntu wa seungri [Fighting and victory]. Korea Hymnal Association, ed., *Changsongga* (Seoul: Agape, 2007), 348.

⁴⁹ Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion’s Harvest Time*, reprint ed. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1985), 198.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Donald N. Clark, *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience 1900-1950* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003), 114.

⁵¹ *Changsongga* (Seoul: Korean Christian Publishers, 1961), 376.

⁵² Quoted in Lillian Taiz, *Hallelujah Lads & Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 81.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁵⁴ William Jensen Reynolds, *Hymns of Our Faith: A Handbook for the Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Broadman, 1964), 295.

⁵⁵ See Donald W. Dayton, “Yet Another Layer of the Onion, Or Opening the Ecumenical Door to Let the Riffraff In,” *The Ecumenical Review* 40 (1988): 87-110.

⁵⁶ James S. Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York: Young People’s Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909), 176.