

THE IMPACT OF CANADIAN MISSIONARIES IN KOREA:  
A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF EARLY CANADIAN  
MISSION WORK, 1888-1898

by

Young-sik Yoo

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
Centre for the Study of Religion, in the  
University of Toronto

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## ABSTRACT

"The Impact of Canadian Missionaries in Korea: A Historical Survey of Early Canadian Mission Work, 1888-1898"

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
Centre for the Study of Religion, University of Toronto  
by Yoo Young-sik.

This dissertation examines how early Canadian missionaries influenced Korean society. The Introduction critiques previous studies, provides a review of the primary sources used, and presents a synopsis of the dissertation's thesis. Chapter One through Three focus specifically on Korea. While Chapter One examines the socio-political climate of late nineteenth-century Korea, Chapter Two describes the impact of Roman Catholicism on Korean society and how this affected the later reception of Protestantism. Chapter Three details how Protestant missionaries learned from Roman Catholic travails and came to incorporate Korea's indigenous belief system in their evangelizing efforts.

Chapters Four through Nine examine the lives and works of the earliest Canadian missionaries, especially: James Gale, first Canadian missionary to Korea (Chapter Four); Robert Harkness and Malcolm Fenwick, Corea Union Mission leaders (Chapter Five); physician-evangelists William and Sherwood Hall (Chapter Seven); Dr. Oliver Avison, founder of Korea's first medical college (Chapter Eight); and William McKenzie,

the most assimilated of all Canadian missionaries (Chapter Nine).

The Conclusion details and summarizes Canada's extensive contributions to Korea's modernization process. Such involvement included providing religious and modern secular education, new medical technologies and training, and efforts to instill the Korean people with a spirit of independence and self-reliance through social movements. The Conclusion also asserts that Canadian missionary efforts in general have received but cursory treatment from scholars because of overwhelming "American-centrocism's" prevalence throughout the academic world.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There is an old Korean proverb, "The further climbed, the higher the pass; the further across, the wider the stream." While writing this thesis, I did indeed have mountains to climb and currents to cross. As I look back over the last several years, I realize that without the people who pushed me to conquer these peaks and waters, I would not have been able to arrive at this stage of writing.

To those of whom I am grateful: First, I am deeply indebted to Prof. Richard Guisso, my supervisor, who has profoundly influenced my historical methodology. It was due in part to his thoroughness in training me that I have managed to reach this stage. I thank him for his patience and endurance. I am also grateful to Prof. Chai-shin Yu for his continued support. My two appraisers, Prof. Julia Ching of the University of Toronto, and Prof. A. Hamish Ion of the Royal Military College of Canada, after their careful reading my dissertation, provided helpful comments. I am also grateful to Profs. Ron Sweet and Willard Oxtoby of the University of Toronto, whose precise critiques of my thesis provided me with valuable insights. I must express my gratitude to "The Foundation for Support of the Korean Studies at the University of Toronto" for funding my teaching positions during my Ph.D. studies.

My profound thanks goes out to the numerous family

members of the missionaries dealt with in the thesis -- Donald and Margaret Farrow, Helen McRae, Mary Grierson, Fred and Anne Black, Edward and Phyllis King, Laird McKenzie, George Gale, and Harold Bonner.

Many thanks to Harold Averill, Archivist at University of Toronto, Edna Hajnal, Librarian for the Rare Book, University of Toronto, Eleanor Nicol, Principal's Office, Knox College, who decoded the most difficult part of the hand-written certificate of James Gale; the staffs at the archives of the United Church of Canada, Victoria University; the Presbyterian Church in Canada; Wellington County Archives in Fergus, Ontario; Sandra Haycock of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax; Helyn Anderson, Librarian for the Colchester Historical Society, Truro, Nova Scotia; Suzanne Rowe at Markham District's Historical Museum in Ontario; John Beauregard, Archivist at Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts; and M. Joyce, Librarian of Bath Community Library, Bath, England. I would also like to thank Prof. Emeritus, Kenneth Ferguson, and Prof. Ernst W. Stieb, both members of the Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Toronto.

A special thank-you is also due to the Korean library staff -- Han Yong-hyun, Kang Chin-hwa, and Kang Chin-son -- of the East Asian Library and Jane Lynch of the Interloan Department of Robarts Library, University of Toronto, for their kind and patient accommodation of my many requests.

I must also express my gratitude to the following Profs.:

Stephen Farris, Calvin Pater, Donald Smith, Raymond Humphries, Nicol Ian and the late Donald Corbett, the former Principal of Knox College; his wife Tammy Corbett, who graciously gave me some of her late husband's books in which I used writing the thesis; Maeng Yong-gil of Presbyterian Theological Seminary (Seoul); Ko Do-heung of Hallym University (Chunchon); Lee Sam-yŏl of Yŏnsei (Seoul), Chŏn In-cho of Yŏnsei; Yu Jae-chun of Soongsil University (Seoul); Chang Hae-kwang of Keimyung University (Taegu) and Lee Mun-soo of Taegu University.

I am particularly grateful to our family friend Prof. Diana Wright of McMaster University who read my manuscript and made suggestions. I deeply appreciate the technical expertise provided by Pak Tae-kyung, East Asian Studies Ph.D. candidate at the University of Toronto.

I cannot end without expressing my affection for, and appreciation to, my wife Shin who bore all the burdens of the family during the last ten plus years. Without her support, this thesis truly would not have been possible. The thesis is also a cumulation of my mother's prayers and my elder brother's encouragement. Conquering the mountains and rivers which seemed to bar my way would not have been possible without the loving family environment provided by my children, Philip, Stephen and Milda, who grew to be a young lady as she consistently asked her mother, "When is Daddy going to finish being a student?" I thank them all.

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## INTRODUCTION

Christianity,<sup>1</sup> especially Protestantism, is an important force among Koreans today. The size of some Protestant congregations is huge. Statistics show that in 1994 there were half a million members of the "Kidokkyo taehan hananim ūi sōnghoe" (Holy Assembly of Korean Christianity), generally known as "Soon pokūm kyohoe"<sup>2</sup> (Full Gospel Church)<sup>3</sup>, and 40,000 in the congregation of the Young Nak Presbyterian Church,<sup>4</sup> both of which are located in Seoul. According to 1992 statistics, the total budget that year by all of the Protestant churches in South Korea was \$32 million U.S., which suggests that each individual contributed approximately \$640 U.S.<sup>5</sup> As South Korea's per capita annual income in 1992 was \$ 3,200, it is probable that each member of the Protestant congregations surveyed contributed 20% of their income to their church in that year.

Korea, moreover, is no longer a missionary-receiving country, but rather a missionary-sending one. According to 1988 statistics, 498 Korean missionaries were sent by various Protestant Christian Churches in Korea to 50 different countries, including Thailand, Brazil, the Philippines, India, and Pakistan. Every bit as striking is the fact that in 1993, the Korean Bible Society published and exported 4.7 million Bibles in 102 different languages.<sup>6</sup>

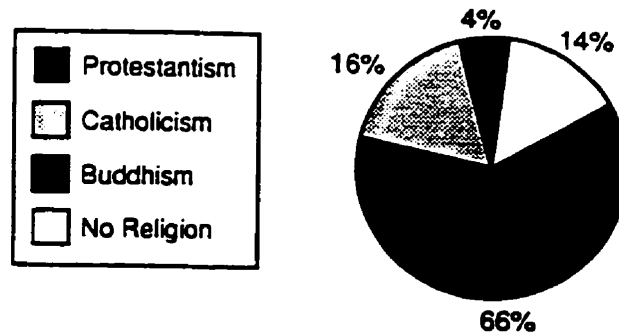
Such aggressive and dynamic promulgation of Christianity

by Koreans is not confined to mainland Korea, but is paralleled in overseas Korean communities. Canadian sociologist Reginald W. Bibby, who contends that "Christianity is the most numerically dominant religion in the world,"<sup>7</sup> says also that newcomers, in general, "usually arrive in Canada as Christians."<sup>8</sup> Korean immigrants to Canada typify what Bibby describes, and among these Christians the vast majority of Korean emigres are Protestants, or at least Protestant "church-goers," primarily because Protestantism is second only to Buddhism among Korea's religions. Regardless of their numbers, whenever or wherever Koreans form an immigrant community, they attend Christian gatherings and establish Christian congregations.

The stresses of adapting to a new social environment appear to turn new immigrants into "church people." Whether or not they were professed Christians back in Korea, they usually become congregation members upon their arrival in Canada. Not only are they able to feel at home among people who speak their own language, but they can also make vital connections, with the churches functioning as information centres.

According to a survey conducted in Toronto in 1993, 86% of Toronto's Korean community observed some form of religion. Among these, 66% were Protestant, 16% were Roman Catholics, and 4% were Buddhist.<sup>9</sup>

Graph Introduction 1: Survey on the Religions  
of Koreans in the Metropolitan Toronto Area



source: The Choong ang ilbo (The Korea Central Daily), (Toronto, Ontario), (December 25, 1993), p. 6.

As of 1994, there were about 150 Korean Protestant congregations in the Metropolitan Toronto area alone, serving about 35,000 Koreans,<sup>10</sup> a ratio of one Protestant congregation about per 200 people. The Chinese community in the Metropolitan Toronto area, on the other hand, has about 100 Protestant congregations serving about 350,000 Chinese,<sup>11</sup> a ratio of one Protestant congregation per 3,500 people. The rapid growth in size and importance of the Korean Protestant Christian Church in Canada has also been recognized by the mainline Canadian Protestant churches. In 1988, for example, the United Church of Canada elected Reverend Lee Sang-chul as 32nd Moderator of the United Church of Canada. Lee, in fact, had converted to Christianity while he was a student at a school in Manchuria operated by the Canadian Mission Board.<sup>12</sup> The omnipresence of Christianity among Koreans

today, whether in Korea or overseas, demonstrates Protestantism's tremendous influence on Korean society. This may seem surprising, given the relatively short history of Christianity in the country, since Protestantism was introduced just over a century ago, in 1884. The remarkable success of mission work in Korea has been described by the contemporary historian, Spencer J. Palmer, as "one of the marvels of modern history."<sup>13</sup>

However, when discussing the growth of Korean Christianity, scholars have generally failed to elucidate the close connection between the "evangelization" of Korea and the more generalized modernization of Korean society during the late nineteenth-century. Thus, the theme of the present thesis shall be to discuss the extent of the role of Canadian Protestant missionaries in modernizing Korea at the turn of the century.

Though uniformly impressed by the "marvel" of the impact of Christian missionary work on Korean society, historians of Korean Christianity continue to disagree on the nature of the Korean Protestant Churches. Alfred W. Wasson (1880-1964), a former Methodist missionary from the United States, for instance, contended:

Among all modern mission fields Korea stands foremost for the rapidity with which converts have been won and a strong church established. Within the lifetime of the pioneer Protestant missionaries, a self-governing and largely self-supporting church with a vigorous native leadership has grown up.<sup>14</sup>



In his "Protestant Christianity in China and Korea," an unpublished Ph.D. thesis for the University of California, Berkeley (1964), Spencer John Palmer (1927 - ) noted that, "Korea is the only country of continental Asia where the largest grouping is now Christian -- better than six per cent of the population."<sup>15</sup> When a former missionary, Allen D. Clark (1908 - ), said that the Christian Churches in Korea were "one of the most remarkable churches in any mission field in the world,"<sup>16</sup> he meant that Korean Christian Churches were, and are, independent, fully self-governing, self-propagating and almost entirely self-supporting.<sup>17</sup> However, native Korean historians' reflections on the matter are less positive. Yu Dong-sik suggests:

The Christian Gospel came to Korea in the form of their [Westerners'] tradition and style which rode on the waves of Western civilization. That Christianity has already lived in this land for a century. However, the Korean Christian Church is anxious to imitate, and so has failed to take off, having only put on the Western mask worn by the Gospel when it first came. To date, the Korean Christian Church has relied merely on the translation of Western civilization.<sup>18</sup>

Another contemporary historian, Min Kyōng-bae says that the history of the Christian Church in Korea has so far served merely as a continuation of the church history of the proselytizers' country, and that Korean Christianity has shown no consideration for the history of its proselytes.<sup>19</sup>

The discipline of study of Christian Church history in Korea is still in its formative stages, and no one has yet

done justice to it. This is due partly to a lack of sufficiently detailed and scholarly treatments of the mission work of specific national groupings. This dissertation seeks to assign a proper place in history to the early Canadian Protestant missionaries, with special attention to their impact on Korea's modernization. Moreover, this research should help to foster a better understanding of the roots of Korean Christianity's heritage both theologically and ecclesiastically.

Unfortunately, because of the Japanese Occupation (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953),<sup>20</sup> many of the basic historical materials which one would expect to find in Korea have been lost or destroyed. Therefore, scholars must look to the homelands of the missionaries for information about them and their work. In my attempt to contribute to the knowledge of Canadian mission historiography, and to analyze missionary life and thought within the historical context of mission work in Korea, I have conducted research both in Canada and Korea, and as one result, have come to believe that exploring the impact of Canadian mission work provides insight into modern Korean society and also into the historical connection between Canada and Korea.

#### Previous Studies

Several general works on the history of Christianity in

Korea have been published by native Korean and as well as Western scholars. However, major publications like Han'guk kyohoe chogisa (Early History of Korean Church, 1970) by Lee Ho-un, Han'guk kidokkyo sŏngjangsa (History of the Christian Church's Development in Korea, 1979) by Kim Kwang-su, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church, 1982) by Min Kyŏng-bae, and Han'guk kidokkyo ūi yŏksa (History of Christianity in Korea, 1991) by the Han'guk kidokkyosa yŏnkuhoe (The Historical Society of the Korean Christian Church), generally neglect the earliest Canadian missionaries. Even when a Canadian presence is acknowledged, it is generally subsumed under the focus on American mission work.

The topic is only slightly better treated in Western-language publications. A brief survey of Canadian Presbyterian missions starting from the arrival of the first three "regular" appointees in 1898 may be found in Paik Lak-Geon's (1895-1985) History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910.<sup>21</sup> Another publication, Canada's Share in World Tasks (1920), edited by H.C. Priest and published by the Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, briefly mentions the watershed activities of William John McKenzie (1861-1895), but totally ignores any missionary work before his. Former Canadian missionaries to Korea, Elizabeth A. McCully (1862-1941) and James Oxley Fraser (1878 - ?), co-authored a book called Our Share in Korea<sup>22</sup> (1931) in the format of a brief description of the works carried on by the Canadian Mission

Board starting from 1898. Another former missionary to Korea, William Scott (1886-1979), published Canadians in Korea: [A] Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea (1975).<sup>23</sup> It appeared in mimeographed form and began with the work of Duncan McRae (1867-1949), Robert Grierson (1868-1965), and William Foote (1869-1930), who were sponsored by the Presbyterian Church of Canada in 1898.

Kim Jung-gūn's "'God's Country': Canadian Missionaries in Korea and Beginning of Korean Migration to Canada," an unpublished Ed.D. thesis for the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto (1982), calls itself "a study of Korean immigration to Canada."<sup>24</sup> However, Kim's work is neither a detailed history of Canadian mission work in Korea nor an historical examination of the Korean immigrant experience in Canada. The work is essentially a collection of anecdotes from those fortunate enough to "use" Canadian missionaries to "escape" their homeland during the Cold War period of the 1940s-1960s, and highlights tales about how these Korean refugees settled in what the author has called "God's Country": Canada.

There is also a recent Canadian publication called The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire (1990), by A. Hamish Ion, of the Royal Military College of Canada. Although Ion's work is primarily concerned with missionary work in Japan, it does contain a segment devoted to the situation in Korea. The

chapter is entitled "Canadian Presbyterians in Korea."<sup>25</sup>

This dissertation specifically investigates the history of Canadian missionary work in Korea during the period 1888 - 1898, and places it in the context of over-all pioneering missionary outreach projects. No Korean or Western scholar has yet addressed this topic.

### Orientation

Freelance Protestant Canadian mission work can be traced back to 1888, although it was not until 1898 that the Presbyterian Church of Canada sent its first official representatives. This thesis focuses on the earliest missionary efforts, the "germination period" of Canadian Protestant mission work from 1888 to 1898. During this time, ten Canadian men and women went to Korea as Christian evangelists,<sup>26</sup> some as "independents" and some under the umbrella of the American Mission Board.

The late nineteenth-century was a pivotal period in Korean history just as it was in China and Japan. Amidst the social, political and cultural upheaval that was part of this transitional era, Canadian missionaries were active not only in proselytization, but also in the encouragement of Korea's move to modernization. For example, James Scarth Gale (1863-1937) did so through literary work, education, and the implantation of the spirit of progressivism in Korean youth;

Malcolm C. Fenwick (1865-1935), by "indigenizing" Korean Christianity and introducing modern farming technology; William James Hall (1860-1894), by his pioneering enterprise of evangelism and medicine in P'yŏngyang (presently North Korea) and; Robert Hardie (1865-1949) through evangelization and education; Oliver R. Avison (1860-1956), by contributing medical technology and medical education, and William John McKenzie (1861-1895), by his support of a "Koreanization" of Christianity and education. Most of these men understood that modernization did not simply mean Westernization or Christianization of the Korean people, and this is an important reason for the success they achieved.

At the same time, these individuals' contributions to Korean society have yet to receive proper acknowledgement. This is because the discipline of Korean religious history generally is still in early stages, while the history of Korean Christianity is only now receiving attention. Moreover, the work of Canadian missions in Korea has, in general, been overshadowed by the attention paid to American activities, which began at the same time.

It is therefore my view that given the lack of academic research on Christianity in Korea during the time frame selected as this thesis' focus, and in view of the problems noted with "Previous Studies," there is ample justification for making Canadian Protestant missionary efforts in Korea at the turn of the century the subject of this study.

### Sources

In the preparation of this thesis, I have utilized archival materials found in the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, Ontario; the Archives of the United Church of Canada, Toronto, Ontario; the Archives of the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario; Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, Toronto, Ontario; Markham District Historical Museum, Markham, Ontario; Wellington County Archives, Fergus, Ontario; Haldiman County Museum, Cayuga, Ontario; Renfrew Archives, Renfrew, Ontario; Oxford Historical Society, Woodstock, Ontario; Brockville and District Historical Society, Brockville, Ontario; Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia; and the Colchester Historical Society, Truro, Nova Scotia. I have also visited the hometowns of the missionaries I discuss in this thesis, and have obtained from their surviving relatives a number of previously unpublished sources.

The latter include personal letters, diaries, accounts of events witnessed by the authors, manuscripts commissioned by former missionaries, local newspapers and documents from local historical societies as well as notices preserved in local libraries and district museums. Korean-language materials and English-language materials published in Korea which have been used include not only monographs, but also journals, magazines and documents in the Archives of the Korean Presbyterian

Church; the Historical Society of the Korean Christian Church; The Hae-sa Collection, Korea University; and the Museum of Korean Christianity at Soong Sil University in Seoul, Korea.

### Methodology

The methods employed in this research are historical, descriptive, and valuative. Through historiographical methodology, a sketch of how Canadians became involved in Korean mission work and how that involvement developed will be presented. This will reveal the extent of the Canadian missionary impact on the modernization of Korea. Specific historical incidents involving the participation of various individual missionaries will also be described.

A final historical analysis will be undertaken to summarize the impact of the Canadian missionary effort on historical change in Korea.

### Limitations

The general chronology of Canadian Protestant mission work to Korea can be divided as follows. The missionaries during the first stage (1888-1893) were all from the Province of Ontario. They were graduates of the University of Toronto, with the exceptions of Malcolm C. Fenwick and William James Hall. These "first-stagers" had no formal theological



training, and consequently were not ordained ministers. They were the products of nineteenth-century missionary movements, such as the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, which had spread across the North American continent at that time.

During the second (1893-1895) and third stages (1898-1925), most of the early missionaries were graduates from both Dalhousie University and the Presbyterian College, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and later ones were from Ontario and other provinces. They were either theologically-trained and formally ordained ministers or professionally trained medical doctors. The representative of the second stage was the independent missionary, while those of the third stage were official representatives of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

The fourth stage (1925- ) was the outcome of the birth of the United Church of Canada in 1925, a period of some turbulence in Canadian Protestantism. Missionaries in the field divided into two groups: those who agreed to work under the umbrella of the United Church of Canada remained in Korea,<sup>27</sup> while those who were loyal to the Presbyterian Church of Canada were forced to return home. One of the "expatriate" Presbyterian "loyalists," Luther Young (1875-1950), went to Japan in 1927 to work under the Presbyterian Church of Canada with the Korean residents there.<sup>28</sup>

This dissertation is not intended to be a comprehensive history of Canadian mission work in Korea. As noted

previously, the time-frame chosen for this thesis is a ten-year period, from 1888 -- the year in which the first Canadian missionaries, James Scarth Gale, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Harkness, landed on Korean soil -- to 1898 the year in which a trio of Nova Scotians: Duncan McRae (1867-1949), Robert Grierson (1868-1965) and William Foote (1869-1930) were sent by the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

This dissertation's primary aim is to outline how the Canadian missionaries who operated during the first and second stages began mission work to Korea at the turn of the century (either as "independents" or under the American Mission Board), and to reveal their changes to Korean society.

### Content

The dissertation consists of ten chapters with, in addition, an Introduction and a Conclusion.

In Chapter One, the socio-political climate of late nineteenth-century Korea is examined. When dealing with the Korea of this period, emphasis will be placed on how late-nineteenth-century society was portrayed by both modern native Korean and Western historians. This chapter discusses Confucian yangban society, the privileged social class who controlled the socio-politics and economics of the Yi dynasty.

Chapter Two will discuss the coming of Roman Catholicism and the coming of Protestantism to Korea. The focus will be on

the prelude to Protestant Korean mission work, i.e., that occurring in Manchuria and Japan prior to the arrival of Western missionaries on the Korean peninsula. This chapter deals with how young Korean reformers at the turn of the century viewed Western religion, in this case, Protestantism.

Chapter Three illustrates how elements of the indigenous religious tradition, e.g., folk legends concerning Tan'gun mythology, and shamanistic beliefs about Hananim (One Supreme Being), worked to the advantage of Protestant missionaries in the late nineteenth-century.

Chapter Four examines the brief history of the University of Toronto's Young Men's Christian Association (UT-YMCA) with particular attention being paid to how the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) in North America motivated students like James Scarth Gale (1863-1937) to go into foreign mission work, attention being directed especially to his style of "freelance" evangelizing and his independence from the ecclesiastical chauvinism practiced by the various denominations. Gale's study of "secular" Korean culture and his ultimate "worldly" contributions to Korean society will also be considered.

Chapter Five examines the events and motivations leading up to the founding of the "Corean Union Mission" organized by some businessmen in the City of Toronto in 1888 and how they sent Robert Harkness (1858-1938) and Malcolm C. Fenwick (1865-1935) to Korea as their representatives. The brief personal

history of Harkness will be given but more attention will be paid to Fenwick. Fenwick's life-style in the mission field, his independence from financial and ecclesiastical groups, and his method of "Koreanizing" mission work will be given special attention.

Chapter Six examines the motivation behind, and the implications of, the "Medical Students' Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Toronto" (MS-YMCA) for Korean mission work. The MS-YMCA's relationship with the UT-YMCA, which dispatched James Gale to Korea, is also examined. The life and work of the MS-YMCA's representative, Robert Alexander Hardie (1865-1949), is then explored. Special attention is paid to Hardie's involvement with the 1907 "Great Revival Movement" and his contribution to religious education. This chapter also examines the major impact of the "Revival Movement."

Chapter Seven discusses another SVM product, William James Hall (1860-1894), from Queens' College (presently Queens' University, Kingston, Ontario). Hall organized, or at least came to be, the leading spirit of the first Young Men's Christian Association of the medical college of Kingston. His pioneering mission in P'yŏngyang is investigated, as well as the impact of his sudden death in 1894. This chapter also discusses the contribution of Hall's son, Sherwood Hall.

Chapter Eight examines the life and work of Oliver R. Avison, M.D. (1860-1956), the man who created an ecumenical

spirit among the various Protestant medical missions by synthesizing them into a more effective medical force. It also shows that he was the one who transformed the "miraculous" foreign medical field into an indigenous one by founding hospitals, establishing a medical school, and teaching Korean physicians. The importance of his medical work and his contribution as a "medicine man," not only to the Korean medical field, but also to the winning of Royal patronage for mission work, is investigated. Technically speaking, all Canadian missionaries to Korea, up to and including William John McKenzie, were -- except for Avison and Hall -- sent as unofficial operators, the products of the nineteenth-century volunteer missionary movement. More specifically, all of these proselytizers, with the exceptions of Fenwick, Hall, and McKenzie, were University of Toronto graduates. Ontario's domination of the Korean missionary movement ended following the emergence of the Nova Scotian "freelancer" William John McKenzie as the driving force behind Canadian mission work in Korea. His suicide in 1895, after less than two years in the field, prompted the Presbyterian Church Council of the Maritime to assume stricter control over the movement. From this time onwards, only "regular," i.e., officially-sanctioned, missionaries were dispatched to Korea. This change marked the formal beginning of organized Canadian Presbyterian mission work in Korea, which started in 1898.

In Chapter Nine, William John McKenzie (1861-1895), "the

linker between Canada and Korea,"<sup>29</sup> is discussed with regard to the significance of this regional shift in the control of Canadian Presbyterian mission work. Moreover, McKenzie's personal background and his important contribution to Korean society, as well as his vision of indigenizing Korean Christianity, is discussed. His experience of dealing with East-West discord during the Tonghak Rebellion is also examined.

The final chapter, a summation, responds to the question: How, and to what degree, did these early Protestant Canadian missionaries influence Korean society?

Notes to Introduction

<sup>1</sup>. The Korean word "Kidokkyo", lit., "Christianity", in English denotes both Protestants and Roman Catholics. However, in Korea, it generally implies "Protestantism." Thus, unless otherwise noted, throughout this thesis, Christianity means Protestantism, which is the primary focus of the thesis' discussion. Any works other than English-language materials used in this thesis have been translated by this author. The customary Korean form for Korean names -- the surname followed by hyphenated given names -- is used in the text, notes and bibliography. However, traditional spellings used in various writings in the early days, i.e., Corea for Korea, or well-known names in the Western form are used as they originally appeared, i.e., Syngman Rhee or Yi Sŏng-gye.

<sup>2</sup>. The Korean word, "Kyohoe", denotes literally "a church." However, the word customarily denotes a Protestant Christian Church. When Koreans refer to a Roman Catholic Christian Church, they use "Chŏnju kyohoe", or "Sŏngdang" instead of "Kyohoe." "Chŏnjukyo" or "Kukyo" is used to denote Catholicism, while "Kidokkyo" or "Sinkyo" denotes "Protestantism."

<sup>3</sup>. Interview with Cho I-sik, Toronto, Ontario, June 20, 1994. Mr. Cho is the minister of "Soon pokŭm kyohoe" ("Full Gospel Church") in Toronto. According to Sheryl WuDunn, The New York Times, "Soon pokŭm kyohoe" claims that there are 700,000 members in their church. For this, see Sheryl WuDunn, "Korea's Christians: A Surging, Prayerful Force" in The New York Times (May 25, 1995), P. A3.

<sup>4</sup>. Interview with Samuel Choi, Toronto, Ontario, July 15, 1994. Mr. Choi is the President of the Association of the Ministers in Toronto and the former Assistant Minister at Young Nak Presbyterian Church in Seoul.

<sup>5</sup>. The study was done by Noh Chi-jun of Kwangju University, South Korea in 1993. It showed that there were 8 million Protestant Christians in South Korea, out of which 5 million were adult adherents who gave regular offerings to the church. Noh's study appeared in The Choong ang ilbo (The Korea Central Daily), (Toronto, Ontario), (August 11, 1994), p. 5

<sup>6</sup> Korea Annual (1993), (Seoul, Korea: Yonhap News Agency, 1994), p. 266.

<sup>7</sup>. Reginald W. Bibby, Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada, (Toronto, Ontario: Stoddart Publishing

Co., 1993), p. 24.

8. Ibid.

9. The Choong ang ilbo (The Korea Central Daily), (Toronto, Ontario), (December 25, 1993), p. 6.

10. Information and data based on the "Telephone Directory of Korean Residents in Ontario: 1992-93", published by the Korean Canadian Cultural Association of Metropolitan Toronto in 1993 and the "Korean Business Directory of Ontario: 1993-1994," published by Han'guk ilbo (The Korea Times Daily) in 1994. For further information on Koreans in Canada and their religious activities, see Yoo Young-sik, "A History of Korean Immigrants in Canada", scheduled for publication in, Paul R. Magocsi (ed.), The Peoples of Canada: An Encyclopedia for the Country. Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

11. The information was gathered through interviews with the following: Rev. Mak Chadwin, Chairman, Toronto Chinese Evangelical Ministerial Fellowship, 3325 Victoria Park Ave., #203, Scarborough, Ontario, and Dr. Thomas Eng, Minister, Toronto Chinese Presbyterian Church, 177 Beverley Street, Toronto, Ontario.

12. Lee Sang-chul and Erich Weigartner, The Wanderer: The Autobiography of a United Church Moderator, (Winfield, British Columbia: Wood Lake Books, 1989) and "Newslines" in Vic[tor]ia University Report (University of Toronto) (Spring 1992), pp. 3 and 15.

13. Spencer John Palmer, "Protestant Christianity in China and Korea: The Problem of Identification with Tradition," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation for the University of California, Berkeley, (1964), p. 7.

14. Alfred W. Wasson, Church Growth in Korea, (New York, New York: International Missionary Council, 1934), p. 3.

15. Spencer J. Palmer made this statement based on Samuel Moffett's The Christian of Korea, (1962); The Japan Christian Quarterly, Vol. XXIX (January 1963) and Kidok sinbo, (The Christian Press), (June 26, 1961). For further information, see Palmer, "Protestant Christianity .." note # 13, pp. 13-14. However, the data Palmer used are outdated.

16. Charles Allen Clark, The Korean Church and the Nevius Method, (New York, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), p. 13.

17. John Livingstone Nevius (1829-1893), of the Presbyterian



Mission of America (North), operated in Shantung Province, China. Nevius was considered one of the most successful missionaries in China. In 1890, missionaries in Korea invited him to Seoul and he suggested implementing principal mission policy using his book, Methods of Mission Work, and Planning and Development of Missionary Churches. In this work, he detailed what came to be known as the "Nevius Method"; this approach emphasized that adherents should strive to be self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting.

<sup>18</sup>. Yu Dong-sik, Han'guk chongkyo wa kidokkyo (Korean Religions and Christianity), (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1965), p. 247.

<sup>19</sup>. Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1982), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup>. The Korean War, technically, has not ended. Presently, the Korean peninsula is under the cease-fire agreement signed in 1953 (July 27) between U.N. and North Korean forces.

<sup>21</sup>. For Canadian works, see Paik Lak-geon, "The Canadian Presbyterian Mission". History of Protestant Mission Work in Korea, (P'yōngyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1927. Reprinted in Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1971), pp. 276-279.

<sup>22</sup>. Published by the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada in 1932.

<sup>23</sup>. Published by the Board of World Mission of the United Church of Canada in 1975.

<sup>24</sup>. Kim' thesis, p. iii.

<sup>25</sup>. A. Hamish Ion, The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1932, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1990), pp. 31-32. For further information, see the following scholarly reviews: Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol. 17 (Summer 1991), pp. 457-464; Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 73 (December 1991), pp. 608-609; Canadian Journal of History, Vol. 26 (December 1991), pp. 556-557.

<sup>26</sup>. Only adults were included in this count but there were also children of Canadian parents stationed in Korea. For example, Gale had two girls (Annie and Jessie who stayed as American) and he had his own children: George, Vivian who died after about a year and Ada Alexandra. Sherwood Hall was born on

November 10, 1893, and Edith Margaret Hall was born on January 18, 1895. There were seven Avison children: Lawrence, Lera, Gordon, Douglas, William, Oliver and Edward and five Hardie children: Eva, Bess, Gertrude, Grace and Robert. For more information regarding the Gale and Avison family, see the Appendix on Genealogy of Gale and Avison Family.

<sup>27</sup>. Presently (1994), there are three missionaries -- one male and two female -- sent by the United Church of Canada working in South Korea.

<sup>28</sup>. For the work of the Presbyterian Church of Canada with the Koreans in Japan, see Robert K. Anderson, My Dear Redeemer's Praise: The Life of Luther Lisgar Young, (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1979).

<sup>29</sup>. Elizabeth A. McCully and E.J.O. Fraser, Our Share in Korea (Toronto: Ontario: Young People's Missionary Education, 1933), p. 7.

## CHAPTER ONE

## THE SOCIETY OF LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY KOREA

In this chapter, no attempt has been made to present the entire history of the Yi (Chosŏn) dynasty (1392-1910), but rather to examine those factors which caused the dynasty to open itself to the West, and those which most affected missionary effort, in the late nineteenth-century. Specifically, these factors include the changing dynamics of power struggles between the Royal in-law families, namely sedo chŏngchi ("in-law" power politics); the incessant factionalism in highest levels of bureaucracy, known as the sŏwŏn; the changing dynamics among four different social strata (yangban, chungin, sangmin, and chŏnmin); increasing frequency of peasant uprisings; and the growing dissatisfaction of Korean women with their long subordination. Examination of these topics provides considerable insight into the socio-political climate of late nineteenth-century Korea. This in turn lays the groundwork for Chapter Two's discussion of the introduction of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and how such a political climate enabled Protestant evangelization to settle down "comfortably" on Korean soil. Apart from its precarious domestic situation, Korea at that time was a tributary of the collapsing Qing dynasty of China, and an object of both Japanese and Russian imperialist aspiration.<sup>1</sup>

Yi Sŏng-gye (1335-1408, r. 1392-1398) established his dynasty in 1392 after having brought about the fall of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). The Yi state's new administration adopted as its guiding principle the idea that the state had to be "infused with the ideals of Confucianist government."<sup>2</sup> The Confucianism that the Yi adopted as part of their political discourse was actually Neo-Confucianism, a philosophical system of ethics as well as a political ideology, in which the focal point is the immutable hierarchical relationships among human beings. More precisely, the so-called "Five [Confucian] Relationships" became the official blueprint for Yi society. These relationships were: 1) between the ruler and the ruled as demonstrated by loyalty; 2) parents and children, i.e. filial piety; 3) husband and wife, based on her obedience; 4) the elder and the younger relative, shown by respect; and 5) friend and friend, with trust between them. It is significant that all relationships other than those between friends were based on unequal status. During the formation of the new dynasty, the Yi ruling class rejected Buddhism, which had been used by previous dynasties as their base of political ethics, and "made Neo-Confucianism [the Yi] spiritual mainstay,"<sup>3</sup> along with their posture of sadae or dependence on the greater power of China.

In China, Neo-Confucianism, called in Korean, chujahak (The School of Chu Hsi) or sŏnglihak, (The Sung Dynasty School of Principle) took the cosmos as the main object of its

philosophical enquiry; in Korea, on the other hand, the main object of philosophical debate was the human being. As Martina Deuchler explains:

The literati-officials, [or yangban in Korean], of the Yi dynasty found in the principles of Neo-Confucianism a compelling and well-reasoned system of thought that could be used to reshape Korean society. They interpreted the Chinese classics literally and endeavored to apply their precepts directly to the Korean social environment. The Confucian officials were guided by the description of an 'ideal type' of society, which they discovered in China's classical literature, and by the metaphysical relationship Neo-Confucianism saw between the superhuman world of nature and the human order. Drawing from these two sources, the Korean Confucianists at the beginning of the Yi dynasty tied the building of a Confucian Korean society to China's feudal past as it was interpreted and expanded by the Neo-Confucianists of the Sung dynasty, especially those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

The literati who helped Yi Sŏng-gye to found a new dynasty saw rational as well as ethical philosophical elements in Neo-Confucianism. Adoption of such an ideology was seen as the way to meet the needs of a society in which the irrational (i.e., superstitious practices) and the uncritical (moral corruption) prevailed.

Not only did Neo-Confucianism provide the Yi yangban élite with political guiding principles, it also became an influential factor in all aspects of Korean social behaviour, thoroughly penetrating the mores of the society. Even today, Neo-Confucianism pervades marriage practices, attitudes toward educating children, and relations between the sexes.

Once the Yi dynasty was formally established, Yi Sŏng-gye

supported the Confucian-literati in return for their having supported him in his drive to the throne. The original cadre of these literati were titled kaeguk kongsin (Meritorious Subjects in the Foundation of the Dynasty). Thus, a corps of Confucian-bureaucrats began to emerge, and it was they who steered the course of politics during the Yi dynasty. Through a political organization called the top'yǒng'ũisasa (Privy Council), these officials exercised their power by making rules and regulations according to Neo-Confucian doctrines. In reality, even Yi Sǒng-gye's role "was no more than to give sanction to the Council's decisions and to order them [to be] carr[ied] out."<sup>5</sup> Through this Sino-centric Confucian ideology, a monarch, who was in fact only nominally in control, shared power with influential Confucian aristocrats.

As monolithic as this political sphere appeared, it contained certain elements which not only brought down the Yi dynasty, but also were responsible for "opening" the country to the West, a change which greatly aided the work of Protestant evangelization.

During the 1800s, the Yi dynasty was forced to contend with sedo chǒngchi, a peculiar form of Korean politics. Sedo literally means "power without authority" and chǒngchi means "to govern." When King Chǒngjo (r. 1776-1800) died in 1800, the clan-dominated politics of sedo-chǒngchi threatened to corrupt the monarchical authority of the Yi dynasty. The building of a new nation was seriously threatened by a

concurrent succession dispute which resulted in bloodshed and commoner rebellions, a combination of which created an unstable political atmosphere. For the first time in history, the sedo chǒngchi was employed when King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834) was enthroned at the age of ten following the death of his father, Chǒngjo, in 1800. As a result of his young age, Sunjo's father-in-law, Kim Cho-sun (1765-1831) of the Andong Kim clan in Kyōngsang Province, was able to concentrate political power almost entirely in his own hands, and in consequence many of his close clansmen rose rapidly to occupy vital positions in the central government. This resulted in a power struggle with the Cho clan of Pungyang, one which ushered in the so-called era of sedo chǒngchi. This lasted for about one hundred years, technically only ending "in 1895 when Queen Min, the consort of King Kojong, was murdered."<sup>6</sup> Sedo chǒngchi demonstrated more than anything else the ascendancy of the yangban bureaucrats and the decline of royal power. The interests of individuals and clans prevailed over national interest and benefits. Political instability and a figurehead monarchy tended to increase the masses' hatred of, and disloyalty towards, the court and the ruling class. People's confidence in the government diminished and the restlessness of the dissatisfied masses was expressed by anti-government incidents like Hong Kyōng-nae's Uprising in 1812 (see below). The century-long period of factionalism and aggravated sedo politics irreversibly damaged the nation's development and

"contributed to and hastened the process of the demise of the Yi dynasty."<sup>7</sup>

The chronic factionalism of the Yi dynasty was further intensified by the establishment of numerous sōwōn (private academies).<sup>8</sup> Theoretically, sōwōn was a shrine to the spirit of a departed Confucian<sup>9</sup> and its purpose was to offer higher Confucian education to the sons of the so-called "isolated" yangban. More specifically, sōwōn were founded either by yangban who had been ousted from posts in the central government or who had returned to the countryside upon their retirement.

In some cases, the monarchy assisted the building of sōwōn. There were a number of so-called "saaek sōwōn" schools which received their names along with lands, slaves and books from the King himself. One example of this occurred in 1550, when King Myōngjong (1545-1567) granted the name, "sosuwōwōn" to a sōwōn established by Chu Se-bung (1495-1554) in 1542 in Kyōngsang Province, in the southern part of Korea. Another type of sōwōn was maintained purely by private donations. Whether supported by the king or existing as private sōwōn, these institutions were exempt from tax and corvée obligations to the state,<sup>10</sup> and grew in numbers. By the reign of King Sōnjo (r. 1567-1608), there were 274 sōwōn altogether, 131 of which were royally-authorized "saaek sōwōn."<sup>11</sup>

What was common to the many sōwōn across the country was that they all belonged to one yangban faction or another.



Although the initial idea behind the founding of sōwōn was to honour an ancestral spirit, these academies turned out to be preparatory schools for the kwagō (Government Civil Service Examination) and consequently became seedbeds of factionalism. If a man passed the kwagō, and secured a central government position, he was expected to "pave the way for them [the people in the same sōwōn] to return to power."<sup>12</sup> Lee Ki-baik notes:

Thus the sōwōn came to occupy a position in Yi society exactly like that enjoyed by the Buddhist temples in the Koryō period, and the moving force behind this development was none other than the Neo-Confucian literati.<sup>13</sup>

Sōwōn harmed Yi society not only by planting the seeds of incipient factionalism, but also by fostering social corruption by providing a venue for the evasion of military and labour duties. The sōwōn became not places of learning, but rather places of "partisan disputation."<sup>14</sup>

Students and teachers were bound together by the established Neo-Confucian respect for hierarchy. Students from the same sōwōn were bound together in ideological solidarity and dealt with the matters and issues of the government as a unit. Inevitably, sōwōn came to reduce the central power of the state while increasing regional power. These private academies were, according to Vipa Chandra, "considered hotbeds of intellectual dissent and factionalism"<sup>15</sup> and "continued to the end of the dynasty."<sup>16</sup> They were a constant challenge to the sovereignty of the Yi dynasty.

The social structure of Yi society was based on four different social strata. The top level of this social ladder was comprised of yangban (lit., two classes of "civil" and "military", but normally yangban means civil officials), a privileged and hereditary élite group who controlled government affairs. Yi society was a yangban bureaucratic state which was formed "of and by the yangban élite"<sup>17</sup> for the welfare of the yangban themselves.

Aristocratic bureaucrats in a traditional society like that of Yi Korea provided the state with the frame work for political power and economic strength, for which they were amply rewarded. The ultimate objective of every yangban was to become a bureaucrat and hold a government position -- not in the provinces, but in the capital. To achieve this, it was necessary to pass a kwagŏ, the gateway to government office.<sup>18</sup> In order to prepare themselves to take the kwagŏ, male yangban children entered Confucian schools, like the sŏwŏn or hyanggyo, (Confucian Village School) at an early age. To a yangban, passing the kwagŏ meant higher social status even within the yangban class itself and assured them of continued economic privileges. However, the examination system soon became corrupted because of the factional strife, as contemporary historian Han Woo-keun notes:

No one could hope to pass them [examinations] unless he belonged to the faction in power, and even if he did pass he was not guaranteed an appointment, although officially he was supposed to get one.<sup>19</sup>

In 1818, during the reign of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834), Lee Hyōn-ha, an instructor at the sōnggyun'gwan (National Confucian Academy), submitted a memorandum known as "Kwagō ūi Palpae" (Eight Corrupt Practices of Kwagō), to the king. Lee's eight "corruptions" were: plagiarism; bringing books into the examination hall; allowance of unauthorized people into the examination hall; submission of previously prepared answers; leaking of the questionnaire to a particular person; intermittent switching of examiners; replacing the answer paper, and bribing [officials to grant] the right to take the examination.<sup>20</sup>

In theory, the opportunity to take the kwagō was also open to commoners. In reality, however, it was impossible for commoners to take the kwagō, since they had to labour for a living and had neither the time nor money to prepare for the examination. Even those who passed the kwagō were not always able to become government officials, as the number of successful yangban exceeded the number of government posts available. Thus, throughout the history of the Yi dynasty, the kwagō system created sharp competition, rampant nepotism and factionalism among the yangban. This in turn caused events which led to the weakening of Yi social order, and by the late nineteenth-century the system was beyond repair.

The second rank of the social strata was chungin (lit., "man in the middle"). They were inferior to the yangban, but distinct from the sangmin (common people) and chōnmin

(outcasts). Chungin held minor government positions, serving as technicians, interpreters, physicians, etc. The yangban class was both polygamous and endogamous. However, when a yangban took a concubine, the social status of the concubine's children was that of chungin or chŏnmin, the same class to which their mother usually belonged. They also were barred from government office.

The third social class was that of sangmin. These people engaged in various agriculture, handicraft, and commercial enterprises. They made up the vast majority of the population and bore the heaviest burden of taxes, corvée labor and military service.

The bottom social class consisted of the chŏnmin ("low-born people", or outcasts). They were slaves who belonged to government offices or private individuals, as well as actors, singers, shamans, butchers, etc. Such individuals were regarded as subhumans, with butchers in particular being relegated to isolated villages.

In principle, the Yi dynasty's social stratification was determined by birth; e.g., yangban were yangban by right of birth and lineage, all governmental authority was controlled by yangban. However, as noted above, not all yangban could gain a position in the bureaucracy, and this ensured tensions among the yangban which frequently evolved into factional strife.

By the mid-1800s, there was an "over-population" of

yangban. This occurred both naturally (since the status was hereditary) and because of commoners' acquisition of yangban status through illegal processes. The political result of this was a weakening of the central government power as disadvantaged yangban withdrew their loyalty. Increasing instances of conflict and corruption also decreased national revenues and began slowly to cripple the overall economy.<sup>21</sup>

In regard to the previously-mentioned four social classes of Yi society, it must be emphasized that the State-defined role of the chungin, sangmin, and chōnmin was to provide for the welfare and financial support of the yangban. Non-yangban supposedly were less privileged, especially in that they were not "legally" allowed to own estates, but were merely deputized to conduct economic activities for yangban. However, from the beginning of the eighteenth-century, the development of new farming techniques and an economic infra-structure which promoted trade, along with a more advanced monetary system enabled some commoners to elevate their social status and acquired estates. For example, prior to the eighteenth-century only one crop a year could be raised, but from the reign of Yōngjo (r. 1724-1776) on, annual double-cropping of rice and barley was practiced throughout the country.<sup>22</sup> Later in the Yi dynasty, domestic and international trade activities became viable alternatives to farming.<sup>23</sup> Such factors greatly improved the economic status of non-yangban, something which threatened the existing yangban-dominated social organization.

Yi society as a whole became increasingly tense as the non-yangban classes -- largely the chungin and sangmin -- started to accumulate wealth "due to the development of farming techniques"<sup>24</sup> and through the expansion of commercial activities. On this matter, Han Woo-keun contends:

The government began offering promotion in social status and even government office to anyone who would supply it with funds or grain. The practice became widespread, the government, for example, sending blank certificates of appointment to provincial officials to be sold to the highest bidder in order to support local administrations.<sup>25</sup>

According to Han, the Yi government initiated this business of openly "selling" social status as early as the seventeenth-century. For example, the government issued a "kongmyŏnchŏp" (Blank Certificate),<sup>26</sup> and made money by selling government posts. Individual yangban did the same, though indirectly, by selling genealogical records, known as chokpo, to wealthy sangmin who could thus claim yangban lineage with all its attendant privileges. These genealogical records had been compiled originally to prove yangban status. Contemporary historian Song Chan-sik states:

Almost all of the commoner families could not have genealogical records. Therefore it can be said that genealogical records were exclusive possessions of the yangban class, and possessing one meant the owner was a member of the yangban class. As the yangban constituted the ruling class in the Yi dynasty, to have a genealogical record was its prerogative.<sup>27</sup>

Although it is unknown when the chokpo first appeared in Korean society,<sup>28</sup> it is clear that the possession of a chokpo

was the pride of the yangban and a license for others to claim yangban status during the late Yi dynasty.

The spread of chokpo affected Yi society in two major ways. First, some financially-pressed yangban took money from commoners to permit them to record their names in the yangban's chokpo. Secondly, in some instances people totally fabricated chokpo in order to become yangban. One scholar suggests that fabricated genealogical records "loomed as a serious social problem in the latter half of the Yi dynasty."<sup>29</sup> During the reign of King Chǒngjo (r. 1776-1800), fifteen instances of fabricating genealogical records and 166 cases of purchasing fabricated genealogical records were punished by the government.<sup>30</sup>

Interestingly, the Yi government finally capitulated and allowed non-yangban to legally register their own chokpo. Kim Chae-yun recounts: "In order to supplement its strained finance, the state began to give government positions to farmers in exchange for their contribution of money and grain."<sup>31</sup> A direct result was that late Yi society was rampant with the sale of government posts, and though the original purpose of genealogical records was to separate yangban from the rest of society, in actuality, false genealogies became one of the contributing factors in the break-down of Yi society's social order. By the late nineteenth-century, strife within the dominant class, i.e., between "true" and "false" yangban, was common. In his book Histoire de l'Église de

Corée (1874), French historian Charles Dallet (1829-1878) wrote that beginning from the late seventeenth-century "the number of yangban increased too much"<sup>32</sup> and for example, in 1690, there were only 9.2% yangban households in Taegu area, Kyōngsang Province, but the number of yangban households increased to 70.2% in 1858.<sup>33</sup>

The following statistics regarding social stratification during the Yi dynasty from the reigns of King Sukjong (r. 1674-1720) to Chōljong (r. 1849-1863) show that lower class individuals improved their social status over time. The difference in the percentages of chōnmin and yangban in society had narrowed substantially in 168 years. The growing number of yangban not only exacerbated social disorder, but increased the impoverishment of Yi society in general.

(See Table 1:1)



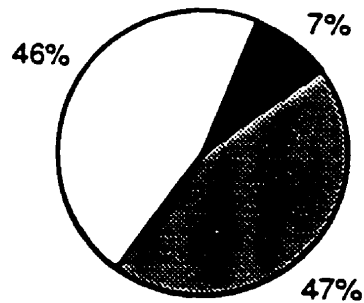
Table 1:1 Social Stratification in the Yi Dynasty from 1690  
1858<sup>34</sup>

	1690	1729	1783	1858
yangban	6.7 %	14.5 %	29.9 %	44.6 %
sangmin	47.7 %	54.9 %	54.9 %	24.0 %
chönmin	45.9 %	30.6 %	15.6 %	31.4 %

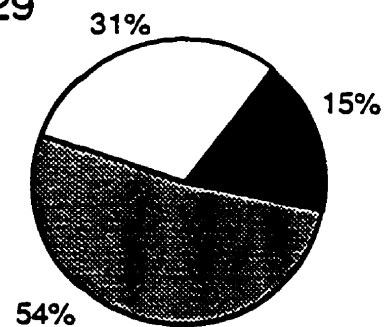
Graph 1:1 Percentage of the Social Stratification  
in the Yi Dynasty from 1690-1858



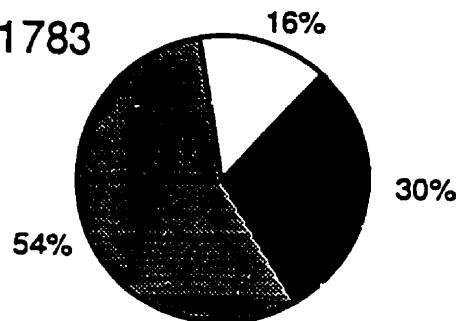
1690



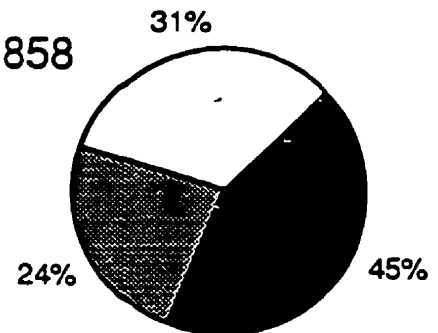
1729



1783



1858



As the above indicates, over a period of 168 years, the number of yangban increased by 37.9 percent, becoming six times its original size. At the same time, the sangmin and chŏnmin decreased by 27.7 percent and 23.5 percent respectively.

Dissatisfaction with the court and yangban officials was expressed through repeated popular uprisings in the late nineteenth-century. These protests greatly accelerated the dynasty's collapse.

The first peasant protest in the history of Korea to be fueled by a so-called "Human Rights" ideology was the rebellion led by Hong Kyŏng-nae (1780-1812) in 1811. Hong himself was from a yangban clan, but did not hold a central government post. It was general practice at that time to exile yangban who did not belong to the "inner-circle power group" to P'yŏngan Province in the northwest, and so isolate them from political influence. Hong, however, did not passively accept his fate. He gathered together large numbers of other "exiled" yangban, as well as commoners like merchants and farmers to protest against the government's policy of discrimination against the populace of P'yŏngan Province. Hong led his forces in a march on Seoul, but was killed in a battle with government troops, the uprising having lasted only five months.<sup>35</sup> Although Hong's own attempt at rebellion failed, he played the role of "Pied Piper" for subsequent peasant uprising throughout the country and added "fuel [to] the [fire of] deepening popular discontent."<sup>36</sup>

About fifty years after Hong Kyōng-nae's Rebellion, beginning in the 1860s during the reign of King Chōljong (r. 1849-1863), large peasant revolts occurred all over the country. The Chinju Uprising of 1862 in Kyōngsang Province in the southeast of Korea was the first. P'yōngma ch'ōltosa, (Military Commander-In-Chief) Paek Nak-sin (?-?) had come to Chinju to take up a new post in 1861. He subsequently embezzled government property and exploited the people. The citizens of Chinju, armed with bamboo spears, rose against him and other local functionaries. This uprising, like the Hong Kyōng-nae Rebellion, was instigated by local yangban. Indeed, the 1860s were an era of explosive peasants' uprising.<sup>37</sup>

Thereafter, Korean society in general, rather than just that of the ruling yangban, was affected by nation-wide peasant rebellions. The Chinju Uprising was followed by revolts in Kyōngsang, Chōlla and Chungchōng Provinces, and even one by fishermen on Cheju Island.<sup>38</sup> Rebellions also spread into central Korea and the northern Provinces of Hamgyōng and P'yōngan. Farmers attacked district officials' offices, destroyed tax records, sacked government officials' homes and even killed local functionaries.

Peasant resentment against the legal abuses and corruption of officials had reached the point of radical action by the second half of the nineteenth-century. British traveller and writer Isabella L. Bird Bishop (1831-1904) who travelled throughout Korea during the 1880s, recorded:

There are innumerable peasant farmers who have gone on reducing their acreage of culture year by year, owing to the exactions and forced loans of magistrates and yangban, and who now only raise what will enable them to procure three meals a day. It is not wonderful [not a wonder] that classes whose manifest destiny is to be squeezed, should have sunk down to a dead level of indifference, inertia, apathy, and listlessness.<sup>39</sup>

She characterized the Korean class system as being that of "the Robbers and the Robbed."<sup>40</sup> The yangban officials she considered to be "the licensed vampires of the country."<sup>41</sup>

The government viewed these peasant uprisings with great consternation and anxiety. Attempts were made to pacify the angry mobs by banishing some of the government officials denounced by the farmers, and by executing the leaders of various rebellions.<sup>42</sup> For example, the Korean central government sent a scholar-official, Pak Kyu-su (1807-1876), to Chinju to suppress the uprising there, but his efforts led to no visible solution. The government also established a new "Regulatory Bureau of the Three-Lands System" (samjǒng ijǒng chǒng)<sup>43</sup> in order to solve long-standing problems with the land system and over-taxation. The government dispatched "amhaeng ōsa" (a special royal inspector) to find out the cause of particular uprisings and to remedy the problems.<sup>44</sup> However, the Yi social order had become too "rotten" for government measures to curtail the grievances of the farmers.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the government's attempts proved ineffective as the yangban officials charged with implementing changes feared that a complete reform would bring about the loss of their own

benefits.

Another aspect of social fragmentation was the friction caused by the position of women. Yi society was based on a patriarchal Neo-Confucian social paradigm which accorded all rights and privileges to the father, and women (and children) were subordinate to men.<sup>46</sup> In the Korean world-view, the relationship between the sexes was based on yin-yang cosmology; e.g., heaven (the yang/male element) dominates earth (the yin/female element). Thus, women were supposed to be "shadows" of men. According to the "three obediences," a woman had to obey her father when unmarried, her husband when married, and her son when widowed. Yi Neo-Confucianism viewed women as "inner" beings (or domestic figures) and men as "outer" people (or public figures).

Women were trained solely to fill their "inner" role and rarely recognized any "outer" ones. Although women were excluded from public social activities and education,<sup>47</sup> they were powerful in the private realm. Women were the primary administrators of household affairs and leaders of the household religious activities, i.e., shamanist rituals. Martina Deuchler rightly notes: "The Confucian image of woman was thus a double one: she had to be modest and submissive, but also strong and responsible."<sup>48</sup>

When Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea in the late nineteenth-century, they tried to revolutionize Yi society by changing the traditional view of women as

"inferior" and "excluded" into one where women were equal (theoretically) to men, at least as human beings. One of the first ways missionaries tried to spread this idea was by attacking sexual discrimination through education. Thus, Korean women's social enlightenment was proposed for the first time in the history of Korea by Protestant missionaries. Kim Yung-chung relates:

The propagation of Christianity successfully brought about some change in attitudes toward sex and the relationship between men and women. The structure of the traditional Korean family being based on patriarchy, privileges were recognized for the male in social life, in family life, and in legislation. This had led to a double standard in sex morality. Such dual morality was detrimental to the Puritan ethics of the Protestant church. .. Promoted by the church, idea of equality between husband and wife gradually became accepted and practiced in Christian homes. This change formed one of the most important elements in the general cultural transformation in modern Korea.<sup>49</sup>

Let us now summarize how the Yi dynasty's gradual collapse made it vulnerable to intrusions by the Western world in the late nineteenth-century. Yi society was hierarchial, being based on Neo-Confucian philosophical ideology and political ethics. This fundamental cultural framework became riddled by the "inside sickness" of ruling class practices like sedo chōngchi, the corruption of kwagō, and the trafficking in government offices. At the sometime, advancements in farming technology and the development of commerce helped "the have-nots" become the "haves," and the "powerless" become the "powerful." Such changes severely disturbed the existing

social order. One illustration of this was the wide-spread phenomenon of peasant uprisings in the early 1860s, which were obviously detrimental to the maintenance of yangban bureaucratic society. The collapse of the yangban exclusivity and the resulting "over-population" of the yangban class in the later part of the Yi dynasty also were contributing factors to societal fragmentation.

The intense social tensions of nineteenth-century society, and the dynasty's inability to address this problem weakened Korea's ability to resist the intrusion of the Western world. Many of the ideas brought by Protestant missionaries targeted the dissatisfied segment of Korean society and facilitated the adoption of Christianity.

Korea's socio-political instability was not aggravated merely by the coming of Western civilization; more importantly, it was affected by political changes in other Far Eastern countries. Such changes (e.g., increasing Asia imperialism) weakened the Korean government's ability to enforce its isolationist policy, leaving it vulnerable to Western aggression. Protestantism took advantage of this social discontinuity by establishing a secure foothold in Korea.

Notes to Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>. The subject of international politics in the Far East in general, and nineteenth-century Korea in particular, has been extensively explored. A few works are: Tong Dŭk-mo, Chosŏnjoŭi kukje kwanke (International Relationships in Choson Period), (Seoul, Korea: Pakyŏngsa, 1990); Chindan hakhoe, Hanquksa (History of Korea) (Seoul, Korea; Ŭlyu munhwasa, 1963), pp. 457-701; George A. Lensen, Balance of Intrigue: International Rivalry in Korea and Manchuria, 1884-1899, Vol. I and II. (Gainsville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1982); Frederick Nelson, Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1946). For information on Korea's tributary relationship with the Qing, see "Chŏngdae Han-Jung chokong kwankye" (Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Qing Period), in Chindan hakbo Vol. 10: 29/30 (December 1966), pp. 241-280.

<sup>2</sup>. Lee Ki-baik, A New History of Korea, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 172.

<sup>3</sup>. Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>4</sup>. Martina Deuchler, "The Tradition: Women during the Yi Dynasty," in Virtues in Conflict: Tradition and the Korean Woman Today, Sandra Mattielli, (ed.), (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1977), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>. Lee Yur-bok, "The Origin and Development of In-Law Politics in the Late Yi Dynasty", p. 172. Paper presented at the Second Conference on Korean Studies in Canada, University of Toronto on April 29, 1995.

<sup>6</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>. Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>8</sup>. As mentioned, sŏwŏn started as shrines to honor personages of the past, but soon became "private academies" for, and something of a "fad" among, Confucian scholars. Sŏwŏn began losing their initial functions as "shrines" or "academies" in the early sixteenth-century and became hotbeds of political dissension. During the reigns of King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776) and Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800), the government attempted to control the establishment of sŏwŏn. This proved ineffective and the number of sŏwŏn had reached 650 by the time of Chŏngjo. When Taewŏn'gun took power in 1864, he began a reformation of the sŏwŏn system and closed all of the sŏwŏn except only forty-seven which had a legitimate function as



shrines to famous Confucian scholars. This information is drawn from "sōwōn" in Lee Hong-jik (comp.), Kuksa taesajōn (Encyclopedia of Korean History) (Seoul, Korea: Samyōng chulpansa, 1987), pp. 716-718. Hereafter cited as KST. For more on the history of sōwōn, see Choe Ching-young, "The Rule of the Taewōn'gun, 1864-1873", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1972, pp. 70-76.

<sup>9</sup>. KST, p. 687; See also, Lee, A New History of Korea, pp. 206-208.

<sup>10</sup>. KST, p. 716; Choe, p. 70.

<sup>11</sup>. Han Woo-keun, The History of Korea (Seoul, Korea: Elyumunhwasa, 1970), p. 303.

<sup>12</sup>. Lee, A New History of Korea, p. 207.

<sup>13</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>. Ibid., 209.

<sup>15</sup>. Vipan Chandra, The Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1988), p. 28.

<sup>16</sup>. Han, p. 249.

<sup>17</sup>. Chandra, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup>. The kwagō (Government Civil Service Examination System) started in 788 during the reign of King Wōnsung (r. 785-798) of the Silla Kingdom (57 B.C.-935). The Yi dynasty adopted this system in order to select government officials. During the early Yi dynasty, there also were munkwa (Civil Service Examinations), also known as taekwa (Higher Civil Service Examinations), which were designed to select civil servants. King Taejong (r. 1400-1418) established mukwa (Military Service Examinations) in 1408 for military officials. In 1438, King Sejong (1418-1450) established chapkwa (Miscellaneous Service Examinations) for technical posts. Among these examinations, the munkwa was the highest open to children of yangban.

<sup>19</sup>. Han, p. 303.

<sup>20</sup>. KST, p. 146; Han Woo-keun, Yijo hugi ūi sahoe wa sasang (Society and Thought of Late Yi Dynasty) (Seoul, Korea: Ūlyu munhwasa, 1984), p. 329.

21. Han, Yijo hugi ūi sahoe wa sasang, pp. 126-132.

22. Lee Ho-chōl, "Sipgusegi nongōp munjae ūi sōnggyōk" (The Problem of Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century), in Chin, Dōk-kyu (ed.), Sipgusegi han'guk chōntong sahoe ūi p'yōnmo wa minjung ūisik [Popular Consciousness and Changes in the Traditional Society of the Late Nineteenth Century], (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Press, 1982), p. 41; Han Yong-guk, Han'guksa taekye: chosōn hugi, Vol. 6 (The Grand History of Korea: Late Yi Dynasty) (Seoul, Korea: Samjinsa, 1973), p. 71. In regard to the development of commerce and the transition of social status of the farmers in the late nineteenth-century, see both Lee, pp. 35-89 and Han, pp. 71-85.

23. Han, p. 73; Kang Man-gil, "Sangōp kyōngchae ūi paldal" (The Development of Commercial transaction). Kuksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe (ed.), Han'guksa: chosōn yangban sahoe ūi p'yōnhwa, Vol. 13 [History of Korea: The Change of Yangban Society in Yi Dynasty]. (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1981), pp. 340-343.

24. Kim Chae-yun, "Social Strata". International Cultural Foundation (ed.), Korean Society. Seoul, Korea: Sisa yongosa, 1982, p. 69.

25. Han, The History of Korea, p. 312.

26. For this see, Han'guksa taekye: chosōn hugi, pp. 80-85; Kuksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe, Han'guksa: chosōn yangban sahoe ūi p'yōnhwa, Vol. 13 (History of Korea: Change of Yangban Society of Yi Dynasty) (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1981), p. 280; KST, p. 129.

27. Song Chan-sik, "Genealogical Records", in Korean Society, p. 42.

28. According to extant documents, the first genealogical record was compiled by the Yun family of Papyōng (modern day Paju County, Kyōnggi Province) in 1539. The next one was by the Song family of Unjin (modern-day Nonsan County, Chungchōng Province) in 1599. It appears that from the sixteenth-century onward, compilation of chokpo spread throughout Yi society.

29. Song, p. 43.

30. Ibid., p. 50.

31. Kim, "Social Strata", p. 70

32. Charles Dallet, Histoire de l'Église de Corée (Paris: France: Libraire Victor Palme, 1874). Dallet's book was translated by An Ung-yōl and Choi Sōk-u and entitled Han'guk

chōnju kyohoesa (History of Roman Catholic Church in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Pundo chulpansa, 1979), p. 164. The translation has been used here.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>34</sup> Lee P. M., Yijo ūi sahoe kyōngje e kwanhan yōksajōk yōnku (Historical Study of the Socio-Economic Conditions Under the Yi Dynasty), (Seoul, Korea: Taesungsa, 1947), pp. 228-229. Cited in Chun Sung-chun, "Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches in Korea", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1955, p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> Han, The History of Korea, p. 342.

<sup>36</sup> Lee, A New History of Korea, p. 254. In Korean history, there are three especially large peasant uprisings. They were: the Uprising of Hong Kyōng-nae (1811), the Chinju Uprising (1862) and the Tonghak Uprising (1894).

<sup>37</sup> Kunkuk Taehakkyo (comp.), Han'guk munhwasa (Korean Civilization), (Seoul, Korea: Kunkuk taehakkyo chulpansa, 1988), p. 110. Hereafter cited as Kunkuk Taehakkyo.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Isabella L. Bird Bishop, Korea and Her Neighbours: A Narrative of Travel with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Condition, (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1986), pp. 280-281. The original was published in 1897 in London by John Murray. It was reprinted by Yonsei University, Seoul, in 1970. The most recent reprint (1986), published by Charles E. Tuttle, has been used here.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Kim Chin-bong, "Chōljongjo minlan ūi naeyong punsōk" (Analysis of Peasant Uprisings during Chōljong's Reign), in Chin Dōk-kyu (ed.), Sipgusegi han'guk chōntongsaehoe ūi p'yōnmo wa minjung ūisik [Popular Consciousness and changes in the Traditional Society of the Late Nineteenth Century], (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Press, 1982), pp. 259-260.

<sup>43</sup> Kunkuk Taehakkyo, p. 111.

<sup>44</sup> "Secret Inspectors" or "Secret Royal Commissioners" known as "amhaeng ōsa" were sent to investigate the allegations of an official's misconduct and reported back to the throne. This system was not effective and ceased after the

appointment of Lee Myŏn-sang to Chulla Province (southern area of Korea) in 1892. For more information, see KST, p. 889.

<sup>45</sup>. Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe (ed.), Han'guksa (Korean History), Vol. 15, (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1981), p. 3.

<sup>46</sup>. Kim Yung-chung, Women of Korea: A History from Ancient Times to 1945 (Seoul, Korea: Ehwa Womans University Press, 1982), p. 89.

<sup>47</sup>. During the Yi dynasty, high society of Korean women were literate and even wrote texts. For example, the mother of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494), known as "Insutaebu Han", compiled a three-volume book entitled Naehun or Ojenaehun in 1475 to instruct women of the court. The Naehun gave four areas of education necessary for women: moral conduct, speech, appearance and womanly tasks. Another example is the book called Yŏsasŏ (Four Books for Women) which was translated from a Chinese source by Yi Tŏk-su during the reign of King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776). Yŏsasŏ gives "womanly" instruction to women.

<sup>48</sup>. Deuchler, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup>. Kim, Women of Korea, pp. 210-211.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE ARRIVAL OF WESTERN RELIGION

1. The Introduction of Roman Catholicism

The first Korean to become a confessed Roman Catholic Christian was Yi Sŭng-hun (1756-1801). He had accompanied his father, Yi Tong-uk (1739-?), who went to China in 1783 as an envoy, and was baptized in February of 1784 by a Jesuit missionary, Louis de Grammont (also known as Jean-Joseph de, ? - ?), while Yi was visiting Peking with his father.<sup>1</sup> He was christened "Peter," and returned to his home country early in the spring of 1784, bringing back Catholic books and ritual objects such as crucifixes.

After Yi Sŭng-hun returned home, he baptized some of his yangban friends, e.g., Yi Pyök (1754-1786) and Kwön Il-sin (1736-1791), as well as persons of the "middle-class" like Kim Pöm-u (?-1787). Yi's efforts at converting friends to the religion he had brought with him from China resulted in the formation of a congregation at Kim Pöm-u's residence in Seoul in 1785.<sup>2</sup> This was the first time in Korean history that a "church" had been founded without Western missionary encouragement.

In fact, European culture, in the form of Catholicism, had been introduced to Korea in the sixteenth-century, either through the annual Korean tribute embassies to China or

through irregular Korean envoys. At first, Roman Catholicism was regarded as a new type of "learning" by most intellectuals and, at least in the beginning, received little recognition as a religious ideology. This "new type of learning" (*sōhak*) was transmitted to the Koreans in the form of material contact, not by soul to soul contact. For example, in 1631, Chōng Tu-wōn (1581- ?), a member of the annual embassy to the Ming, returned to Korea with science books, a pair of pistols, and a telescope, together with some other products of the West, including the 1603 publication by Matteo Ricci Chōnju sil ũi (Tianzhu shiyi in Chinese).

By the late eighteenth-century, Roman Catholicism had begun to attract the support of large numbers of government critics from both the yangban (a group known as the namin faction, or "Southerners")<sup>3</sup> and chungin. Namin and chungin members shared a common ground in that they were dissatisfied with government's political and social policies. The namin were an out-of-power group, having been ejected from government positions, and the chungin, although they were professional technical specialists, felt themselves discriminated against by the yangban-controlled government. The discontent of both groups was great.

To these disgruntled individuals, Roman Catholicism was a tool for social and political purification. Certainly, as Lee Ki-baik notes, Catholicism came to be conceived of as "the means to correct the distortions in the social and political

order caused by concentration of political authority in the hands of a few powerful families."<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, however, there are indications that Roman Catholicism began to be understood as a religion even before the nineteenth-century. In 1770, for instance, a convert, named Hong U-han "began to practice the ritual observation of taking a day of rest on every seventh day as well as prayer and a continent life."<sup>5</sup> In 1777, an organized group began holding sessions<sup>6</sup> in which they studied books on Western science and Catholicism. Ultimately, they "reached the religious truth [of Catholicism]."<sup>7</sup> After these study sessions, the participants began to observe some of the regulations urged in the imported books: prayer in the morning and evening, rest on Sunday and prohibitions from eating meat.<sup>8</sup> Such study sessions, which resembled a type of congregational worship, appear to have taken place on a regular basis. This "indigenized" form of worship was practiced by Koreans before the 1795 arrival of the first ordained priest, Chu Mun-mo (1752-1801), also known as James Chu, and of course, before the first official baptism of a Korean national, the previously mentioned Yi Sŭng-hun (1756-1801), in 1784.

Whether the Korean people received Roman Catholicism as "Western Learning" or "religion," "it was seen as a passing fancy"<sup>9</sup> among the intellectuals. Following Yi Sŭng-hun's baptism in 1784, the number of converts had risen to 23,000 in

1865,<sup>10</sup> or about 300 converts each year for 80 years. This number may appear "small" compared to the total population. However, the fact that the new religion was favored by the namin faction who bore animosity toward the ruling yangban made the government take the conversions seriously.<sup>11</sup>

In the state's search for a reason to oppress the new religion, it was discovered that Roman Catholicism admitted no ancestor worship and this fact threatened the state as such a prohibition shook the fundamental social values of Korea's Confucian-based society, where ancestor worship was seen as an extension of filial piety, which in turn was considered as the most fundamental pillar of society.

The incident which brought matters to a head occurred in 1791 in Chin San, Ch'olla Province, (hence, it was called "Chin San Incident"), located in the southeastern part of the country, where yangban values were very strong. There, the mother of one Yun Ji-chung (1759-1791) died. Yun, a namin convert to Catholicism, sponsored a Catholic Mass for his mother, instead of giving her a Confucian burial ceremony. According to the Confucian code of conduct, his failure to provide his mother with the proper Confucian rituals was "the gravest crime a person could possibly commit,"<sup>12</sup> and one which threatened the moral fabric of Korean society. Hence, it became a political problem. Yun Ji-chung and all of his relatives who supported him were arrested; Yun was executed in 1791 by order of the central government.



Because of the "Chin San Incident," Catholicism was immediately branded as subversive, as leading people to reject both parents and king.<sup>13</sup> And indeed, the incident was the first of many ensuing persecutions, most notably in 1801, 1838, 1846, and 1866. Authorities banned the importation of Western religious books from China and accelerated the oppression of this so-called alien religion. As a result it seems that many converts recanted their faith and many left the Church.<sup>14</sup>

In 1795, four years after the "Chin San Incident," Alexandre de Govea, Bishop of Peking, sent Chu Mun-mo, the first ordained Chinese priest, to Korea. Because of the political and religious tensions within Korea, Chu did such limited mission work that even the most devout believers hardly knew that a priest had arrived. This is attested to by the following contemporary observation:

There was someone who anonymously reported to the authorities in the very first year Priest Chu arrived. Because of this, for seven years James Chu could not but fear, and reduced his work of propagation and dared not administer Mass openly.<sup>15</sup>

While Chu was in Korea, he sent a letter to the Jesuit headquarters in Peking requesting that the King of Portugal conclude a treaty with Korea. This was, he believed, the only way to protect converts and give missionaries the freedom to proselytize in Korea.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, however, native Christians who had helped him were arrested by the central authorities and put to death in 1795 (28th of June);<sup>17</sup> Chu himself was "martyred" on April 19, 1801.<sup>18</sup> The cause of this persecution,

probably the most important, if not the worst, incident in the history of Korean Catholicism, took place in 1801 when a convert, Hwang Sa-yōng (1775-1801), also known as Alexander Hwang, secretly attempted to send his famous, "Hwang Sa-yōng paeksō" (Hwang Sa-yōng Silk Letter) to Bishop Alexandre de Govea in Peking. In his "silk letter," he explained about the persecution and the martyrdom of Priest Chu and pleaded for a French battleship to be sent to protect Korean Catholics and "to conquer Korea."<sup>19</sup> Both Chu and Hwang angered not only the Korean authorities, but also the general populace by making it appear as if the followers of a foreign "heresy" had devised a plan to overthrow the Korean government in exchange for permission for mission work. "This discovery," Paik says, "naturally resulted in [the] strict enforcement of the anti-Christian edicts and an intensification of persecution."<sup>20</sup>

In immediate retaliation, the Korean government executed about one hundred Christians and sent about four hundred more into exile. The court now had a viable reason for executing Christians, and consistently portrayed them as "anti-patriotic," "traitors," and sellers of the country. Enforcing the existing law called oga chaktong pōp,<sup>21</sup> or "collective responsibility and mutual denouncement," "the authorities ferreted out Christians throughout the country."<sup>22</sup>

The Yi dynasty, as pointed out earlier, was at the time, experienced long-sustained socio-political disorder, much of it arising from political strife between the court and

yangban, or among the yangban themselves. In addition to this, from the early nineteenth-century onwards, the Korean government faced external pressure from foreign countries, especially from England, which, since the arrival of Lord Amherst in 1832, was pressing for the opening of the country to trade. Such actions were rightly perceived as threats to the state and the elite of the Korean government, and they moved to protect themselves.<sup>23</sup>

Using these threats from within and without, Yi Ha-ŭng (1820-1898), the so-called "wily father"<sup>24</sup> of King Kojong (r. 1863-1907), seized power in 1864, as Hungson Taewon'gun or simply Taewŏn'gun, an official title given to the father of a King, who ascended the throne as the non-legal son of the preceding King. From then on, he maintained a strict "isolationist policy" until being ousted from power by Queen Min and her faction in 1873.<sup>25</sup> (The political confrontation between Taewŏn'gun and Queen Min will be recounted further in the next Chapter).

At the beginning of his rule, Taewŏn'gun erected monuments known as chŏkhwabi on which it stated that "not to fight back when invaded by the Western barbarians is to invite further attacks, and selling out the country in peace negotiations is the greatest danger to be guarded against" in every corner of the country. He demanded that people of all classes maintain strict isolationism, and in 1866, launched a persecution known as the P'yŏngin Persecution (named after the

year of P'yōngin), the blood red persecution up to that time in Korea.<sup>26</sup> Some eight thousand Korean Christians were killed<sup>27</sup> and nine French priests were "martyred."<sup>28</sup> One of the surviving priests, Felix-Clair Ridel (1830-1884), escaped to Chefoo, China (May 26, 1866) and reported the persecution to Henri de Bellonet, the French Minister to China. This news of the persecution of Catholics and the execution of the French priests in Korea was enough to excite the foreign community in Peking, and an historian who would himself be a missionary in Korea (1893-1908), Homer B. Hulbert (1863-1949), compared this persecution to European ones. "The tales of that terrible time," he said, "remind one of the persecution under the Roman Emperors or the no less terrible scenes of the Spanish Inquisition."<sup>29</sup>

Admiral Pierre-Gustave Roze, the Commander of the French Far Eastern Fleet in China at that time, promised Father Ridel that the fleet would go to Korea and retaliate against the Korean government. This promised expedition, however, was delayed for three months, having become "engaged in the fighting involved in the French colonization of Indochina."<sup>30</sup> Roze was therefore not able keep his promise. It was at this juncture in 1866 that an American merchant vessel, the General Sherman, sailed to Korea with a Protestant missionary, Robert Thomas (1840-1866), who had originally been Roze's interpreter, on board. The resulting incident will be recounted in the next chapter.

To summarize this brief account of the early history of Roman Catholicism in Korea it seems fair to say that Catholicism was generally not well-received by the Korean people, except for small number of intellectuals who were primarily out-of-power yangban. In the wider picture, their evangelization efforts were seen as a threat to the Korean government, and another form of foreign interference, as the state came under pressure about the foreign religion. William Elliot Griffis, a not-entirely objective observer, who traveled to Korea in the late nineteenth-century, commented on the situation in his Corea, the Hermit Nation:

.. the Corean Christians, following the ethics of their teachers [French missionaries], played the part of traitors to their country; they not only deceived the magistrates, and violated their country's laws, but, as the letter of Alexander Wang [Hwang Sa-yōng in Korean] shows, actually invited armed invasion. Hence[,] from the first, Christianity was associated in patriotic minds with treason and robbery. The French missionary as the forerunner of the French soldier and invader, the priests as the pilot of the gunboat, were not mere imaginings, but, as the subsequent narrative shows, strict logic and actual fact. It is the narrative of friends, not foes, that, later, shows us a bishop acting as spy and pilot on a French man-of-war, a priest as guide to a buccaneering raid; and, after the story of papal Christianity, the inevitable French expedition.<sup>31</sup>

The socio-political situation of the Yi dynasty in the late nineteenth-century became increasingly dysfunctional as yangban influence continued to weaken the power of the central government. And as Koreans struggled with their own internal problems, all Far Eastern countries were experiencing enormous

pressures to "open" themselves to the Western World. The French missionaries' methods of evangelization, i.e., their attempts to plant the ecclesiastical supremacy of Roman Catholicism in the minds of their Korean converts, as well as their attack on Korean Neo-Confucian ideology, contributed to the clash which ultimately brought about the intensification of the Catholic persecution policy. Ultimately, it seems fair to say that Catholicism failed in Korea.

In conclusion, Roman Catholicism was adopted in Korea by a particular social group, the namin, who had been thrown out from the government. This suggests that the propagation of Roman Catholicism began as a protest against the current government. Due to its severe conflict with the government, Catholicism was forced underground and so relinquished its social (as opposed to spiritual) influence. This was the exact opposite of the strategy used by Protestant missionaries; they translated Bible into *han'gūl* (Korean script) for the unlettered and women and they evangelized through medical and educational mission work for lay people which is opposite to the Roman Catholic's method of evangelization. Native Roman Catholic adherents seemed to their countryman to be either utterly absurd as in the case of Hwang Sa-yong, or destroyers of Korea's deeply rooted Confucian social order, as in Kwon Sang-yon's case. Moreover, Roman Catholic loyalty was incomprehensible to nationalist eyes in that Roman Catholic missionaries were coming on board the Western invader's own

vessels. In the eyes of the court, Roman Catholics were selling out their country to Western imperialists. Over-all, the failure of Roman Catholic mission work in Korea should be ascribed to the fact that Catholic priests did not understand Korean society and culture. Despite such unpromising beginnings, the initial experience formed the beachhead for Protestant missionaries during the late nineteenth-century and helped those missionaries to determine how they should behave, as we will discuss in the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter Two -- The Introduction of Roman Catholicism

<sup>1</sup>. Yu Hong-yul, Han'guk chōnju kyohoesa (History of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea), (Seoul, Korea: Catholic chulpansa, 1981), p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>. Lee Hong-jik (comp.), Han'guksa taesajōn (Encyclopedia of Korean History), Seoul, Korea: Samyōng chulpansa, 1987, p. 270. Hereafter cited as KST.

<sup>3</sup>. Namin is term which literally means "the people who live in the south" in Seoul. In the Yi dynasty, the city of Seoul was divided into sectors according to social class: i.e., east for military group; west for lower-level government clerks or sub-groups of chungin; south for lower-ranked yangban; north for higher-ranked yangban, and the center for the chungin.

<sup>4</sup>. Lee Ki-baik, A New History of Korea. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 239

<sup>5</sup>. Kim Ku-jong, "Han'guk choecho ūi sinja Hong Yu-han e kwan han saryo palkyōn" (Discovery of a Historical Source on Hong Yu-han: The First Korean Christian), in Katolic chongnyōn (Catholic Youth), (1965), pp. 60-72.

<sup>6</sup>. Han'guk kidokkyosa yōnkuhoe, Han'guk kidokkyo ūi yōksa (History of Korean Christian Church), Vol. I, (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1991), p. 68. Hereafter cited as HKY.

<sup>7</sup>. HKY, pp. 68-69.

<sup>8</sup>. HKY, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup>. Chung Chai-sik, "Protestantism and the Formation of Modern Korea 1884-1894", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1964, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup>. HKY, p. 109.

<sup>11</sup>. Chung, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup>. Han, Woo-keun, The History of Korea (Seoul, Korea: Eulyumunhwasa, 1970), p. 322.

<sup>13</sup>. HKY, p. 80.

<sup>14</sup>. Choe Sōk-u, "Chochanggi Han'guk kyohoe ūi serae" (Baptism in the Early Korean Church), Samok, no. 39 (May 1975), p. 28. The "Chin San Incident" caused some believers to



renounce their beliefs. For example, Yi Pyŏk, Yi Sŭng-hun, Chŏng Yak-yong and Kwŏn Il-sin all (temporarily) apostatized. For further information, see HKY, pp. 80-82.

<sup>15</sup>. Ibid., p. 59. Cited in HKY, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup>. HKY, p. 92.

<sup>17</sup>. HKY, pp. 82-83. Those Koreans were: Yun Yu-il, Ji Hwang and Choe In-kil.

<sup>18</sup>. Chu arrived at Ŭiju, P'yŏngan Province, a northeastern part of Korea, on December 23, 1794, and reached Seoul in the Spring of 1795. He was in Korea for about six years, from 1794 to 1801 (April 19). In regard to Chu's arrival and death, see Yu, Han'guk chŏnju kyohoesa, pp. 110-154.

<sup>19</sup>. Paik Lak-geon, History of Protestant Mission Work in Korea. Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1971, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>. Literally, oga chaktong pŏp means, the "law of five households forming one tong [a unit]." This law was used during the fifteenth-century by the Yi dynasty to prevent farmers from absconding; neighbours were mutually responsible for making sure that the members of their tong did not flee farming. However, starting from the reign of Honjong (r. 1834-1849), oga chaktong pŏp was used to prosecute Catholic followers. For this, see KST, p. 944. See also, Lee Sŏn-kŭn, Taehan kuksa: soequesŏ kaekug ūiro, Vol. 6, (Korean History: From Isolation to Enlightenment), (Seoul, Korea: Han'guk chulpan kongsa, 1984), p. 69.

<sup>22</sup>. HKY, p. 92.

<sup>23</sup>. Before Lord Amherst in 1832, there were several British ships appeared in Korean coast for surveying the navigability. In 1816 two British ships, *Alceste* and *Lyra*, which had carried Lord Amherst and his embassy to China, made the return trip by way of the western coast of the Korea. *Lyra*'s Captain Basil Hall wrote his voyage called, Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island (London: John Murray, 1818). This narrative of that journey describes the events and the people they encountered on Korea's offshore islands from Hwanghe to Chungchong Provinces. Of the three chapters, only chapter one deals with Korea. However, *Lord Amherst* (Captain Rees, commander) made first "official" request to open commercial intercourse with Korean Government in 1832. *Amherst* left Korea after about a month with no answer from the Korean Government. For further

information, see Kuksa p'yōnch'an wiwōnhoe, Han'guksa (Korean History, Vol. 16, Modern Period) (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1981), pp. 16-29.

<sup>24</sup>. Vipan Chandra, Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1988), p. 27.

<sup>25</sup>. Theodore M. Critchfield, "Queen Min's Murder," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975, pp. 79-80.

<sup>26</sup>. Lee Sōn-kūn, Han'guk choe kūnsaesa yōnku (Study of Modern Korean History), (Seoul, Korea: Sungmun chulpansa, 1985), pp. 213-218.

<sup>27</sup>. Ibid., p. 217. See also, Yu Hong-yul, Han'guk sahoe sasangsa ronko (Study on the Thought of Korean Society), (Seoul, Korea: Ilchogak, 1982), p. 240.

<sup>28</sup>. Lee, Han'guk choe kūnsaesa yōnku, pp. 216-217.

<sup>29</sup>. Clarence Norwood Weems (ed.), Hulbert's History of Korea Vol. 2, (New York, New York: Hillary House Publishers Ltd., 1962), p. 211.

<sup>30</sup>. Kim Key-hiuk, The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order: Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860-1882, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1980), p. 49.

<sup>31</sup>. William Elliot Griffis, Corea: The Hermit Nation (London, England: W.H. Allen & Co., 1882) p. 360.

## 2. The Introduction of Protestantism

When Westerners first landed on East Asian shores in the sixteenth century, the feelings of the indigenous peoples they came upon were, according to Arnold Toynbee, "an unstable mixture of fascination and repulsion, and, at this first encounter, the feeling of repulsion finally prevailed."<sup>1</sup>

The aggressive activities of these alien "visitors" generally resulted in the various Far East Asian countries implementing isolationist policies as a means of self-defence. Ultimately, however, these same countries were forced to open their borders -- albeit with what Toynbee calls, "contemptuous repulsion" -- in the mid-nineteenth-century to a new wave of technologically-superior Western invaders. China, humiliated by her defeat in the Opium War, signed the Treaty of Nanking with Great Britain in 1842, while Japan, similarly humiliated by Commodore Perry's "black ships," signed the Treaty of Kanagawa with the United States in 1854. These events profoundly affected Korea, and with "the opening of China and Japan and -- Russian expansion touching its northeastern frontier, the Hermit Kingdom was no longer to be left undisturbed."<sup>2</sup> Still, Korea was the last among East Asian nations to bow to Western imperialist demands for access.

Late nineteenth-century Korea was under pressure from Western demands for access. As mentioned above, Korea was already experiencing internal socio-political instability and

was therefore unable to resist additional pressure. She was dragged into a new relationship with the West due largely to her political and social enervation.

Apart from the outside pressure, the domestic politicking between Taewŏn'gun and Queen Min served as an important factor bringing Christianity to Korea. When the 25th king of Yi dynasty, King Chŏljong, died in 1863 leaving no heir, his nephew Yi Myŏng-bok (1852-1919) ascended the throne as Emperor Kojong (r. 1864-1907) on January 22, 1864. Kojong was too young (twelve years old) to administer national affairs, therefore, his father Yi Ha-hŭng (1820-1898), better known as "Taewŏn'gun" or "Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun" ("Grand Prince hŭngsŏn"), became regent. Even before taking power, Taewŏn'gun had considered the Western penetration of China and Japan to be a potential threat to Korea. In order to protect Korea, Taewŏn'gun established a strict isolation policy against the West. At the same time, he maintained Korean's traditional tributary relationship with China and anti-Japan stance.<sup>3</sup>

Taewŏn'gun's hegemony in Korean politics was eventually threatened by his daughter-in-law, Queen Min (1851-1895). When Kojong reached the age of twenty-one, his supporters (e.g., Choe Ik-hyŏn, 1833-1906, then the powerful Hojopansŏ, or Minister of the Revenue Board) and the Min clan banded together to put Kojong in power. Taewŏn'gun was finally ousted in 1873 by the Min and their supporters; thereafter, the central government was virtually monopolized by Queen Min and

her relatives. In fact, Kojong was in de jure has the power but de facto, his wife Queen Min control the country. In addition to the factional infighting between Taewŏn'gun and Queen Min the late Yi dynasty was confronted with international demands for the opening of Korea to the West. In 1876, the gunboat diplomacy of Japan's Meiji government forced Korea to agree to the Kanghwa Treaty, the first of many treaties ensued.<sup>4</sup>

Acceptance of the Kanghwa Treaty accelerated the struggle between the supporters of Taewon'gun and Queen Min. The Pro-Taewŏn'gun conservative group urged a maintaining of a "closed policy" and reliance on Chinese or Russian political influence. The Pro-Japanese group, on the other hand were modernizers and politically-inclined towards Japan.

During 1880s, two political confrontations occurred between the two political factions of conservatives and progressives such as Imo kullan in 1882 and Kapsin chŏngpyŏn in 1884. As a result of Imo kullan, some moderners such as Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yŏng-hyo and Lee Su-jong went to Japan and met American Protestant missionaries there in Japan and from Kapsin chŏngpyŏn in 1884 American missionary Horace Allen successfully demonstrated the Western medicine by curing the wounded Prince Min Yŏng-ik. (Both incident will be recounted further). These two incidents influenced the so-called modernizers of the late Yi dynasty to solicit the help of Christianity (Protestant) groups based in Japan and Western

medical technology was favoured by Royal family. Apart from these incidents, it was the political ups and downs of Taewŏn'gun and Queen Min's factions provided an favourable opportunity for Koreans to encounter with the West which after all served to bringing Protestantism into Korea.

In this chapter, I will discuss how Protestantism "comfortably" settled on Korean soil in the late nineteenth-century. Although some historian note that two Western "protestants"<sup>5</sup> landed in Korea in the seventeenth century -- Jan Janes Weltvree (1595-?) in 1626 and Hendrick Hamel (1630-1692) in 1653<sup>6</sup>-- there is no evidence that either of them made any effort to spread Christianity to the Korean people.

The first Protestant missionary to reach Korea specifically for the purpose of the propagation of Christianity was Karl August Friderich Gutzlaff (1803-1851). He arrived in July 1832, brought by an East India Company ship called the *Lord Amherst* which was on its way to the Yellow Sea to explore for commercial routes. Gutzlaff had been serving as interpreter, medical doctor and chaplain. He recorded that (in 1832) "we came to anchor at Chwang-shan, an island north of Basil's Bays[Bay]"<sup>7</sup> in Hwanghe Province, in the northwestern part of Korea, at which time the captain of the *Lord Amherst*, Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, sent a petition to the king of Korea<sup>8</sup> requesting the opening of commercial trade. While awaiting an answer, Gutzlaff made contact with natives of the area, giving them tracts and Bibles. He also seems to have found out about

the government's persecution of Roman Catholics, since he later said that he had met some Koreans who knew about Christianity (i.e. Catholicism) and who could recite the Lord's Prayer, but that they were terrified to discuss it.<sup>9</sup> Failing to get permission to trade, the ship left Korea on August 9th, 1832.

Gutzlaff's arrival in Korea on board a tradership is a prime example of "Commerce and Christianity", the method of Korea's introduction to Protestantism being similar to that of other parts of the world. Although Gutzlaff's stay in Korea was "so brief that no recognizable result was produced,"<sup>10</sup> he deserves the title of the "first Protestant missionary" to attempt to bring the Christian Gospel to Koreans. More significantly, Gutzlaff was the first Western to familiarize the English-speaking world with the Korean tongue, which was an unknown language. In his "Remarks on the Corean Language"<sup>11</sup> Gutzlaff said that the civilizations, including languages, of Far Eastern countries originated in China and that, while "the majority of the inhabitants [of Korea] know how to read the Chinese written language, they have, nevertheless, for greater convenience, adopted an alphabet suited peculiarly to their own tongue."<sup>12</sup>

He also introduced the Korean script used for consonants and vowels. In 1833, a year after these "Remarks", he published a "complete form" of the 168-syllable order of arrangement, with an explanation of each syllabic, under the

title "The Korean Syllabary" in the Chinese Repository (July 1833, pp. 135-138). His academic and scholarly approach, complete with annotations and cross-references, was the first competent attempt to present the Korean language to the Western world.

As noted, the persecution of Roman Catholics had reached its peak in 1866, during Taewŏn'gun's regime. Although tragic for Roman Catholicism, this suppression provided an impetus to the spread of Protestantism. To understand the reason for this, we must return to the previous chapter. When Admiral Roze planned his 1866 excursion to Korea, he hired a Scottish Protestant missionary, Robert Jermain Thomas (1840-1866) as an interpreter. Thomas had already visited Korea on September 13, 1865.<sup>13</sup> There is no record of the sites he visited, but it is known that he distributed Bibles and tracts and learned a bit of the Korean language.<sup>14</sup>

When Admiral Roze planned his aforementioned 1866 excursion to Korea, he hired Thomas as an interpreter. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, because Roze was forced to delay his invasion of Korea, Thomas shipped out on an American merchant vessel, the *General Sherman*, in the fall of 1866. This was the same vessel which became involved in the so-called "General Sherman Incident." Before boarding the *General Sherman*, Thomas was able to secure two Korean "refugees" who "agreed to act as his guide[s]."<sup>15</sup> He also secured "a large stock of Chinese Bibles for distribution in



Korea"<sup>16</sup> through Alexander Williamson (1829-1890), an agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland who was in China at the time.

The *General Sherman* and its crew, with Thomas on board, arrived at P'yōngyang on August 27, 1866,<sup>17</sup> and requested permission to engage in trade. Denied permission, they soon became embroiled in a pitched battle with the local populace and government soldiers, which "resulted in the extermination of the whole crew and the burning of the ship."<sup>18</sup> The then-Governor of P'yōngyang, Pak Kyu-soo (1807-1876), described the incident:

As a gesture of friendship, at first [residents of the area] treated them well and provided them with food, but they acted opposite. They took away the captain of the local navy battalion [chunggun] and they inflicted injury upon the villagers. Under that situation, the residents naturally revenged themselves on them.<sup>19</sup>

The whole crew of the ship was killed, including Thomas, who was only 26 years old. He had been in Korea (mostly, P'yōngyang), for only about ten days. And although he, like Gutzlaff, had no tangible effect on the propagation of Christianity, perhaps because of his intentions and his cargo of Bibles, Thomas is commemorated today as the first Protestant martyr in Korean mission history.

The incident of the *General Sherman* was used, "as a pretext to force Korea to open its ports to trade,"<sup>20</sup> according to Lee Ki-baik. In 1871, five years after the *General Sherman* Incident, Admiral John Rodgers (1812-1882) of the U.S. Asian

Fleet, then in Chinese waters, sailed to Korea to investigate the fate of the *General Sherman* and "made attempts to secure Korean apologies as well as compensation for the lives and properties of Americans destroyed by Koreans."<sup>21</sup> Roger's forces were driven back to Chinese waters by Korean naval vessels, having received neither apology nor compensation.

At this time, the political power of the Korea was handled by Taewŏn'gun, the father of young and new king Kojong. Taewŏn'gun was elated by the fact that the Korean troops were successfully able to withdraw the "beast-like foreigners" and he elevated isolation policy. He warned the people not to negotiate with the Westerners and erected stelae, known as "chŏkhwabi", every corner of the country, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

While the isolation policy to some extent offered initial protection to the Korean peninsula, Protestant mission work was making real progress elsewhere, particularly through Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, later the United Free Church of Scotland, had begun their mission work in Manchuria in 1862, though "systematic Protestant missionary work" only began there in 1872.<sup>22</sup> In that year, John Ross (1842-1915), of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, arrived in Chefoo to set up a mission field. He discovered, however, that American mission work was underway already so he went looking for someplace else to pursue future mission work. While in

Chefoo, he met Alexander Williamson (1829-1890), the agent of the National Bible society of Scotland. (This was the same Williamson who gave Chinese Bibles to Robert Thomas in 1866).

While Ross was in Chefoo, Williamson advised Ross to go Manchuria, as it was a *terra firma*, virgin soil, largely untouched by mission work. The following year, in 1873, Ross arrived in New Chang (presently Yingkou) and joined his future brother-in-law John MacIntyre (1837-1905), who had been in the field since 1871. Ross heard about another *terra firma* (Korea), the death of Robert Thomas, and the *General Sherman Incident* from Williamson and MacIntyre. In the fall of that year, Ross made a month-long journey of exploration to eastern Manchuria passing through Hūnggyōng (흥경), Tonghwa (동화), arriving at Imkang (임강) and Jip'an (집안). Between Kimkang and Jip'an, Ross met Koreans for the first time.<sup>23</sup>

He continued his journey to the West following the Yalu River (압록강) along the border between China and Korea and he found more Korean villages later known as "Corean Valleys." From this first trip, he discovered there was a place of international trade, a center for both Koreans and Chinese to meet and do business, known as "Corean Gate," (Chaekmun 책문) or Ponghwangsōng (봉황성) to Koreans.<sup>24</sup> Ross made a second trip to "Corean Gate" on October 9, 1874<sup>25</sup>, "to find a language teacher."<sup>26</sup> According to Ross, Koreans were far more curious about the texture of his clothing than what he was talking about -- Christianity -- and they considered the books Ross

was selling to be of "no use."<sup>27</sup> From this trip, however, he was able to secure a Korean language teacher. Ross relates: "One evening he<sup>28</sup> came with the others, and, waiting about half a minute after the others had departed, engaged himself to be my teacher."<sup>29</sup> Through the help of this "he", Lee Ŭng-chan (?-?), Ross published a Korean text book, the Corean Primer (1877), which was "intended to introduce the Corean language to those desirous to prepare for the official, mercantile, and chiefly the missionary intercourse with Corea."<sup>30</sup>

Ross also published a Korean cultural history called History of Corea, Ancient and Modern with Description of Manners and Customs, Language and Geography while on furlough in 1879. In 1880, the book was published in London under a new title, Corea, Its History, Manners and Customs.<sup>31</sup> It was one of the first books in English entirely devoted to the study and description of Korea, though Ross' history relied on Chinese sources.

In 1875, one year after Ross met Lee, four of Lee's friends: Lee Sōng-ha (?-?), Paek Hong-jun (1848-1893), Lee Ik-se (?-?) and Kim Chin-ki (?-?), joined Ross in his work at Mukden. In 1878, Sōh Sang-yun (1848-1938) and, for a short time, his younger brother Sang-u (1852-1938, known as Kyōng-jo) who was one of the first seven Koreans ordained as Presbyterian ministers in 1907, came to Mukden and taught to Korean language to Ross and MacIntyre. They also worked together translating the Bible.<sup>32</sup> All of the aforementioned

Koreans came from the same town -- Ūiju, a border village about 120 *li* (about 40 miles) from Mukden.

In 1876, ninety-two years after the first Catholic baptism of a Korean, (Lee Sŭng-hun, who was baptized by Father Louis de Grammont in 1784 in China), the first Protestant baptism of a Korean was performed by John MacIntyre in Manchuria. The well-known historian, Kim Yang-sŏn (1907-1970) notes in a 1967 article:

Lee Ūng-chan, who went to Newchang [with Ross] after meeting Reverend Ross at Korean Gate in 1874, along with three other youths from Ūiju, [was] baptized by Reverend MacIntyre in 1876. Thus, they became the first Protestant Christians. The three others were: Paek Hong-jun, Lee Sŏng-ha and Kim Chin-ki.<sup>33</sup>

Regarding this baptism, Ross himself remarked:

Corea is now thoroughly open to colportage or tract distribution from New-Chwang; for the only Korean members connected with the Protestant Church are six men, all more or less scholarly, baptized there in Muoukden[sic].<sup>34</sup>

A later missionary, C.C. Vinton (1856-1936), reaffirmed this fact, probably basing his view on Ross' account, and notes that "the earliest Protestant converts among the Korean people were four men baptized in 1876 by Rev. J.W. MacIntyre of the Scotch [sic] Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria."<sup>35</sup>

With the help of these Koreans, Ross and MacIntyre translated The New Testament into Korean, a translation known as the "Ross Version." The gospels of the New Testament were serially translated and published one at a time until the whole volume was published in 1887. When the first two

Gospels, "Luke" and "John", were printed in March 1882, Ross started evangelism among Koreans and sent a Korean, Kim Chōng-song (?-?), as a colporteur, who oversaw the typesetting of the Bible, "to his [Kim's] native valley, Jip'anhyōn"

(집안현).<sup>36</sup> It was said that there were about 3,000 Korean households in that area of Jip'anhyōn in those days.<sup>37</sup> Before this native missionary was sent out to his hometown, he was baptized by Ross in 1883. In regard to Kim's conversion, Ross wrote:

He [Kim Chōng-song], in setting the type, necessarily had to scrutinize closely the manuscript before him. He became interested, and in his broken Chinese began to ask of the printers, who were well-trained Christians, the meaning of this term and that statement. By the time the Gospel of Luke was printed, he became an applicant for baptism. Much to my surprise, he proved himself well acquainted with Christian truth, and in due course was baptized [in 1883].<sup>38</sup>

This was seven years after the baptism of Lee Ŭng-chan in 1876. A brief sketch of Korean emigration to Manchuria, known as Kando to Koreans (Jiandao in Chinese) is necessary in order to help our understanding. According to a Chinese source, Zhongguo chaoxuanzu lishi yanjiu (A Study of the History of Koreans in China) (1986), Koreans emigrated to the Kando area starting in the fourteenth-century.<sup>39</sup> However, mass emigration to that area only started in the early 1860s when Koreans were "severely afflicted by crop failure and famine, so that the hungry Koreans in the northern frontier areas of Korea crossed the Tumen and Yalu rivers *en masse* to the Chinese frontier

areas alongside the river banks in search of food in defiance of the ban on border transgression."<sup>40</sup>

Korean emigrants were living in a zone from the bottom of the Yalu River up to the Tumen River, as is shown on the striped line on map, Figure 2.1 The "Corean Valley" in which the Koreans resided, was divided into two sections: the side opposite the Tumen River was called Tongkando ("eastern Kando" or Pukkando ("northern Kando"), and the side opposite the Yalu River was called Sōkando ("western Kando"). The first Christian movement among Koreans initiated by Ross was in Sōkando ("western Kando"), not Pukkando. Both Sōkando and Pukkando became a popular "havens" for Koreans, after the 1905 "Protectorate Treaty" implemented by the Japanese over Korea, since many Koreans fled to Kando to form an enclave of resistance. Hence, Kando is known as the "center" of the Korean Independence Movement.

The following statistics show the growth of the Korean population in Manchuria over twenty years.

Table 2.1: Koreans Residing in Manchuria (1881-1914)<sup>41</sup>

year	population	year	population
1881	10,000	1915	282,070
1894	65,000	1916	328,318
1904	78,000	1917	337,461
1908	323,808	1918	361,772
1912	238,403	1919	431,198
1913	252,118	1920	459,427
1914	271,388	1921	488,656

At the time Ross and the Korean native Kim Chōng-song

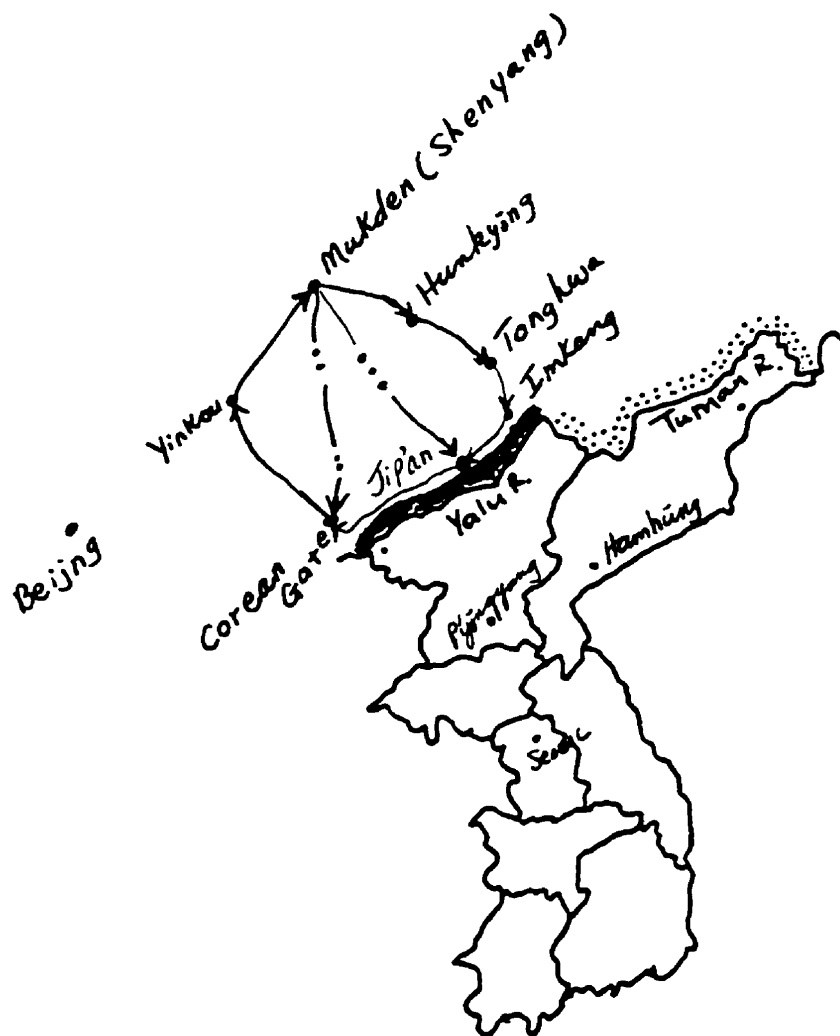
were carrying out evangelization work among Korean residents in Manchuria, there were at least 10,000 Korean emigrants living there. After about six months, Kim returned and reported that he had sold all the books and wished Ross to go there and baptize some people. Ross did not take him seriously, believing that Kim had said this "to please me,"<sup>42</sup> and so "paid no attention to it."<sup>43</sup> Then, sometime in the summer of 1884, a group of people who had been visited by Kim Chŏng-song came to Mukden to see Ross and told him about "a remarkable religious movement among the Korean colonists in the valleys along the banks of the Yalu."<sup>44</sup> "Believing it too serious to be neglected," Ross said, "I resolved to investigate the matter on the spot."<sup>45</sup> He started his trip in the middle of November 1884, accompanied by James Webster, a Scottish missionary. Ross and Webster visited the "Corean Valleys" and recorded that "nearly a hundred men, from 16 to 72 years of age, presented themselves for baptism. In the three valleys, 85 men were baptized from 16 to 72 years of age, and far more postponed."<sup>46</sup>


A year later in 1885, he made a second visit and baptized 25 more Koreans.<sup>47</sup> Thus, there were more than one hundred Protestant converts in the Sŏkando area by the mid-1880s. In regards to the gender of the converts, Ross noted that "those who were baptized were all male, including a few boys."<sup>48</sup> Thus, Protestant mission work in Korea, as in the case of Roman Catholicism, had its beginnings outside of the peninsula.




However, unlike the Catholics, early Protestant missionaries did not proselytize among the Korean élite.

Figure 2: 1 Ross' Journey to "Corean Valleys."



 area known as "Corean Valley" or Sökando (West Kando)

 area known as Pukkando or North Kando

—→ 1st journey in 1873  
 - - - → 2nd journey in 1874  
 - ••• → 3rd journey in 1884

In relation to Bible translation and the promulgation of the Gospel in Korea, the most frequently-mentioned figure is Sōh Sang-yun (1848-1926), who translated the Bible with Ross in Manchuria and was baptized by him in 1879.<sup>49</sup> Ross sent Sōh "as colporteur" to Korea in 1883<sup>50</sup> just as he had sent Kim Chōng-song to "Corean Valley" in Manchuria.

Just a year after Sōh arrived in Korea, a key political event of Korean history took place in Seoul; this was the "Kapsin chōngbyōn" ("Political Crisis of the Year of Kapsin"), also known as *Coup d'État* of 1884 which will be recounted later. A group of reformers, headed by Kim Ok-kyun (1851-1894) and Pak Yōng-hyo (1861-1939), planned a coup to reform Korea after the model of Meiji Japan. Those reformers were, in the beginning, actually supported by the Japanese Minister to Korea, Takezoe Shin'ichiro. However, the reformers soon discovered that there was opposition from the conservative group who favored seeking Chinese support. Korea at that time was under the power of Queen Min and her clans (Queen Min and her supporters took over the power from Taewōn'gun in 1873) who disliked Japanese. The opposition came in particular from the powerful Min family, headed by Min Tae-ho (1834-1884) and his son, Min Yōng-ik (1860-1914). The reform conspirators attempted to murder the conservative leaders at a banquet held in celebration of the opening of the new Postal Administration ("Ujōngguk") on December 4, 1884, in Seoul. However, word of the plot leaked out, the coup failed, and Kim Ok-kyun, Pak

Yōng-hyo, and the reformers fled to Japan.<sup>51</sup>

Throughout history, Korea had often been "a bone of contention" between its two powerful neighbors, China and Japan, the rivalry has grown more intense as both struggled to strengthen themselves against Western imperialism. Their need to dominate Korea reached a climax when this "Kapsin chōngbyōn" broke out in 1884. The failure of this coup precipitated two events: one was the signing of a treaty between China and Japan in 1885 (April 18), known as the Treaty of Tientsin. In the treaty, the two countries agreed to withdraw their troops from the Korean peninsula, and if either needed to send troops to Korea, both agreed to send prior notification to the other party. Through this treaty, Japan established herself on an equal footing with China on the Korean issue.<sup>52</sup>

Even though, the coup was aborted, this event is more important in respect to Protestant mission work in Korea. Prince Min Yōng-ik, a member of the powerful Min family was wounded. Fortunately for him, at that time, there was an American in Seoul serving as a physician to the Foreign Legation. His name was Horace Allen (1859-1932). Allen had previously worked in China as a medical missionary under the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of America. Not satisfied by his work in China, he sought to be assigned elsewhere and came to Korea on September 20, 1884, to assume his position at the Legation. Called upon to attend Min Yōng-

ik after the Reformers' assassination attempt, Allen saved Min's life. Thus, this aborted coup provided a pave to Christianity and a favourable thinking to Royal family on Christianity.

The failure of the Reform faction's coup also provided the Conservatives with further reasons for the exclusion of Christianity, which they still saw in terms of Western penetration. Their victory at court meant that Sōh was unable to continue proselytizing in his hometown, Ūiju, and when rumours reached local government officials that he was spreading knowledge of "the forbidden books" and was a "believer in heresy," he was obliged to leave and went to a small isolated village, Songchōn, (Sore or Sorai) in northwestern Hwanghe Province, where his brother Kyōng-jo (1852-1938) lived. Together, they laid there the foundation of the Korean church. The village of Sore was later described as the "Cradle of Korean Protestantism."<sup>53</sup>

"The next year [1884]," Ross relates, "I had a letter from him [Sōh] requesting me to go to the capital [of Korea], as 13 of his friends desired to be formed into a congregation."<sup>54</sup> Sōh later sent another letter to Ross, urging him to come to Korea "as there were 79 believers,"<sup>55</sup> but in neither case was Ross able to go because of his work in Manchuria. However, this tells that Sōh was successful in converting Koreans into Christianity. Regarding this nascent Korean Christian movement, historian Paik Lak-geon (1895-

1985) notes that, "there was [already] a handful of Protestant Christians when American missionaries entered the country in 1884 and in 1885."<sup>56</sup>

Not until the pioneering Presbyterian minister Horace Underwood (1859-1916; in Korea 1885-1916), founded the first church in Seoul in September of 1887, did Ross finally visit Seoul and witness firsthand the work of his colporteur, Sōh. Ross recounts:

It turned out that two men were cousins of the man who had gone from Mukden. They were believers for six years, so that they must have been of the first company. It also transpired that thirteen of the fourteen baptized members forming the church were the converts either of that man or another, who had left Mukden subsequently.<sup>57</sup>

Ross also heard that similar successful conversions were underway in other provinces.<sup>58</sup>

It therefore seems that the introduction of Protestantism in the late nineteenth-century occurred before Korea formally opened its doors to the West. Preparation for Protestantism's introduction to Korea began in Manchuria through the work of Bible translation and was spread through the efforts of native colporteurs in "Corean Valley." Hence, again, the formation of Protestant Christian communities occurred without the direct involvement of foreign missionaries. Thus, contemporary historian, Chōn Taek-bu said that the effort of forming Protestant Christian community is contrast in that Protestant Church was formed by lower class people while Roman Catholic Church was involved with upper class people, yangban.<sup>59</sup>

As noted, a Christian community had already been formed in Sore, based on indigenous interpretations of the Bible's teachings. Before the arrival of Western residents, primarily missionaries, the Bible had already appeared among, and was being studied by, the local people. Again, it is important to note that Korea remains a unique case in Asia and African mission history, since both Catholic and Protestant Korean converts built Christian communities of their own without direct missionary involvement.

Horace H. Underwood, the first Presbyterian missionary to arrive in Korea, reached the country in 1885, only three years after the Treaty of Kanghwa. He wrote:

From time to time, long itinerating trips into the interior were undertaken, sometimes from six hundred to one thousand miles for the whole journey, and native Christians, most of whom had learned the Truth in China, were employed to distribute and sell Christian tracts and books. While this was a period of wide seed-sowing, at the same time we were permitted to gather in our first-fruits.<sup>60</sup>

Underwood tells us that along with himself, other missionaries came to sow "proper" seeds but all of them, at the same time, happened to harvest the naturally-occurring fruits of others' labors.

Another mission movement aimed at Koreans, again based outside of Korea, began at almost the same time as that in Manchuria. This second movement was organized by both American missionaries and Korean natives in Japan.

Japan had opened its doors to the United States 28 years

earlier than Korea's first treaty with the U.S. in 1882. Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858) had come to Japan in July 1853 and "forced the Japanese to accept a letter from the president of the United States to the emperor of Japan and then departed, promising to return the next spring for the answer."<sup>61</sup> Perry returned to Japan in February of 1854, and concluded the Treaty of Kanagawa with Japan on March 31, 1854. As a result, two ports were opened: Shimoda in the Izu Peninsula and Hakodate on Hokkaido. However, the treaty "did not give foreigners the right to reside in Japan, and the country was still closed to missionary efforts."<sup>62</sup>

Five years after the Perry's effort, Townsend Harris signed a treaty, known as the "Harris Treaty," in July, 1858, which allowed Americans to exercise their own religion. Article Eight states:

Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship."<sup>63</sup>

American missionaries took advantage of the Harris Treaty. In 1859, only a year after the signing, several American missionaries arrived in Japan: John Liggins (1829-?), C.M. Williams (1829-1910), J.C. Hepburn (1815-1911), Samuel R. Brown (1810-?) and D.B. Simmons.<sup>64</sup> The missionaries in Japan related with Korean mission work were: Robert S. Maclay (1824-1907), Henry Loomis (1839-1920) and George W. Knox (1853-1912).

It appears that reform-minded Koreans in the late nineteenth-century sought in Christianity a panacea for their ills, and the basis for various forms of enlightenment. To reformers, Christianity was a faith to be imposed on the people, and a tool for reforming the social system. This, in fact, was similar to the eighteenth-century Korean intellectuals' attempt to import "Western Learning" (Catholicism) to "enlighten" the existing feudal social order.<sup>65</sup>

It is interesting to note that at the time Scottish Presbyterian missionaries were instilling Christianity into Koreans in Manchuria, similar "Manchurian-style" mission works were being undertaken by the Japan-based American Protestant missionaries with Koreans there and the movement in Japan connected with modernization of Korea in late nineteenth-century. Historian Paik Lak-geon remarks:

While churches in America held [embraced] the policy of 'watchful waiting,' Protestant missionaries in Japan preached to the Korean students with whom they came in contact. Some of these students entered mission schools [of the American missionaries] while others professed the Christian faith. Among these sojourners, Rijutei (known as Lee Su-jōng in Korean) was a senior and a leader.<sup>66</sup>

Here an explanation is necessary regarding how "a senior and a leader" like Lee Su-jōng (1842-1886?) came to Japan. Korea and Japan signed the Kanhwa Treaty in 1876, Korea's first international treaty. In order to "modernize" its military force, the Korean government created a Pyōlgigun ("Special



Skills Force" 별 기 군 ) to be trained under a Japanese instructor, Horimoto Reizo. This "special" unit was obviously favored over the old-style traditional forces. The old-style soldiers responded with a military mutiny that killed the Japanese instructor, burned the Japanese legation and killed pro-Japanese bureaucrats like Min Kyōm-ho (1838-1882). In Korean history, this military mutiny is known as the 1882 Imo kullan (임오군란).

In October of that same year, the Korean government dispatched an ambassadorial mission, "susinsa" (a group of ambassadors) to Japan to normalize the estranged relationship that had resulted between the two countries following the Imo kullan. Lee Su-jōng<sup>67</sup> went to Japan with the above diplomatic mission, not as one of the official envoys. Lee was a sōsaeng (a student servant) of Min Yōng-ik (1860-1914) so he went to Japan as a personal attendance of Min<sup>68</sup> who was one of the most powerful Min family. When the other envoys returned to Korea after about three months, Lee remained in Tokyo, where he taught the Korean language at Tokyo University. There he met the well-known agriculturalist and Christian, Tsuda Sen (津田 仙), from whom he learned about Protestantism. Lee was baptized in April, 1883, only seven months after his arrival in Japan.<sup>69</sup> This was about seven years after Lee Ūng-chan had been baptized in Manchuria.

Lee made the acquaintance of various American missionaries in Japan; one was Henry Loomis (1839-1920), an

agent of the American Bible Society, who hired him to translate the Bible into Korean. Loomis wrote:

It has been my privilege to meet this gentleman and our greatest expectations have been more than realized. His history and the future promise of usefulness is one of the most remarkable events of modern missions. It seems almost too good to be true.<sup>70</sup>

In 1883, Lee translated into Korean the "Gospel of Mark," which was immediately published by the American Bible Society. This publication of "Mark" in Japan is another example of the collaborative achievements by missionaries and native Koreans, similar to that of Ross and native Koreans in Manchuria.

Lee tried "earnest persuasion"<sup>71</sup> to urge "the churches in America to open mission work in Korea,"<sup>72</sup> and also tried to persuade American missionaries in Japan to come to Korea. Through one article, known as "Rizutte's Appeal for Missionaries," he raised the following "Macedonian" cry:<sup>73</sup>

Therefore I am translating the Bible into the Korean language in order to make it a means of extending the Gospel. For the success of this work I am praying day and night. The Gospel of Mark is nearly completed. -- At present the Government has opened the country to foreign intercourse and is trying hard to improve the condition of the people. Consequently it is more lenient towards the Christian religion; and although it has not permitted it openly, it does not seek to persecute Christians.<sup>74</sup>

While it is unlikely that he personally wrote this notice, it was well-received by the American Christian community. In his Han'guk kidok kyosa (History of Korean Christian Church), (IV) Oh Yun-tae says:

In fact, such an appeal should have gone through

various stages and processes to achieve the practical effect [of bringing the missionaries]. At least it served as an historical motive to make Horace Grand Underwood and Henry Gerhart Appenzeller and many other missionaries come to Korea.<sup>75</sup>

It is true, therefore, that the earliest American missionaries to Korea -- Horace H. Underwood (1859-1916), Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902), William B. Scranton (1856-1922) and Mary Fitch Scranton (1832-1909) -- stopped in Japan on their way to Korea. These American missionaries met Korean students in Tokyo, including Lee Su-jōng, and therefore would have learned something about Korea before they arrived on the peninsula. It is a documented fact that one day in Tokyo, they attended a meeting at the home of the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Japan, Robert Maclay (1824-1907), and Lee Su-jōng was invited to this meeting to advise them.<sup>76</sup>

Prior to embarking for Korea, Horace Underwood stayed with Lee Su-jōng for two months and learned some Korean language from him. He also took the Bible Lee had translated with him to Korea in 1885. Though Lee did not propagate mission work in Korea like Sōh Sang-yun, he was equally instrumental in bringing Koreans into contact with the Christian tradition of the West. Thus, in Korean religious history, both Sōh Sang-yun and Lee Su-jōng became the most important pillars of Korean Protestant history. Sōh's conversion had less impact on then Korean socio-political scene for he was not connected with Korean politicians while

Lee's conversion was very important for he was connected with then the Korean politicians of reformers like Park Yŏng-hyo (1861-1939) or Kim Ok-kyun (1851-1894).

Perhaps the most important of Lee Su-jŏng's contributions to the Korean Christian movement, however, were his efforts to convert Korean students in Japan in Christianity<sup>77</sup> because of the prestige enjoyed by foreign students on their return to Korea. Records indicate that there were 50 Korean students in Tokyo in 1883.<sup>78</sup> In regard to Lee Su-jŏng's efforts to convert Korean students, Underwood commented:

A man of high rank and ability and ardent piety, it is not strange that, largely through his [Lee Su-jŏng] influence, almost all the Koreans in Tokyo are now under the care of our mission and many of them already members of the church.<sup>79</sup>

There were both American Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries in Japan in the early 1880s who were equally interested in opening mission work in Korea, although the Methodists were the first to attempt mission work there. The Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Japan, Robert S. Maclay, visited Korea in June, 1884, and stayed for two weeks.<sup>80</sup> During this time, Maclay met with his acquaintance from Tokyo, Kim Ok-kyun. Kim was then Chamŭi in Oeamun (a civilian officer of Third Rank in the Department of External Affairs in the Korean Government).<sup>81</sup>

Through Kim, Maclay presented a petition to Emperor Kojong (r. 1864-1907). Since the petition was to open a school to educate Korean youth Western knowledge and do medical work

in Korea, Maclay received a "favorable reply"<sup>82</sup> from the Emperor, though the Kojong was interested in getting material benefit out of the Western education, but not for souls.

Maclay explained:

[Kim Ok-kyun] informed me that the king [Kojong] had carefully examined my letter the night before, and in accordance with my request had decided to authorize our society [the Methodist Episcopal Church of the U.S.] to commence hospital and school work in Korea.<sup>83</sup>

In regard to this yunhō (Royal Permission), Yun Chi-ho who attended the meeting as an interpreter also said that Emperor Kojong allowed to build schools and hospitals.<sup>84</sup> Korean court still feared the ideological impact of Western religion but was open to Western medicine and education to its civilization. It is important to note that there was no explicit permission for the American missionary to do evangelical mission work. However, through this educational and medical mission, Protestant missionaries got one foot inside in the Korean door, allowing for future evangelism.

After the aforementioned coup of 1884, another leader of the Reformers, Pak Yōng-hyo (1861-1939), a son-in-law of the previous King Chōlchong (r. 1849-1863), fled to Japan. While there, he met a member of American missionaries. Once he said:

What our people need is education and Christianization. Through your missionaries and your mission schools you could educate and elevate our people. It would be a great aid, and perhaps tedious work, but your great Republic could do this. Your missionaries have already done good

work in Korea. Our old religions sit lightly, and the way to Christian conversion is open. An army of Christian teachers and workers should be placed in every section of our country. Our people should be educated and Christianized before they undertake any constitutional reform. Then we shall have constitutional government and, in the distant future, perhaps, a free and enlightened country such as yours.<sup>85</sup>

Pak put the education before Christianity for he thought education would help bringing modernization. Most of the Koreans who travelled to Japan in the early 1880s were members of the Reform Faction. They met Western missionaries, saw the changes happening in Meiji Japan because of the adoption of Western learning, and wanted to follow the Japanese pattern. While Pak was exiled in Japan, he said in his memorial to then an Emperor Kojong of Korea:

If religion is sound, the nation is sound. However, Confucianism and Buddhism in our country have all declined, consequently the country also has been weakened.<sup>86</sup>

Pak did not suggest which religion would make the country "sound." In a similar manner, Kim Ok-kyun, a reformer who was then exiled in Japan, sent a memorial to Emperor Kojong and said that "the country needed to establish schools and develop human intellect and import foreign religion which would be an aid in achieving reform."<sup>87</sup> The "foreign religion" both Pak and Kim had in mind was, of course, Christianity. Even though these reformers themselves never converted to Christianity,<sup>88</sup> in their eyes, Christianity was a necessity and useful for their political purposes. Here is

another typical aspect of the implantation of Christianity in Korea - Christianity was used as a tool of political reform.

The actual coming of Western missionaries to Korea occurred after the so-called Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Korea, which was signed on May 22, 1882.<sup>89</sup> This parallels Japan's situation, for Japan also saw missionaries come to Japan only after the American consul, Townsend Harris, signed a treaty in July, 1858, which allowed American citizens in Japan to practice Christianity. As mentioned earlier, Allen was in Korea, not as an "official" Protestant missionary, but as a physician to the Foreign Legation. A political coup, the 1884 Kapsin chōngbyōn, provided an opportunity for him to begin evangelization. Allen recorded in his diary on December 5, 1884: "Last night was a most eventful one for foreigners in Seoul."<sup>90</sup> Allen continued:

After being rushed across the city under an escort of native troops, I found the foreign representatives and the high native dignitaries spattered with blood and terribly agitated, while the host of the evening, Prince Min [Yōng-ik], was lying at the point of death with arteries severed and seven sword cuts on his head and body.<sup>91</sup>

According to the wife of P.G. von Moellendorff, the political advisor to Emperor Kojong, Min Yōng-ik was carried to Moellendorff's residence by palanquin. She recorded that "the night of the coup was a fearful night."<sup>92</sup>

Allen succeeded in bringing the prince back to health

after "three months of constant care, attended with much anxiety and peril."<sup>93</sup> Apart from its political impact, this incident made Allen win the confidence of the court and elevated the reputation of Western medicine amongst the Korean people. Indeed, as a sign of acceptance of Western medicine, the Court opened a hospital under Allen's supervision. Early in 1885, Allen made a request to the Court through George C. Foulk, the American Chargé d'Affairs in Seoul, to establish a hospital under royal patronage. Allen offered to teach Western medicine to Korean students free-of-charge in return for a building and maintenance costs. The Court accepted Allen's proposal, and the hospital, Kwanghaewŏn (Widespread Relief House), was officially opened on April 10, 1885, with the "blessings" of the Court.<sup>94</sup>

The primary significance of this hospital was that it opened doors to future mission work. At the same time, it ignited the Korean people's confidence in Americans. Thus, when the American missionaries mentioned earlier -- H. Underwood, W. B. Scranton, H. Appenzeller, and Mary F. Scranton -- arrived in Korea on April 5, 1885, they received a "moderate" welcome. In fact, officially, they were not considered "missionaries" at all, but rather doctors or educators. For example, Underwood was known as a medical assistant to Allen<sup>95</sup> as well as a chemistry and physics teacher at "Kwanghaewŏn"<sup>96</sup>; W.B. Scranton was a medical



doctor at "Kwanghaewŏn"<sup>97</sup>; Appenzeller was an educator,<sup>98</sup> as well as Mary.<sup>99</sup> When these ordained missionaries arrived in Korea in the late nineteenth century, the propagation of Christianity was not officially permitted. Yet, they took advantage of the treaty to enter the country and received favourable treatment, particularly from the Royal family. Having gained the Court's acceptance, the nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries were then able to proselytize. (This will be discussed more in Chapter Four).

In summary, because nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries were well aware of the history of confrontation between the Catholics and the Korean government, they were able to avoid making the same mistakes as the Roman Catholics. The first and the most important step Protestant missionaries took was to win the support of both the Court and the common people through humanitarian projects. This included the erection of the Royal Hospital (Kwanghaewŏn) and schools to educate the children of common people. Instead of preaching the Christian faith against a strong conservative tradition of Confucianism, they planned to teach humanitarian spirit through education and medical services and by setting up orphanages. The primary targets of their message were women and the masses. By focussing proselytization on them, the missionaries hoped social barriers to strengthen human dignity and to encourage gender equality through education. Thus, the Protestant

missionaries in those early days were remembered as "the founders of the modern education system."<sup>100</sup> Protestant mission work also profited from the political infighting between Taewŏn'gun and Queen Min during the late nineteenth century. Moreover, conservatives and modernizers, many of them young, reform-minded Korean politicians, sought to "use" Christianity, "a civilized religion," as an instrument of political reform. It also must be remembered that during this same period, international pressure was forcing Korean politicians, particularly the modernizers, to prepare to receive Western civilization. Because of these factors, the Korean government was relatively supportive of the Protestant missionaries' efforts.

Notes to Chapter Two -- The Introduction of Protestantism

<sup>1</sup>. Arnold Toynbee, The World and the West, (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>. Kim Key-hiuk, The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order: Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860-1882, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1980), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>. Tong Dūk-mo, Chosōnjo ūi kukje kwankye (International Relationships in Chosōn Period) (Seoul, Korea: Pakyōngsa, 1990), p. 76.

<sup>4</sup>. See note # 89. Major treaties signed by Korea.

<sup>5</sup>. Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokyo sōhoe, 1982), p. 135. The Dutchmen Jan Janes Weltvree (1595-?), Kirek Gijsberts, and Janoierteree Verbaest had been shipwrecked together and managed to reach an island called Quelpart, i.e., modern day Cheju Island. This information is drawn from Kidokkyo taepaek kwa sajōn, Vol. 7 (The Christian Encyclopedia) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1983), pp. 758-759. Hereafter cited as KTPS.; Lee Hong-jik (comp.), Kuksa taesajōn (Encyclopedia of Korean History), (Seoul, Korea: Samyōng chulpansa, 1987), p. 531. Hereafter cited as KST.

<sup>6</sup>. In 1653, more Dutchmen, Hendrick Hamel (1630-1692) and his company of 37 Netherlanders, were shipwrecked and reached Cheju Island. For further information on Hamel, see Gari Ledyard, The Dutch Come to Korea (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1971); Yi Pyeng-do, "Lansōn chejudo nanpaki" (An Account of the Hamel Shipwreck), The Chindan hakbo, Vol. 1, (1934?), pp. 179-219, and Vol. 2, (April 1935), pp. 405-420.

<sup>7</sup>. Charles Gutzlaff, Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands, (London, England: Frederick Westley and A.H. Davis, 1834), p. 320;

<sup>8</sup>. H.H. Lindsay, Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China in the Ship Lord Amherst, (London, England: B. Fellowes, 1834), pp. 216-218.

<sup>9</sup>. Paik Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910, (P'yongyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1927. Reprinted, Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1971), p. 46.

10. Ibid.
11. Chinese Repository, Vol. I (November 1832), pp. 276-279.
12. Ibid., p. 277.
13. Horace Underwood, "The Two Visits of Rev. R.J. Thomas to Korea", in Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII (May 1933), pp. 97-123. Hereafter cited as TKBRA; Paik, pp. 43-44.
14. Paik Lak-geon stated that, after two and half months in Korea, Thomas went first to Manchuria, then on to Peking, early in January, 1866. This information was said to have been drawn from Thomas' letter of January 12, 1866, written in Peking, China, which later appeared in The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle (July 1866), pp. 200-201.
15. Paik, p. 49.
16. Min, p. 143.
17. Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, Kojong sidaesa (The History of the Kojong Period), Vol. I (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1967), p. 221. Hereafter cited as Kojong sidaesa.
18. Paik, p. 50.
19. Kojong sillok (The Annals of King Kojong), in Ilsongnok (Royal Annals) (Pyŏnginnyŏn July 25). Cited in Han'guk kidokkyosa yŏnkuhoe, Han'guk kidokkyo ūi yŏksa, Vol. I (History of Christianity in Korea), (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1991), p. 140. Hereafter cited as HKY. The Korean appellation for the captain of the local military battalion was chunggun. In the Yi dynasty, the term chunggun referred to a specialized unit stationed within the middle of the regular army camp. It also referred to the captain of the chunggun (Lieutenant Commander). At the time of the incident, the Captain of the chunggun was Lee Hyun-ik. For this, see Kojong sidaesa, Vol. I, p. 223.
20. Lee Ki-baik, A New History of Korea (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 264. See also, KST, p. 832.
21. Andrew C. Nahm, Korea: A History of the Korean People, (Elizabeth, New Jersey: Hollym International Corp, 1988), p. 148.
22. Dugald Christie (Mrs.) (ed.), Thirty Years in Moukden

1883-1913: Being the Experiences and Recollections of Dugald Christie, (London, England: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1954), p. 293; Austin Fultin, Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria 1867-1950, (Edinburgh, Scotland: Saint Andrew Press, 1967), p. 391; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, (New York, NY: Paragon Book Gallery, Ltd., 1970), p. 396.

<sup>23</sup>. Kim Yang-sŏn, "The Ross Version kwa Korean Protestantism" (The Ross Version and Korean Protestantism), in Baeksan hakbo, Vol. 3 (November 1967), p. 413. Hereafter cited as BH.

<sup>24</sup>. John Ross, "The Christian Dawn in Korea", in The Missionary Review of the World, Vol. 3:4 (April 1890), p. 241. Hereafter cited as MR.

<sup>25</sup>. John Ross, "Visit to the Corean Gate", in Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol. 5 (November/December, 1875). Cited in Kim Jŏng-hyŏn, John Ross: han'guk ūi chŏt sŏnkyosa (John Ross: Korea's First Missionary), (Taegu, Kyŏngsang Pukdo: Kaemyŏng University Press, 1982), p. 127.

<sup>26</sup>. BH, p. 416.

<sup>27</sup>. Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>28</sup>. This "he" has been identified as Lee Ūng-chan (also rendered as Lee Oon Chan and Yi Ūng-chan). John Ross' article "The Christian Dawn in Korea" originally appeared in MR Vol. 4 (April 1890), pp. 241-248, and was reprinted in the Korea Mission Field, Vol. 33:7 (July 1937), pp. 133-138. Hereafter cited as KMF. When Ross' article "The Christian Dawn in Korea" was reprinted, Harry A. Rhodes, the editor of the KMF, interviewed Han Sŏk-jin (1868-1939), one of the first seven Korean Presbyterian ministers. Han was from the same town as Sŏh Sang-yun and Paek Hong-jun, who were associated with John Ross and John MacIntyre in Manchuria. Han first heard about Christianity from Sŏh and Paek in Ūiju, P'yŏngan Province, northwest of Korea, their hometown. Han identified certain anonymous figures in Ross' article; "a teacher" was Lee Ūng-chan; "the colporteur who was sent to the valleys east of Mukden" was Kim Chŏng-song; and "the colporteur who first went to Seoul" was Sŏh Sang-yun. For further information on Han Sŏk-jin's witness, see KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 167.

<sup>29</sup>. MR, p. 242.

<sup>30</sup>. The full title of the publication on the cover page is [A] Corean Primer, Being Lessons in Corean on All

Ordinary Subjects, Transliterated on the Principles of the "Mandarin Primer," by the Same Author. It was published by the American Presbyterian Mission Press in 1877 in Shanghai. This work was revised, enlarged, and republished under the title, Korean Speech, With Grammar and Vocabulary, (Shanghai, China: Kelly and Walsh, 1882). For further information about the purpose of the book see "Introduction."

<sup>31</sup>. In his Bibliography of Western Literature on Korea from the Earliest Times Until 1950, G. Gompertz commented that "this early work, with its quaint illustrations and outlandish rendering from the Chinese of Korean names, contains chapters on the geography of Korea and the customs, religions and language of the people; the history is derived from Chinese sources." For this, see his "Bibliography" in TKBRA, Vol. XL, (1963), p. 38.

<sup>32</sup>. Sōh Kyōng-jo, "Sōh Kyōng-jo ūi sindo wa chōndo wa songchōn kyohoe sōlip yōksa" (Christians and the Evangelistic Work of Sōh Kyōng-jo and the History of Songchōn Church), in Sinhak jinam, Vol. 7: 4 (October 1925). Sōh's article was reprinted by the Saemunan kyohoe yōksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe (comp.), Saemunan kyohoe munhōn saryojip, Vol. 1 (Historical Documents of Saemunan Presbyterian Church), (Seoul, Korea: Saemunan kyohoe, 1987), p. 441. Hereafter cited as Sōh Kyōng-jo and songchōn. It is generally known that Lee Ūng-chan, Paek Hong-jun, Sōh Sang-yun and Sōh Kyōng-jo were associated with Ross and MacIntyre in translating the Bible into Korean. However, according to Sōh Kyōng-jo's record, there were another two Ūiju men in Manchuria who also worked as teachers and Bible translators. Sōh said that when he and his brother Sang-yun went to Manchuria, "three Ūiju friends," namely, Lee Ik-sae, Lee Ūng-chan, and Choe Sōng-kyun, were there. Thus, there were more Koreans involved than is commonly known. For this, see Sōh Kyōng-jo's article mentioned above; Han'guk kidokkyosa yōnguhoe (comp.), Han'guk kidokkyo ūi yōksa, Vol. 1 (History of Christianity in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1991), p. 144, suggests that "the year 1879 is a year to be remembered for a long time, because in this year, the four Koreans, Paek Hong-jun and Lee Ūng-chan, etc., were baptized by MacIntyre. Therefore, the first Christian Community was formed in Manchuria." Hereafter cited as HKY.

<sup>33</sup>. BH, p. 424.

<sup>34</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>. Ibid. Cf. HKY, Vol. 1, p. 144.

36. BH, p. 435.
37. "The Christian Dawn in Korea", p. 243; BH, p. 437.
38. "The Christian Dawn in Korea", p. 243.
39. For further information on the history of Korean emigration to China, see Gao Yongyi, Zhongguo chaoxuanzu (Yanbian, China: Education Press, 1986), pp. 3-30; Hyun Kyuhwan, Han'guk yu iminsa (A History of Korean Emigrants and Immigrants), (Seoul, Korea: Samhwa insoe, 1976), pp. 132-144; Lee Chae-jin, China's Korean Minority (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986); Yongjōng munsa yōnkuwōn (comp.), Yongjōng munsa jaryo (The History of Yongjōng), (Yanbian, China: Yongjōng jaryo wiwōnhoe, 1986).
40. Cho Seūng-bog, Language and Society in East Asia, Bert Edstrom (ed.), (Stockholm: Center for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, 1991), p. 89.
41. Lee Chae-jin, China's Korean Minority: The Politics of Ethnic Education, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986), p. 20.
42. "Christian Dawn in Korea", p. 244.
43. Ibid.
44. John Ross, "Journey to the Corean Valleys", in United Presbyterian Missionary Record, (October 1885), pp. 321-326.
45. MR, p. 244.
46. Ibid., p. 245. The names of the "Corean Valleys" were not known. Ross simply provided the following information: Valley No. 1 on December 5th 1884; No. 2 Valley on December 7th; No. 3 Valley on December 10th; No. 4 Valley on December 12th. According to an 1889 census, done five years after Ross' visitation, there were 24 "myon" (subcounties) in West Kando. For this, see Hyun, p. 139.
47. Ibid., p. 246.
48. John Ross, "A Bright Light in Northern Korea," Foreign Missionary (September 1886), pp. 150-152. In regard to the baptism of women in Korean Protestant Church history, a former missionary and a historian, Allen D. Clark, said "a wife of a colporteur was baptized at the service held at the house of Appenzeller. It was November 9, 1887." For this, see, Kwak An-ryōn, Han'guk kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokyo sōhoe,

1973), p. 60. There is one other record regarding women's baptism. In his book, A Biography of James Scarth Gale and a New Edition of His History of the Korean People, Richard Rutt gave credit for the first baptism of women to Gale: "At the first baptism on 5 April 1894, four women were christened" by Gale. For this, see Rutt, p. 25.

<sup>49</sup>. There are different opinions regarding Sōh's baptism. Lee Man-yōl did extensive research on the date of Soh's baptism. See Lee Man-yōl, Han'guk kidokkyo wa minjok ūisik (Korean Christianity and National Consciousness), (Seoul, Korea: Chisik sanōpsa, 1991), p. 63.

<sup>50</sup>. For details of Soh's crossing the border, see Ellasue Wagner, "Through the Hermit's Gate with Sōh Sang-yun", in KMF, Vol. 39:5 (May 1938), pp. 93-96. See also, Lee Man-yōl, p. 63.

<sup>51</sup>. For further information on "Kapsin chōngbyōn", see Harold F. Cook, Korea's 1884 Incident, (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1972).

<sup>52</sup>. Lee Kwang-rin, Han'guksa kangjwa: kūnsaep'yōn (History of Korea: Modern Period), (Seoul, Korea: Ilchokak, 1981), pp. 192-193.

<sup>53</sup>. For further information on the foundation of the Songchun Church, see Sōh Kyōng-jo and songchōn. See also, "Sōh Sang-yun kwa kyohoe ūi changsōl" (Sōh Sang-yun and the Foundation of the Songchōn Church), in Korea University minjok munhwa yōnkuso (comp.), Han'guk minsok taehwan, Vol. 3 (The Survey of Korean Folk Culture), (Seoul, Korea: Korea University minjok munhwa yōnkuso, 1982), pp. 565-566; KTPS, Vol. 9, pp. 555-557.

<sup>54</sup>. "The Christian Dawn in Korea", p. 247.

<sup>55</sup>. Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>56</sup>. Paik, p. 54.

<sup>57</sup>. "Christian Dawn in Korea", p. 247. This was Ross' second visit to Seoul. Ross visited Seoul in February, 1887, by invitation of the Korean Bible Translation Committee. See Lee Man-yol, p. 94.

<sup>58</sup>. "The Christian Dawn in Korea", p. 247.

<sup>59</sup>. Chon Taek-bu, Tobaqi sinang sanmaek (The Indigenous Population's Mountain of Faith), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1977), p. 27.



<sup>60</sup>. H.G. Underwood, The Call of Korea: Political, Social and Religious, (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), p. 136.

<sup>61</sup>. John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, East Asia: Tradition and Transformation, (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978), p. 487.

<sup>62</sup>. Otis Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant Missions, (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1976), p. 36.

<sup>63</sup>. Cary, p. 39; Fairbank, pp. 488-490.

<sup>64</sup>. John Liggins and C.M. Williams were based in China. Liggins came to Nagasaki on May 2, 1859. Foreign traders, along with missionaries, began to settle at open harbors, like Yokohama, when the Harris Treaty went into effect in 1859. For this, see Cary, Ibid., p. 45 and Fairbank, Ibid., p. 489.

<sup>65</sup>. Kenneth Well, New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937, (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), p. 9.

<sup>66</sup>. Paik, p. 78.

<sup>67</sup>. Lee Kwang-rin, Han'guk kaehwasa yŏnku (Study of the History of Korean Enlightenment) (Seoul, Korea: Ilchokak, 1979), 235. However, missionary source indicate that Lee Su-jong was "a scholar and annalist at the King's court." For this, see Oh Yun-tae, Han'guk kidok kyosa, Vol. 4 (History of Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Haesŏn chulpansa, 1983), pp. 25, 35. Historians differ on the death of Lee Su-jŏng. Lee Kwang-rin implied, relying on Japanese sources, that Lee Su-jŏng was persecuted when he returned to Korea in 1886. For this, see Lee, Ibid., pp. 248-250. A Korean-Japanese, historian, Oh Yun-tae denies this. For this, see Oh, Ibid., pp. 271-276.

<sup>68</sup>. Lee, Han'guk kaehwasa yŏnku, p. 235.

<sup>69</sup>. Min Kyŏng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1982), p. 166; Oh Yun-tae, pp. 61, 145; H. Loomis, "The First Korean Protestant in Japan", in KMF, 33:7 (July 1937), p. 140.

<sup>70</sup>. KMF, Vol. 33:7 (July 1937), p. 139.

<sup>71</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>. Paik, p. 79.

<sup>73</sup>. This refers to the psychic call received by the Apostle Paul during one of his journeys. While on the road to Asia, the vision of man appeared to him, pleading "Come out to Macedonia and help us." For this, see Acts Chapter 16, verse 9 in the New Testament.

<sup>74</sup>. MR, Vol. 7 (December 1883), pp. 145-146.

<sup>75</sup>. Oh, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, p. 85; Lee, Han'guk kaehwasa yŏnku, p. 246.

<sup>76</sup>. Oh, Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>77</sup>. Oh, Ibid., pp. 132-133, 267. Lee Su-jŏng believes that he not only translated the Bible but also propagated Christianity among Korean students who came to Tokyo. See Oh Yun-tae, p. 146. In Lee's 1883 appeal, known as "Rijuteis [sic] Appeal for Missionaries," he indicated that there were Koreans in Tokyo who had been converted. Lee said "Five of my countrymen are of the same mind with me. They have been baptized already." For further information, see MR (December 83), p. 146.

<sup>78</sup>. Lee, Han'guksa kangjwa, p. 171. Cf. Oh, Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>79</sup>. Oh, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, p. 226.

<sup>80</sup>. Robert S. Maclay, "A Fortnight in Seoul, Korea, in 1884", in Yun Chun-byŏng, Hann'guk sŏnkyo ūi mun ūl yŏn maekŭlei paksa ūi saenge wa saŏp [A Biography of Robert S. Maclay], (Seoul, Korea: Han'guk kidokkyo munhwawŏn, 1984), p. 89. See also, Robert S. Maclay, "Korea's Permit to Christianity", in MR, Vol. 9:8 (August 1895), 287.

<sup>81</sup>. Lee Sŏn-kŭn, Taehan kuksa: soekukesŏ kaekukŭiro (The Great Korean History: From Isolation to Open) (Seoul, Korea: Han'guk chulpan kongsa, 1984), p. 326.

<sup>82</sup>. Paik, p. 83; Lee, Han'guk kaehwasa yŏnku, p. 222.

<sup>83</sup>. Maclay, p. 287.

<sup>84</sup>. Yun Chi-ho, Yun Chi-ho ilgi (July 12, 1884) Vol. I, (Diary of Yun Chi-ho) (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1975), p. 81. See also, Fred Harvey Harrington, God, Mammon and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korea-American Relations, 1884-1905 (Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), p. 13.

<sup>85</sup>. Frederick Arthur McKenzie, The Tragedy of Korea, (London, England: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), pp. 54-55.

<sup>86</sup>. Lee, Han'guk kaehwasa yŏnku, p. 221.

<sup>87</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>. Ibid., p. 233. Kim Ok-kyun was a known Buddhist. For this, see Lee, Han'guk kaehwasa yŏnku, p. 222; Oh, Han'guk kidok kyosa, p. 183.

<sup>89</sup>. Noh Kye-hyŏn, Han'guk oekyosa yŏnku (A Study of Korean Diplomatic Relations) (Seoul, Korea: Haemunsa, 1968), pp. 41-65.

Major treaties signed by Korea were:

Country	Date
Japan	Feb. 26, 1876
United States	May 22, 1882
Great Britain	Nov. 26, 1883
Germany	Nov. 26, 1883
Russian	June 25, 1885
Italy	June 26, 1884
France	June 4, 1886
China	Sept.11, 1899

Source: Horace N. Allen, Korea: Fact and Fancy (Seoul, Korea: Methodist Publishing House, 1904).

<sup>90</sup> Paik, p. 102. See also, Fred Harvey Harrington, God Mammon and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884-1905 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), p. 24.

<sup>91</sup>. Horace Allen, Things Korean (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), p. 70.

<sup>92</sup>. P.G.von Moellendorff (Mrs.) "Mok in-dŏk ũi sugi" ("P.G. von Moellendorff-Ein Lebensbild", Ko Byŏng-ik (ed.), in Chindan hakbo, Vol. 24 (December 1963), pp. 150-608.

<sup>93</sup>. Paik, p. 102.

<sup>94</sup>. There are different record in regard to the amount of Royal grant. In his short biography of Avison, Robert Hardie claimed that Kojong promised to grant 3,000 wŏn (Korean

money) every year. For this, see "Ŏbison paksa sojŏn" (A Short Biography of Avison), in Kidok sinbo (March 23, 1932), p. 7; According to Yŏnsei taehakkyo ũikwa taehak, Ŭihak paeknyŏn (History of One Hundred Years of [Western] Medicine in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Yŏnsei University Press, 1986), p. 20, the Royal grant was \$300. Hereafter cited as Ŭihak paeknyŏn; According to Avison's close friend, Yun Chi-ho, the Royal grant was \$5,000. For this, see Yun Chi-ho, Yun Chi-ho ilgi Vol. 4 (February 1895) (Yun Chi-ho's Diary) (Seoul, Korea: Yŏksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1975), p. 20. Yun said, "the King promised to pay \$5,000 *per annum*. The money, however, never reached the institution.

<sup>95</sup>. Ŭihak paeknyŏn, p. 52; Min Kyŏng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa (History of Social Movements in Korean Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1990), pp. 94-95; Korean Repository, Vol. 1 (December 1892), p. 357. Hereafter cited as KR.

<sup>96</sup>. Allen D. Clark, Avison of Korea: The Life of Oliver R. Avison, M.D. (Seoul, Korea: Yŏnsei University Press, 1978), p. 23; Han Yŏng-je (comp.), Han'guk kidokkyo inmul paeknyŏn ("Who's Who" in Korean Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1988), p. 188; Min, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, p. 153.

<sup>97</sup>. KR, Vol. 1 (December 1892), p. 357; HKY, p. 185.

<sup>98</sup>. Min, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa, pp. 94-95; HKY, p. 185.

<sup>99</sup>. HKY, p. 185.

<sup>100</sup>. Lee, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa, p. 184.

## CHAPTER THREE

SOME FACTORS INFLUENCING THE GROWTH OF  
KOREAN PROTESTANT EVANGELIZATION

There is a school of thought which attributes the success of mission work in Korea to the so-called "Nevius Method" -- Self-supporting, Self-governing, and Self-propagating -- adopted by Protestant missionaries in the late nineteenth-century.<sup>1</sup> It appears to me, however, that this way of thinking overemphasizes "missionaryism." These historical views highlight the achievements of the missionaries alone, while ignoring the socio-political climate and several cultural factors which aided the Protestant missionaries' proselytization effort.

In previous chapters, I described Korean society in the late nineteenth-century, demonstrating how the socio-political climate of that time worked in favour of the introduction of Protestantism into Korea. As well, I discussed the political corruption through "in-law" power politics, known as sedo chŏngchi; the incessant factionalism in the highest levels of bureaucracy, called sŏwŏn; the changing dynamics among the four different social strata (yangban, chungin, sangmin, and chŏnmin); the increasing frequency of peasant uprisings; the Confucian view of women as "inferior"; and the revolution of educating "inferior" women and other low-class people. I argued that such socio-political instability weakened the

Korean government's ability to enforce its isolationist policy, leaving it vulnerable to Western aggression. Protestant missionaries took advantage of this social discontinuity to establish a secure foothold in Korea, rendering it "one of the marvels of modern [mission] history."<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter, I will investigate the following questions in an attempt to ascertain which factors influenced this "marvel."

First, what predisposed the Korean court to favour Protestant mission work? Did the Emperor Kojong's<sup>3</sup> attitude toward Christianity -- in this case Protestantism -- affect that of masses?

Second, did Protestant evangelists adapt their mission strategy to take advantage of the existing social system during the late Yi dynasty? To determine this, the relationship between social structure and the method of the missionary evangelization undertaken by the Protestant missionaries will be explored.

Third, was there any cultural interplay between the indigenous Korean belief system and Christian teachings? If so, what form did it take?

To begin, as demonstrated by Horace Allen in Chapter Two, Korean Protestantism was able to gain a foothold in Korea through "miraculous Western medicine."<sup>4</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the Korean government did not welcome Christian

evangelists. However, it appears that Protestant missionaries were favoured by the court from the beginning, primarily because of their advanced Western medical technology and education. According to Horace G. Underwood, public displays of royal favour to missionaries "naturally had a widespread and powerful effect upon the whole nation and has also had something to do with the constant favour that missionaries have continually received everywhere."<sup>5</sup>

Let us take a look at how Emperor Kojong or the State acted toward the Protestant missionaries with regards to Christian propagation. One example is the so-called "Yŏng A Sodong" (Baby Riots), which happened in Seoul in 1888.<sup>6</sup> In June of that year, anti-foreign elements spread the rumour that foreigners were killing and eating Korean babies in order to manufacture medicine, treating diseases by using human body parts, and using babies' eyes to take pictures. "The excitement and fury grew hourly," Lillias Underwood, an American, commented, and "large crowds of angry people congregated, scowling, muttering, and threatening"<sup>7</sup> the missionaries.

This incident was reminiscent of the Tientsin riots in China in 1870, which saw the massacre of a number of foreigners. In the Korean case, the populace's mood was so ugly that American marines were called from Chemulpo (presently Inchŏn, about thirty miles west of Seoul) to guard Americans in Seoul.<sup>8</sup> After hearing of this rumour, Emperor

Kojong ordered the Minister of Home Affairs (Naebutaesin), Yu Kil-jun (1856-1914), to promulgate an edict that these rumours were not true and the people should calm down.<sup>9</sup> Missionary work was thus legitimated by Emperor Kojong; in the view of historian Paik Lak-geon, Emperor Kojong's edict served to bring the public and government together in recognizing the work of missionaries' as "honorable and good."<sup>10</sup> A second example reveals the favourable attitude of government officials towards the missionary. Queen Min's private physician, Lillias Horton, M.D. (?-1921), was an American who came to Korea on March 27, 1888, and married Horace Underwood one year later. Horton, now Mrs. Underwood, wrote:

Their majesties arranged for several people from the palace to be presented at the ceremony [of their wedding], the army was represented by General Han Ku Sul [Han Kyu-söl, 1856-1930. Later Han became the Prime Minister], a noblemen of the highest rank, and the cabinet by Min Yen Whan [Min Yōng-hwan, 1861-1905], a near relative of the queen, and in highest favor with their majesties.<sup>11</sup>

When the newlyweds went on their honeymoon to the northern part of Korea (Songchōn, Ūiju, and P'yōngyang, etc), they were guarded by policemen, under direct orders from His Majesty.

There is also an example of how Queen Min favoured a missionary wife. John Heron (an American), Emperor Kojong's physician died in 1890 and Heron's widow, Harriet Gibson, married James Gale (a Canadian) on April of 1892. Hearing the news of Gibson's marriage, Queen Min gave "a gift of five hundred dollars"<sup>12</sup> as a wedding gift. Two months after the



marriage, the Gale family moved to Wonsan, northeast of Seoul. Queen Min not only provided a palace chair and a bannerman for the Gales, but also bestowed on them presents such as jewels, headdresses, material for dress and another five hundred dollars.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the generosity shown to particular individuals by the Emperor and Queen, missionaries were generally well-treated by the royal couple. This can be seen from the following anecdote, "Skating in the Palace Grounds", provided by Canadian missionary, Oliver R. Avison. In those days, when winter arrived, missionaries in Seoul skated on the Han River, located about four miles from where they were residing. In the winter of 1894, upon hearing of the missionaries' sport, the Emperor extended an invitation to them, through Avison to skate to the pond at the Palace. Avison wrote:

He [Emperor Kojong] could not skate but from the pavilion he could watch the skaters almost flying around and he was quite exuberant at seeing ... them perform, and how he would laugh when any one chanced to fall.<sup>14</sup>

After the skating, they were invited to a pavilion for refreshments, which "the prince himself serving while he made joking comments on the afternoon's occurrence, apparently enjoying it all as much as [they] did."<sup>15</sup> After a while, a second skating party was held by invitation of the Emperor. This time, the missionaries used one of the Queen's private apartments as a dressing room. When the skating was over, the

missionaries were led to the Queen's apartment, where they were treated with "a bounteous repast."<sup>16</sup>

Emperor Kojong even sought political "protection" from the missionaries when he was in trouble. Such an incident occurred after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and illustrates how much the Emperor relied on Protestant missionaries in Seoul during times of political turmoil. After Japan destroyed China's claim to suzerainty over Korea by winning the Sino-Japanese War, Japan exercised more influence over Korea. Yet, Russian's influence and the pro-Russian attitude of Queen Min were obstacles to Japanese authority in Korea. In order to establish hegemony over Korea, Queen Min, known as "The Vixen" to Japanese authorities, was killed by Japanese snipers under the order of the Japanese minister to Korea, Miura Goro (三浦 梧村 1847-1926).<sup>17</sup>

According to one source, the terror-stricken Emperor Kojong "called into his presence the three foreigners" to protect him from the possibility of his own assassination.<sup>18</sup> The "three foreigners" turned out to be Horace Underwood (American), Oliver Avison (Canadian) and Homer Hulbert (American). Two of the three missionaries remained on guard near Kojong each night "for some seven weeks."<sup>19</sup> Even his food was prepared in the Underwood's kitchen<sup>20</sup> because Kojong was afraid to eat food prepared in the palace, "lest it would have been tampered with by his enemies."<sup>21</sup> In an autocratic society like the Yi dynasty, the Emperor theoretically held absolute

power over the social order, including the populace's belief system, and directly influenced the entire nation. All these incidents show that the Protestant missionaries in Korea in late nineteenth century, unlike those in Japan or China, built favourable relationships with the Royal family, which had helped the missionaries' proselytizing work. Thus, Dalziel A. Bunker (1853-1932), an American missionary, implied that the missionaries always were under the "gracious care"<sup>22</sup> of the Emperor.

The second factor contributing to the Protestant missionaries' success was their strategy, i.e., their emphasis on social evangelization such as medical work and education, particularly with women. The introduction of modern education for women in Korea by the Protestant missionaries' was an epoch-making reform in Korea, an earthshaking breakthrough in a Confucian society where women's education was considered a waste of time and effort. In Korea's male-dominated Confucian society, women were confined to housekeeping and the production of children -- especially sons -- to maintain the family bloodline. Needless to say, education for women, except in some cases involving upper-class women,<sup>23</sup> was prohibited. The social norm was one which namjon yŏbi (respected man and despised woman), and education was considered the prerogative of men. A renowned Confucian scholar of the Yi dynasty, Yi Ik (1681-1763), summed up the "official" position on the issue of education for women:

Women suffice only to observe three disciplines -- frugality, diligence and distinction between the sexes. Book-reading and discourse are in the realm of men and the damage will be great if women step into this realm [of education].<sup>24</sup>

Though "despised," women were responsible for the administration of the house, the domestic education of the children, and the success of the family's undertakings. Most of all, women were the mothers of men. Protestant missionaries were quick to recognize the importance traditionally placed on these aspects of womanhood. However, they also realized that women had less of a stake in preserving the status quo than men and saw therein an avenue for conversion.

When the Protestant missionaries came to Korea, they combined education with mission work. Korea's first modern school for girls, known as the "Girls' School and Home", was founded in May of 1886 in Seoul by American missionary Mary F. Scranton (1832-1909).<sup>25</sup> The establishment of a girls' school in concept parallel to a boys' school was "an amazing thing"<sup>26</sup> in Korean Confucian society. One year later in 1887, when Queen Min heard about the foundation of the girls' school, she granted it a name -- "Ehwa Hakdang" (The Pear Blossom Institute). Scranton's "first" female student known as "Kim Puin" (lady Kim), a concubine of an official, was to learn English so she could be the interpreter for the Queen.<sup>27</sup> Twenty-three years later,<sup>28</sup> in 1909, the school boasted 174 students, and eventually became the present day Ehwa Women's University in Seoul.

About ten years after the Protestant missionaries arrival, eight schools were founded: four for boys, three for girls, and one co-ed. (See Table 3: 1 below)

Table 3: 1 Schools founded by Protestant missionaries before 1900

year	name		first enrolment	place
1886	Ehwa Hakdang	(G)	1	Seoul
1886	Paichae	(B)	2	Seoul
1886	Kyōngsin	(B)	?	Seoul
1887	Chōngsin	(G)	1	Seoul
1892	Younghwa	(G)	?	Inchōn
1894	Kwangsōng	(B)	13	P'yōngyang
1897	Soongsil	(B)	?	P'yōngyang
1898	Paehwa	(Co-ed)	2 (female) 3 (male)	Seoul

legend: (B) means Boys' School and (G) means Girls' School.

sources: Han Ki-ōn, Han'guk kyoyuksa (History of Korean Education) (Seoul, Korea: Pakyōngsa, 1963), pp. 259-266; Lee Man-yōl, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa (The History of the Cultural Movement in the Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1992), pp. 184-195; Horace Underwood, Modern Education in Korea (New York: International Press, 1926), p. 50.

Korean students were taught not only Bible studies and prayer, but also Arts subjects. According to contemporary historian, Lee Man-yōl, the following curriculum was introduced at Ehwa Hakdang, from 1886 to 1896: English, Bible Studies, Korean, Chinese, Mathematics, History, Geography, Science, Music, Sawing, Gymnastics, and Hygiene.<sup>29</sup> Missionaries continued their efforts to educate Korean youth. The following data compiled from 1913 to 1924 shows the ratio of male and female students

educated by the Protestant Mission Board.

Table 3: 2 Elementary Schools administered by Methodist Mission Board

Year	No. of schools	Boys	Girls	Total of students
1913	171	2968	2280	5248
1914	176	4539	2019	6558
1915	167	x 4643	x 3105	7748
1916	159	4439	3355	7794
1917	129	3144	3212	6356
1918	x 133	x 4115	x 3214	7329
1919	114	2522	2416	4938
1920	105	3288	2673	5961
1921	104	4772	3376	8148
1922	131	7897	4388	12285
1923	150	8548	4584	13132
		xx 50875	xx 34622	xx 85497

x estimated by original author.

xx added by present author.

source: Horace H. Underwood, Modern Education in Korea (New York: International Press, 1926), p. 50.

Sixty per-cent of all elementary school students were males, while forty were females. The overall number of male students outnumbered female students by 16,253. However, in a Confucian society, public education for women was a major achievement in itself. The breakdown of gender-barriers is particularly striking in the case of Paehwa School, which began as a co-ed institution in 1898. (Table 3:1) Co-ed education was one of the most revolutionary contributions Protestant missionaries were able to make to Korean society. The missionaries' humanistic approach towards educating all Koreans transformed the Korean

peoples' Confucian idée fixe that women were inferior; it also negated the Confucian precept "namnyō chilse budongsōk" (a boy and a girl should not sit together after the age of seven). The missionaries' motivation to educate women promoted the idea of greater equality between male and female.

Protestant missionaries targeted the commoners and lower-class individuals not only by formal school education, but also through literary works. The Protestant missionaries carried out their auxiliary education of the commoner class (including women) through the popularization of the Bible. The following examples of two missionaries will illustrate this point.

A Canadian missionary, Malcolm C. Fenwick (1865-1935, for Fenwick, see Chapter Five), translated the Bible serially and finally produced the whole New Testament in 1919. Fenwick's principle of translation was to use "gukmoon" [i.e. Korean Language] only, and no "munja" [i.e. idiomatic phrases from the Chinese Classics or famous classical Chinese sayings]. The aim of his translation of the Bible, he said, "was to talk so that unlettered women and children will easily catch the meaning."<sup>30</sup> Another Bible translator, James Gale (for Gale, see Chapter Four), a Canadian, said that his principles of Bible translation was "no more, no less, [but] in the language of the common people."<sup>31</sup> Gale further said that the translation should be "a simple, and efficient form of writing,"<sup>32</sup> using the ordinary spoken word.

These two missionaries' theory on Bible translation was to adopt the "Korean style" in order to enable commoners and lower-class people to read the Scriptures in "their" fashion, rather than that of the literati. This was a contrasting strategy between the Protestant missionaries and the Roman Catholics in evangelizing method in that the latter focused on yangban high class as discussed in Chapter Two. Fenwick and Gale served for some time as the official members of the Bible Translation Committee.<sup>33</sup> Judging from their principles for translating their own private Bibles and their involvement in the official Bible translation, their ideas were injected into the official Bible translation project which also focused on reaching the lower-class and women.<sup>34</sup>

Certainly, the missionaries' method of "liberating" Koreans from illiteracy was a reproduction of what they had carried out in their own countries. Late nineteenth-century American general missionaries considered themselves as being on an "errand" for God, sent to the "pagan" or "heathen" world to build a Christendom similar to that which existed in America.<sup>35</sup> Historian and educator Kim Yung-chung recounts:

The period between 1860 and 1920 was called the golden age for women's liberation in America. The missionary women who were educated during this period considered the freeing of oppressed women of other nations as one of their highest goals.<sup>36</sup>

Though Kim fails to mention that these missionaries were doing their mission work from the imperialists' cultural ascendancy over "heathen" countries (assuming that Christianity is



superior to all other alien cultures), and yet it should be recognized that their approach educating the women and lower-class people had an overall positive effect.

Through the effort of educating Korean people, Protestant missionaries not only changed the lives and characters of the Korean people but also allowed them to integrate into a society which accorded great respect to those recognized as "teachers," the appellation which is highly respected in a Confucian society. James Gale (1863-1937) recounts:

He [the missionary] is the man with the book, not the man who comes to deal in lands, houses, or money; he is a spiritual master of literature, a teacher (emphasis added), a guide, a model for the common man.<sup>37</sup>

According to Canadian missionary Duncan McRae, the missionaries were treated as yangban.<sup>38</sup> What Gale and McRae implied was that the missionaries appeared to the Korean people not as imperialist traders or even intruders as in the period of Roman Catholicism in Korea, but as "a teacher" and "a guide" to the common people. By taking on the "educator" role, missionaries adopted a position of power which allowed them to relate to the Koreans within the framework of Korean society.

In his thesis, "Democracy and Mission Education in Korea" (1928), former missionary and educator James E. Fisher contends in regard to the impact of the Protestant outreach of education:

The great contribution of the foreign mission

enterprise is being made through education; that is, by changing the lives and characters of [Korean] people.<sup>39</sup>

The third example of favourable cultural elements which gave Protestant missionaries an advantage in proselytizing was that Koreans already had the concept of the Trinity and a single Supreme Being in Heaven in their founding mythology.

According to the second-oldest extant Korean history book,<sup>40</sup> Samguk yusa (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea), compiled by Illyŏn (1206-1289) of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), Koreans were descendants of the Heavenly King. Samguk yusa wrote:

In ancient times Hwan-in (Heavenly King) had a young son whose name was Hwan-ung. The boy wished to descend from heaven and live in the human world. His father, after examining three great mountains, chose Taebaek-san as a suitable place for his heavenly son to bring happiness to human beings. He gave Hwan-ung three heavenly treasures, and commanded him to rule over his people.<sup>41</sup>

According to the Samguk yusa, there once lived a she-bear and a tigress who prayed to the Heavenly King, Hwan-in, to incarnate them as human beings. The Heavenly King took pity on them and tested them by giving them "holy food" -- a bunch of mugwort and twenty pieces of garlic -- and ordered them to eat it and not to see the sunlight for one hundred days. Only the she-bear obeyed the Heavenly King's instruction and was incarnated as a human being. This "bear-woman" then prayed to the Heavenly King to be blessed with a child. Hwan-ung, the son of Heavenly King, heard this and married her, and fathered

a divine son, Tan'gun. Tan'gun later set up his royal residence at P'yŏngyang (presently in North Korea) and bestowed the name Chosŏn, "Land of Morning Calm," upon his kingdom. The theogony of the Tan'gun legend is the matrimony between the son of the Heavenly King and a she-bear. The birth of Tan'gun apotheosized the combination of divine being (Hwan-ung) and earthly being (she-bear). The Tan'gun myth is very well-known to Koreans and even became a folk belief system, known as "Tan'gunkyo", or "The Religion of Tan'gun", in which Tan'gun is its Deity.<sup>42</sup>

What is striking is how this crude theology of the triune concept aided Protestant missionaries in the conversion of Koreans to Christianity. When Christian missionaries went to other non-Christian countries, they found difficulties in accommodating indigenous beliefs with Christian doctrine and theology because of the traditional ethnocentrism of their own Western culture. There existed no commonality of cultural discourse between the missionaries and those countries they were trying to evangelize.

In Korea, however, Protestant missionaries found that they were able to relate Korea's apotheosized founding figures to the Christian triune concept.

In Kidokkyo wa han'guk sasang (Christianity and Korean Thought, 1983), Yun Sŏng-bŏm elucidates:

In the Tan'gun myth, there are three gods, Hwan-in, Hwan-ung and Tan'gun, as in the Christian trinity. The important thing is that these three beings in

Tan'gun myth were male as in the Christian trinity: Hwan-in as Father-God; Hwan-ung as Holy Spirit-God; and Tan'gun as the Son-God.<sup>43</sup>

These triune beings, both in Christianity and the Tan'gun myth, are male, which is typical in patriarchal societies.

Spencer Palmer, a contemporary historian, contends:

Korean Christians have had a very different approach to the Tan'gun story. To them it is a saga understandable only from the standpoint of Christian trinitarianism. In their view God, Jesus, and the Holy Ghost are counterparts of Hwan-in, Hwan-ung, and Tan'gun.<sup>44</sup>

The finding of "this saga" by the nineteenth-century missionaries, in Yun Sŏng-bŏm's view "is like finding lost treasure and also like finding [a lost] genealogy of ancestors."<sup>45</sup>

In addition to this parallel triune concept of Korean founding myth and Christian trinitarian concept, the Protestant missionaries took advantage of adopting folk belief, namely the God concept.

When Protestant missionaries came to Korea in the late nineteenth-century, Korean religious life revolved around the influences of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism. Buddhism had strong political influence as a state-cult during the two kingdoms of Silla (57 B.C.-935 A.D.) and Koryŏ (918-1392), but the Yi dynasty had selected Confucianism as the dynasty's social and political ideology. Politically, Shamanism was neither supported by any court<sup>46</sup> nor "used" as a state-cult. Under the Neo-Confucian society of the Yi, Shamanism "[had]

always been despised by the literati."<sup>47</sup> In fact, Shamanism has no canon, no temple, and no doctrine as other organized religions have. Yet, Shamanism was the most vital among Korean's religions<sup>48</sup> and the one most deeply rooted in the daily life of Korean people.

When Protestant missionaries came to Korea, many of them attacked Shamanism by refusing to accord it any legitimate status; moreover, they labelled Shamanism "as old-fashioned superstition and even as heresy."<sup>49</sup> Despite this, interestingly enough, some Protestant missionaries "used" shamanistic beliefs in their Christian evangelization. For instance, the idea of Hananim was most-closely connected with the Shamanistic tradition. Yu Dong-sik explains:

The fact is that the Korean people were able to understand and receive foreign religions because of Shamanism, and Christianity was no exception. The Shamanistic concept of Hananim, One Supreme Being who governs many other gods dwelling in the sphere, provided Korean people with a mirror that also distinguishes the Christian God from many other spirits.<sup>50</sup>

In the history of the Protestant Church in Korea, the first Western missionary who took advantage of the "folk belief" in Christian evangelization was the Scottish Presbyterian missionary, John Ross of Manchuria. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, Ross translated the New Testament Bible into Korean, known as Ross Version in 1876, in which Ross used Hananim for Christian God. Ross elucidates his view on choosing Hananim for Christian God:

The Koreans [sic] have one native name, and one borrowed from the Chinese, for the Supreme Being. The former is *Hannonim* [hananim], from *Hanül*, heaven; the latter *Shangde* [上帝].

The name Hananim is so distinctive and so universally used [by Koreans], that there will be no fear, in future translations and preachings, of the unseemly squabbles which occurred long ago among the missionaries in China on this subject; -- even though the Romanists have introduced the name which they employed in China. The idea conveyed by the term Hananim is much like that of *Tien laoye* [天老爺], the popular Chinese name for the Almighty, the all-present, but invisible One.<sup>51</sup>

Ross was learning the Korean language and culture from native Koreans at that time of this translation.<sup>52</sup> In fact, Ross Version was a production in collaboration with his Korean assistants, something which strongly suggests that Ross was influenced by his Korean language teachers in choosing not only the term, Hananim, for the Christian "God," but also in selecting many other terminologies.

Later historians argue that the "Ross Version" should be called "Suh [Sōh Sang-yun] Version" because the so-called "Ross Version" was the result of Sōh's effort.<sup>53</sup> Another contemporary historian, Chōn Taek-bu (1915- ) insists that the translation of the "Ross Version" was done primarily by Koreans.<sup>54</sup> What Wagner and Chōn implied is that the Koreans who were involved in the translation thought that Hananim was more appropriate to use for the Christian "God" than any other term(s), in respect to the Korean folk belief system. The important thing to note is that those Korean native translators chose a term from their indigenous belief system,

making "God" neither "Chōnju" nor "Sangje", but Hananim.

When Protestant missionaries officially translated the Bible into Korean in the late nineteenth-century, there was a debate among the missionaries over which term would be closer to the meaning of "elohim" in Hebrew and "theos" in Greek. The missionaries in the field were divided into two groups. One of the pioneer Protestant missionaries, Horace Underwood (American), thought initially that Chōnju, the term imported from China and used by the Roman Catholics before the Protestants arrived, should be used for Protestant literature for God. Underwood had used Chōnju in his own Bible translations and the Hymn book of his early days. The rest of the missionaries were in favour of using Hananim; eventually Underwood himself sided with the rest of the missionaries. Richard Rutt (1925- ), a former Anglican missionary, wrote:

The books [the Bible translated into Korean by the contemporary missionaries] that were published show the difficulty the missionaries had in deciding which word to use for the Godhead. After having tried a transliteration of the Latin Deus (Teusu), and the Chinese term Chōnju used by the Roman Catholics and Anglican, they [Protestant missionaries] finally settled on the term Hananim, which eventually became the accepted Christian word for God.<sup>55</sup>

The confusion and debate was over when Protestant missionaries published the New Testament in 1900; they agreed to use Hananim throughout their translation.<sup>56</sup> The adoption of Hananim for the Hebrew "elohim" and Greek "theos" has proven to be a wise choice by later native Korean biblical scholars.

In 1977, two Korean biblical scholars, Son Jong-hwan, representing the Roman Catholics, and Moon Ik-hwan, representing the Protestants, translated both the Old and New Testament, without foreign missionary involvement. This translation is known as Kongdong Pönyök Söngsö (Common Translation Bible) and was published officially by the Korean Bible Society. The translators used the term, Hananim, advocated by Protestant missionaries for God, and not Chönju, which had been used by Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>57</sup>

To Koreans, the root of Hananim and its theory of trinitarian concept in the Tan'gun myth is well-known and well-written among scholars.<sup>58</sup>

Surprisingly, however, the present author has discovered that there are some contemporary historians who argue that the term Hananim was "created" by Protestant missionaries in the late nineteenth-century. They deny the existence of the term Hananim before Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century. These authorities believe that the Protestant missionaries "created" a monotheistic term, Hananim, which they then used to introduce the monotheistic Christian God concept to Koreans.

The first is historian, Rha Young-bok. In his doctoral thesis, "An Analysis of the Terms Used for God in Korea in the Context of Indigenization," (1977) Rha argued:

When American [Protestant] missionaries started their evangelizing works, they knew that the Korean Roman Catholic Church was using Chun chu [Chönju]



which is a Chinese term, and that term was acceptable to the Korean literati. For that reason, the Protestant missionaries had to look for another term in order for them to let the common people in Korea appreciate the meaning of the new work. Thus, the foreign missionaries [Protestant] and the Korean converts, later reached a decision to choose, or rather, to create [emphasis added], the term Ha Na Nim [Hananim].<sup>59</sup>

The second historian is Donald Baker who, in his article, "Felicitous Fallacy: James Gale and the Creation of Korean Monotheism," (1988) denies the existence of the term Hananim before the arrival of Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth-century. He argues that Gale and other Protestant missionaries deliberately chose not to use the word "Chŏnju" because it already existed in Korean society and was being used by the Roman Catholic converts to refer to the Supreme Being. Instead, they "created" the word, "Hananim" which had not existed before in Korean society. Baker wrote:

.. if Hananim and Chŏn were the traditional Korean names for that God, then why did Korea's first Catholics not use those terms in their early Han'gul writings? Neither Yi Pyŏk (1754-1786) nor Chong Yak-jong (1760-1801) use those terms when they refer to God in their proselytizing treatises. Yi Pyok refers to God as Sangju, Sangje, and Chonju. Chong uses the term Chonju only. Why would these two men [Yi Pyŏk and Chong Yak-jong], who were trying to convince their countrymen to honour and obey the Supreme Being, not use a native Korean term for Supreme Being if such a term [Hananim] were [was] available? [underlining and emphasis added by present author].<sup>60</sup>

Five years after his own "felicitous fallacy," Baker reviewed a book called Korea: A Religious History (1989) by James Grayson, in the Journal of Korean Studies (Vol. 8, 1992, pp.

202-210). On page 203 of the above Journal, Baker criticized Grayson for making "the most disturbing errors," and placing "uncritical reliance on outdated Korean scholarship."<sup>61</sup> Baker accused Grayson of inferior scholarship by saying that "he [Grayson] repeatedly refers to an ancient Korean belief in a Supreme Being [Hananim] who was the creator of the universe."<sup>62</sup> Baker concluded his review by saying "Hanullim [Hananim] was no Supreme Being, at least before the arrival of Christian theologians [Protestant missionaries] in Korea."<sup>63</sup> Here again Baker argued that Hananim was "created" by the Protestant missionaries in the late nineteenth-century. As noted in note # 58, this well-accepted theory of Tan'gun and Hananim concept may be "outdated scholarship" by Baker's standard's, but the existence of Hananim in Korean culture was there long before, as Chŏn Taek-bo said, "Chŏnju is too short to compare with the term, Hananim."<sup>64</sup>

The term and the belief in Hananim was there at the emergence of Korean history. It was not a creation by any one person. Moreover, it certainly was not "created" by the late nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries. Rather, it has existed in the minds of the Korean people for millennia. Was it, then, pre-historic? David Chung hit the nail on the head when he argued in his thesis, "Religious Syncretism in Korean Society" in 1959. Chung said:

Did the pre-historic and historic Hanunim [sic] belief exist, then, in the seventeenth-century also when the Christian impact was felt in Korea? We can

answer this question with an affirmative, because, not only the seventeenth-century but present day Korea as well is still immersed in this belief through and through.<sup>65</sup>

Another remarkable similarity between Shamanistic belief and Christianity was the eschatological view of human life. Shamanism posits the existence of hell, an earthly life (the present world) and a future life (heaven). A person's soul, after death, can be promoted to heaven or sentenced to hell, depending on one's merits and faults. Thus, there is an indigenous concept of "Heaven" and "Hell" and life after death, just as in Christian belief.

In sum, when Protestant missionaries first came to Korea in the late nineteenth century, Korea was in a situation of socio-political instability caused primarily by the conflict between the Court and yangban, which weakened the power of the central government. In addition, corruption within the yangban class itself brought about additional factionalism. The factional strife among the yangban allowed the powerless commoners an opportunity to gain power and to demand "human rights." In addition to these internal problems, late nineteenth-century Korean society was disturbed by the penetration of the West. The Protestant missionaries of late nineteenth-century Korea, unlike the Roman Catholic missionaries, received favourable treatment, particularly from the Court, mainly because of their humanitarian work. Indeed, the Court's amicable attitude towards the Protestant

missionaries became a sort of catalytic to the general populace for accepting the missionaries.

When the Protestant missionaries came to Korea, the Korean society was based on the social hierarchy system; the yangban were at the top, followed by the "commoners" and "outcasts." Commoners and outcasts were suppressed and despised by the yangban, yet it was commoners and outcasts who formed the bulk of Yi society. The Protestant missionaries concentrated their efforts on educating the lower classes and women, which contrasts with the approach taken by Roman Catholics. The Protestant missionaries evangelized commoners and outcasts even as they gained favour with the court and the yangban for their medical and educational efforts. Through the education of women and the lower class, Protestant missionaries succeeded in effecting revolutionary changes in the social system of the late Yi dynasty. They reduced interclass conflict, challenged yangban dominance and promoted the idea of equality between man and woman as well as low and high, through education and evangelization.

Protestant evangelism was aided by the fact that Korea's indigenous Shamanist belief system contained elements which allowed Koreans both to understand Christian teachings easily and to receive Christianity without feeling like heretics. The Koreans' folk belief system of Hananim was easily equated with both the Christian triune concept of the Tan'gun myth and the concept of a single Supreme Being, and so aided the Protestant

missionaries in their work.

For all of these reasons, I believe that the success of Korean Protestantism was a combination of the socio-political situation in nineteenth-century Korea, as well as the favouritism to missionaries shown by the Court, the strategy of proselytization of women and low-class people and the "use" of traditional folk beliefs, which functioned as a bridge to Christian teachings.

Notes to Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup>. This is the general view of most of historians. See Samuel Hugh Moffett, The Korean Christians of Korea, (New York: Friendship Press, 1962); Lee Ho-un, Han'guk kyohoe chogisa (Early History Korean Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1970); Kim Kwang-su, Han'guk kidokkyo sōngjangsa (History of the Korean Church's Development in Korea), (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunnsa, 1976); Allen D. Clark, A History of the Church in Korea, (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971); Lee Yung-hun, Han'guk kidok kyosa (The History of the Korean Church), (Seoul, Korea: Concordia Press, 1978). For "Nevius Method", see Charles Allen Clark The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930). Clark's book is based on his Ph. D. thesis submitted to the University of Chicago in 1929.

<sup>2</sup>. Spencer J. Palmer, Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition (Seoul, Korea: Hollym Corporation, 1967), p. vi.

<sup>3</sup>. In August 1897, Kojong proclaimed himself Emperor; on October 12, a coronation was held, and thereafter he was recognized as Emperor.

<sup>4</sup>. Yoo Young-sik, "Dr. Oliver R. Avison: A Pioneer Medical Missionary in Korea." Paper presented at the Canadian Asian Studies Association, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. (May 31-June 1), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>. Horace G. Underwood, The Call of Korea, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), p. 101.

<sup>6</sup>. Paik Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910 (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1971), pp. 156-157; Lee Man-yōl, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa (The History of Cultural Movement in the Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1987), p. 185.

<sup>7</sup>. Lillias H. Underwood, Fifteen Years among the Top-knots or Life in Korea, (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1904), p. 15.

<sup>8</sup>. Paik, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup>. Hwang Hyōn, Maechōn yarok (Hwang Hyōn's personal [Interpretation of] Korean history from 1864 to 1910). (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe, 1955), p. 272.

<sup>10</sup>. Paik, p. 157.

<sup>11</sup>. L.D. Underwood, Fifteen Years Among the Top-knots or Life in Korea (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1904), p. 34.

<sup>12</sup>. Richard Rutt, A History of James Scarth Gale and a New Edition of His History of the Korean People (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1972), p. 22.

<sup>13</sup>. Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>14</sup>. Oliver R. Avison, unpublished Avison's Memoir (1940), p. 584. Hereafter cited as A-Memoir.

<sup>15</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>. Miura Goro was in Korea from September to November in 1895. For further information on the murder of Queen Min, see Theodore M. Critchfield, "Queen Min's Murder," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1975; Lee Ki-baik, A New History of Korea (Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 294.

<sup>18</sup> Clarence Norwood Weems, Hulbert's History of Korea, Vol. 2. (New York: Hillary House Publishers, Ltd. 1962), p. 299.

<sup>19</sup> Lillias H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), p. 148.

<sup>20</sup>. A-Memoir, p. 549.

<sup>21</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>. Lee Ju-gu (ed.), "Royal Family and the Western Religion" in Sunjong silgi: suil paksa cited by Lee Sang-ho, "Native Contributions to the Success of American's Missionary Educational Work in Korea", in U.S.-Korean Relations 1882-1982, Kwak Tae-hwan (ed.), (Kyōngnam, Korea: Kyōngnam University Press, 1982), p. 126.

<sup>23</sup>. Martina Deuchler, "The Tradition: Women during the Yi Dynasty", Virtues in Conflict: Tradition and the Korean Woman Today, Sandra Mattielli (ed.), (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1977), p. 5.

<sup>24</sup>. Chong Se-hwa, Han'guk kundae yōsōng kyoyuk (Modern Education for Women in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Ewha Womans University Press, 1972), p. 289. Cited in Lim Sun-hee, "Women

and Education in Korea", Korea Journal, Vol. 25:1 (January 1985), p. 16.

25. Son In-soo, Han'guk kũndae kyoyuksa, 1885-1945 (History of Modern Education in Korea, 1885-1945) (Seoul, Korea: Yŏnsei University Press, 1971), p. 23.

26. Lee Ho-un, Han'guk kyohoe chogisa (Early History of Korean Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1970), p. 100.

27. Allen D. Clark, A History of the Church in Korea (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), p. 93.

28. Ehwa palsipnyŏnsa (Eighty Years of History of Ehwa) (Seoul, Korea: Ewha Womans University Press, 1966), p. 86. Cited in Lim Sun-hee, "Women and Education in Korea", Korea Journal, Vol. 25:1 (January 1986), p. 17.

29. Lee, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa, p. 203.

30. Malcolm C. Fenwick, "Explanatory Note" in regard to the translation of the Bible housed in the Archives of Korean Christianity at the Soongsil University, Seoul, Korea. The present author acknowledges Mr. Yu Jae-chun, Librarian, Soongsil University for providing valuable materials including Fenwick's.

31. James S. Gale, "Literary Report: Bible Translation -- 1923," p. 4; Gale's "Annual Report" (1917-1918), p. 2. Both are in Thomas Fisher Rare Book Collection, University of Toronto, MS 245 Box #7.

32. Gale's "Korea's Preparation for the Bible" (n.d.), p. 2. Thomas Fisher Collection, University of Toronto.

33. Fenwick once served as Vice-chairman of the Bible Translation Committee. Noh Chang-u says "missionaries in Korea organized the Bible Translation Committee in 1898 and Mr. Fenwick held the Vice-chairmanship of the committee." For further information on this, see Noh Chang-u's "Introductory Note" on page 4, which is appended to a photographed edition of Fenwick's New Testament published by the Korean Baptist Church in 1983. Gale said that he has been on the Board of Translators for thirty-one years. For this, see "[Gale's] Literary Report on Bible Translation" (November 13, 1923), p. 1. Thomas Fisher Rare Collection, MS 245, Box #10. University of Toronto. See also Ryang Ju-sam, Minhyu sonsaeng silqi (A Life Sketch of Hugh Miller and the Work of the British and Foreign Bible Society), (Seoul, Korea: Korean Bible Society,



1937), p. 23.

<sup>34</sup>. For further discussion in regard to the influence of Fenwick and Gale, see Yoo Young-sik, "'Speaking in Tongues': The Conflict Between Church-Sanctioned and Private Translations of the Bible in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea," scheduled for publication in, Theresa Hyun (ed.), Translation and Cultural Transformation in Korea (Toronto, Ontario: York University Press. Forthcoming 1996.

<sup>35</sup>. William R. Hutchison, Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 5-9.

<sup>36</sup>. Kim Yung-chung, Women of Korea: A History from Ancient Times to 1945, (Seoul, Korea: Ewha Women's University Press, 1982), p. 201.

<sup>37</sup>. James Scarth Gale, Korea in Transition, (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909), p. 140.

<sup>38</sup>. Helen Fraser MacRae, "A Tiger on Creeping Dragon Mountain." Vol. I, (1987?), p. 145. An unpublished memoir of Duncan MacRae, one of the three pioneer Canadian missionaries to Korea in 1898.

<sup>39</sup>. See Fisher's thesis, "Foreword," p. v, submitted to Columbia University, 1928.

<sup>40</sup>. The first Korean history book ever published was Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms) by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151) during the reign of King Injong (1122-1146) of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392). Kim compiled the Samguk sagi in 50 volumes. It deals chiefly with the historical transformation of the Three Kingdoms of Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche, with special reference to their political rise and fall.

<sup>41</sup>. Samguk yusa or The Reminiscences of Three Kingdoms is an unofficial compilation by a Buddhist Priest, Illyŏn (1206-1289), of records and documents about the Three Kingdoms, Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche. The first edition was published during the reign of Koryŏ's Chungyŏl (r. 1274-1308). In 1972. Ha Tae-hŭng and Grafton K. Mintz translated it into Korean and it was published by Yŏnsei University Press. The present author has used Ha's translation. (see Ha, p. 32). Prior to Samguk yusa, Samguk sagi, or A History of the Three Kingdoms, by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151) was published during the reign of Koryŏ's Injong (r. 1122-1146). Kim's history is an official publication of the Koryŏ dynasty on the history of the Three

Kingdoms.

<sup>42</sup>. Kim Dūk-hwang, Han'guk chongkyosa (History of Religions in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Haemunsa, 1963), pp. 47-49, 82-88; Charles Allen Clark, Religions of Old Korea (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961; first published in New York by Fleming H. Revell Company in 1932), pp. 137-143. See also, Lee Ūn-tae, Han'guk kodaek chongkyo sasang (The Religious Thought of the Ancient Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Jipmundang, 1984), pp. 76-98.

<sup>43</sup>. Yun Sōng-bōm, Kidokkyo wa han'guk sasang (Christianity and Korean Thought), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1983), p. 61.

<sup>44</sup>. Palmer, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup>. Yun, p. 68.

<sup>46</sup>. It appears that Queen Min once strongly supported Shamanism, according to former missionary-historian Horner Hulbert, who stated: "Queen Min was extremely well-disposed toward that class of female spiritual mediums called *mudang*, and one of them was elevated to the rank of Princess." For this, see Hulbert's History of Korea, Vol, II, p. 248.

<sup>47</sup>. Clark, Religions of Old Korea, p. 178.

<sup>48</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>. Chang Chu-kūn, "An Introduction to Korean Shamanism", Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea, Yu Chai-shin and R. Guisso (eds.), (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988), p. 33.

<sup>50</sup>. Yu Dong-sik, Han'guk chongkyo wa kidokkyo (Korean Religions and Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1965), p. 22.

<sup>51</sup>. John Ross, History of Korea: Ancient and Modern with Descriptions of Manners and Customs, Language and Geography, (London, England: Houlston & Sons, 1891; first published in Paisley by J. and R. Parlane, 1880), p. 355.

<sup>52</sup>. Kim Yang-sōn, "Ross Verson kwa Korean Protestantism" (Ross Version and Korean Protestantism), in Baeksan hakpo, Vol. 3 (November 1967), p. 429.

<sup>53</sup>. Ellasue Wagner, "Through the Hermit's Gate with Suh [Sōh] Sang Yun", in Korea Mission Field, Vol. 34:5 (May 1938), p. 94. Hereafter cited as KMF.

<sup>54</sup>. Chŏn Taek-bu, "Hananim mit chŏnju lanŭn male kwanhan yŏksa sogo" (A Treatise on the Origin of the Term Hananim and Chŏnju", in Gurisdokyo wa kyŏryemunhwa (ed.), Han'gŭl sŏngsŏ wa kyŏremunhwa [Korean Language Bibles and Korean Culture], (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1985), p. 618. See also, KMF, Vol. 34:5 (May 1938), p. 94.

<sup>55</sup>. Rutt, p. 26.

<sup>56</sup>. Chŏn, p. 628.

<sup>57</sup>. For the history of the Bible's translation into Korean, see Min Yŏng-jin, Kukyok sŏngsŏ yŏnku (A Study of Bible's Translation into the Korean) (Seoul, Korea: Songkwang munhwasa, 1984).

<sup>58</sup>. In regard to the existence of Hananim in Korean history or its relationship to Korean folk's belief system, see the following major works: Yun Sŏng-bŏm, Kidokkyo wa han'guk sasang (Christianity and Korean Thought) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1964); Yu Dong-sik, Han'guk chongkyo wa kidokkyo (Korean Religions and Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1965); Rha Young-bok, "An Analysis of the Terms Used for God in Korea in the Context of Indigenization", unpublished Th.D. thesis submitted to Boston University, 1977; Kim Kyŏng-tak, "Hananim kyenŏm paldalsa" (History of the Development of the Concept of Hananim", in Han'guk munhwasa taekye, Vol. VI (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Press, 1978), pp. 117-176; Chŏn Taek-bu, "Hananim mit Chŏnju lanŭn male kwnahan yŏksa sogo" (A Treatise on the Origin of the Term Hananim and Chŏnju", in Han'gŭl sŏngsŏ wa kyore munhwa, pp. 591-638; David Chung, "Religious Syncretism in Korea Society", unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to Yale University in 1959.

<sup>59</sup>. Rha, "An Analysis ..", p. 140.

<sup>60</sup>. Donald Leslie Baker, "Felicitous Fallacy: James Gale and the Creation of Korean Monotheism", Papers from the Sixth International Conference on Korean Linguistics, Baek Eung-jin (ed.), (Toronto, Ontario: International Circle of Korean Linguistics and Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto, 1988), p. 48.

<sup>61</sup>. Baker's book review on Korea: A Religious History, in The Journal of Korean Studies, Vol. 8 (1992), p. 203.

<sup>62</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>. Ibid., p. 204.

64. Chŏn, "Hanaim" mit Chŏnju ..", p. 628.
65. Chung, "Religious Syncretism ..", p. 272.

## CHAPTER FOUR

JAMES SCARTH GALE -- MISSIONARY, SCHOLAR AND WRITER

Introduction

Gale was the most important of the Protestant missionaries working in Korea around the turn of the century, for during the forty years of his missionary career, he did far more than evangelize. He promoted the Western study of Korean history, Korean language, Korean lexicography, education, social movements and culture. Moreover, Gale not only became the foremost interpreter of Korean culture for the Western world, he also emerged as the premier foreigner responsible for introducing Western things to the Korean people by writing in their own language.

Gale was not, and should not, viewed as a "passive dogmatist" or "fanatical evangelist"; he was an innovative proselytizer who actively responded to the needs of his target group, the Korean people.

James Gale was born on February 19, 1863, in Alma, Ontario, about 80 miles northwest of Toronto. James' father, John Gale (1819-1909), emigrated to Canada in 1832 from Scotland. James' mother, Miami Bradt (1829-1909), was of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry, her forebears settling near Hamilton, Ontario. John and Miami were married in 1850 and had

six children, James being the fifth.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to education, James Gale first attended a one-room log-cabin school at Alma, then went on to Elora High School, in a nearby town.<sup>2</sup> In 1882, he entered St. Catharines' Collegiate Institute on the coast of Lake Ontario, south of Toronto; after three years, he matriculated ("Gale Farm" and all of the local schools which Gale attended still exist). In 1884, Gale was admitted into University College, University of Toronto, where "Presbyterians are in a large majority among the graduates and undergraduates."<sup>3</sup> He specialized in languages and literature<sup>4</sup> (i.e., English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin), and graduated with a B.A. in 1888.

In regard to his religious background, two of Gale's forefathers had, in fact, become nationally renowned in the history of Canadian Presbyterianism. James' great-uncle on his maternal grandmother's side, Henry Esson (1793-1853), was the founder of present-day Knox College, University of Toronto.<sup>5</sup> His paternal uncle, Alexander Gale (1800-1854) was the founder, in 1833, of the first Presbyterian Church, (presently St. Paul's) in Hamilton, Ontario.<sup>6</sup> Alexander Gale was also a professor of Classics at Knox College in its early days, and according to Gale's Memoir, Gale had seen the photographs of Esson and Alexander hanging on the wall of Knox College when he attended the University of Toronto.<sup>7</sup> Although Alexander Gale's photograph is no longer extant, Henry Esson's photograph (15x20cm) is still hanging on the centre wall of

the Caven Library, Knox College, University of Toronto. Gale's father, John Gale, was one of the early Scottish settlers in Pilkington County, Ontario, and active in establishing Presbyterianism in that area. As well, he was one of the founding members of his village church, Alma Presbyterian Church, (presently St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church) in 1854.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, Gale's educational background was not in theology - his degree was Bachelor of Arts. His personal religious background was strongly Presbyterian.

#### Gale and the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions

According to Murray Ross, the University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association (hereafter cited as UT-YMCA) was initiated in 1871 in a prayer meeting by a small group of students at University College. But it was not until two years later, in 1873, that the UT-YMCA was formally established with the approval of the University College Council.<sup>9</sup> The UT-YMCA's interest in foreign mission efforts coincided with European political expansionism into Asian countries in the late nineteenth-century, and a wave of "heroic foreign missionaries" arose among Christian students in the colleges and universities of North America. Such foreign mission enthusiasm was accelerated through the organization of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (hereafter cited as SVM-FM). This was formed in late 1886 after the Mount

Hermon Conference held in the summer of that year near Northfield, Massachusetts, the birthplace of Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899)<sup>10</sup> with the watchword: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation."<sup>11</sup>

The real foundation of the foreign mission work of the UT-YMCA, however, was laid in the late 1880s. In 1888, the Secretary of the SVM-FM Parmelee Wilder (1863-1938) and his associate, John Forman of Princeton University came to Canada to recruit future missionaries. Many students responded to their appeal. Statistics (1888) show that 110 Canadian students were "willing and desirous, God permitting, to be foreign missionaries."<sup>12</sup>

By the 1880s, it appears that Korea began to draw more general attention among Canadians. The earliest extant source regarding Canada's mission efforts to Korea appeared in the May 1887 issue of the Knox College Monthly (hereafter cited as KCM) in Toronto. Included in the article was an earnest plea from Jonathan Goforth (1859-1936), Knox College's formal missionary to China in 1887. It read:

Corea, last land opened to the gospel, calls loudly for help. Fifteen million souls wait the messengers of the Lord. Five men have been sent, what can one man do for as many heathen as these [there] are Protestants in our Dominion?<sup>13</sup>

Such encouragement and appeals led finally to the early 1888 decision to send a UT-YMCA-representing missionary overseas. The UT-YMCA 1888 "Minutes" recorded following:

[Resolved] That Mr. J.S. Gale be appointed the



first missionary of the University College Y.M.C.A. Mission; That Corea be selected as the field for our first mission station.<sup>14</sup>

The Mission Board of UT-YMCA had discussed the matter that Gale was neither theologically-trained nor a denominationally-ordained evangelist. However, after the Board determined his decisive character and evangelical zeal, they appointed him as a foreign representative on one condition -- "not to establish an independent mission, but to co-operate with other evangelical denominations."<sup>15</sup> The UT-YMCA guaranteed Gale's "in-the-field" salary of \$500 per annum for eight years by soliciting annual subscriptions from the membership of about 220 from graduates and undergraduates in the Arts.<sup>16</sup> The Board issued him a certificate confirming that he represented the college YMCA. The certificate read:

University College  
Young Men's Christian Association  
Toronto, Canada  
To all whom these presents shall come  
It is hereby certified that: -  
Mr. James Scarth Gale

Bachelor in Arts of the University of Toronto, Canada, is a Christian Missionary fully approved by, in the employment of, and responsible to the Young Men's Christian Association of University College. In matters of doctrine as the missionary of a Pan-denominational organization, he holds, maintains, and subscribes to the basis of faith as accepted by the Evangelical Alliance and agrees that others' teaching shall accord therewith. He is sent forth by this organization with instructions to cooperate, so far as he may be able, with Christian enterprises of every true branch of the Church of Christ and is hereby commanded to the love and fellowship of the brethren in Asia and elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

This certificate ratified Gale as the representative of the

UT-YMCA; it also confirmed that Gale's work was sanctioned by the YMCA, a pan-denominational organization, rather than a single sect.

As mentioned, Gale grew up in a strong Presbyterian background, but in the field, he himself displayed only marginal denominational loyalty; he typified the "freelance" type of missionary who was interested in the "heathen" culture being proselytized. This led to his being criticized by other missionaries and "his relations with other missionaries grew strained."<sup>18</sup> There are some factors which made Gale "less loyal to the denomination," and propelled him along a more open-minded path of mission work.

The first was his connection to a mission called the "McCall Mission" in France. During his second year at University, he went to Paris from May to September, 1886, as part of his language training. While in Paris, Gale associated with the independent organization mentioned above, the "McCall Mission," which had been founded in 1872 by the British Congregational minister Robert Whittaker McCall. The special feature of this mission was that it was non-denominational and the mission's policy was to establish no new sect or "ism," preferring to connect its new converts to already existing churches. The method of mission was to reach out to factory labourers, shop hands, and members of the urban poor. Thus, evangelists of the mission preferred to gather small groups of converts and educate them.<sup>19</sup> It appears that Gale's own

approach incorporated both the simple methods and spirit of ecumenism of this McCall mission. This was a direct contrast to the Catholic approach of converting the societal elite, Confucian yangban group as discussed in "The Introduction of Roman Catholicism" in Chapter Two.

The second factor was the dynamic spirit of "pan-denominationalism," a ubiquitous phenomenon which had developed among Christian students in North America during the late nineteenth-century under the influence of the pan-denominational spirit of SVM. Thus, missionaries under the SVM were supported financially by students of various denominations enrolled in diverse institutions. Because of this, the missionaries funded by the SVM had no sense of denominational obligation. SVM-supported evangelists were independent operators, bound by no single denominational dogma.

The third and most important factor which made Gale less loyal to denominationalism was that Gale's education in language and literature made him a literati, not a dogmatist or fanatical evangelist. All three factors influenced his thinking, making him a less rigid, but more culturally sensitive and open-minded missionary.

Figure 4:1 Certificate given to Gale by the University College YMCA, University of Toronto in 1888. Original size is 18cm x 34 cm. Source: University of Toronto Archives.

University College  
Young Men's Christian Association  
Toronto, Canada

To all to whom this present shall come

This hereby certified that: -  
Mr James S. Gale

Resides in Gal's of the University of Toronto, Canada, has taken an honorable degree  
in the Faculty of Arts, in the subject of Law, and has performed the Young Men's Christian Association  
duties satisfactorily. He is well fitted by his training and attainments  
to undertake the duties of a Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, and has been  
appointed to that position by the University of Toronto. He is well fitted by his training  
and attainments to undertake the duties of a Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, and has been  
appointed to that position by the University of Toronto. He is well fitted by his training  
and attainments to undertake the duties of a Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, and has been  
appointed to that position by the University of Toronto.

M. H. Howley  
President.

W. H. Young  
Secy  
see Mission Board  
J. W. P. Deeth  
Lecturer of Law

First Decade in Korea

Gale left Toronto by train on October 25, 1888, heading for Vancouver. From there, he set sail for Korea on November 13,<sup>20</sup> and first trod on Korean soil in the southern Korean city of Pusan on December 12, 1888, according to the first letter he sent to the UT-YMCA.<sup>21</sup> The letter reveals that he was anxious to "touch down" on the soil of the country in which he was to spend more than half of his life. He stayed for two days in Pusan and went ashore twice.

He described his first impression of the Korean people by noting that: "they dressed in white," and "were taller than Japanese," and "fine looking," and that "they all smoked -- every man carrying a pipe."<sup>22</sup> He arrived at Chemulpo on December 15, 1888,<sup>23</sup> and was welcomed by Horace Underwood (1859-1916), an American Presbyterian missionary who had arrived in 1885. Gale then returned to Seoul and bought a house,<sup>24</sup> residing there only for three months, since he felt that he could not learn the Korean language and culture by living among other foreigners in Seoul. When spring arrived, he went to Haeju, the capital of Hwanghe Province, about one hundred miles northwest of Seoul in order to obtain closer contact with Koreans. In a letter he sent from Haeju to his sister, Jan, he indicated that he had arrived on March 17, 1889.<sup>25</sup> He stayed in Haeju for about two weeks and then moved on to a village called Songchōn also known as Sorai or Sore.

Songchŏn village is well known in Korean mission history for Sŏh Sang-yun (1848-1926), one of the Bible translators who worked with the previously-mentioned John Ross.

Gale remained in Sore for three months, determinedly separating himself from English-speaking people, living in a Korean house, eating Korean food, and learning to squat and sleep on a Korean floor. "[At Sore] I learned my first lessons in the language and customs of the people,"<sup>26</sup> Gale said. While in Songchŏn, Gale met Lee Chang-jik (1866-1938), who became not only his life-time companion and helper, but also was considered as "a member of the Gale family."<sup>27</sup> Gale returned to Seoul in June (1889), accompanying Lee. The pair then travelled to Pusan in the southern part of Korea. They arrived in August of 1889, and remained there until May, 1890. He was the first foreign missionary to have resided in Pusan. It appears that Gale himself was quite satisfied with the place. In his "Annual Report of 1890," Gale indicated that he wanted to maintain Pusan as his mission headquarters and that he even held property there.<sup>28</sup> Seeing the many sicknesses of the people, Gale felt that his evangelical mission needed to be based on humanitarian works. Thus, he requested the Medical Students' Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Toronto (MS-YMCA) to send a physician to work with him.<sup>29</sup>

As Gale was making these plans, an American physician named John Heron (1856-1890) came to Pusan to attend Mr. J.H. Hunt, the English Commissioner of Customs. Seeing Gale's poor

life-style and unhealthy hygienic surroundings, Heron worried that Gale would fall prey to disease. He therefore persuaded Gale to return to Seoul with him. Gale did so, staying at Heron's residence. However, after about a month or so, Heron himself fell ill, rather than Gale, dying of dysentery on July 26, 1890.<sup>30</sup>

# 照

# 護

總理文藩通商事務衙門

為

給發護照事照得英國士人嘉逸前往京

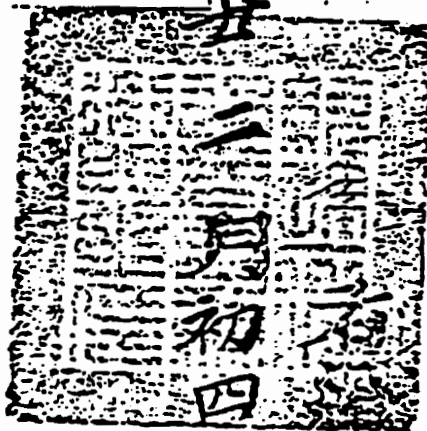
畿黃海平安等處將歷合行給發護照起程沿途

各官驗照放行事今因海關人等不得

藉端阻留致下查究由起類要護照者

英國士人嘉逸請憑

已丑二月初四日



限回日繳銷

Figure 4:2

Passport ("Hojo" also known as "Haengjang" in Korea) given to Gale by "Tongri Kyosop Tongsang Samu Amun" (The Office of the Management of Diplomatic and Commercial Affairs), Yi Dynasty, in 1889. It appears to be the first Passport, as far as documented, issued to missionary.

Original size is 21 cm x 37 cm.

Source: University Toronto Archives.



English version of Gale's passport to travel to the Province of Kyōnggi, Hwanghe, and P'yōngan signed by Colin M. Ford, British Consul General in Seoul.  
 source: University of Toronto Archives

Figure 4 : 3



*fifteenth day of November 1897*

Given at the British Consulate-General for Corea, Hanyang, this

assistance and protection of which *he* may stand in need.

to pass freely without let or hindrance and to afford *him* every

in accordance with Article IV of the Treaty between Great Britain and Corea,

travelling for purposes of study *in the interior of Corea, in the Province of Hwanghe, P'yōngan and Kyōnggi only.*

*James Denton Gale, a British subject.*

in the name of Her Majesty, all those whom it may concern to allow

W<sup>m</sup>. Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General for Corea, request and require.



## Figure 4:4 Passport issued to William Swallen in 1898

The first known passport in 1898 to missionary William Swallen of American Presbyterian, North. However, Swallen's passport was issued nine years later than Gale's. For this discussion, see Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk Kidok Kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church). (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1982), pp. 131-132.

Source: Kuhan'guk Oekyo Munsō, Vol. 11 (mi an 2), (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Asea Munchae Yōnkuso, [n.d.]), p. 393.

1756. 傳教師葛安納叫威鏡道遊覽護照叫要請 (原11册)

〔發〕 美 國 公 使 安 納  
〔受〕 外 務 大 臣 葛 鏡 道

光 緒 24 年 6 月 9 日  
西 歷 1898 年

## LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Seoul, Korea

No. 62. F.O.

June 9, 1898

Sir:

I have the honor to request a passport for Mr. Swallen, an American Missionary teacher, who wishes to travel in Ham Kyung Province on his missionary work.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant  
Horace N. Allen

Honorable

You Key Whan

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs

Seoul

〔漢 譯〕 (原 19 册 · 原 11 册)

照 會 第 六 十 二 號

大 美 欽 命 駐 朝 朝 鮮 使 立 行 事 大 臣 兼 總 領 事 安 納 爲 照 會 事 照 得 美 國 教 師 葛 安 納 因 傳 教 事 業 往 咸 鏡 道 等 地 遊 覽 茲 以 備 文 請 煩 貴 署 派 大 臣 查 照 發 下 護 照 一 張 爲 荷 須 至 照 會 者

右 照 會

大 韓 外 務 大 臣 葛 鏡 道 啟

一 千 八 百 九 十 八 年 六 月 九 日

1757. 同上護照叫發給 (原19册)

〔發〕 外 務 大 臣 葛 鏡 道  
〔受〕 美 國 公 使 安 納

光 緒 24 年 6 月 10 日  
西 歷 1898 年



Gale was saddened by losing Heron, who was the first and closest friend he had made in the field. Soon after, however, he met Samuel Moffett (1870-1912), a member of the American Presbyterian Mission, North, who had arrived in Korea on January 25, 1890. Moffett, a bachelor like Gale, was to become one of Gale's closest friends. Shortly after their meeting, Gale and Moffett planned a trip to Manchuria, to meet Ross, the Scottish pioneer missionary mentioned in Chapter Two. Gale met Ross in Mukden and stayed there four days, learning about Ross' mission method and the Korean Christians in Manchuria. Gale also must have learned about the "Orient" from Ross, the then-premier Orientalist. Their trip took them about four months, from February to June. (See Figure 4:6 Gale's Journey to Mukden.)

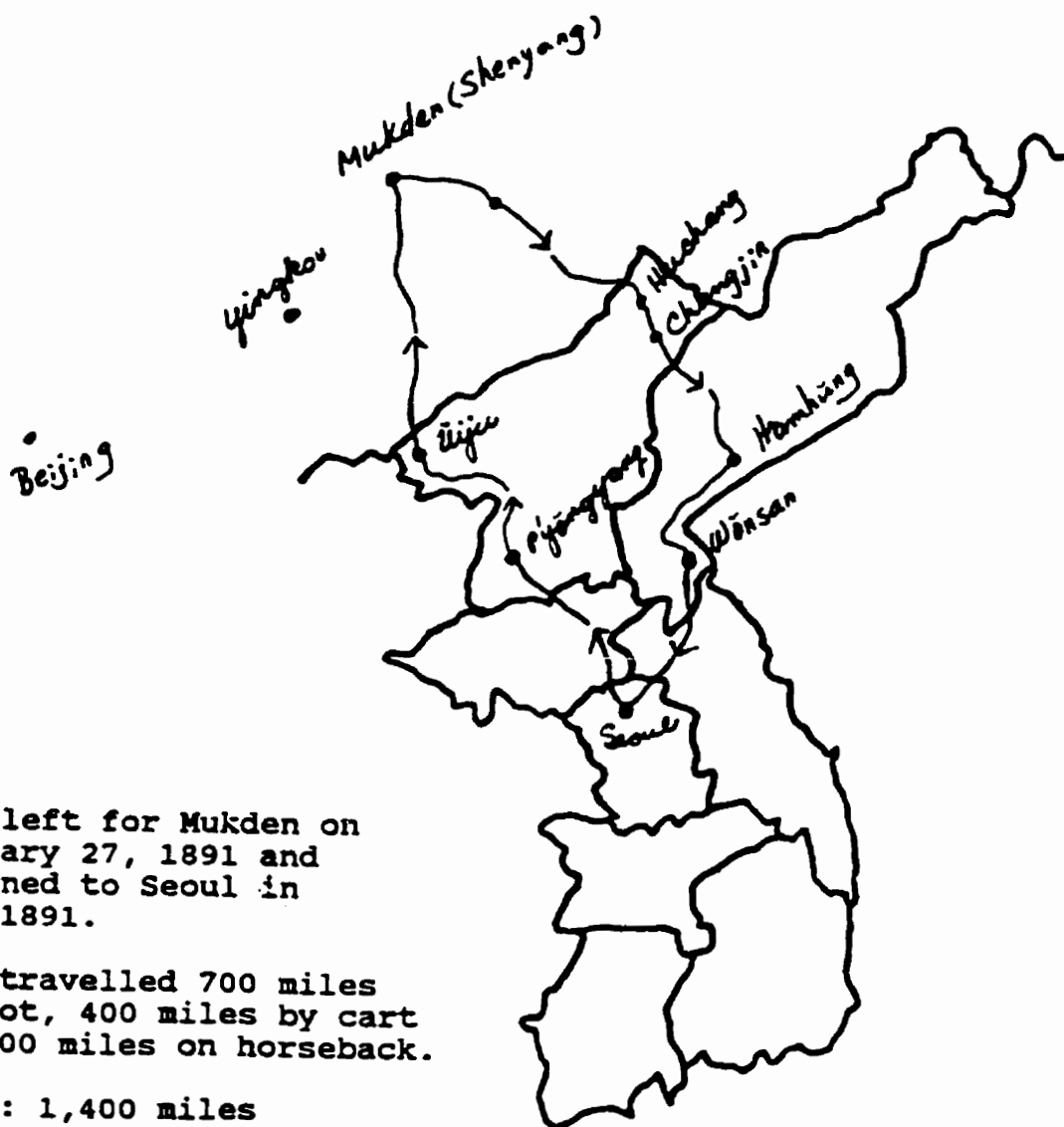
It appears that Gale's initial status as an "independent" missionary provided him with freedom from any interference by a church hierarchy. Moreover, being a bachelor, he had no family obligations and so was unencumbered. During his first decade, however, three things happened to Gale which thereafter affected his life.

The first incident was Gale's switch to an American mission body for financial reasons. Gale's salary of \$500 was low compared to his American counterpart, who was paid \$1,000 per year.<sup>31</sup> In addition, his financial supporter, UT-YMCA, appeared to be having serious difficulties obtaining funding for Gale, as the UT-YMCA's "Minutes" of 1888-89 show that only

\$57.65 remained just after Gale left.<sup>32</sup> Consequently, Gale began working for the American Presbyterian Mission, North, as of on August 31, 1891.<sup>33</sup>

Korean scholars have different views as to why Gale resigned. In his Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa (The History of the Cultural Movement in the Korean Christian Church), Lee Man-yŏl erroneously asserted that, "the UT-YMCA dissolved late in 1890 and Gale transferred to American Presbyterian, North, on February 1891."<sup>34</sup> Lee implies that Gale joined the American Presbyterian Mission because the UT-YMCA "dissolved." In fact, it was the opposite. Gale's unexpected resignation threw his mission supporters in Toronto into a quandary as to whether or not continue their mission work. Articles in University of Toronto's official magazine, The Varsity, show that his supporters seriously debated the future of the mission.<sup>35</sup> They wanted to continue foreign mission work, but without a representing agent, they did not know how to maintain their effort. This question was solved by the UT-YMCA amalgamating with the Medical College YMCA of the University of Toronto, which had been supporting Robert Hardie in Korea since 1890. Thus, in 1892, a new Canadian college student mission organization known as the Canadian Colleges' Mission (CCM) was formed.<sup>36</sup> (This will be recounted further in Chapter Six).

Figure 4:6 Gale's Journey to Mukden



Gale left for Mukden on February 27, 1891 and returned to Seoul in June 1891.

Gale travelled 700 miles on foot, 400 miles by cart and 300 miles on horseback.

Total: 1,400 miles

Another Korean historian, Min Kyōng-bae, said in his book, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church, 1982) that UT-YMCA stopped supporting Gale when Robert Grierson, William Foote and Duncan McRae arrived in Korea in 1898. They had been sent by the Foreign Mission Board, Eastern Division, Presbyterian Church of Canada. Furthermore, Min stated that Gale was financially supported by the Presbyterian Church of Canada and that this support had ceased because of the aforementioned trio's arrival in Korea.<sup>37</sup> This is historically incorrect; 1) the UT-YMCA and Presbyterian Church of Canada were two different organizations, 2) Gale previously had never supported by any Canadian Presbyterian organization, as has been discussed in this thesis; 3) Gale in fact had transferred to the American Presbyterian Church, North, as of August 31, 1891, seven years prior to the coming of the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries in 1898.

The second incident was his marriage to his friend Heron's widow, Harriet Gibson, on April 7, 1892.<sup>38</sup> Gale's wanderlust life-style as a bachelor ended abruptly, for he had become head of a family, responsible for a wife and two step-daughters (Annie and Jessie). After the marriage, Gale and his family moved to Wōnsan, Hamkyōng Province, northeast of Seoul, in June of 1892. Wōnsan was an "open" port, and was not new to Gale for he and Moffett had visited Wōnsan on their return trip from Mukden a year before. In Wōnsan, Gale established a mission centre at a place called Pongsude, also known as

"Beacon Hill." About two years later, according to Rutt, Gale took the unprecedented step of baptizing "four women" on April 5, 1894;<sup>39</sup> this was the first time women had been baptized on Korean soil.<sup>40</sup>

While in Wönsan, Gale and Lee Chang-jik completed two significant literary works: one was a translation of Pilgrim's Progress into Korean and the other was the Korean-English Dictionary (both will be discussed later). To arrange to publish the dictionary, both Lee and Gale went to Yokohama, Japan, in December, 1895. Then, Gale went to America on furlough, and there the third incident -- ordination -- occurred. Through the help of his friend, Moffett, Gale was ordained in the Presbytery of New Albany, Indiana, (Moffett's home Presbytery) on May 13, 1897.<sup>41</sup>

Gale returned to Wönsan in April of 1898 from his furlough. That same year, missionaries sent by the Presbyterian Church of Canada -- namely, Duncan McRae (1868-1949), Robert Grierson (1868-1965) and William Foote (1868-1930) -- arrived in Korea. According to the decision made by the "Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government" (hereafter cited as "the Council"), the "territory" of Wönsan, then occupied by the American Presbyterian Mission Board as represented by Gale, was yielded to these Canadian missionaries that same year.<sup>42</sup> This transaction of the "territory" prompted Gale to return to Seoul in 1899 and take charge of Yönmotgol Church (the



present-day Yōndong Presbyterian Church in downtown Seoul) in 1900 (hereafter cited as Yōndong Church).

In regard to the "ownership" of Wōnsan, at least one historian has a differing view. In his thesis, "Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea," Chun Sung-chun said, "in exchange for their docile attitude on theological matters [between American conservatives and Canadian liberals], the Canadians received rewards in terms of territorial gain. Won San [Wōnsan], a prized possession of the Presbyterian U.S.A. for many years, was apparently traded in this fashion."<sup>43</sup> Chun argued that Wōnsan was granted to the Canadian Mission Board in order to settle some conflict between American and Canadian missionaries in the field. Chun's argument is historically incorrect; when the trio of Canadian missionaries (Grierson, Foote, and McCrae) arrived in Korea in 1898, they wanted to continue mission work in Songchōn Village in Hwanghe Province, presently North Korea, where the late W.J. McKenzie (see Chapter Nine) had worked and died. However, Songchōn was a small village, so they were forced to look for some larger place. Concerning this, one of the three initial missionaries, William Foote, noted: "The Council of Missions in Korea holding the Presbyterian Form of Government (hereafter cited as "The Council") held several sessions in Seoul between October 18th and November 1st. We accepted the invitation given by the council and became members .. the members of the council unanimously decided that

we would do well to work in the two northeastern districts [North and South Hamkyōng Province which included Wōnsan] of Korea. We accepted this advice."<sup>44</sup> (See APPENDIX III Map of Korea and territories "owned" by different countries mission board). As to the actual theological confrontation between conservative and liberal camps, not Americans or Canadians, as Chun argued, it occurred in the 1920s and 1930s. (For this, see "Gale's View of Christianity in Korea," given later in this Chapter.)

Finally, in regard to how "The Council" divided the "territory," contemporary missionary Allen D. Clark said that, "as the number of Missions working in so small a country as Korea increased, it soon became apparent that some basis of cooperation must be agreed upon if they were to avoid unfortunate duplication of effort and competition."<sup>45</sup> The division was discussed publicly and so no "covert deal" between Canadian missionaries and American missionaries in regard to the "ownership" of Wōnsan as Chun argues.

During the period from 1888 to 1900, Gale was a self-styled "student," investing his time and energy learning the Korean language and culture. Gale wrote:

During the past eight years it has been my misfortune, shall I say, to have crossed the peninsula of Korea twelve times, by different roads, and at different seasons of the year. No other American or European has had such a varied experience of the crossroads of the Hermit Kingdom.<sup>46</sup>

That "misfortune," however, turned out to be rather fortunate

for Gale. Throughout his mission work, the knowledge he obtained from his "hands-on" experiences provided him with insights into Korean culture, which other missionaries of the time did not have. Through his broad and extensive travel in the country, he was able to develop a familiarity with the Korean people and culture at large which enabled him to become "the foremost literary interpreter of the Korean mind to the Occidental world."<sup>47</sup> During this first decade in Korea, he secured financial stability through a change of sponsoring bodies, gave up his nomadic life-style for marriage, and received certification as a "proper" evangelist through official ordination. Most importantly, however, it was during this period that Gale laid the foundations for his knowledge of Korean people and society.

As noted above, Gale made three important trips to the northern and southern parts of Korea and Manchuria during his "preparatory decade". How he was treated by the local government and local residents during these trips, and how he appeared to them reveals much about the socio-political environment in which missionaries in general were working during the late nineteenth-century.

Gale made his first trip to Haeju, Hwanghe Province, in 1889 equipped with a proper passport (Figure 4:2 and 3). Six days after he had arrived in Haeju, he wrote a letter to his sister Jan in Kitchner, Ontario, on March 23, included was  $\text{하주}$ , the name of the Haeju in Korean, and the first known

instance of his use of Han'gul (Korean script). (Figure 4:5) He accompanied by a servant boy, a language teacher and two of the King Kojong's personal soldiers.<sup>48</sup> Under the title of "Good Cheer from Korea," the Knox College Monthly carried the following missive from Gale to his supporters:

I started from Seoul with one horse and two men, but the nobles along the way, out of politeness, I think, sent me so many extra ones, that when I came into Haitjyou [Haeju] on Sunday afternoon, I had two of the King's servants in lively ahead calling out to the people to clear the way, and about seven horses and fifteen men behind. I was taken at once into the presence of the Governor and his nobles, and it seems they showed me the highest respect by rising when I came in. They have sent me presents, etc., according to Eastern custom, and while I am a prisoner of the old Kamsa [Governor], I can go out when I choose, asking his permission. Every time I go out I must be attended by servants and soldiers.<sup>49</sup>

The then-governor of Hwanghe Province, Cho Byong-chol<sup>50</sup> kept Gale as a virtual prisoner because he did not know what to do with this foreigner who travelled by virtue of a passport sealed by the central Government. Uncertain of his government's true desires, the governor arranged a room for Gale and "kept" him there, according to Gale's letter to his sister Jan.<sup>51</sup> Fortunately Gale and probably the governor as well, Christian named "An" arrived from Songchon (also known as Sore or Sorai) and arranged for Gale to come Songchon; Gale was to remain there for three months.<sup>52</sup>

This incident illustrates that Gale travelled through Korea's northern interior in the manner of a Korean noble. Still, even seeing the "King's two servants" who accompanied

Gale, local officials and residents were not completely convinced of his "legality."

After returning to Seoul from Songchŏn, Gale and his assistant, Lee Chang-jik, made a trip to Pusan in southern Korea, in August of the same year (1889). At the city of Taegu, he met with "Kim", the governor of the South Kyŏngsang Province. (Korean sources identify this man as "Kim Myŏng-jin").<sup>53</sup> Gale said, "The Kamsa [Governor], a fat man of about fifty years of age, stood up when I entered, and addressed me very kindly and politely, showing me a seat on the floor in front of him. My man Ee [Lee Chang-jik], of course, bowed according to custom with his face to the floor."<sup>55</sup>

Gale was treated "kindly and politely" by Taegu officials, just as he had been by those of Haeju. Gale sought to avoid trouble with ordinary Korean citizens in the south as he had done in the north. When the Kamsa, Kim Myŏng-jin, questioned as to the purpose of his being in Korea, Gale did not say that he was a missionary, since he was afraid that if he revealed himself as Christian missionary, he would be suspected of being involved in "some great scheme to destroy [Korea]."<sup>55</sup> Gale merely informed the Kamsa that he was, "passing through viewing [the] land and living among [its] people."<sup>56</sup> Gale went on to note that his room was crowded with people of all ranks, and that "they were civil and kind and polite."<sup>57</sup>

Gale felt it was safer to travel as a "student" than an

evangelist because according to the treaty between Korea and Britain, the British and the subjects' were allowed to travel the country for "study" purpose. In general, he did not experience any "anti-westerner" sentiment from either the local government officials or populace.

In 1890, Gale and his friend Moffett set off on a 1,400 mile trip to Mukden, Manchuria. The 1892 (July) issue of the Knox College Monthly carried an extensive, 19 page article by Gale entitled, "Through North Korea and Manchuria." In it, Gale made no mention of having encountered difficulties with any local inhabitants, except at one place called Kasan. There some natives, flung stones at them.<sup>58</sup> Gale amiably noted that "In travelling one must put up with some inconvenience, for the foreigner is on public exhibition from the time he leaves the capital, until he returns."<sup>59</sup>

Fortunately, the "Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Corea" signed on November 26, 1883 allowed British and the subjects some degree of freedom, as he noted, "it [the treaty] neither prevents nor prohibits [propagation]."<sup>60</sup> Gale further wrote:

In Article 4, Section 2 of the treaty, it said [sic] they [British or British subjects] shall be allowed free exercise of their religion. Bibles are not on the list of prohibit [sic] goods. The buying and holding of property is limited to the Seoul district, or to within three miles of the open ports, Chemulpo, Fusan and Wönsan, while for study, or for pleasure, or business, one may travel by passport anywhere in the kingdom."<sup>61</sup>

All the stories Gale provided about his trips and the treaty

clause itself indicate that it was quite safe for Gale and other late nineteenth-century missionaries to travel throughout Korea provided they had official passport. Any mission work had to be done on the sly in order to avoid trouble with the government and local residents. Openly proselytizing remained a prohibited activity.

#### Gale's Approach - "In-culture" Evangelization

As mentioned, Gale became the minister of Yōndong Church in 1900. Four years later, in 1904, he reported that he had baptized 35 Koreans,<sup>62</sup> that 36 were studying catechumens, and that the average attendance at his Sunday services was 163 individuals.<sup>63</sup> In 1908, Gale reported that "each Sunday morning [he] sees eight hundred to a thousand gathered,"<sup>64</sup> this indicating an annual increase of about 200 percent from 1904 to 1908. Despite such outreach, Gale's life was not easy. In 1908 alone, Gale lost two of his staunchest supporters -- his wife on March 29, and in May, his evangelist assistant, Ko Chan-ik.<sup>65</sup>

With regard to the success of Gale's evangelism, former American missionary Harry A. Rhodes (1875-1965) ascribed it to a geographical advantage, by saying "its [the church's] proximity not only to our two Mission Academies [Chōngsin and Kyōngsin] but to the Government University and Medical College [Kyōngsōng], as well as many other schools in that part of

city" gave it a great advantage.<sup>66</sup> Granted, the population density obviously helped its growth, but, nevertheless, it is the view of the present author that Gale's success in evangelization in Seoul was not only due to a so-called geographical advantage but rather to Gale's adaptability to the socio-political situation of the time, as well as his ability to understand the minds of the Korean people.

A description of the social organization of late nineteenth-century Korea has already been presented, along with an explanation of how the situation affected Protestant mission work. Gale's successful evangelization is a prime example of how Korea's social milieu helped the growth of Christianity. In Gale's time, the Yōndong Church area was known as the place for "Chilchōnyōk" (The Seven Disreputable Types of Persons),<sup>67</sup> i.e., a "ghetto" where only undesirable types lived. It seems, therefore, that the original members of the Yōndong Church were drawn from the lower orders.<sup>68</sup>

After Gale began ministering at Yōndong Church, members of the aristocratic class, particularly young yangban interested in modernizing Korea, began attending the Church, "because people liked Gale not only for his religious leadership, but also for his thoughts on social enlightenment and his knowledge of Korean studies."<sup>69</sup> The members of the congregation thus soon came to be comprised of different social classes. Gale's church served as a place to break down old social barriers.

In such a culturally diverse congregation, conflicts were



inevitable, but Gale resolved them equitably. One example of how social and cultural poles clashed in his congregation and yet were reconciled by Gale was that of Im Kong-jin (?-?), a folk musician and social outcast. Gale was strongly opposed by his yangban members when he announced that he intended to make Im an elder in the church's hierarchy. As Im was an outcast, it would be socially offensive for him to be made a leader of yangban. Despite this, Gale made Im an elder in 1915.<sup>70</sup> In addition, in 1917, Gale founded the "Han'guk ūmak yŏnkuhoe" (The Association of Korean Music) which consisted of some members of his church, including Im. Through Im, Gale introduced into his services Korean musical instruments like the kŏmungo (거문고 a Korean harp with six strings), kayaqŭm, (가야금 a Korean musical instrument with 12 strings), drums and gongs.<sup>71</sup> Because Gale feared that Koreans might "lose their own music with its power to thrill them,"<sup>72</sup> he himself wrote hymns, for example, "Kkot kwa saerŭl pora" (Behold How Birds and Flowers Live), which was sung to the tune of "Yangsando," a well-known Korean folk song. (See Figure 4:6) In this, Gale was assisted by his second wife, Ada Sale (1871-1953) (they had married in 1910), who was "accomplished in both vocal and instrumental music."<sup>73</sup>

Figure 4:6 Hymn written by James S. Gale, entitled, "Kkot kwa saerul bora" (Behold How Birds and Flowers Live), c. 1910s  
Source: Author's possession

꽃이 세를 보라 (양산도무도)

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "Kkot kwa saerul bora" (Behold How Birds and Flowers Live). The score consists of three staves of music with Korean lyrics written below the notes. The first staff begins with the lyrics "꽃이 세를 보라" and continues with "꽃이 세를 보라 (양산도무도)". The second staff continues with "꽃이 세를 보라" and "꽃이 세를 보라". The third staff continues with "꽃이 세를 보라" and "꽃이 세를 보라". The music is written in a simple, handwritten style on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Gale wanted Koreans to become Christian, but not to be seen as foreigners in their own land. In any case, he was the first missionary known to have "Koreanize" his services.

By the time Gale relocated to Seoul, a girls' school, "Chōngdong yōhakyo" (Chōngdong Girls' School), had been founded in 1887 by Annie J. Ellers, a member of the American Presbyterian Mission, North. This institution was relocated to the Yōndong Church area in 1895, and re-named "Yōndong Yōhakkyo" (Yōndong Girls' School).<sup>74</sup>

In general, the early educational institutions run by missionaries provided only the most rudimentary of educations, i.e., Korean language and Bible study and in order to improve the quality of education, Gale upgraded the school to a "middle school," and accordingly changed its name to "Yōndong Girls' Middle School" in 1902. Kuriso sinmun (Christian News) (hereafter cited as KS) wrote:

The Yōndong Girls' Middle School expanded curriculum and now they teach not only Korean language and Bible but also they teach Music, Mathematics, Geography, Korean History, Chinese script and Chemistry as a required course. Beside these, they teach Cooking, Sewing and Physical Education.<sup>75</sup>

KS added that presently there were about 20 female students.<sup>76</sup> This was a surprisingly enlightened curriculum for girls at the time.

Gale also founded a school for boys, this time expanding the previously mentioned Koahakdang (The Home and School for Orphan Boys) founded by Underwood in 1886. The Koahakdang had

been closed by the Home Mission Board in 1897 for financial reasons,<sup>77</sup> and in 1901, Gale revived the defunct school under a new name, "Yesukyo chunghakkyo" (Christian Middle School)<sup>78</sup> with six students at his home. The school's popularity can be judged by the fact that the school gained thirteen new students in 1902, twenty-nine in 1904, and forty-nine in 1905.<sup>79</sup> This was the predecessor of present-day Kyōngsin Middle and High School in Seoul. As of 1908, there were 12 teachers and 140 students in both Chōngsin and Kyōngsin. Gale was Principal and founder of both.<sup>80</sup>

To aid "his" students both at Chongsin and Kyōngsin, Gale wrote a four-volume text-book called Yumongchōnja (The Thousand Characters). In the Preface to Volume One, Gale explained that the book was designed to teach Korean children in a better way, according to Western methods of education.<sup>81</sup> Essentially, he was attempting to revolutionize the curriculum. The subjects taught at the Kyōngsin School during 1901-1905 were as follows: English, Astronomy, Natural Science, Geography, Physics, Agriculture, Chemistry, Arithmetic and Algebra, etc.<sup>82</sup>

As well, Gale initiated a social movement by founding the "Kyoyuk hyōphōe" (The Association of Korean Education) along with contemporary notable Koreans such as Lee Wōn-gūng (1849-?), Yu Sōng-jun (1860-1934), Hong Jae-gi(? - ?) in 1904 (61) in order to enlighten the public about the importance of education. In that same year, he founded a youth group, the

"Puyonghŏe" (Association of the Lotus), in order to inspire patriotism in the face of Japanese threats. A contemporary historian, Kim Hyŏng-tae, regards the "Puyonghŏe" as the beginning of the youth patriotic organizations in Korea.<sup>83</sup>

The background to Gale's action is that in 1896, some progressive youths like Lee Sang-je (1850-1927), Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945), Lee Sŭng-man (Syngman Rhee 1875-1965), and Sŏh Chae-pil (1866-1951) founded a socio-political organization known as the "Tongnip Hyŏphŏe" (Independence Club). Its purpose was to protect national sovereignty and to elevate the socio-cultural values of the people. Unfortunately, many of these members were arrested by the conservative central government and imprisoned. While they were in jail, missionaries like Gale, D.A. Bunker and H. Underwood often visited the prison and many of the young men were converted during their incarceration.<sup>84</sup> One example of how Gale influenced imprisoned reformers, is the example of Kim Chŏng-sik (1862-1937), who later became the General Secretary of the Korean YMCA. From prison he sent a letter to Gale asking for a Bible and the Chŏlloyŏkjŏng (a translation of Pilgrim's Progress), and he even requested Gale to instruct his wife about Christianity.<sup>85</sup>

Gale appealed to Korean youth who were attracted to "modern" things, and nurtured them with the spirit of independence. Indeed, so influential was Gale that many of the youth who attended his church and school later assumed

leadership roles in modern-day Korean politics and society, including Syngman Rhee, the first president of the Republic of Korea (from 1948 to 1960). Rhee's biographer, Lee Wŏn-sun, said that Gale influenced Rhee to convert while he was in jail.<sup>86</sup> In 1904, those who had been acquainted with the missionaries in jail were released, and many flocked to the Yŏndong Church. A contemporary historian, Yun Hwa-rak, explains:

It was in 1904 that a group of patriots, headed by Lee Sang-je, Lee Wŏn-guk, Kim Chŏng-sik, Hong Jae-ki, Yu Sŏng-chun, Pak Sŏng-bong, and Min Chan-ho attended Yŏndong Church. The church seemed like a den of Independents. Just as one thought, Yŏndong Church was used as meeting place, a place of consultation and a place of liaison for the member of the Independence Club.<sup>87</sup>

"This fact," historian Ko Chun-sŏp affirms, "witnesses that they were influenced much by Gale."<sup>88</sup>

In early 1900, some members of the Yŏndong Church and some who were educated in Gale's schools were actively involved in various ways with the independence movement. For example, when Japan's 1905 protectorate treaty usurped Korea's sovereignty against the Korean peoples' will, King Kojong decided to dispatch secret envoys, and Lee Sang-sŏl (1871-1917), Lee Chun (1858-1907) and Lee Wi-jong (?-?) slipped away to the 1907 Peace Conference held at the Hague, in the Netherlands. One of the three selected by Kojong was Lee Chun, a member of Gale's church.<sup>89</sup> Indeed, one of the best-known figures of the entire Korean Independent Movement was Ch'oe

Nam-sŏn (1890-1957), who drew up the draft of the "Tongnip Sŏnŏnmun" (Declaration of Independence) in 1919. Ch'oe was a member of Gale's church<sup>90</sup> and was also a teacher at Gale's Kyŏngsin School.<sup>91</sup> Another 1919 Independence fighter, Lee Kap-sŏng (1889-1981), was likewise a graduate of Kyŏngsin School and a member of Gale's church.<sup>92</sup>

Understandably, the Japanese occupation gave rise to various independence movements among the Koreans after 1910. In October 1919, the "Taehan minguk aeguk puinhŏe" (Korean Women's Patriotic Association) was organized under the leadership of Kim Maria (1892-1945, President), Lee Hye-kyŏng (1890-1968, Vice-President), Kim Young-sun (? - ?, Secretary) and Chang Sŏn-hee (1894-1970, Treasurer). All of them had graduated from Chŏngsin School.<sup>93</sup> They were also members of Gale's church,<sup>94</sup> and Lee Hye-kyŏng was a daughter of Lee Chang-jik, Gale's assistant. This is not to say that all these patriotic activities were initiated by Gale, but one cannot help but see the connection between his institutions and the surge of independence from authority in Korea's youth.

Gale had a direct influence on Syngman Rhee's conversion in prison and also helped him to get to America to further his education. Concerning his release from jail in 1904 (August 9), Rhee's biographer Robert Oliver wrote:

Gale joined enthusiastically in the advice Rhee was receiving to go to America and wrote for him a lengthy letter of introduction to Dr. Lewis T. Hamlin, Minister of the Presbyterian Church of the Covenant, in Washington, D.C.<sup>95</sup>

Rhee arrived in Washington, D.C., early in 1905, carrying Gale's letter of introduction.

The connection between Gale and Hamlin was through Gale's mother-in-law, Harriet Gibson's mother (her name is unknown) who had been supported by Hamlin's church in Washington, D.C., when she came to Korea in 1894.<sup>96</sup> When the Gales were on furlough in 1897, they visited Washington, D.C., and Gale was designated as the representative missionary for Washington Sunday Schools. More significantly, in 1904, due to Hamlin's effort,<sup>97</sup> Gale received a Doctor of Divinity (*honoris causa*) from Howard University in Washington, D.C., in recognition of his literary work and his Bible translation.<sup>98</sup>

In the early missionary days, there were numerous "dos" and don'ts" among the missionaries in the field. One of the "don'ts" was "don't send a converted native to America to be educated, at least during the early stages of mission work." This was to avoid "an invidious comparison and wide chasm between him and the foreign missionary."<sup>99</sup> Missionaries thought that a high quality of education for natives was not a prerequisite for religious conversion and they tried to limit the intellectual development of Korean leaders to a certain level. Such a "don't" attitude was manifested by Horace Allen, an early American missionary. Oliver relates:

Another American to whom Rhee [Syngman] turned for advice and help was Dr. Horace Allen, the medical missionary who became the United States Minister to Korea. Instead of giving Rhee the letter of introduction Rhee hoped to get Allen wrote an



opposing letter to Senator Hugh A. Dinsmore, a former Minister to Korea, on May 13, 1905. Allen said, 'I refused to give Ye Sung Mahn [Lee Sŭng-man] a letter to a single person in America and tried my best to keep him from going.'<sup>100</sup>


Gale again showed his rejection of this attitude when he helped another Korean, this time to go to Canada to be educated. In 1905, he privately arranged to send Kim Il-hwan to his sister in Berlin (present-day Kitchener), Ontario, "to study English Literature."<sup>101</sup> It is not known how Kim was connected to Gale or why Gale chose to send Kim to Canada. As Gale was involved with the YMCA at that time and was also teaching at Kyōngsin School, he probably met Kim either at the YMCA or Kyōngsin School.<sup>102</sup> (See Figure 4:7)

According to Kim's diary, he arrived in Vancouver, British Columbia, on July 13, 1905 and then travelled to Berlin, where Gale's sister Jane, then Mrs. William Cleghorn, was living. According to Kim's tuition fee payment receipt, Kim registered at the "Berlin Vocational School,"<sup>103</sup> (See Figure 4:8) something contrary to his original intent, "to study English Literature." He remained in Berlin for two or three years, and then moved to New York City, probably sometime in 1908. According to the letters he sent to Jane, he ran a store in New York City and, later, somewhere in New Jersey.<sup>104</sup> The last known record of Kim reveals that he was involved in business in Los Angeles during the 1920s.<sup>105</sup> While in the States, it appears that Kim did not continue his education, but rather engaged in business.



Figure 4:9 Cash Receipt issued to Kim Il-hwan by Berlin Business College, 1905. Source: Author's possession

**The Federated Business Colleges of Ontario, Limited.**



\$305-  
Received from Kim Il-hwan Berlin Oct 16 1905-

the sum of Three 05 Dollars

For	Course,	Months, \$
"	<u>22</u> Books,	<u>3 05</u>
Total, \$		
<u>3182</u>		

Principal [Signature]

Gale's aid to Rhee and Kim reveals that he was rebelling against the then-existing mission policy of not sending Koreans to North America for higher education. Although Gale's primary task was to minister to Koreans, his basic style of evangelism was based on humanitarianism; essentially, his idea was to educate and socially-awaken "his" flock. In terms of mission history, he pioneered the method of evangelization by breaking down social differences among people and by educating young Koreans through Western knowledge. Furthermore, he was an advocator of the Christian cultural movement as seen in institutions such as Han'guk ūmak yŏnkuhoe. His idea of ministry was not only to make Koreans "Christianized," but also to "enlighten" Koreans by awakening their sense of human dignity and human value through education and social activism.

#### Gale's Literary Contribution

One of the most remarkable and controversial contributions Gale made to Korean society was his translation of the Bible. As mentioned earlier, the Bible had already been translated as early as 1878 by the Scottish missionary John Ross with Korean natives in Manchuria. This was known as the "Ross Version." However, later missionaries in the field found that there were problems with the Ross translation, one of the more obvious being that it was written in the dialect of P'yŏngan Province, home of the Korean translators. One

missionary later noted that, "because of words used and the stilted style ... the 'Ross Version' laid on the shelf."<sup>106</sup>

In order to understand how the "Gale Bible" came into being, a brief history of Bible translation among the missionaries in Korea is required. In 1893, missionaries in the field organized a "Board of Official Translators" (BOT), which Gale served on for 31 years. Membership of the BOT was made up of delegates from each denomination and they were aided by native scholars.<sup>107</sup> Conflicts arose among the missionaries in regard to the proper methods of translation, for instance on whether to provide a "free" or "literal" translation.

An actual dispute broke out sometime during early 1920 when the Old Testament (OT) was about to be published. The dispute was between Gale, who preferred "free", and a more conservative group, led by Americans Stanley Soltau (? - ?, in Korea 1914-1939) and Charles Clark (1878-1961) who preferred "literal" translation. In 1921, the BOT reviewed the "Genesis," which had been translated by Gale, and the work met harsh opposition from the conservatives. Stanley Soltau stated:

I feel that [Gale's translation] too much has been sacrificed for the sake of making a smooth Korean translation. And especially in the coming days when the Korean church and ministry will be called on to face Modern Higher Criticism, I feel that it is exceedingly important that the Scriptures in common use should be in so far as possible a literal translation of the Hebrew, even at the risk at times, of the Korean itself not being as smooth as

it might otherwise be..<sup>108</sup>

For the conservatives, Gale emphasized Korean language style too heavily while sacrificing the original meaning. However, Gale's argument was that a translation should "conform to native custom,"<sup>109</sup> and he vehemently criticized those who opposed his translation as "inexperienced."<sup>110</sup> He reminded them that, since the Korean language is different from Hebrew and Greek, "we must first consider what usage is [proper] under the circumstances [we are] decid[ing]."<sup>111</sup>

The following examination of the first chapter of Genesis (OT) reveals one point of dispute, i.e., how dramatically Gale cut down on the use of the word "God." In fact, Gale reduced the use of the word "God" by one-third in comparison to other versions. The following sample is taken from the first chapter of Genesis:

Table 4:1 The Use of the term, "God" in Different Versions

Text	Use of "God"
King James Version -----	32
Revised Korean Version in 1956 -----	30
Common Translation Version in 1977 <sup>112</sup> -----	28
Gale's Version (1925) -----	10

Gale not only omitted pronouns, but, as the following comparison shows, he shortened the whole text. (See Table 4:2)

Table 4:2 Comparison of Gale's Translation with Others.

vs	KJV lts	Gale lts	CTV lts	vs	KJV lts	Gale lts	CTV lts	vs	KJV lts	Gale lts	CTV lts
1	16	15	19	11	44	32	51	21	60	31	56
2	34	35	53	12	46	32	50	22	47	34	52
3	31	17	19	13	18	16	15	23	19	16	15
4	28	20	20	14	50	35	43	24	47	37	41
5	39	37	29	15	27	9	24	25	51	28	47
6	30	22	34	16	49	39	53	26	69	54	66
7	35	22	37	17	24	22	30	27	36	16	42
8	34	26	32	18	35	25	39	28	71	51	72
9	35	35	37	19	18	16	15	29	49	37	50
10	37	28	38	20	36	24	48	30	53	45	48
								31	44	40	34
									1212	888	1217

(legends: vs=verse; lts=letters; CTV=Common Translation Version; KJV=King James Version) Chartered by present author.

As shown, the KJV has 1,212 Han'gŭl letters, the CTV 1,217 has Han'gŭl letters, while Gale's "shortened" version used only 888 Han'gŭl letters; thus, his version was approximately three-fourths the size of the others.

When the argument between Gale and his opponents reached a peak, the British and Foreign Bible Society returned an authoritative verdict against Gale, stating that "every version shall be as literal as the idiom of the language will

permit."<sup>113</sup>

Gale was angry about how his opponents had treated him, essentially snatching the manuscript from his hands. In 1923, he wrote a furious defence:

I have been on the Board of Translators for thirty-one years having done the greater part of the original of the New Testament and also had a share in the Old [Testament]. I am therefore an old hand at translation but none the less I find myself up against a committee that demands, almost at the point of a gun, that I hand over all my thirty years of labour, my life's work in fact to a raw Board who shall do with it as they please without my having any word whatever as to its final disposal.<sup>114</sup>

Gale resigned from the Board in 1923 and published his own translation in 1925, known as the "Gale Bible." This was the first "Private Version" to contain both the New Testament (NT) and OT.<sup>115</sup>

The "Gale Bible" is important in that it was a unique private translation of both the NT and OT and, in Gale's own terms, was rendered in "Korean style." However, the fate of Gale's translation which was never accorded official status, proved that literary works which failed to win political or official support would be prevented from reaching a wide readership. However, even though it was "unrecognized" by the Church bureaucrats, it served as a guidepost for the completion of an "Official Bible." The best sign of this is the fact that the Board rehired Lee Wŏn-mo, a major contributor to the "Gale Bible." It also demonstrated that missionary society even in the late nineteenth-century and



early twenty-century was fragmented by some form of religious-political struggle between progressive-minded people like Gale and traditionally-minded people like Soltau and Clark.

Another of Gale's monumental contributions was his Korean-English Dictionary, published in 1897. The then-English newspaper The Seoul Press compared Gale in the study of things Korean with Chamberlain in the study of things Japanese and Giles in those of Chinese literature.<sup>116</sup> Gale's dictionary was used widely by both students and professional linguists and served as the most authoritative work of its kind until the New Korean-English Dictionary by Samuel Martin appeared in 1967.<sup>117</sup>

Gale translated various works into Korean, ranging from biographies of the religious leaders like Martin Luther 루터의 생애 (The Life of Martin Luther, tr. in 1908), D. L. Moody, 무디의 생애 (The Life of Moody, tr. in 1924), and Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), 기독교의 본질 (Imitation of Christ, tr. in 1925), to various adventure stories like, 양극 탐험기 (Polar Exploration by William Bruce, tr. in 1924), 소영들 (Little Lord Fauntleroy by Frances Burnett, tr. in 1925), and 그루소의 풍유기 (Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe, tr. in 1925). These translations provided young Korean writers like Ch'oe Nam-sŏn and Lee Kwang-su (1892-1953) with an introduction to Western thought, patriotism and nationalism,<sup>118</sup> and such literary work certainly affected the development of Korean modern literature.

The best known of his translations into Korean was John

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress (Chöllöyökjöng), published in 1895. The translation of Pilgrim's Progress holds a significant position in the history of Korean literature. It was not only the first Western literary work translated into Korean, but was also the first to be published solely using Korean Han'gūl, with no Chinese Hanja (Chinese characters). Up until this time, missionaries printed literary works using a mixture of both Hanja and Han'gūl. Gale's experiment had a revolutionary impact on the Korean language. Lee Kwang-su who pioneered Korean literature, once commented that "the translation of the Chöllöyökjöng contributed greatly to Korean literature, particularly to the spread of the Korean language."<sup>119</sup> The influence of Chöllöyökjöng is not limited only to the language; it also influenced art since Gale inserted illustrations drawn by the native artist Kim Jun-gon.<sup>120</sup>

The translation of the Pilgrim's Progress, according to Richard Rutt, was begun by Harriet Gibson during her widowhood<sup>121</sup> between 1890 and 1892. However, the present author has discovered that this is inaccurate. The project of the translation was initiated by Horace Underwood, but, as he was otherwise occupied, he requested that Gale do it. This request came immediately after Gale's return to Seoul from Pusan in May of 1890. Gale wrote to the UT-YMCA:

Thus far my work has been in line with other missionaries here. I may mention that Mr. Underwood, who was given the charge of translating

Bunyan's 'Pilgrim' by friends in America, has asked me to undertake it in my spare hours, as he is short of time.<sup>122</sup>

Gale married Harriet Gibson Heron in 1892 (April 7), and then relocated to Wŏnsan, where the translation was completed.

As well as translating Western works into Korean, Gale also translated Korean works into English. The best-known of these is Kuunmong (The Cloud Dreams of Nine) by Kim Man-jung (1637-1692). Kim was a 17th century Confucian scholar who passed the kwagŏ (government examination for senior officials) during the reign of the Yi dynasty's King Hyŏnjong (r. 1659-1674). He served as one of the Ministers of the Yukjo (Six Boards) and in other high positions like that of Yejochamŭi (The Minister of Culture and Education). During his period of government service, he was exiled twice during the turbulent factionalism among the Sasaek dangpa (Four Factions, lit., "four colours") struggling for control of the Yi dynasty. Kuunmong was written in 1689 after Kim had been exiled to Namhe in southern Korea. The theme of the novel is the transience of human life. The story deals mainly with matters related to daily life and is characterized by an intricate combination of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism value. The highlight of the novel is at the end of a Buddhist's epicurean life, when he (Sŏng-jin) comes to realize that all his glory, fame and wealth were nothing but a day-dream. Gale was attracted by Kim's depiction of such universal themes as the present and future life, and the complexity of the three major

Asian religions -- Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism -- as well as by Kim's personal writing style. Gale's 1922 translation has been deemed "the most complete translation"<sup>123</sup> of Kuunmong by Chōng Kyu-bok, an expert on the text. In his "Introduction," Gale wrote:

The reader must lay aside all Western notions of morality if he would thoroughly enjoy this book, the scene of the amazing Cloud Dream of the Nine, the most moving romance of polygamy ever written, is laid about 840 A.D. in the period of the great Chinese dynasty of the Tangs. By its simple directness this hitherto unknown Korean classic makes an ineffaceable impression.<sup>124</sup>

Besides these secular literary contributions, Gale worked as an editor for Kuriso sinmun (Christian News, in Korean) from 1905 to 1907 and Yesukyo sinbo (Christian Herald, in Korean) from 1907-1910. As well, he served as a correspondent of the North China Daily in Shanghai,<sup>125</sup> as President of the Korean YMCA from 1903 to 1905, and as President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, from 1911 to 1916.

#### Gale's View on Korean History

Gale wrote "A History of the Korean People" serially in the Korea Mission Field<sup>126</sup> (KMF). Prior to this, Gale translated Tongguk Tonggam (東國通鑑 TT) and published it serially in the 1895 and 1896 issues of the Korean Repository.<sup>127</sup> TT was compiled by Sōh Ko-jong (1420-1488) and other Confucian scholar by order of King Sōngjong (r. 1469-

1495) of the Yi dynasty, was written, most scholars agree, in a tone of toadyism toward China and under the strong influence of Confucianism.<sup>128</sup> Gale's China-flattering historical view expressed in his historical writing is often said to parrot ideas found in the TT.

Five years after the above publication in 1900, Gale penned the article, "The Influence of China Upon Korea," which appeared in Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In it, Gale wrote:

For three thousand years the Great Empire (大國 Ta-guk) has forced its history and teachings upon the little Eastern Kingdom (東國 Tong-guk, [Korea]), with evident desire to annex the same, not so much by force of arms as by appropriating the thoughts and minds of men. Korea, in her relations with China, has ever been called the East Kingdom or Eastern State (東國 Tong-guk or 東方 Tong-bang), while China is none other to her than Ta-guk, the Great Empire, or Chung-guk (中國), the Middle Kingdom. This in itself, by its expression of relationship, will give a hint as to the influences that have been at work through the centuries gone by.<sup>129</sup>

He believed that all the traditions, customs, and culture of Korea originated in China. For example, he regarded Sŏlchong (Silla period: 57 B.C.-935 A.D.) and Ch'oe Chi-wŏn (857-?) as the most renowned scholars in Korean literature, but argued that their thought processes were Chinese in origin.<sup>130</sup> Gale concluded the above article by quoting another Chinese-oriented history book, the Tongmong Sŏnsŭp (hereafter cited as TS), written during the reign of Chungjong (r. 1506-1544):

Our [Korean] ceremonies, our enjoyments, our laws, our usages, our dress, our literature, our goods

have all followed after the models of China. The great relationships shine forth from those above and the teachings pass down to those below, making the grace of our customs like to that of the Flowery Land; so that Chinese themselves praise us saying 'Korea is little China.'<sup>131</sup>

As the above writings suggest, Gale's historical concept of Korean history was formed in accordance with the Sinophile stance assumed by such books as TT and TS. Consequently, his History of the Korean People over-emphasized the influence of both China and Confucian philosophy on Korea. Basically, Gale's history was "Sino centric." For example, his theory regarding the founding of Korea denied any indigenous evolution:

In 1122 B.C. the Viscount of Keui, a man great in the history of China, who refused allegiance to the one that let him out of prison because in his mind he was a usurper, and swore unending fealty to the tyrant that put him there, because in his mind he ruled by the divine right of kings - this Chinaman, Keuija [Kija], made his way to the East Kingdom, set up his capital in P'yong-yang, and became, first and foremost, the father of Korea.<sup>132</sup>

Moreover, he claimed that Kija was like "a sort of Christopher Columbus and George Washington combined, who crossed the Yalu, bringing civilization and deliverance with him."<sup>133</sup> In short, Gale's primary interest was in cultural, not political history, and so he extolled folk heroes, as shown by his inclusion of Ondal<sup>134</sup> in the sixth century and scholars like T'oegye<sup>135</sup> and Yulgok<sup>136</sup> in the sixteenth.

Gale's View of Christianity in Korea

In Gale's day, the administration of church business, such as theological education, was carried out by denominationally-devoted missionaries such as Drs. Samuel A. Moffett (1864-1939, in Korea 1890-1936), Charles A. Clark (1878-1961, in Korea 1902-1948) and William D. Reynolds (1867-1951, in Korea 1892-1937),<sup>137</sup> all of whom were "clearly conservative and just as clearly Calvinistic."<sup>138</sup>

Charles A. Clark in 1937, related the theological position of the time:

Many of the early missionaries were descendants of the old Covenanters of Scotland, and they believed, and still believe, the Book as their fathers believed it and taught it. They have instilled that idea firmly into the Korean church, so firmly that, even today, any book in Korean that does not accept the Bible as a book of authority is 'anathema' to most of the Christians. They accept the Christian Gospel as the sole 'revealed' message, given of God, and not as 'one of the great religions.' Missionaries and Christians give their testimony of belief boldly, and with no reservations or shamefaced quibbles.<sup>139</sup>

Apart from the parish ministry, Gale taught at P'yŏngyang Theological Seminary (it is not known what he taught), which was founded in 1901 by his friend, Samuel Moffett. Gale was dissatisfied with the quality of the theological education at P'yŏngyang Seminary and resigned on the grounds that there were too many students, the material was defunct, the method of teaching too conservative, and the curriculum outdated.<sup>140</sup> In Gale's opinion, "the descendants of the old Covenanters"

taught only "what their fathers believed," while Gale maintained that a more modern and open-minded theological education was necessary.<sup>141</sup> Overall, Gale held substantially differing theological views compared to his contemporary missionaries, and complained that they were lacking in relevant theological response to Korea's contemporary issues.<sup>142</sup> Thus, to Koreans, Gale was considered a "liberal" and his friend, Moffett, a "conservative."<sup>143</sup>

Gale's view on how Christianity is "implanted" in Koreans is revealed in his article, "Kidokkyo sasang chongron" (An Introduction to Korean Christian Thought).<sup>144</sup> In this work, the author commended the growth of Christianity in Korea. At the same time, he contended that no matter how much physical growth was visible, if the belief did not appear in the written form of a confession, then "the reception of the religion was superficial and not digested completely."<sup>145</sup> Gale held that the blind spot of Korean Christians was the fact that they had been "injected" with Christianity by "old" missionaries, using "old" methods. He stated:

Some Western missionaries wrote a commentary of a certain part of the Bible only and made it as a 'standard' of the Bible interpretation. Then, Korean ministers and other Christian leaders simply injected the 'standard' commentary to the native Christians and Koreans dare not add or reduce even a bit to it. In this way, some Western missionaries made the Korean Christians believe that the commentary they wrote and the Bible are the same, thus Koreans believe that there is only one kind of interpretation.<sup>146</sup>

Gale equated such dictation of Western conservative



missionaries with Neo-Confucian scholars who had instilled the Chu Hsi's doctrine in the Korean people during the Yi dynasty.

He wrote:

.. some conservative Western missionaries' Bible teaching formed Korean Christian thought just as Confucian scholars did to Korean people. The conservatives' methods of teaching the Bible to Koreans are inherited from their puritanic ancestors, believing near-superstition, looking for mysticism and they do not consider modern thought of natural science but hold primitive faith. It is a sad thing that Korean society has been replaced by Christian tyranny after they drove out a Confucian tyranny. The only difference between them is that Confucian tyranny affected the Korean people as a whole, but Christian tyranny is limited only to the Christian group.<sup>147</sup>

As was shown previously in the discussion of the Bible translation, some hidden form of religio-political discord, namely conservatism and liberalism, was again exposed. It is interesting to observe how this "liberalism" came to the fore of theological debate from the Canadian perspective. Church historians agree that liberalism exploded into Korean Christian society in the 1920s and 1930s,<sup>148</sup> due mainly to the teachings of Canadian missionaries in the field and the input of Koreans who had been educated in Canada. The Canadian initiative originated in 1925 when the Congregational, Methodist and part of the Presbyterian denominations merged to form the United Church of Canada (UCC). From its beginning, the UCC was geared more to participating in social affairs and promoting a liberal theology. Furthermore, as UCC missionaries in the field worked primarily under the direction of the home

church, and the leadership in the field changed in the 1920s from conservatives, like Robert Grierson (1868-1965), Duncan McCrae (1868-1949), and William Foote (1868-1930), to more liberal oriented missionaries like William Scott (1886-1979), and E.J. Fraser (1879-?). Scott became the Church's Field Mission Chairman,<sup>149</sup> and two Koreans, Kim Kwan-sik (1887-1948) and Cho Hŭi-ryŏm (1885-1950), both educated in Canada and in America with the sponsorship of the UCC, returned home.

When Kim and Cho arrived back in Korea, they worked under the Canadian Mission Board,<sup>150</sup> adding to the force of the liberal-minded missionary group. In his book, Han'guk kidokkyo haebang sipnyŏnsa (Ten-year History of the Korean Christian Church After Liberation), Kim Yang-sŏn wrote:

The members of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea were formed by the conservative-minded theologians like Grierson, McRae and Luther Young in 1898. And the Korean churches in Hamkyŏng Province where these missionaries worked were under the influence of conservative theology. At the same time, there was a new force of liberal-minded missionaries like William Scott, D.A. McDonald, and E.J. Fraser, but they were not able to "show" [emphasis added] what they would like to show because of the eyes of the "old." However, when the United Church of Canada was born in 1925, those who wanted to remain loyal to the Presbyterian Church of Canada (conservatives), like L. Young, returned home. More importantly, in 1926, Scott became the Chairman of the Canadian Mission Board in Korea and Kim Kwan-sik and Cho Hŭi-ryŏm returned home from North America and added to the force of Canadian mission work. From those Canadian missionaries and for those natives under the Canadian mission work, liberal theology was introduced to Korea.<sup>151</sup>

If one adopts the view that the budding of liberal thought in Korea began with the freelance Canadian missionary Gale, and

was later articulated as an "ism" by other Canadian missionaries and Canadian-educated Korean natives, Korean liberalism can therefore be considered minted by Canadians. Richard Rutt comments, "Gale would have been shocked to think that he had in any way promoted the theological liberalism of the next generation."<sup>152</sup> Yet, Gale's "modern" outlook was consistently one step ahead of his contemporaries, and so it was he who introduced a new style of Christianity to the Korean church.

Gale's Political Consciousness Towards  
the Japanese Occupation of Korea

As previously discussed, Gale praised Chinese culture and recognized China's influence over Korea. Yet, when it came to the question of the contemporary political situation, Gale believed that Japan was more politically influential than China. In his own words: "three great nations [China, Japan, and Russia] press close up around Korea. Japan to the fore, a first-rate power, is in command."<sup>153</sup> Thus, in the eyes of the Korean people, Gale was perceived as "pro-Japanese." Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945), a contemporary Christian politician, remarked that it was "somewhat sad that his [Gale's] too pronounced pro-Japanism has to a great measure estranged the young men of Korea from him."<sup>154</sup> Min Kyōng-bae, another contemporary native historian, also criticized Gale for being pro-Japanese. Min wrote:

.. the resistance to the Korean church's anti-Japanese movement and the use of armed force surprisingly burst out harshly from the missionaries. Gale said 'the falsified patriotism which swept away in a form of near crazy madness, suicide, chopping off bodies, false oath, the guerilla uprising, resistance of cruelty and heartlessness.' [underlined part is Min's translation from Gale's statement which is shown in the following note # 156]. Gale as a missionary made a disgraceful statement such as which a normal people would not dare do.<sup>155</sup>

Min's own bias is revealed in his separation of "missionary" from "normal people." Gale's actual statement was:

A mad sort of spurious patriotism started into being, with suicide, chopping off of fingers, sworn oaths, guerilla warfare, flint-lock resistance.<sup>156</sup>

Gale wrote this passage under the subject of "The Nation's [Korea] Present Situation" in his Korea in Transition. What Gale was trying to describe was the political crisis in Korea at the time (Gale's book was published in 1909), the period in which Korea lost its sovereignty to Japan and Koreans from all walks of life were trying to regain their sense of nationality. Gale's article intended to convey Koreans rage over the Japanese colonization of Korea. According to Gale, the Koreans did everything to save their country from the Japanese. Metaphorically, he described their plight: "the water was deep and all straws were caught at, Russia, the Hague, Mr. Hulbert, [the] Hawaiian Petition, Bethel and Company, appeal for rifles; but everything failed."<sup>157</sup> Hence, Gale's intention was not to criticize Korea or "the Korean church's anti-Japanese movement," as Min believed. Indeed, it

seems that Min deliberately translated the particular section he cited in order to make valid his argument -- that the missionaries, particularly Gale, were pro-Japanese and anti-Korean -- valid. However, in my view, Min's interpretation is in direct contrast to what Gale really meant.

Min's misinterpretation resulted in a completely distorted view of the situation by a later historian. In his article, "A History of the Christian Movement in Korea" (1985), Song Kŏn-ho, a contemporary modern Korean historian, cited Min's book. The following is Song's interpretation of Min's translation of Gale's passage mentioned in note # 156.

Song wrote:

Meanwhile, those who reacted most strongly against the anti-Japan movement staged by the Korean church and individual Christians were missionaries. Rev. J.S. Gale, the most outspoken opponent of the church's patriotic movement, made remarks contemptuous of the Korean church, saying, 'The madness of self-styled patriotism sweeps ... suicide, amputation of parts of bodies, wild pledges, guerrilla-style uprisings and cold-blooded resistance are rampant' (The underlined part is Song's translation over translation of Min's which is shown in note # 155 underlined part).<sup>158</sup>

Without checking Gale's original, Song used Min's biased translation in order to make valid, too, his argument condemning missionaries, particularly Gale. This simply demonstrates the case in which the writing of history, *wie es eigentlich gewesen* ("simply to show how it really was")<sup>159</sup> can be distorted by misinterpretation, resulting in false records.

This is not to say that Gale was not predisposed to be

pro-Japanese. A contemporary historian, Kim Hyōng-tae contends that one reason Gale was mistakenly seen as pro-Japanese was that his wife, Ada Sale, was the daughter of an English businessman in Japan.<sup>160</sup> Having been educated in Japan and having acquired a good command of the Japanese language, Sale was able to "mingle freely with the government people and [be] influential in harmonizing the official classes and the missionaries."<sup>161</sup> This "mingling" appeared to identify her more with Japan than with Korea.

Although Gale was considered pro-Japanese, I have discovered evidence that Gale's attitude toward the Japanese colonization of Korea was somewhat different from what Koreans perceive. Indeed, the more widespread the Japanese penetration of Korea, the more Gale disavowed his previous support of Japan. In his own words:

The writer used to imagine that Japan would prove an expert at reading the Korean mind, seeing that she was an Oriental herself, and was therefore within the charmed circle of the East, but he has changed his mind. Japan knows little or nothing of what Korea means or matters. The methods she adopts, the words she speaks, the announcements she makes prove her ignorance. It is not unfair to say that she is wholly unaware of the kind of being she has to deal with, and so today has resulted to the bayonet and gun-butt to solve her problem.<sup>162</sup>

It appears that there were specific incidents which prompted "the writer" to "change his mind." The first of these was the murder of Queen Min on October 8, 1895, by Japanese snipers. On the night of the murder, Gale heard a gun battle between Korean and Japanese soldiers. The next morning, he witnessed

the aftermath of the massacre in person. In "My Audience with the King of Corea: A True Story" published in the North China Daily, under the pseudonym "Esson Third,"<sup>163</sup> Gale wrote:

I slept comfortably till early morning, when the rattling sound of rifle shots disturbed me. .. I sauntered down to the Palace to find, if possible, the centre of disturbance .. here was the blood before my eyes of Hong [Kye-hun] late Commander-in-chief of the Korean Army [Siwidae], shot half-an-hour ago.<sup>164</sup>

Gale further noted:

While the Queen was being murdered in her apartments, a part of the crowd went into the presence of the King, brandished their weapons, and terribly frightened, but did him no bodily harm. The Minister of the Household Department [Kungnae daesin, Lee Kyong-jik 1841-1895] was wounded, but made his way into the Royal presence and was there stabbed to death by the Japanese before the eyes of the King.<sup>165</sup>

The second incident to change Gale's pro-Japanese stance was one which affected him directly. In 1908, Ito Hirobumi's Japanese Residency Government in Korea issued "Sarip hakkyoryŏng" (Promulgation of an Ordinance Concerning Private Schools) in order to control the administration of "private schools," i. e., mission schools. At the same time, the Japanese government censored textbooks which in their eyes were considered "harmful." Regarding the censorship, Gale complained;

The censorship is so rigorously exercised as to prevent any idea or thought that is considered 'dangerous' from finding its way into print, and all thoughts are admittedly dangerous that even by implication are critical of the Government, or any of its policies or departments.<sup>166</sup>

Gale was dumbfounded to find out that his own textbook, Yumong chŏnja, had been censored and he angrily explained the circumstances behind its banning:

The ridiculous extent to which this law is enforced is illustrated by the following incident, an actual occurrence. A book was prepared for children in Korean, and Kipling's famous story of the elephant was translated and included. The censor at once prohibited it. On being asked his reason, he replied: 'it contained dangerous thought.' The surprised translator sought to ascertain the dangerous thoughts, and was informed that it was the elephant story. 'The elephant story! Why, what's the matter with the elephant story?' he said. The censor replied: 'In that story the elephant refused to serve his second master.' Could there be anything simpler from the Japanese standpoint? The name of Washington, or allusions to American History have the same effect on the censor, as is traditionally ascribed to a red tag before an enraged bull, presumably, because somewhere in that history there was a revolution and some mention of human rights.<sup>167</sup>

When the First of March Independence Movement erupted in 1919, Gale attempted to bring the issue of Japanese colonization of Korea to international attention. He wrote a letter to Lord James Bryce (1838-1922) of Great Britain, a former British Ambassador to the U.S. (from 1907 to 1913) who had visited Korea in 1916. Gale wrote:

On the first of March [1919] a very peculiar demonstration took place throughout the peninsula. A manifesto suddenly made its appearance, and was handed about the streets of Seoul by the hundreds, announcing the independence of Corea and the freedom of the Korean people .. the demonstration was purely a peaceful one, of the nature of passive resistance. They met in groups, unknown to the police, all over the land and announced their independence. No violence was to be resorted to, and no resistance was to be offered of any kind, but this announcement only, that they were Koreans



and would never accept the rule of Japan.<sup>168</sup>

In his letter, Gale also accused the American government of not observing the treaty between the U.S. and Korea by failing to fulfil Article I, which reads: "If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."<sup>169</sup>

Gale warned that should the present system continue, "nothing but increasing trouble and blood-shed"<sup>170</sup> could be expected. He condemned the Japanese attempt to "Japanize" Koreans and compared their policy with Canada's political scene: "In Canada, French Canadians never became Englishmen and never were asked to be. So it would [should] be here in Korea."<sup>171</sup>

Lord Bryce wrote back to Gale:

.. because they [Korea] are technically now subject to Japan, and we could not interfere with the control Japan exercises except by laying ourselves open to have questions brought up which we could not admit to be within scope of the [Paris] Conference, such, for instance, as to those of Egypt, South Africa and Ireland, although, I need hardly, say our purposes and policy are entirely different from those which Japan has been following.<sup>172</sup>

Bryce further implied that the British Government would not interfere with the Japanese unless they treated Christians harshly, which "can be called a religious persecution."<sup>173</sup> Bryce suggested that through education and literature

Christian leaders would be able to support Koreans' national identity and passive resistance actions.

Realizing that he could expect little help from Britain, Gale resorted to prayer:

God, grant that this people may win in their struggle for liberty. Thou seest the hard Hun rule of the Japanese, thou knowest how unjust it is, how false, how selfish, how unsympathetic. Hear the prayers that ascend from the torture-house of the prison. Hear all the prayers from the faithful wives and mothers who wait in deserted houses. Right is right, as God is God, and thou wilt see right through to the end. God bless Korea in these days of trial, and bring Japan to a place of true repentance and faith.<sup>174</sup>

Meanwhile, the missionaries' acceptance of the Japanese occupation of Korea was the result of "an official stand"<sup>175</sup> to recognize Japan's position in Korea. Arthur Brown (1856-1945), then General Secretary of the American Presbyterian Mission Board, North, wrote in 1912:

What is the attitude of the missionaries toward the Japanese? There are four possible attitudes: First, opposition; second, aloofness; third, cooperation; fourth, loyal recognition. The fourth, loyal recognition, is I believe, the sound position. It is in accord with the example of Christ, who loyally submitted himself and advised His Apostles to submit themselves to a far worse government than the Japanese, and it is in line with the teachings of Paul in Romans xiii:1. There was full discussion of these four alternative positions in my conference with the Korea Mission in Pyeng-Yang. A vote was taken and it was unanimously in favour of loyal recognition.<sup>176</sup>

Under such political circumstances, "few missionaries lifted their voice in protest at the time."<sup>177</sup> Rutt remarked further that "some Koreans regret that Dr. Gale was not an

independence fighter, but he was no more a political creature than he was a sectarian. His vision was far from impractical, as is amply shown by the energy he put into his work -- his deepest concern was to understand the Korean mind."<sup>178</sup> Gale did not participate directly in the Korean independence movement, as it would have been difficult for him to do so, both as a foreigner under Japanese security and a missionary under the Church's dictate. Nevertheless, Gale sympathized deeply with the Koreans and he expressed his concerns in journals, letters sent to British politicians, and through prayer. Although it appeared to some that Gale did not have the "guts" to fight directly as expected by the Korean people, he put up a solid passive resistance in the way he knew best by educating Koreans and writing about their rights as a journalist, an author and an evangelist.

### Retirement

Gale left Korea on June 22, 1927 one year before he was to officially retire (on August 31, 1928). He stayed in Canada for a few months, then went to Bath, England, in October of 1927, where he died on January 31, 1937,<sup>179</sup> at the age of 74. He left his daughter, Alex, his son, George, and his wife Ada, who died sixteen years later in 1953. He was buried at Landsdown Cemetery, Bath, England. His 40 years of labour in Korea spanned more than half of his entire life.

## Conclusion

Gale was raised in a predominantly Presbyterian background. Yet, through training, such as the "McCall Mission" and the "Student Volunteer Movement," Gale learned about pan-denominationalism and therefore showed less denominational loyalty in the field. His method of proselytization was definitely a "Koreanized" one, incorporating indigenous culture into Western evangelism. Indeed, he took Korean culture seriously in order to provide Koreans with a distinctly Koreanized Christianity.

In the area of theological education, Gale aimed to teach theology from a more "modern," open-minded, and advanced perspective. He was afraid that Christian missionaries would act as another version of Confucian tyranny, injecting Christian doctrine like a "foreign object" in Koreans. Thus, through the secular educational system, such as Chōngsin and Kyōngsin, or Yōndong Church, Gale advanced his cultural and political programme, introducing Western scientific thought and attempting to awaken Koreans to the "new."

In cultural matters, Gale understood that the Chinese were dominant over Eastern countries, and that Korean culture and history was largely a copy of the Chinese one. Gale's political perception was that Japan was far superior to China, and he hoped Japan would do something towards the modernization of Korea. Yet, his opinion changed when he

witnessed Japan's inhumane treatment of the Koreans, the killing of Queen Min, and the 1919 March First Movement. From then on, Gale utilized journalism and lobbying to reveal Japan's imperial designs upon Korea.

Primarily, necessity for through social involvement, Gale taught the Korean people about the equality between the sexes. In particular, Gale strove to bring the "inner" world of women to the "outer" world through education and evangelism. Indeed, in evangelism, Gale emphasized social ministry. He was most successful in his mission to awaken the Korean people when he worked through the medium of the written word. Thus, not as a theological dogmatist or a conventional doctrinist, but rather as a humanist and literati, Gale secured for himself a place in history as well as a place in many Koreans' hearts.

When Gale arrived in late nineteenth-century Korea, the propagation of the Western religion was not officially permitted. However, according to the "Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Korea," British citizens were permitted to go on study trips and buy property within the three miles of the open ports. Gale took advantage of this treaty to travel throughout Korea in his early days. Gale used his protected status as a foreign scholar to covertly proselytize, an activity the Korean government did not allowed.

Notes to Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup> For Gales' biography and his family, see the following sources: Ada Gale, "Life of James Scarth Gale, D.D.", p. 1. Hereafter cited as G-Memoir. MS # 245, Box 3, Fisher Thomas Rare Book, University of Toronto. Hereafter cited as U of T Thomas. "Report of the Ancestry of John Gale" issued by the Scots Ancestry Research Society in Scotland on September 25, 1970. Author's possession. See APPENDIX # X. Historical Atlas of Wellington County (Toronto, Ontario: Historical Atlas Publishing Co., 1906), p. 28; History Committee (comp.), "The Gale Family", in Our Heritage of Alma and District (Elora, Ontario: History Committee, 1970), pp. 88-89; Richard Rutt, A Biography of James Scarth Gale and a New Edition of His History of the Korean People (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1972), pp. 1-88. Presently, the "Gale Farm" is owned by the Krabbe family who purchased the property in the 1930s. This information is based on the present author's interview with Mrs. Coby Krabbe during the mid-1980s. Gale's hometown, Alma, is too small to be listed in "Statistics Canada." The present author found out that the population as of 1994 is about 350.

<sup>2</sup> Elora was more populated than Alma and was a centre of many social activities for settlers in those days. Even today, Elora is the largest town in the vicinity. According to the 1991 census, the population of Elora is 3,261. This information is derived from "Statistics Canada," Catalogue number 95-337, Part A, p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> "University College YMCA Mission to Corea", in Knox College Monthly, Vol. IX:1, (November 1888), pp. 35-36. Hereafter cited as KCM.

<sup>4</sup> This information is derived from "University of Toronto - Class and Prize Lists 1884-1888," U 13.18, University of Toronto Archive. Hereafter cited as UTA; G-Memoir, p. 32; Gale's Letter to Jan, dated June 9, 1886. Gale had a sister named Jane, but he called her "Jan" in his correspondence. Author's possession.

<sup>5</sup> Frances G. Halfpenny (ed.), Dictionary of Canadian Biography (1851-1860), Vol. 8 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 272-273; John Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, Ontario: Committee on History, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1976), p. 116; Brian Fraser, Church, College, and Clergy: A History of Theological Education at Knox College, 1844-1994 (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p. 6. For family relationship, see

## Genealogy of Gale Family in the APPENDIX X.

<sup>6</sup> I. G. Fischer, A History of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton (Hamilton, Ontario: Committee on History, 1980); "Alexander Gale" in Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record, Vol. X, (May 1854), pp. 102-103; Melville Bailey, "Alexander Gale" in Presbyterian History, Vol. 11:1, (May 1967), pp. 1-7. "Finding Aid for St. Paul's Record" in the Presbyterian Church of Canada Archives. Compiled in 1989 by Elspeth Reid, Assistant Achivist.

<sup>7</sup> G-Memoir, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> John Longman, St. Andrew's Church, Alma: The One Hundredth Anniversary (Alma, Ontario: The Kirk Session, 1954), p. 5. Before the Alma church was built, the Gale family attended the Knox Presbyterian Church in Elora.

<sup>9</sup> Murray Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: the Chronicle of a Century (Toronto, Ontario: The Ryerson Press, 1951), p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> Clarence P. Shedd, Two Centuries on Student Christian Movement: Their Origin and Intercollegiate Life (New York: Association Press, 1934), pp. 238-252; "Student Volunteer Movement" in The Westminster Dictionary of Church History (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Westminster Press, 1971), p. 792.

<sup>11</sup> University of Toronto Students' Handbook (1908-09), prepared by YMCA of University of Toronto, p. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Bush, "The Foreign Mission Movement among Canadian Students, 1884-1923." Unpublished paper, Knox College, University of Toronto, (1987), p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> KCM (May 1887), p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> "University College YMCA Minutes (April 12, 1888), p. 220. Box number B79-0059, UTA. See also, "Seven New Missionaries", in KCM, Vol. X:2 (June 1889), p. 105; Ross, p. 119.

<sup>15</sup> Rutt, pp. 10-11.

<sup>16</sup> "University College YMCA Mission to Corea", in KCM, Vol. IX:1 (November 1888), p. 35; Ross, p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> "Gale File", A73-0026/112 C12, UTA. There are discrepancies among Korean historians regarding both Gale's supporting group and his education. In his book, Olibō al ebison ūi saeng e (Life of Oliver R. Avison) (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1992), p.38, Lee Kwang-rin said that

Gale was sent by the Medical College YMCA of University of Toronto. A contemporary Korean historian, Son Sŏng-hŭi, erred by saying that Gale was a graduate of Union Theological Seminary. For this, see Son Sŏng-hŭi, "Taehan chaegukside ũi sŏngryŏng undong" (The Holy Spirit Movement in the Church in the Period of the Empire of Taehan), in Taehan chaeguk yŏnku, Vol. 3 [Study of Taehan Empire], (Seoul, Korea: Korean Cultural Research Institute, Ehwa Womans University, 1985), p. 23.

<sup>18</sup> Rutt, p. 60.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 8; "The McCall Mission", in The Presbyterian Record for the Dominion of Canada, Vol. 13-14 (January 1888-December 1889), (Montreal, Quebec: Gazette Printing Co., 1889), p. 32; "McCall Mission" in The Westminster Dictionary, p. 517; "Maekol sŏnkyotan" (McCall Mission), in Kidokkyo taepaekwa sajŏn [Encyclopedia of Christianity], Vol. 5, (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1983), pp. 1054-1055. Hereafter cited as KTPS. According to Canadian historian John McNab, Gale studied at Sorbonne University. For this, see John McNab, In Other Tongues (Toronto, Ontario: The Thorn Press, 1939), p. 103.

<sup>20</sup> Annual Report of the University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association, 1893-1894 (Toronto, Ontario: C. Blackett Robinson, 1894), p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Gale's first letter to UT-YMCA, dated December 14, 1888, was printed in the Varsity (February 9, 1889), p. 96. Lee Chin-ho, a contemporary Korean historian, said that Gale arrived in Pusan on December 16, 1888, accompanied by a Korean, Yun Chi-ho, as his interpreter. For this, see Gale Bible (Photographic copy) (Seoul, Korea: Sŏngsŏ munhwasa, 1986), p. 1. Lee erred in this because Yun was in America at that time and returned to Korea in 1893. Lee appears to be confused; Yun accompanied Lucius H. Foote, the first American Minister to Korea, as Foote's interpreter in 1884. For this, see Yun Chi-ho ilqi (Diary of Yun Chi-ho), Vol. 1, (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1973), pp. 344f.

<sup>22</sup> Gale's first letter in the Varsity (February 9, 1889), p. 96.

<sup>23</sup> "Report of Korea Mission", published by University of Toronto YMCA, (1890), p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> According to "Annual Report of the Corean Union Mission Committee for 1890", Gale and Robert Harkness (for Harkness, see Chapter Five) bought a house in Seoul. For this, see The Medical Missionary, Vol. 1:1, (March 1891), pp. 4-5; Gale's



letter to his sister, Jan, dated March 22, 1889. Author's possession.

<sup>25</sup> Gale's letter to his sister, Jan. Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> G-Memoir, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with George Gale on June 25, 1988. George is the son of James Gale who is presently residing in Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

<sup>28</sup> "One Year in Korea", published by the University of Toronto YMCA in 1890, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Oliver R. Avison "Memoir" (place is unknown, 1940), p. 85. Hereafter cited as A-Memoir. See also William Scott, Canadians in Korea (Toronto, Ontario: United Church of Canada, 1976), p. 21. Mimeographed edition.

<sup>30</sup> Rutt, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> "Minutes of University College Young Men's Christian Association, 88-89" B79-0059/002 in UTA.

<sup>33</sup> Rutt, p. 21; G-Memoir, p. 8; "Annual Report of University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association", (1893-94), (Toronto, Ontario: The YMCA publication, 1894), p. 2; Varsity (February 16, 1892), p. 189; "Rev. James S. Gale, D.D.", in "Memorial Minutes" adopted by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of America, February 15, 1937,

<sup>34</sup> Lee Man-yōl, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa (The History of the Cultural Movement in the Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1987), p. 103.

<sup>35</sup> Varsity (February 9, 1892), 179; (December 7, 1892), p. 104.

<sup>36</sup> "Annual Report of University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association 1893-1894" (Toronto, Ontario: Blackett Robinson, 1894), p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1982), p. 158.

<sup>38</sup> G-Memoir, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Rutt, p. 25.

<sup>40</sup> In the history of baptism on Korean soil, Lillias Underwood said "Mr. No [later known as Noh Chun-kyōng] was secretly baptized on July 11, 1886, by Horace Underwood and the following spring three others were also received in secret." For this, see Lillias Underwood, Underwood of Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), p. 55. In April of 1888, Underwood baptized seven men at Songchōn Village. For this, see Lillias Underwood, Fifteen Years Among the Top-knots or Life in Korea (New York: American Tract Society, 1904), p. 33. A record indicates that a Korean woman was baptized in Manchuria in 1892 or before. Charles Robson wrote: "the first Korean woman outside of Seoul who received baptism was Paik's wife [Paik Hong-jun], who quite recently became a Christian." For this, see Charles Robson, "The Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church (North) of the United States of America", in United Presbyterian Church (Scotland) (October 1, 1892), p. 345. As far as the record goes, the first female baptism on Korean soil was held in Wōnsan in 1894 through the efforts of Gale. One year after, in 1895 (4 July), when H. Underwood dedicated the Songchōn Church, he baptized ten women and nine men who were converted under the direction by McKenzie. For this, see Elizabeth McCully, A Corn of Wheat or the Life of the Rev. W.J. McKenzie of Korea (Toronto, Ontario: Westminster Press, 1903), p. 225.

<sup>41</sup> G-Memoir, p. 5; Rutt, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> G-Memoir, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> Chun Sung-chun, "Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1955, p. 82.

<sup>44</sup> Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, (June 14-22, 1899), p. 133. See also, Paik Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910 (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1970), pp. 276-279.

<sup>45</sup> Allen D. Clark, A History of the Church in Korea (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), p. 111. See also, Paik, pp. 199, 201, 219.

<sup>46</sup> James Gale, Korean Sketches (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1898), p. 127.

<sup>47</sup> Henry J. Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1912), p. 428.

<sup>48</sup>. Gale's letter to his sister, Jan, dated March 22, 1889. Author's possession.

<sup>49</sup>. James S. Gale, "Good Cheer From Korea", in KCM, Vol. X:6 (June 1889), p. 112.

<sup>50</sup>. Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, Kojong sidaesa (History of the Kojong Period) Vol. 3 (1888-1895) (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1969), pp. 75, 79. Hereafter cited as Kojong sidaesa.

<sup>51</sup>. Gale's letter to his sister, Jan, dated March 22, 1889. Author's possession.

<sup>52</sup>. Ibid. For information in regard to his life in Songchon, see James S. Gale, "Among Koreans", in KCM, Vol. X:3 (July 1889), pp. 156-161.

<sup>53</sup>. Kojong sidaesa, Vol. 3, p. 123.

<sup>54</sup>. James S. Gale, "A Trip Through Inland Korea", in KCM, Vol. XI:1 (March 1891), p. 279.

<sup>55</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>. James S. Gale, "Through North Korea and Manchuria", in KCM, Vol. 16:3 (July 1892), p. 129.

<sup>59</sup>. Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>60</sup>. Gale's report One Year in Korea. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto. Printed by C. Blackett Robinson, 1890), p. 6.

<sup>61</sup>. Ibid. Article 4, section 2: At the above-mentioned places [Chemulpo, Wonsan, and Pusan], British subjects shall have the right to rent or to purchase land or houses, and to erect dwellings, warehouses, and factories. They shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion. All arrangements for the selection, determination of the limits, and lying out of the sites of the Foreign Settlements, and for the sale of land at the various ports and places in Corea open to foreign trade, shall be made by the Korean Authorities in conjunction with the competent foreign authorities.

<sup>62</sup>. Rutt, p. 33. The numbers are contradictory. Another source indicates that only 15 people were baptized between

1899 and 1910. For this, see Yōndong kyohoe kusipnyōnsa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe (Compilation Committee for Preparation of Ninetieth Anniversary), Yōndong kyohoe kusipnyōnsa (Ninety Year History of Yōndong Church), (Seoul, Korea: The Committee, 1984), p. 443. Hereafter cited as YKK.

<sup>63.</sup> YKK, p. 76; Rutt, p. 33.

<sup>64.</sup> James Gale, "Lotus Town Church", Annual Report (August 19, 1908), p. 1. U of T Thomas, Box 345, # 10.

<sup>65.</sup> YKK, p. 74.

<sup>66.</sup> Harry A. Rhodes (ed.), History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul, Korea: Choson Mission Presbyterian Church, 1934), p. 102.

<sup>67.</sup> YKK, p. 86. "The Seven Disreputable" (Chilchōnyōk) are: 1. the pochol (포졸) or servants of the sheriff who beat men; 2. the kwangdae (광대) or buffoon -the travelling singer; 3. the paekjōng (백정) or butchers; 4. the korichang (고리장) or maker of baskets; 5. the mutang (무당) or women sorcerers; 6. the kisaeng (기생) or dancing girls and 7. the katpatchi (갓발치) or makers of leather shoes, who, because they handle the skins of slaughtered animals, are classed with the butchers.

<sup>68.</sup> Chōn Taek-bu, Tobaki sinang sanmaek (The Indigenous Population's Mountain of Faith) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1977), p. 32.

<sup>69.</sup> YKK, p. 79.

<sup>70.</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>71.</sup> Kim Hyōng-tae, "Im Kong-jin", in KTPS, Vol. 13, p. 325; YKK, p. 101.

<sup>72.</sup> Korea: Seoul Station (Seoul, Korea: YMCA Press, 1923), p. 9. Hereafter cited as Seoul Station.

<sup>73.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74.</sup> Lee, p. 187.

<sup>74.</sup> Kurisko sinmun Vol. 6: 15 (April 11, 1902). Cited in Lee, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa, p. 79.

<sup>76.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77.</sup> Horace Underwood, Modern Education in Korea (New York:

International Press, 1926), p. 52; Paik, 236; Ko Chun-söp. Kyöngsinsa (History of Kyöngsin School) (Seoul, Korea: Kyöngsin hakkyo, 1991), pp. 184-191.

<sup>78</sup>. Kyöngsinsa, pp. 197-208; Son In-soo, Han'guk künde kyoyuksa, 1885-1945 (History of Modern Education in Korea, 1885-1945) (Seoul, Korea: Yönsai University Press, 1971), p. 22; Ko Chon-söp, Yöndong kyohoe paeknyönsa (History of Yöndong Church's First One Hundred Year) (Seoul, Korea: Kumyöng munhwasa, 1995), p. 170; YKK, p. 71.

<sup>79</sup>. Kyöngsinsa, p. 208; Underwood, Modern Education, p. 54.

<sup>80</sup>. Kyöngsinsa, p. 197. Gale was Principal for Kyöngsin from 1901-05. In 1909, Chöngsin became a recognized school under Japanese regulation and Gale was registered as the official founder of the school.

<sup>81</sup>. Ki Il, Yumong chönja, Vol. 1, (Seoul, Korea: Taehan söngkyo sönghoe, 1903), "Preface."

<sup>82</sup>. The subjects and the instructors between 1901 and 1905 were:

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Instructors</u>
Bible	Kim Chöng-sam/ Gale
Church History	Gale
Korean Language	Kim Chöng-sam
Chinese	Chöng-Bin, Kim Do-hüi, Kim Chöng-sik, Yu Söng-jun, Lee Chang-jik
English	Allen Ford Decamp *
Mathematics	Chöng Hae-yöng
Algebra	E.H. Miller
Chemistry	O. R. Avison
Physics	H. Underwood
Astronomy	Gale
Natural Science	D.L. Gifford
Korean History	Lee Chang-jik

Source: Kyöngsinsa, p. 208.

\* The author of the Kyöngsinsa Koreanized the English name as 이 캠프. But the present author is not able to verify the name in English. The closest name is Allen Ford Decamp, American Presbyterian, North, but he did not arrive in Korea until 1910. In regard to the subjects, see also, the "Contents" in Yumong chönja.

<sup>83.</sup> YKK., p. 79; Ko, Yōndong kyohoe paeknyōnsa, p. 201.

<sup>84.</sup> James Gale, Korea in Transition (New York: Young People's Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909), pp. 182-184; Robert T. Oliver, Syngman Rhee: The Man Behind the Myth (New York: Dodd Mead and Co., 1955), pp. 60-68; Rutt, pp. 34-35.

<sup>85.</sup> "Preaching Deliverance to a Captive" in The Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1904), p. 301. Cited in Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa (History of Social Movements in Korean Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1990), p. 108.

<sup>86.</sup> Lee Wōn-sun, Ingan Lee Sūng-man (A Human: Syngman Rhee) (Seoul, Korea: Sintayangsa, 1988), p. 70.

<sup>87.</sup> YKK., pp. 108-109.

<sup>88.</sup> Ko, Yōndong kyohoe paeknyōnsa, pp. 162-63. See also, Lee Nūng-hwa, Chosōn kidokkyo gūp oekyosa (Korean Christianity and the History of Korean Diplomacy) (Seoul, Chosōn kidokkyo changmunsa, 1928), p. 204.

<sup>89.</sup> YKK, p. 87.

<sup>90.</sup> Ibid., p. 110; Ko, Yōndong kyohoe paeknyōnsa, p. 220. Ch'oe Nam-sōn later converted to Roman Catholicism, was baptized in 1955, and christened as "Peter." For further information, see Kim Sōng-yūl, Han'guk kūndae inmul 100 insōn ("Who's Who" of 100 Modern Koreans) (Seoul, Korea: Tong a ilbo, 1985), pp. 253-255.

<sup>91.</sup> Ko, Kyōngsinsa, p. 1155; YKK, p. 110.

<sup>92.</sup> YKK., p. 110; Ko, Yōndong kyohoe paeknyōnsa, p. 220.

<sup>93.</sup> YKK., p. 110.

<sup>94.</sup> Ibid. See also, Pak Yōng-ok, "Han'guk yōsōngsa" (History of Korean Women Movement), in Chungang munhwa yōngkywōn (ed.), Han'guk munhwasa sinron [New Version of Korean Civilization] (Seoul, Korea: Chung Ang University Press, 1975), p. 741.

<sup>95.</sup> Oliver, p. 95. According to A-Memoir, p. 278, Gale wrote this letter on November 2, 1904, addressed "To Christian Friends in Washington, D.C. and other parts of America." For further information on the relationship among Gale, Hamlin and Lee, see Ko, Yōndong kyohoe paeknyōnsa, pp. 158-163.

<sup>96.</sup> In regard to her financial support, Rutt said "she got the money from the fashionable Church of the Covenant in Washington DC" which indicates that she was financially supported by that church in D.C. when she came to Korea in 1894. For this, see Rutt, p. 23.

<sup>97.</sup> Hamlin appeared to be an influential figure. For example, he served as acting president of the Howard University in Washington, D.C. in 1903. For further information on Hamlin and Howard University, see Water Dyson, Howard University, The Capstone of Negro Education, A History: 1867-1940 (Washington, D.C.: The Graduate School Howard University, 1940), pp. 390-91.

<sup>98.</sup> Rutt, p. 45. According to Clifford L. Muse, Jr, Archivist, Howard University, Washington, D.C., Howard University Alumni Directory, 1870-1990 lists Dr. James Gale as a recipient of D.D. in 1904. The correspondence between Muse, Jr. and present author, dated on 27 May 1993.

<sup>99.</sup> W.D. Reynolds, "The Native Ministry", in The Korean Repository, Vol.3 (May 1896), p. 107.

<sup>100.</sup> Oliver, p. 96.

<sup>101.</sup> Kim's diary, 10 cm x 12 cm in size and the diary is unpaginated. Author's possession.

<sup>102.</sup> The author of the Kyōngsinsa, Ko Chun-sōp replied to present author's enquiry on Kim that he was not able to identify Kim's name in any source kept in the Kyōngsin School.

<sup>103.</sup> This information is based on the receipt issued by "The Federated Business College of Ontario" on October 16, 1905. According to the receipt, he paid \$3.05 and the receipt was signed by W.D. Euler, "Principal". The receipt is in the author's possession.

<sup>104.</sup> This information is based on the correspondence between Kim and Jane. Author's possession.

<sup>105.</sup> Kim Wōn-yong, Chaemi hanin osipnyōnsa (The Fifty Year History of Koreans in America) (Reedley, Calif., Chaemi hanin osipnyōnsa wiwōnhoe, 1959), p. 289. William Cleghorn's address book recorded Kim's address as: 2101 East Rella Ave, Los Angeles, California.

<sup>106.</sup> W.D. Reynolds, "Fifty Years of Bible Translation and Revision", Korea Mission Field, Vol. 31:6 (June 1935), p. 116. Hereafter cited as KMF.

<sup>107</sup>. Those missionaries and their Korean assistants were paired as follows:

American Presbyterian (North):

Underwood, Kim Kyo-sŭng;  
Gale, Lee Chang-jik and Chōng Tong-myōng

American Methodist (North)

Appenzellor, Cho Sŭng-kyu

American Presbyterian (South)

Reynolds, Kim Chōng-sam and Lee Sōng-du

<sup>108</sup>. "The Language Files of the Translation Department, (Korean II, 1923-1928)", in British and Foreign Bible Society, Wiltshire, England. Cited in Min Young-jin, Kugyōk sōngsō yōnku (A Study of the Bible's Translation into Korean) (Seoul, Korea: Sōngkwang munhwasa, 1990), p. 149.

<sup>109</sup>. James Gale, "Principles of Translation" (1892), p. 6. MS 245, Box # 10, U of T Thomas. Hereafter cited as "Principles."

<sup>110</sup>. Rutt, p. 72.

<sup>111</sup>. "Principles", p. 5.

<sup>112</sup>. For the first time in the history of Bible translation, Korean biblical language scholars (without missionary involvement) were represented by both Roman Catholics (Son Chong-wan) and Protestants (Moon Ik-hwan), translating the entire Bible including "The Apocalypse" in 1977. Thus, this translation is known as the "1977 Common Translation Version."

<sup>113</sup>. Rutt, p. 72.

<sup>114</sup>. James Gale "Literary Report: Bible Translation" (November 13, 1923), p. 1. MS 245, Box # 10, U of T Thomas.

<sup>115</sup>. Some features of the "Gale Bible" are as follows. On the spine, it reads in Chinese "Sinyōk Sin-Kuyak Chōnsō [.] Ki Il Paksa Yōk [.] Kidokkyo Changmunsa Palhaeng [.] (downward) (lit., "New Translation - New and Old Testament [.] Dr. Gale translated [and] published by Changmunsa Publishing House). The cover page bears in Chinese, "Sinyōk Sin-Kuyak Chōnsō" (lit., New Translation - New and Old Testament). The book is 13cm x 19cm, with 1, 106 pages (OT = 796 pp, and NT = 310 pp): Four maps ("Egypt, Sinai, and Canaan"; Noah's Descendants"; "Canaan"; and "Map of Mesopotamia and Canaan" appear just before the "Book of Exodus," and a fifth map of "Canaan at the Time of Twelve Tribes of Israel" (with the enlarged map of the three tribes of "Benjamin," "Ephraim" and "Judea") appears



just before the "Book of Joshua." The map of "Judea at the Time of Jesus" appears immediately after the title page of the NT, and the "Map of Acts" (with notes of the Apostle Paul's "First," "Second," "Third," and "Rome" journeys) appears just before "Acts." For more information on the Gale's Bible translation, see Yoo Young-sik, "'Speaking in Tongues': The Conflict Between Church-Sanctioned and Private Translations of the Bible in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea", in Theresa Hyun (ed.), Changing the Script: Translation and Cultural Transformation in Korea (Toronto, Ontario: York University Press). Forthcoming 1996.

<sup>116.</sup> The Seoul Press (September 6, 1911), page is unknown. MS 245, Box # 10, U of T Thomas.

<sup>117.</sup> Rutt, p. 74.

<sup>118.</sup> So Chae-yong (et al.), Kidokkyo wa han'guk munhak (Christianity and Literature in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Kidokkyosa sahoe, 1990), pp. 48-49; Kim Pyŏng-chŏl, Han'guk kŭnde pŏnyŏk munhaksa yŏnku (Study of the History of Modern Korean Literature in Translation) (Seoul, Korea: Ŭlyu munhwasa, 1975), p. 153; Kim Hŭi-bo, "Chunwŏn munhakkwa sŏngsŏ" ("Chunwŏn Literature" and the Bible), in Han'gŭl sŏngsŏ wa kyŏre munhwa [Korean Language Bible and Korean Culture] (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1985), p. 3

<sup>119.</sup> Kim, "Chunwŏn munhak kwa sŏngsŏ", p. 3.

<sup>120.</sup> Lee, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa, p. 336. See also, Chŏn Taek-bu, "Kim Jun-gon", in KTPS, Vol. 3, p. 292.

<sup>121.</sup> Rutt, p. 27.

<sup>122.</sup> "Report of Mission to Korea", published by the University of Toronto YMCA and printed by Toronto, Ontario: C. Blackett Robinson Printer, 1890), p. 11.

<sup>123.</sup> Jong Kyu-bok, Kuunmong yŏnku (Study on Kuunmong) (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Press, 1974), p. 80.

<sup>124.</sup> Kim Man-chung, Kuunmong, James Gale (tr.), (London, England: Daniel O'Connor, 1922), p. ix. On the cover page, it said: "The Cloud Dreams of the Nine - A Korean Novel: A Story of the time of the Tangs of China about 840 A.D. by Kim Man-chung (1617-1682 A.D.), President of the Confucian College. Translated by James S. Gale, 30 years of residence in Korea, with an introduction by Elspet[h] Keith Robertson Scott and Sixteen illustrations. Published by Daniel O'Connor, London: 90 Great Russel Street, W.C.I. MCMXXII." Gale erred on Kim Man-chung's date which should read as 1637-1692. Kim wrote the

Kuunmong in 1689.

<sup>125</sup> It is not clear when exactly Gale represented the North China Daily, but according to Rutt, the earliest article by Gale appeared in that journal on October, 1899, and the last one on October 13, 1923. For this, see Rutt, p. 378.

<sup>126</sup> According to Library of Congress Catalogue (Pre-56), Vol. 189, p. 225, it appears that Gale published a monograph: History of the Korean People. However, it is not a monograph but a collection of the articles which appeared serially in KMF from July, 1924, to September, 1927.

<sup>127</sup> In Korean Repository, translation #1 was in the issue of September 1895, pp. 321-327; #2 was in January 1896, pp. 14-19; #3 was in March 1896, pp. 95-100; #4 was in May 1896, pp. 183-188.

<sup>128</sup> Lee Pyŏng-do, Han'guk kodaesa yŏnku (Study of Korean Ancient History) (Seoul, Korea: Pakyŏngsa, 1985), pp. 13-16; Kim Chŏl-jun, Han'guk kodaesahoe yŏnku (Study of Ancient Korean Society) (Seoul, Korea: Chisik sanŏpsa, 1975), pp. 472-475.

<sup>129</sup> James Gale, "The Influence of China upon Korea", in Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 1 (1900), p. 1. Hereafter cited as TKBR.

<sup>130</sup> TKBR, p. 8.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>133</sup> James S. Gale, Korean Sketches (Nashville, Tennessee: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1898), p. 127.

<sup>134</sup> During the Koguryŏ Period (37 B.C.-668) in the reign of King Pyŏngwŏn, there was a man called Ondal the Fool who later fortunately married Princess Pyŏnggang, the daughter of King Pyŏngwŏn. The Princess taught him how to be a warrior, and later he became a army general who beat the invading Silla army.

<sup>135</sup> Yi Ik (1682-1764), Neo-Confucian scholar during Chosŏn period.

<sup>136</sup> Yulgok is his pen name; his birth name is Yi I (1536-84). He was a Neo-Confucian scholar.

<sup>137.</sup> Min Kyōng-bae, "Han'guk sinhak kyoyuk" (Theological Education in Korea), in KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 129. This discussion is limited only to the Presbyterian perspective.

<sup>138.</sup> Harvie, M. Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church", in Westminster Theological Journal, Vol. 26 (1966-67), p. 36.

<sup>139.</sup> Charles A. Clark, The Nevius Plan for Mission Work Illustrated in Korea (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society, 1937), pp. 121f. Cited in Conn, Vol. 29 (1966-1967), p. 30.

<sup>140.</sup> "[Gale's] Annual Report on Theological Education" (1917-1918), p. 2; See also Gale's "Letter of Resignation" dated May 22, 1916 sent to Samuel Moffett. MS 245, Box #10, U of T Thomas.

<sup>141.</sup> Gale's "Letter of Resignation."

<sup>142.</sup> "[Gale's] Annual Report" (1917-1918), p. 2.

<sup>143.</sup> YKK., p. 101.

<sup>144.</sup> James Gale, "Kidokkyo sasang chongron" (An Introduction of Korean Christian Thought) (1910s?), p. 193. Curiously, Gale wrote this unpublished article on a Korean accountant's ledger. As he began it on the back page, the pages are numbered from back to front. Hereafter cited as Gale's KSC. Gale's article was written in Korean and the parts used in this thesis are translated by the present author. Author's possession.

<sup>145.</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>146.</sup> Ibid., pp. 190-189.

<sup>147.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148.</sup> For this discussion, see Kim Dūk-ryong, "Han'gukesō ūi jau sinhak" (Liberal Theology in Korea), in KTPS, Vol. 13, pp. 462-466 and Vol. 16, pp. 129-132; Kim Yang-sōn, Han'guk kidokkyo haebang sipnyōnsa (Ten Year History of the Korean Christian Church After Liberation) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan yesukyo changrohoe chonghoe chongkyo kyoyukguk, 1956), pp. 185-191; Yoo Young-sik, "Gaeil ūi saengae wa kŭ ūi sōnkyo saōp e taehan yōnku" (Gale's Life and His Mission Work) Kaenada yōnku, Vol. 2 [The Korean Journal of Canadian Studies], (Seoul, Korea: Institute of East and West Studies, Yōnsei University, 1990), p. 141; Conn., pp. 136-178; Han'guk kidokkyo changrohoe yōksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe, Han'guk kidokkyo

p'aeknyōnsa (History of Hundred Years of Korean Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Editorial Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea, 1992), pp. 206-209. Hereafter cited as HKP; Min Kyōng-bae, 'Han'guk sinhak kyoyuksa", in KTPS, Vol. 16, pp. 129-132.

<sup>149.</sup> HKP, p. 311.

<sup>150.</sup> Cho Hūi-ryōm came to Canada in 1914 through the help of a Canadian missionary Louise McCully, then living in Wōnsan, Korea. Cho studied at Dalhousie University in Halifax and Knox College in Toronto. When he returned to Korea, he worked at Martha Wilson Bible School in Wōnsan founded by Louise McCully. According to the "Biographical Dictionary of Graduates and Students of Knox College, Toronto, 1845-1945" (p. 116), Kim Kwan-sik attended Knox College with a Canadian Mission scholarship, stayed one year (1922-23), and then moved to Princeton University in New Jersey. From 1929 to 1938, Kim worked as a Principal at Young Saeng Middle School in Hamhūng, founded by the Canadian Mission Board.

<sup>151.</sup> Kim, Han'guk kidokkyo haebang . . . , pp. 185-186; HKP, p. 312.

<sup>152.</sup> Rutt, p. 60.

<sup>153.</sup> James S. Gale, Korea in Transition (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the U.S. and Canada, 1909), p. 134.

<sup>154.</sup> Yun Chi-ho ilqi, Vol. 9 (July 1927), p. 118.

<sup>155.</sup> Min, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, p. 227.

<sup>156.</sup> Gale, Korea in Transition, pp. 38-39.

<sup>157.</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>158.</sup> Song Kōn-ho, "A History of the Christian Movement in Korea" International Review of Mission, Vol. 74:293 (January 1985), p. 23.

<sup>159.</sup> Edward H. Carr, What is History? (London, England: McMillan, 1961), p. 3.

<sup>160.</sup> YKK, p. 121. From 1919 to 1927 and from 1929 to 1931, Saito Makoto held the position of Governor General of Japan to Korea. His wife [her name is not known] graduated from the Canadian Missionary School in Tokyo and such a link may have easily built a friendly relationship between the Gale family and the rest of the Japanese. For information on Saito

Makoto's wife, see A-Memoir, p. 587.

<sup>161.</sup> Seoul Station, p. 9.

<sup>162.</sup> James Gale, "Japan's Problem", p. 1. unpublished manuscript. Author's possession.

<sup>163.</sup> Whenever Gale considered his articles to be politically sensitive, he disguised his name as "Esson Third", "E.T", or "A Student of Orient". "Esson" is his grandmother's surname. See Genealogy of Gale in APPENDIX XV.

<sup>164.</sup> James Gale, "My Audience with the King of Corea" in North China Daily (1898), p. 7. The Korean Army was trained by American William Dye and F.J.H. Nienstead and the name of the Korean captain was Hong Kye-hoon (? - 1895). For further information, see Lee Kwang-rin, Han'guksa kangjwa: kũnsaep'yŏn (Korean History: Modern Period) (Seoul, Korea: Ilchogak, 1983), p. 370. Oliver Avison wrote same account, "A Night with the Emperor in His Palace." For this, see A-Memoir, pp. 544-562. For the Korean source of this incident, see Chindan hakhoe, Han'guksa, kũndae (Korean History, Modern Period) (Seoul, Korea: Ŭlyu munhwasa, 1968), pp. 596-616.

<sup>165.</sup> James Gale, "Why Japan has Failed in Korea," p. 2. unpublished article (n.d.). Author's possession. For further information on this in Korean material, see Chindan hakhoe, Han'guksa, pp. 612-613; Kojong sidaesa Vol. 3, pp. 988-989.

<sup>166.</sup> Gale, "Why Japan has Failed ..", p. 7.

<sup>167.</sup> Ibid; Frederick A. McKenzie, Korea's Fight for Freedom (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920), pp. 193-194.

<sup>168.</sup> Gale's letter to Lord Bryce, dated March 10, 1919, p. 1. MS 245, Box #10, U of T Thomas. For security reasons, Gale sent his letter via Bishop Mark Napier Trollope, who was a British Anglican missionary. Trollope was considered to have the same view as Gale. For Trollope's view on Japanese colonization, see A. Hamish Ion, The Cross and the Rising Sun, Volume 2: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea and Taiwan, 1865-1945 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), pp. 206/ 262-3.

<sup>169.</sup> Gale's letter to Bryce, p. 1. For full text of the treaty, see Noh Kye-hyun, Han'guk oekyosa yŏnku (Study of Korean Diplomacy) (Seoul, Korea: Haemunsa, 1968), pp. 53-65.

<sup>170.</sup> Gale's letter to Bryce, pp. 1-2.

<sup>171.</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>172.</sup> Bryce letter to Gale, dated May 24, 1919, p. 1. U of T Thomas, MS 245, Box #10.

<sup>173.</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>174.</sup> Rutt, p. 66.

<sup>175.</sup> Kang Wi-jo, Religion and Politics in Korea under the Japanese Rule (The Edwin Mellon Press, 1987), p. 15. For further information on the attitudes of the missionaries on Japanese colonization, see Lee Man-yŏl, "Iljae chimryak kwa sŏnkyosa" (Japanese Occupation and Missionaries), in Lee Man-yŏl (ed.), Han'guk kidokkyo wa minjok undong [Korean Christianity and Independence Movement] (Seoul, Korea: Bosŏng, 1986), pp. 55-62.

<sup>176.</sup> Arthur J. Brown's letter to Masanao Hanihara, dated February 16, 1912. Cited in Kang Wi-jo, Religion and.. p. 15. For more information on Korean Christianity under Japanese Occupation, see Kang, pp. 13-43.

<sup>177.</sup> Rutt, p. 49.

<sup>178.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179.</sup> "Rev. James S. Gale", in "Memorial Minutes" adopted by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in regard to the death of Gale on February 15, 1937. "Gale File" in UTA.

## CHAPTER FIVE

THE COREAN UNION MISSION: ROBERT HARKNESS  
AND MALCOLM C. FENWICKI. Robert Harkness and the Birth of Corean Union Mission

The previous chapter described how the University of Toronto YMCA enthusiastically sent its representative, James Scarth Gale, to Korea in 1888. This same enthusiasm was shown by the Toronto City YMCA (hereafter TO-YMCA) in mid-1888;<sup>1</sup> however, no decision was made on whether or not to send a TO-YMCA mission. The TO-YMCA Minutes of July, 1888, noted that, "the matter of a missionary to Corea from this Association was left in abeyance"<sup>2</sup> due to financing difficulties.

As the TO-YMCA's interest in sending missionaries to Korea had born no official fruit, a group of businessmen in Toronto, largely TO-YMCA members, organized an independent effort called the "Corean Union Mission" (hereafter cited as CUM) in October 1888.<sup>3</sup> The driving force behind this mission was Henry B. Gordon (1854-1951), at that time Convener of the TO-YMCA's Mission Committee; he eventually became the first Chairman of the CUM. As of 1890, the CUM mission subscription list had reached thirty-two.<sup>4</sup> As part of its policy, CUM did not require that candidates for the position of foreign missionary be ordained ministers, or members of a particular denomination. This may have been due, in part, to the fact the CUM could not guarantee financial support.<sup>5</sup>

In 1888, CUM sent Robert Harkness (1858-1938), a graduate of University College, University of Toronto, as its missionary. Of Scottish ancestry, Harkness was born in Oxford County, Ontario, on October 28, 1858. Harkness' parents, George and Agnes, had six children, Robert being the fourth. He attended Clinton High School in his hometown, and obtained a teacher's certificate. He then taught at a public school for three years in Oxford County. In 1882, he entered St. Catharines Collegiate Institute in St. Catharines, Ontario, and in due course matriculated into University College, University of Toronto.<sup>6</sup>

Harkness met James Gale at the St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and both received their B. A.s from the University of Toronto in 1888. Harkness subsequently was chosen to represent the above-mentioned independent mission organization, CUM. Prior to leaving for his new post, Harkness married Isabella, daughter of Richard Wilson of Renfrew, Ontario, in 1888.<sup>7</sup> The young couple arrived in Korea on December 12, 1888, along with Gale; Isabella was the first Canadian woman to set foot upon Korean soil. According to the 1890 annual report of the University of Toronto YMCA, Harkness and Gale jointly bought a house in Seoul around March 1889, each paying half the price.<sup>8</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Four, Gale soon left Harkness in Seoul, and went to Songchŏn in the northern part of Korea. When Gale returned to Seoul in June of 1889, he was disappointed to learn that Harkness had been



forced to leave for Japan because of a health problem. Gale wrote to his sister, Jane: "I am very sorry seeing that Harkness has been obliged to leave. He was not suited for this kind of Bohemian life. He is in Japan."<sup>9</sup> A Canadian local history, Knox United Church 1846-1975, recorded the following:

In the autumn of 1888, he [Harkness], accompanied by his wife, had gone as a missionary to Korea, and one year later to Japan, where he was engaged for six years in educational work. They returned to Canada in 1895.<sup>10</sup>

Harkness had been in Korea for less than a year, but stayed for almost six years in Japan. After his return to Canada, Harkness served as a minister at Knox Church, Cornwall, Ontario, and died on July 27, 1938.

When Harkness resigned from the Korean posting in 1889, the CUM decided to send Malcolm C. Fenwick to Korea as Harkness' replacement.

## II. MALCOLM C. FENWICK

### Fenwick's Life in Canada

Malcolm C. Fenwick (1865-1935)<sup>11</sup> was born in Markham, Ontario, just northwest of Toronto. Malcolm's grandfather, James Fenwick (1777-1862), had emigrated to Canada from Scotland early in the 1800s, married Eleanor Thomson in 1808 and eventually fathered three children. The second-born of the three, Archibald (1813-1868), was Malcolm's father. Archibald married Barbara Ann Lathan (1823-1901) in 1840 and raised eleven children, Malcolm being the tenth-born. (See APPENDIX XII Geneology of Fenwick). According to a local history,<sup>12</sup> Malcolm's grandfather, James, was an innkeeper in 1820 and an operator of a distillery; on the other hand, Malcolm's parents were listed later as farmers in the 1861 Census.<sup>13</sup> The area where Fenwick family lived has "not changed much," an old resident told this author.<sup>14</sup> It is still possible to locate the lot that the Malcolm Fenwick family owned.

During his childhood, Fenwick laboured on the family farm<sup>15</sup> and received the typical strict, conservative, "Scottish-type" of education from his parents.<sup>16</sup> In 1883, at the age of eighteen, he went to Manitoba for about three years<sup>17</sup> (it is not known what he did there), returning to Toronto in 1886 to live with his now-widowed mother, Barbara. According to the Toronto City Directory (1887), Fenwick was

listed as a boarder in his mother's home at 190 Bleeker Street,<sup>18</sup> around Carlton and Sherbourne Streets (now known as "Old Cabbage Town" in Toronto's East end). While in Toronto, he worked for Risley & Kerrigan, a wholesale hardware store at 30 Front Street in 1888, and for another hardware store, H.S. Howland Sons & Co., at 37 Front Street West, staying with this firm until leaving for Korea in 1889.<sup>19</sup>

In regard to his missionary involvement, Fenwick recalled, "when at the Niagara Bible Conference the Call came [to me] to go far hence among the Gentiles."<sup>20</sup> Little is known about this Niagara Bible Conference. According to Dana L. Robert, Boston University, "the Niagara Conference was small and more private [and] produced no publications."<sup>21</sup> In his work, Fundamentalism and American Culture (1980), George Marsden remarked that the Niagara Bible Conference originated, "in 1876 [when] a group led by Nathaniel West, James H. Brooks, William J. Erdman, and Henry M. Parsons -- all Presbyterian -- together with the Baptist A.J. Gordon, initiated what would become known during the next quarter-century as the annual Niagara Bible Conferences for Prophetic Study."<sup>22</sup> How Fenwick became involved with this group is unclear.

Fenwick appeared to be hesitant in responding to the Call, declaring: "Lord, you know I am only a businessman, [with] no classical school[ing], not a minister, and [have] never gone to theological seminary."<sup>23</sup> In July 1889, Fenwick

attended a religious meeting in Toronto conducted by Robert Wilder, one of the primary catalysts of the foreign mission movement in those days. Wilder told a parable of a man dying of thirst out in the desert, crying for water. Wilder's simple illustration settled all of the nagging questions that plagued Fenwick<sup>24</sup> and five months after that he found himself heading for Korea, the foreign country in which he was to labour for the next forty years. The Chairman of the CUM, H. B. Gordon, reported:

When in the Autumn of 1889, Mr. Harkness was forced by impaired health, to leave Corea, -- the Lord also at this trying time encouraged us by providing another missionary in the person of Mr. Fenwick, one of our Committee. He was sent out in November 1889, and has thus been over a year in the field.<sup>25</sup>

Still, as Fenwick himself admitted, he had received neither formal higher education nor theological training. When he went to Korea, he was a lay-missionary,<sup>26</sup> a true product of the late nineteenth-century foreign mission movement.

#### Fenwick's Arrival and the Ella Thing Memorial Mission

Fenwick arrived at Chemulpo (present-day Inchŏn) on December 8, 1889, at the age of 24.<sup>27</sup> He came to Korea as an independent lay-missionary and based his mission work on the "Evangelical Alliance," a theme which dominated the missionary ethos of those days.<sup>28</sup> Fenwick stayed in Seoul for three months at the CUM residence, bought in part by his predecessor,

Harkness.<sup>29</sup>

The next spring (1890) Fenwick, like Gale, went to Songchŏn in order to learn the Korean language by "language immersion." This meant breaking away from all Western conventions, text-books, English-speaking people and mingling only with Koreans. There he bought a parcel of land, on which he built a house and a farm. He lived like the Koreans around him -- eating Korean food and sleeping under a grass roof. Fenwick explained:

After our little house was built, we got a dozen or more bull-carts and hauled earth from two miles out on the plain. While the vegetable garden was being made, it shocked the people a bit to see a Western teacher take off his coat and work. According to Eastern ideas, a teacher or gentleman must never on any account labor with his hands.<sup>30</sup>

In 1893, Fenwick returned to Canada; just why he did so is unclear. He remained in North America for about three years until 1896.<sup>31</sup> During this time, two important incidents happened to Fenwick. The first incident was the break-up with his mission sponsor, CUM. This occurred because an American missionary to Korea currently on furlough in the U.S. was making claims of achieving sweeping success during his work in the field. To Fenwick's eyes, the real facts were quite the contrary; he thought that the American was misrepresenting the situation and spoke out. Fenwick wrote a personal letter to his friend, James Brooks, editor of The Truth in St. Louis, Missouri. Part of this letter was published in a book called Reality Versus Romance by James Johnston in 1893. As quoted in

Johnston's book:

Two years ago a man named [Johnston omitted the name] returned from this field to America, and has since been spreading his exaggerated stories throughout the churches in the United States. -- The missionaries arrived [at Songchon], and after exhorting at considerable length, asked the natives to remove their hats. 'What for?' said one. 'Oh, never mind,' coaxingly pleaded the native friend; 'take off your hats;' and with politeness so characteristic of the Easterner, they removed their hats, and then the Rev. Mr. --, D.D., administered baptism to these nine men, none of whom, with the possible exception of one, he had ever seen.<sup>32</sup>

This anonymous proselytizer turned out to be the renowned pioneer missionary, Horace Underwood (1859-1916). In 1894, Fenwick himself explained why he had written such a letter. The letter was penned under [the] conviction that the Church of Christ in America was given to exacting glowing reports from missionaries to bolster up their dishonouring methods of raising money, and in this way hold those contributors who have no part nor lot in the Lord's work.<sup>33</sup>

Fenwick's story was denied by Underwood and his family. Underwood's wife, Lillias, wrote;

As [at] Sorai [Songchŏn] farmers never wear hats around the village, the story bore the stamp of a great mistake at first sight. Dr. Underwood was much disturbed and hurt by this, not chiefly because it affected his reputation, but because it was such a blow to missions and might so seriously shake the confidence of the Church at home in the Korean work.<sup>34</sup>

Because of Underwood's reputation, Fenwick's disclosure caused major disturbances. When this story got around to Fenwick's committee in Toronto, they described Fenwick as "a silly man

who should be recalled"<sup>35</sup> and the CUM gave up all mission work in Korea. After Fenwick disassociated from CUM, he organized the "Corean Itinerant Mission" (CIM) in 1894 in Toronto.<sup>36</sup> Joseph R. Douglas was CIM's Treasurer; according to the Toronto City Directory (1894), he was a clerk at the Toronto branch of the Trust and Loan Company of Canada.<sup>37</sup> There is no record of anyone else being related to CIM, or anyone else in Canada or America helping Fenwick's mission work. It rather looks as if CIM was Fenwick himself.

The second incident affecting Fenwick's mission outreach was his formal ordination. William Scott (1886-1979), also a Canadian missionary, went to Korea in 1914 and lived in the same area of Wõnsan as Fenwick had. (After Fenwick returned to Korea in 1896 from the U.S., he lived in Wõnsan until he died in 1935). Scott noted that, "he [Fenwick] returned to America in 1893 and spent three years in training [in theology] which led to his ordination,"<sup>38</sup> probably in 1894<sup>39</sup> by a Baptist minister, Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895).<sup>40</sup> Fenwick most likely became acquainted him at the Niagara Bible Conference in the late 1880s.

Gordon was born in New Hampton, New Hampshire, on April 19, 1836, and died on February 2, 1895, just a year before Fenwick's return to Korea. Gordon came to Clarendon Street Baptist Church in Boston in 1868. In 1889, he founded a school called the Gordon College of Theology and Mission, now known as Gordon College, at 225 Grapevine Road, Wenham,

Massachusetts.<sup>41</sup> In its early days, the school's purpose was to train men and women for foreign mission work, and required no formal education for entry. It has been stated that Fenwick studied at Gordon's College in Boston for three years<sup>42</sup> during the time he was staying in North America, but there is no document to support that claim.<sup>43</sup>

When Fenwick was in America in 1895, an important thing happened at the Clarendon Street Baptist Church where A.J. Gordon ministered in regard to Korean Baptist Church history; it involved a devoted Christian and successful businessman, Samuel B. Thing.

One day, Thing's only daughter, Ella, who was then on her sick-bed, said she saw God lay his hand upon her and she knew that she would not live much longer. She called her father and asked him what her "earthly portion" would be if she survived. After hearing her father, she asked if he would use the money instead to send missionaries to foreign lands. She died soon thereafter. Mr. Thing consulted with Gordon and organized the Ella Thing Memorial Mission (ETM) in 1895 in Boston. In that year, the ETM sent Mr. and Mrs. E.C. Pauling, its first representatives, to Korea.<sup>44</sup> The Paulings were not "official" Baptist missionaries; that is to say, although they were Baptists, they operated independently.

In 1896, Pauling made one of the most significant reports in Korean Baptist history. He stated that, "as yet, only one station has been opened [and] thus far, only one has been



baptized."<sup>45</sup> This "one" would have been the first Korean in history to be baptized in the Baptist tradition and under Baptist missionary influence. "Missionary Statistics for Korea for 1896", which appeared in The Missionary Review of the World, supports Pauling's statement. The report said that in 1895 there were three missionaries, one station, three catechumens or probationers received, and one person who held membership. Native monetary contributions were 60 C.<sup>46</sup> The one person who held membership mentioned in the above appears to have been the same individual described as the "only one baptized" in Pauling's report. In regard to baptism under Baptist tradition, another important incident occurred in 1899; six Koreans, Hong Bong-chun, Chang Kyo-hwan, Kim Chihwa, Ko Nae-su, Kim Do-jong and Choi Myōng-sun were baptized Baptists.<sup>47</sup> Although, this was the result of the ETM's Frederick Steadman's efforts, an American Presbyterian missionary, Bull William (1876-1941; in Korea 1899-1941), had to officiate at the baptismal ceremony since Steadman was not an ordained minister.<sup>48</sup> Cho Hyo-hun recounts:

It is said that Steadman, the only male missionary remaining on the field, was not an ordained minister in 1899 and could not baptize his own candidate. So, in the summer of that year a Presbyterian missionary [Bull William] residing in the nearby city of Kunsan was invited to baptize six people in the River Kum [near Kongju].<sup>49</sup>

The above-mentioned two incidents indicate that at least two baptisms were arranged by Baptist missionaries in Korea before Fenwick had established his form of "baptist."

Despite these initial successes, the ETM was forced to fold up its mission "tent" in 1900 for financial reasons. Records indicate that Mr. Thing, the founder of the ETM, proposed to the American Baptist Missionary Union (ABMU) that it take over ETM's missionary work. However, his proposal was not accepted.<sup>50</sup> According to Max Willocks, a Baptist historian, in 1899 Fenwick had requested the ABMU that he be allowed to continue the ETM's work.<sup>51</sup> Nothing is available on whether or not the ABMU granted Fenwick's request, but a transference of the territory occurred in December, 1902, between Frederick W. Steadman, who had remained to the last, and Fenwick.<sup>52</sup> More specifically, the areas of Kongju in Chungchǒng Province, and Kangkyǒng in Chulla Province, which had been cared for by those ETM Baptists, was turned over to Fenwick in 1902.

#### Fenwick "Scales the Mountains" of Alien Culture

Fenwick returned to Korea in 1896 as the CIM's Director, and settled in Wǒnsan. Han'guk chimrye kyohoesa (History of Korean Baptist Church, 1990) describes Fenwick's life in Wǒnsan:

Fenwick settled at a place called Wǒnsan Tongsan and he lived like Koreans. He respected Korean customs and social order. He received the nickname, "Sōyang yangban" ("Western aristocrat", a respected appellation in Korean society). On New Years Day, Fenwick went around the village to perform Saebae (a formal bow of respect to elders on New Years Day).<sup>53</sup>

In regard to Fenwick's life in Wŏnsan, Kim Yong-he said following: "he built a tent on Wŏnsan Tongsan and he ate potatoes and Kimchi. He tried to follow the Korean life-style and respected Korean tradition."<sup>54</sup> He adapted Korean culture, thinking that this gesture of Koreanizing his life-style would help him overcome the cultural "mountains" between him and the Korean mass. Yet, Fenwick found out that the "mountains" between the East and the West continued to exist. He said that there were several "mountains" that Westerners could never surmount.

The first "mountain" was cultural, comprised of such things as poongsok (established custom), yea (principles and practice) and pŏp (unwritten law).<sup>55</sup> The second "mountain" was that of racial discrimination. Fenwick said:

Race antipathy, which is in us all, I think, is most deeply-seated in the Easterner. Not only the things already mentioned, but the hoary antiquity of their genealogy, their ignorance of the things beyond their shores, and the strangeness of your message combined with that natural hostility to a man of another race, -- all these are busy working against the white teacher.<sup>56</sup>

He also pointed out that, on the missionary side, the problem was not only their lack of understanding of Korean culture, but also Western missionaries' own sense of "white superiority."

The white man [who] comes to the mission field, usually as polished as educational institutions can make him, and, possessing an overlarge idea of the superiority of 'civilization' over 'heathenism,' is handicapped. It takes him long to realize the civilization [of Korea] is older and their education better[-]suited to them that

that of the West.<sup>57</sup>

Fenwick realized that it was foolish for him to try and teach Western things to Koreans without first overcoming these "mountains." Thus, instead of his own direct proselytizing, he took a more indirect approach by using Christian Korean workers. He started a Bible Institute in Wŏnsan, and trained local natives Shin Myŏng-gyun, Kim Hŭi-ho, Hwang Sang-pil and Lee Jong-hwa. These he sent out to the villages to help spread the Good Word.<sup>58</sup> Fenwick wrote:

About this time some American missionaries who had come to Korea in another mission after my visit among them in America, and had become dissatisfied, had returned home, and the director of the mission turned the property over to me.<sup>59</sup>

These "some American missionaries" were previously mentioned ETM Baptist missionaries and old Bostonian acquaintances.<sup>60</sup> At this time, Fenwick was still living in Wŏnsan, about 300 miles away.

Indeed, Fenwick sent Shin to Kongju, as his evangelist-proxy while Fenwick himself stayed in Wŏnsan; he commuted between Wŏnsan and Kongju once or twice a year.<sup>61</sup> Through the native evangelists, like Shin, Fenwick's mission work received a boost when he took over ETM's mission work in the Kongju area. Shin's experience as a former *Hunjang* (Chinese classic teacher)<sup>62</sup> provided him with excellent leadership skills and made good progress. Fenwick trusted Shin and gave him virtually the autonomy in the Kongju area. In 1905, when Fenwick established a Bible Institute in Kongju, modelled

after the Wōnsan one, he placed Shin in charge. Cho Hyo-hun recounts:

Shin's fame rose from healing a demon-possessed boy of fourteen through his exorcism. This lad, who came from a family of comfort and distinction, was Suk-chun Chang [Chang Sōk-chōn], then known as Pansoonie. When this boy was made whole his family and many distinguished people were brought to Christ.<sup>63</sup>

Seeing Shin's achievements, Fenwick admired that the Korean was having splendid success while he himself had failed miserably. Those graduates from Kongju Bible Institute trained by Shin were sent out to Chungchōng and Chulla Provinces, visiting from house to house. Within four years, Shin and other native evangelists had built churches in thirty-one different places in the southern part of the country,<sup>64</sup> i.e., throughout Chungchōng and Chulla Provinces.

Figure 5:1

- A. A Korean man wearing Korean traditional clothing.  
Source: James S. Gale, Korea in Transition (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909), cover page.
- B. Malcolm C. Fenwick wearing Korean man's traditional clothing.  
Source: Personal collection, Samuel Moffett, Jr. Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A. Reprinted with permission.



A



B

The Birth of the "Church of Christ in Korea"

Having such a large group of churches under his care necessitated that Fenwick organize a homogeneous governing system. In 1906, he called a Taehwahŏe (대회회), or "General Meeting of Great Reconciliation" -- Fenwick himself called it a "Conclave" -- and organized the Taehan kidokkyohŏe (Church of Christ in Korea). That same year, Fenwick ordained Shin Myŏng-kyun,<sup>65</sup> thus making Shin the first native ordainee of Fenwick's Church of Christ in Korea. Moreover, it was Fenwick's first time as officiant at an ordination in his Korean ministry.

In 1906 Taehwahŏe, the church's hierarchy was organized, with Fenwick at the top as the Kammok (장목), or "Director." All rules and regulations were made by the Kammok, Fenwick, and all positions were filled by Fenwick's appointees. Cho said that, "what he [Fenwick] spoke ex cathedra became the norm, doctrine, and practice of this church."<sup>66</sup> Under the Kammok, an "army" type of hierarchical organization was formed; in descending order of power, the positions were Moksa (목사 ordained pastors); Kamno (감노 supervisory-elders); Kyosa (교사 teachers); Chŏndosa (전도사 unordained evangelists); Chongjang (총장 captains of one hundred); Panjang (반장 captains of fifty); and Tangwŏn (당원 regular members). The new church's entire mission territory was divided into four Tanghŏe (당회 Associations of local Churches).<sup>67</sup>

In regard to using natives, Fenwick followed John Wesley's practice of lay evangelism, and in regard to organization, modelled the church after the Methodist "Circuit System." Fenwick retired from the office of Kammok in 1914, appointing Lee Chong-dŭk (1884-1950) as his successor. Upon his retirement, his followers honoured Fenwick by giving him the rather flattering title of Pyŏn kongbu (편 공부), "Meritorious Master, Pyŏn." (Fenwick's Korean surname was Pyŏn and his given name was Wi-ik).<sup>68</sup> Though officially retired, in reality, Fenwick continued to control his church, knowing that his flocks was scattered across the land and needed some unifying medium, he began publishing a monthly 5-6 page epistle, Tal pyŏnji (달 편지) (lit., Monthly Letter) in order to remind people that there was one central system governing all of the churches. In fact, Tal pyŏnji functioned as the church's sole media.

Fenwick was highly concerned that secular education would make his followers egotistical. He also was afraid that secular education would be detrimental to their religious life, believing that, "salvation is more important than secular knowledge."<sup>69</sup> Fenwick equated secular knowledge with "Eve's Apple," providing them with a knowledge that would cause them to fall into evil. In 1926, he issued a bishopric edict to his followers urging them not to send their children to secular schools.<sup>70</sup> Fenwick expressed his views on secular education in one of his Tal pyŏnji: "People do not understand



the teachings of the 'big head' who graduated from college because they do not explain the things to understand. Their knowledge makes them arrogant."<sup>71</sup>

During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), Fenwick's Taehan kidokkyohŏe bothered Korea's new Japanese overlords because the phrase Taehan in the church's name of Taehan kidokkyohŏe referred to the nation of Korea, Taehan minguk. Under Japanese pressure, the name was changed to Tong a kidokkyohŏe (The Church of Christ in East Asia). Korea was liberated from Japanese domination in 1945, and the church reclaimed the term Taehan. It changed its name to Taehan kidokkyo chimryehŏe (Korean Baptist Church) in 1949; this was the first time in the history that the appellation of Chimrye (Baptist) was officially applied to Fenwick's church. Finally, on February 27, 1950, the Rev. and Mrs. John A. Abernathy (1896-1973) of the Southern Baptist Church, U.S. arrived in Korea, thus becoming the first official American Baptist Church representatives in Korea. This is how Fenwick's "Church of Christ in Corea"/ "Church of Christ in East Asia" evolved into the present-day Baptist Church of Korea.

#### Fenwick as Bible Translator and "Nonghak Paksa"

One of the remarkable contributions Fenwick made was in the area of Bible translation. As previously mentioned, Fenwick first lived in a remote village, Songchŏn, where he

learned Korean. It was there that he began to translate the Bible. Fenwick noted:

My practice of the language, in Sorai [Songchŏn], was to give the Coreans a copy of the Chinese Bible, while I took the English Bible myself. By noting the number of a chapter, I was able to distinguish one book from another, and got my teacher to write in my English Bible in the Korean syllabary, the name of each book.<sup>72</sup>

Regarding Fenwick's efforts at Bible translation, his temporary Korean language teacher, Sŏh Kyŏng-jo (1852-1938; also known as Sang-u), remembered:

"-- while translating verses, Fenwick was obstinate his opinion with his clumsy Korean language and I argued that 'it is not right'. In order not to get involved in fighting, I left him and returned to Seoul.<sup>73</sup>

Though Fenwick and his language teacher were not friendly, Fenwick continued to translate the Bible, and published Yohanchŏn (Gospel of John) in 1891, just about two years after his arrival in Korea. Fenwick revised this and republished it in 1893 under the new title Yakhan ūi kirokhandero pokŏm (Gospel as written by John). He continued translating the Bible and had completed the entire New Testament by 1915, but was unable to publish it because of money problems. This work, published in 1919, is now known as the "Wŏnsan Version." According to Fenwick's "Explanatory Note" to the "Wŏnsan Version," his idea of translation was to write in a spoken dialect, "rather than the stilted and unprecise Chinese matrix of the old Korean writing."<sup>74</sup>

On the spine and cover, the "Wŏnsan Version" reads Sinyak

chōnsō (New Testament). However, in the first section, Fenwick added twelve pages of Manmin chohūn kipyōl (Good News for the People) which consisted of some translated Bible passages he had chosen, e.g., John 3: 16. The whole New Testament was written solely in Korean, but page numbers were given in both Chinese and Korean. The numbers indicating verses were written using Chinese characters, (e.g., 一, 二, 三 in Chinese). Some special features of the "Wōnsan Version" are that Fenwick used double-vertical lines to indicate place names and single vertical line for people's names, and he attempted to calculate mentioned monetary units into their Korean equivalents, e.g., "ten thousand talents" being worth 19,400 Korean wōn.<sup>75</sup>

Fenwick's writing style was to use only Ghookmoon (sic: colloquial Korean language), with no moonjas (sic: idiomatic phrases from the Chinese Classics, or famous classical Chinese sayings). His aim for the translation was to "talk" so that "unlettered women and children [would] easily catch his meaning."<sup>76</sup>

As previously mentioned, when missionaries arrived in Korea in the late nineteenth-century, they were quite aggressive in pursuing Bible translation. The dividing question was about whether or not to adopt a literal or a free translation style. Fenwick, free from both hierarchial interference and ecclesiastical bondage to any denomination, translated the Bible into an indigenized format in order to

"talk" to "unlettered women and children" in a manner which allowed them to catch his meaning easily. Thus, Fenwick went his own way and chose to use the "free translation" method. In respect to creating an "indigenized style", Fenwick was way ahead of the rest of the missionaries; it was Fenwick who first interpreted the holy text's source language to fit into Korean's linguistic traditions.

As the following examples show, in "Wŏnsan Version," Fenwick translated words such as "Sabbath," (#6 그만두신날), into "the day [God] stopped [working]"); "Baptism" (#7 침례), into "immersion into water"; "Holy Spirit," (#8 숨김), into "breath" + the Korean honorific suffix, "nim" and "Jesus" (#9 예수), into "Jesus" + Korean honorific suffix, "ssi," while Ross and Gale remained near to Chinese "Wenli Version." (See Figure 5:2)

Fenwick should be remembered, however, as the one who initiated the bridging of two parallel mountain ranges of alien cultures through the communication of ideas by using the receptor's language in his Bible. Actually, considering his lack of educational qualifications, i.e., his being "unschooled" and "untheologized," "free" translation was the best option for Fenwick. Despite the validity of his translation, the "Wonsan Version" failed to attract as many people as it should have; this was not only because it was a private translation, but -- more seriously -- because it was read only by those of his own congregation, the Church of Christ in Korea.

Source	Greek (1966)	KJV (1611)	Wenli (1852)	Ross (1887)	Fenwick (1919)	Gale (1925)
MT 15:1	γραμματεῖς	scribe	士子	선비	선비5	書記官
JN 18:30	Πιλάτος	Pi late	彼拉多	사도 1	피랍다	빌라도
JN 18:33	πραιτώριον	judgement hall	公廨	선화당 2	지판소	公庭
JN 3:16	θεός	God	上帝	하나님	하나님	하느님
LK 6:1	σαββάτω	sabbath	安息	사밧일 3	그만두신날6	安息日
MK 1:4	βάπτισμα	baptism	施洗	바침례 4	침례 7	洗禮
JN 11:25	ἀνάστασις	resur'ction	復生者	니는것	다시사는것	復活
LK 2:41	πάσχα	passover	逾越節	넘는절	유월잔치	逾月節
LK 3:22	πνεῦμα	Holy Ghost	聖神	성령	숨님8	聖神
JN 8:1	Ἰησοῦς	Jesus	耶穌	예수	예수씨9	예수 -

\* MT = Matthew; MK = Mark; LK = Luke; JN = John

1. The Korean word for Sa tto ( '사또' / "Pi'late" in English) was used to describe a government official sent to the countryside by the central government.
2. During the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), Sŏnhwa tang ( 선화당 ) referred to a provincial governor's central-office.
3. Transliteration of Greek or English "Sabbath" + Korean. The "Sabbath" concept was adopted straight from English, while the "Day" suffix followed Korean linguistic rules.
4. Transliteration of Greek or English "bapti[p] + Korean. The "bapti[p] concept was adopted from English, while "ritual" suffix followed Korean linguistic rules.
5. Syŏnbi was a classical scholar.
6. Lit., "the day [God] stopped [working].
7. The idea conveyed is an "immersion into water".
8. Lit., "Breath" + the Korean honorific suffix, "nim".
9. "Jesus" + Korean word for "mister".

Fenwick translated some Pokūm chanmi (Gospel Hymns) and published them for use throughout his churches. The first edition of Pokūm chanmi, containing fourteen songs, was published in 1899, the last (sixth) edition came out in 1938 and included 274 songs.<sup>77</sup> Fenwick provided the name of the lyricist and composer of each song, and included each song's original English title. In the 1904 edition, he also included two songs written by the man who ordained him, Adoniram J. Gordon, (# 4 and # 12), one by his Korean assistant, Shin Myōng-kyun (# 20) and two written by one of the contemporary American missionaries in the field, William Swallen (1865-1954) (# 18 and # 19).<sup>78</sup> As far as the history of Christian hymns in Korea goes, Fenwick is recorded as the fourth to publish hymns.<sup>79</sup>

Fenwick also made an unusual contribution to Korean society. According to Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945), who was the governor of Wōnsan during Fenwick's time there, Fenwick bought a beautiful site called "Kalmay Property" ("Brookhill" in English).<sup>80</sup> Farming was the main source of Fenwick's income in Korea, for, unlike other missionaries, he had no external financial support. Besides supporting himself, he also provided for the Koreans working for his church. This was not heroism; he had to be self-sufficient. An editorial in The Korean Repository in 1898 reported on Fenwick's crops:

His [Fenwick's] pumpkins, corns, wheat, millet and oats were the admiration of his Korean neighbors. He has grown pumpkins larger than a wash-tub, so

large that it took two men to lift one onto the Korean jiggy.<sup>81</sup> His celery was twenty-six inches high and seven inches [in] diameter.<sup>82</sup>

Fenwick himself contributed an article, "Korean Farming", to The Korean Repository in 1898. In it, he said that Koreans used primitive farming methods, and made suggestions for improvement. For example, though their practice of mixing manures with ashes was admirable, "it should be done at the time of planting instead of continuously, as mixed continuously it loses much available ammonia which evaporates."<sup>83</sup> He suggested the Korean farmers use new farming tools, like the "Planet Jr." horse hoe<sup>84</sup> for the hoe "will do the work of six men and do it better."<sup>85</sup> Fenwick urged the Korean government, though his voice went unheard, to introduce Western methods of farming and to support "someone" who had feeling for the Korean people, as this would be the only Westerner suitable to supervise Korean farmers (undoubtedly he meant himself). Fenwick said:

Were I asked upon what branch of industry the Korean Government could best spend its resources for the country's advancement, I should unhesitatingly advise Agricultural College and Experimental Farm Stations, fully equipped with Western teachers, and superintended by an able foreigner of experience in Korea, who has heart[-felt] sympathy for the people.<sup>86</sup>

It was known that some Christians in Wõnsan area had become financially well-off by cultivating orchards, like Yun Jong-ha and Lee Tõk-il, and their success was due to Fenwick's introduction of Western methods of farming and fruit culture.<sup>87</sup>

Culturing fruit was even introduced into public schools in Wŏnsan, as part of the school curriculum<sup>88</sup> and Wŏnsan grown apples were exported, e.g., to Vladivostock for fifteen roubles a bushel which would be, according to Fenwick, equivalent to twenty-five dollars, gold, a barrel. Fenwick was known to his followers as "Triple Paksa [Doctor]" Nonghak paksa (Doctor of Agriculture), Ŭihak paksa (Doctor of Medicine) and Chŭkryang paksa (Doctor of Survey).<sup>89</sup> A contemporary Canadian historian, Hamish Ion commented "Fenwick might not have had formal theological training, but he knew how to grow apples, plums, gooseberries, currents, and grapes. The introduction of Western fruits and vegetables and agricultural improvements underlines the fact that the missionary impact on society was much broader than simply the propagation of the Christian message."<sup>90</sup>

Should Fenwick be Credited as the Founder  
of the Baptist Church in Korea?

Some religious historians claim that Fenwick founded a distinct Protestant denomination, i.e., the Korean Baptist Church, though without enough scientific data to support their argument. Opinions are divided and Fenwick's name frequently is mentioned, and yet the matter has not been clarified by hard evidence.

To illustrate this problem, the views of twelve



historians -- six Baptists and six non-Baptists -- shall be chronologically presented.

Non-Baptist Paik Lak-geon's The History of Protestant Mission in Korea (1927) referred to the beginning of the Baptist mission work in Korea as a combination of the efforts of Fenwick and missionaries sent by ETM.<sup>91</sup> In the thesis, "Christian Mission in Korea, with Special Reference to the Work of Southern Baptists" (1962), R. Max Willocks (a Baptist) said that the Korean Baptist Church was started by Malcolm C. Fenwick and his association in Toronto, Canada, and that Fenwick was supported by the University of Toronto YMCA.<sup>92</sup> More erroneously, in Taehan kidokkyo chimryehōesa (1964) (History of Korean Baptist Church) Kim Yong-he recorded that:

Malcolm C. Fenwick arrived at Inchon on December 8, 1890. He graduated from Santem Seminary and was supported by the University of Toronto YMCA. He was 28 years old. This is how the Korean Baptist Church began.<sup>93</sup>

In his book, Han'guk kyohoe chogisa (1970) (Early History of Korean Church), Lee Ho-un (a non-Baptist) said that:

The Ella Thing Memorial Mission was established in memory of Mr. Thing's daughter, Ella. Mr. Thing was a Baptist in Canada [emphasis added], and was also a member of Clarendon Street Baptist Church of Boston. When the representatives of the mission returned to America, the whole mission business was turned over to the Presbyterian [emphasis added] lay-missionary, Fenwick.<sup>94</sup>

In his thesis, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention 1889-1969" (1970), Cho Hyo-hun (a Baptist) did not view Fenwick as the founder of the Baptist Church, for there was

insufficient data to support this.<sup>95</sup> Non-Baptist Allen Clark's Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (1973) described Fenwick as having established the foundation of the Baptist mission in Wōnsan.<sup>96</sup> Lee Myōng-kee (a Baptist), in his article, "Fenwick's Mission Policy - The Conformity with Korean Baptist Church," (1980) described Fenwick as the founder of the present Korean Baptist Church.<sup>97</sup> A publication like Han'guk chimryekyo inmulsa ("Who's Who" of the Baptist Church [in Korea], 1981) even stated that, "in fact, he [Fenwick] was the founder of the Korean Baptist Church and was a member of the Royal family of Great Britain and highly educated."<sup>98</sup>

In his book, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church, 1982), Min Kyōng-bae (non-Baptist) said "the mission work of the Korean Baptist Church has a close relation with the University of Toronto. Malcolm Fenwick arrived in Inchon on December 8, 1889. He came to Korea with no one's help and as a completely independent Baptist and he too, as Gale, was supported by the University of Toronto's YMCA."<sup>99</sup> (In terms of Fenwick's supporting body, Min's argument contradicts his statement that Fenwick "came to Korea with no one's help," by erroneously claiming that he [Fenwick] was supported by the University of Toronto's YMCA). Kim Dŭk-hwang (non-Baptist) in his book, Han'guk chongkyosa (History of Religions in Korea, 1988) said that Fenwick, "was the founder of the Korean Baptist Church, and also he was sent by the University of Toronto in 1889, so Canada was the first country

to start that denomination in Korea."<sup>100</sup> Non-Baptist Lee Man-yōl's Han'guk kidokkyo wa minjok ūisik (Korean Christianity and National Consciousness, 1991) notes that the Korean Baptist tradition started with the coming of Fenwick, who arrived in Korea in September, 1889.<sup>101</sup> The most recent publication (1990) by historians of the Korean Baptist Church, Han'guk chimrye kyohoesa (History of Korean Baptist Church), continues to hail Fenwick as the father of the present Korean Baptist Church.<sup>102</sup>

All Baptist historians mentioned above agree that Fenwick was the founder of the Baptist Church in Korea, even though Cho was troubled by the lack of data supporting such a claim. Denominational historians have made Fenwick into a "super hero" by describing him as "highly educated" and even as "a descendent of the Royal family of Great Britain." Among the non-Baptist historians, Paik is of the opinion that the Baptist church began with the combination of both Fenwick's mission and the ETM. Lee Ho-un erroneously contended that "Mr. Thing was a Baptist in Canada," and that Fenwick came to Korea in 1890, instead of 1889. Lee was of the opinion that the Baptist mission work of ETM was transferred to Fenwick, who was a Presbyterian lay-missionary. Other four non-Baptists (Clark, Min, Kim and Lee Man-yōl) contend that Fenwick was the founder of the Korean Baptist Church, graduated from University of Toronto and was supported by its YMCA.

The present author has attempted to verify Fenwick's

religious denominational background both during his time in Canada and in Korea. Pre-1900 sources note the denominational background he grew up in (to which he adhered when he came to Korea), how he presented himself (denominationally) to others, how others' impressed him in terms of denominational tenets, etc.

According to the "Markham Township Census 1861" (Fenwick's hometown), Fenwick's family was listed as belonging to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.<sup>103</sup> In Fenwick's quasi-autobiography, The Church of Christ in Corea, he mentioned that a Scottish minister, one Donald M. McIntosh, strongly influenced his religious growth when he was young. McIntosh is listed as a Canadian Presbyterian minister in the aforementioned 1861 Census.<sup>104</sup> More specifically, while Fenwick and his family were living in Toronto, they were members of the Central Presbyterian Church on Grosvenor Street. The names of Fenwick family, mother, Barbara, his sister, Catharine, and his brother, William, are listed in the above church's 1888 Annual Report,<sup>105</sup> a year before Fenwick left for Korea.

There are records which indicate how Fenwick appeared to other missionaries in the field. In 1890, just a year after Fenwick's arrival to Korea, Lillias H. Underwood, an American Presbyterian missionary in Korea, made the following statement:

The Canadian Presbyterians here are two in number, and are working in harmony with American Presbyterians, and lending us most substantial

assistance. Mr. Fenwick has been a year on the ground, and is devoting his time to the language.<sup>106</sup>

To fellow missionaries in Korea, Fenwick was known as Presbyterian. The other Presbyterian mentioned by Underwood was, of course, Gale. In January 1890, a report on Korean Missions appeared in Missionary Review of the World which also stated that there were two Canadians in Korea in that year. One is listed under Toronto University YMCA (Gale), and the other under Toronto Korean Union Mission (Fenwick).<sup>107</sup>

The present author's research has discovered no record concerning Fenwick's relationship with the Baptist Church while he was in Canada. Even materials published in Korea or America make no clear mention of Fenwick as either the founder, or the first Baptist missionary, of the Baptist Church before 1900. Even when he took over the Kongju area from the Baptist missionaries, he described the Baptist missionaries (ETM) as "some American missionaries" or as members of "another mission".<sup>108</sup> This indicates that Fenwick considered them and himself not part of the "same flock." Fenwick himself was silent about his relationship with the Baptists.

Given the data at hand, the present author is inclined to view Fenwick as neither the founder of the Korean Baptist Church nor the first officially-supported Baptist missionary, nor even as an independent Baptist missionary to Korea. Fenwick was not related to the Baptist denomination in any

sense, at least until the time he was ordained by Gordon in 1894. Even when he returned to Korea in 1896, Fenwick never said, "I am a Baptist" or "I do this in accordance with Baptist church policy." He did not "act" as a Baptist until at least 1902, the year he took over the Kongju area from the Baptist missionaries of ETM. Data, in fact, indicates that Koreans were being evangelized by Baptist missionaries -- e.g., E.C. Pauling -- before Fenwick's involvement. As previously mentioned, one "native" was baptized by Pauling in 1896 and six in 1899.

The final focus of debate, then, is when exactly Fenwick began using the term Chimrye (Baptism). That "when" would give some idea of when Fenwick began to identify with the baptist tradition. It is assumed that his work would serve as a good source to this discussion. As previously mentioned, he translated Yohan chŏn (Gospel of John) in 1891 and his revised edition, Yakhan ũi kirokhandero pokŭm, was published in 1893. These works were completed before he went back to Canada in 1893. The important point to make here is that in his 1893 edition of the Yakhan ũi kirokhandero pokŭm, he used Saerye (세례), but never used Chimrye (침례). However, he did use the term Chimrye in the 1919 "Wŏnsan Version."<sup>109</sup> Thus Fenwick never used the term Chimrye before he left for Canada in 1893. Even after he returned to Korea from North America in 1896, a 1898 record indicates that he insisted on not translating the Greek word, βαπτίζω, into Chimrye or Saerye, but rather as

바리스아,<sup>110</sup> the transliteration of the Greek original term.

One record indicates that Fenwick used the word, Chimrye, in 1906. When he formed Taehan kidokkyohoe (1906), he also set up a regulation called, "Taehan kidokkyohoe kyogyu" (The Regulation of the Church of Christ in Korea). Chapter Five of this directive is titled "Chimryepöp" (The Regulation of Baptism).<sup>111</sup> It is such data which indicates that Fenwick used the work, Chimrye, only after he took the Kongju area over from ETM Baptist missionaries.

### Conclusion

Fenwick passed away on December 6, 1935, at his home in Wönsan, two years after his wife, Fenny, who died on January 20, 1933. In his private life, Fenwick kept himself separated from the Western community and had no official contact with foreign missionaries in the field. With no sponsoring mission organization in either America or in Canada, Fenwick was forced to support himself and his work through farming. Fenwick's philosophical approach to evangelization among the Korean people was to first get them to trust Westerners; he did this by farming with the natives and teaching them practical object lessons of agricultural improvement. As to his sectarian allegiance, he was an independent with no clear denominational commitment. Ecclesiastically, he combined a semi-Methodist bishop system and that of Presbyterianism to

create "a denomination" of his own: The Church of Christ in Korea. Within this institution, he ruled as a Protestant "pope." His egotistical and proprietary personality made him reject the in-country missionary community and his "overprotection" of his flock formed them into social ghettos, separated from the rest of Korean society. This was most clearly seen in his denial of secular education to children of his church members.

The most important contribution he made was "indigenizing" Christianity in Korea using his religious-compradors, who were trained under his supervision in Wōnsan and Kongju, to proselytize the natives. His ultimate target group for evangelism was the masses, as shown in his style of translating the Bible. Apart from his religious contributions, agricultural improvement in Korean society through his effort must be honoured; he indeed was Nonghak paksa to the Korean people. Fenwick's method of cultural acculturation to Korean society was the determinant of success his mission work.

However, to describe him as the founder of one denomination in Korean religious history is to stretch the truth, for there is little, if any factual backing for this claim. It is true, on the other hand, that he should be remembered as the founder of The Church of Christ in Korea and the Director of the Korean Itinerant Mission. The Baptist Church of Korea must find its origin in some founder other than Fenwick. Korean Baptism began either when the anonymous



"one native" was baptized by Baptist missionary E.C. Pauling in 1895, or with the baptism of six natives in 1899. This is similar to the case of Roman Catholicism in Korea, which started when a native, Yi Sōng-hun (1756-1801), was baptized in 1784 by the China-based Jesuit missionary, Louise de Grammont (Chapter Two).

Notes to Chapter Five

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the sending of Toronto City YMCA's missionaries to a foreign field (Corea), see Toronto City YMCA Minutes (June 29, 1888), p. 273; (July 16), p. 277; (August 31), p. 283. Hereafter cited as Minutes.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes (September 1888), p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> The Medical Missionary (Toronto, Ontario: Missionary Board of the Toronto Medical Student YMCA, 1891), p. 4. Hereafter cited as MM.

<sup>4</sup> MM, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Missionary Review of the World, Vol. 2, (Sept. 1889), p. 851. Hereafter cited as MRW.

<sup>6</sup> Information on Harkness' biography is derived from: "Census" (1871), East Nissouri Township, County of Oxford, Ontario; "Land Report, Township of East Nissouri" in Gazetteer and General Business Directory : 1862-1863 (Oxford, Ontario: Gazetteer, 1863), p. 54; Harkness File in the University of Toronto Archive.

<sup>7</sup> Henry James Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Times: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Character, Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 501; Carol Bennett (ed.), Founding Families of Admaston, Horton & Renfrew Village (Renfrew, Ontario: Juniper Books Ltd., 1992), p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> "Report of Korea Mission", in Annual Report of University of Toronto YMCA (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto YMCA, 1890), p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Gale's letter to his sister Jane, dated October 22, 1889. Author's possession.

<sup>10</sup> Brian Cameron (ed.), Knox United Church 1846-1975, Cornwall, Ontario: Knox Historical Committee, 1975, p. 10. See also Les and Aldene Church (ed.), Renfrew Mercury 1871-1921 (Renfrew, Ontario: Heritage Renfrew, 1921), p. 8; Standard-Freeholder (Cornwall Newspaper, July 27, 1938), p. 2; Mabel McLean, History of Salem Church and The Summerstown Area (Salem, Ontario: Historical Committee, 1975), p. 38; Harkness File in the University of Toronto Archive.

<sup>11</sup> The present author found that there is a discrepancy in regard to the year of Fenwick's birth. By and large, the year of his birth is given either as 1863 or 1861. For example, Lee Chong-su (ed.), Han'guk chimrye kyohoesa (History of Korean

Baptist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Chimryehoe chulpansa, 1990), 43. Hereafter cited as HCKS. In his book, Han'guk chimryekyo inmulsa ("Who's Who" of the Korean Baptist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Siwa sironsa, 1981), p. 12, Kim Kap-su said that Fenwick came to Korea in 1889 when he was 28 years old. If Kim is right about that year and age, Fenwick was born in 1861. However, according to the "Genealogical Table of the Fenwick Family" stored in Markham District Historical Museum, Ontario, Fenwick was born in 1865. The Museum record is quite reliable in regard to most of its calculations. Malcolm had eleven brothers and sisters, and he was the tenth. The eighth child, Mary Ann, was born in 1859 according to the Museum record and at the time of 1861 Census she was recorded as two years old. The ninth child, Catharine, was born in 1863 and at that time of 1881 Census she was eighteen years old. The tenth child, Malcolm, was born in 1865 and at the time of 1881 Census he was sixteen years old. The present author was not able to define the date and month of Fenwick's birth as the Registrar General of the Government of Ontario only began recording such data in 1869. Sometimes church records, such as Baptism records, serve to verify the date of birth. It is quite possible that the Fenwick family attended the Presbyterian Church at Cashel, Markham, Ontario, located near their house at the corner of Kennedy Road and 18th Avenue Road. The congregation of the Presbyterian Church at Cashel was formed about 1827. (For this, see Committee for the History of Markham (comp.), Historical Sketch of Markham Township - 1793-1950). (Markham, Ontario: History Committee, 1950). Unfortunately, the official records of the Cashel Congregation have been lost (For this, see, Alex D. Bruce, Historical Sketch of Melville Church and of Its Presbyterian Background from 1801. (Markham, Ontario: Melville United Church of Canada, 1945), p. 10. The Cashel Church was closed about 1865, the year Malcolm Fenwick was born. (For this, see Bruce's Historical Sketch .. p. 39. There is a cemetery called Cashel Cemetery near where the Cashel Church stood, in which the tombs of Malcolm's grandfather James, his father Archibald and his mother Barbara still exist.

<sup>12</sup> Isabel Chapman (ed.), Markham: 1793-1900 (Markham, Ontario: Markham Historical Society, 1979), p. 234.

<sup>13</sup> For this, see "Markham Township Census 1861", p. 6, housed in Markham District Historical Museum, Markham, Ontario.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with a resident, Mr. James Peacock, in Cashel, Markham, Ontario, on April 25, 1987. According to Chapman's Markham, p. 233, Fenwick family owned lot 26, concession 5 in Cashel area.

<sup>15</sup> Malcolm C. Fenwick, Church of Christ in Korea (New York: George H. Doran, 1911), p. 4. Fenwick said that he worked on the Prize Farm of Ontario. This was an experimental farm which the Ontario government promoted in order to enhance farming in Ontario.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. In Canada, the late 1800s was a time of Western expansion with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad connecting the country; youngsters headed West looking for job.

<sup>18</sup> Toronto City Directory (1887), p. 463.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., (1888), p. 903 and (1889), p. 725. See also Yoo, Young-sik, Earlier Canadian Missionaries in Korea: A Study in History 1888-1895 (Toronto, Ontario: Society for Korean and Related Studies, 1987), p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> Fenwick, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Personal communication with Dana L. Robert, Professor of Church History, Boston University, dated September 14, 1992.

<sup>22</sup> George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelism 1870-1925 (New York: Oxford Press, 1980), pp. 46-47. See also, "Niagara Conference", in The Concise Dictionary of the Christian Tradition, by J.D. Douglas, Walter A. Elwell and Peter Toon (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Regency Reference Library, 1989), p. 267; C. Allyn Russell, "Adoniram Judson Gordon: Nineteenth-Century Fundamentalist", in American Baptist Quarterly Vol:1 (March 1985), pp. 80-81; George Gerald Houghton, "The Contributions of Adoniran Judson Gordon to American Christianity," unpublished Th.D. dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1970, pp. 130-132.

<sup>23</sup> Fenwick, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Henry B. Gordon, "Annual Report of the Korean Union Mission Committee - 1890", in The Medical Missionary, Vol.1:1, (March 1891), p. 4. See also, Oliver R. Avison, Memoir, (unpublished manuscript, 1940), pp. 418-419.

<sup>26</sup> The term "lay-missionary" used in a sense that he was a missionary, but not as ordained member of the clergy.

<sup>27</sup> Fenwick's age is based on "Markham Township Census 1861" C-2, unpaginated, housed in Markham Historical Museum, Markham, Ontario.

<sup>28</sup> MRW, Vol. 2 (September 1889), p. 851.

<sup>29</sup> MM, p. 5. Fenwick reported to his committee, CUM, in Toronto that he retained \$400 from the sale of the house. It is neither known how much Gale and Harkness paid for when they bought this property nor how much Fenwick received when he sold the property.

<sup>30</sup> Fenwick, p. 34.

<sup>31</sup> "SVM Correspondence and Minute" United Church of Canada Archives, LGLY 1921-28 # 84-74, p. 2. The Minute indicates that Fenwick travelled around the schools in Ontario in order to enhance mission movement. It recorded that the following schools in Ontario joined together to promote the foreign mission movement because of Fenwick's influence: School of Pedagogy, Toronto; Western University, London; Dental College, Brantford Ladies' College; Presbyterian Ladies' College, Toronto; Demill Academy, Toronto; and the Model Schools in Straford, London, St. Thomas, Woodstock, Brantford, Hamilton, Port Hope, Whitby, Napanee, Kingston, Morrisburg, Cornwall.

<sup>32</sup> James Johnston, Reality Versus Romance in South Central Africa (New York: Fleming H. Revell Com., 1893), pp. 158-159.

<sup>33</sup> MRW, Vol. 7, (August 1894), p. 618.

<sup>34</sup> Lillias Underwood, Underwood of Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell, Co., 1918), p. 128. See also, MRW, Vol. 7, (August 1894), pp. 618-619.

<sup>35</sup> MRW, (August 1894), p. 619.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 460; In his thesis, "Christian Missions in Korea, with Special Reference to the Work of Southern Baptists," unpublished Th.M. thesis submitted to the Graduate Studies, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, 1962, pp. 131-132, Max Willocks argued that Fenwick organized the Korean Itinerant Mission because the University of Toronto YMCA was unable to support Fenwick. In this, Willocks erred; (1) University of Toronto had no relationship with Fenwick nor was Fenwick as representative for UT-YMCA; (2) Fenwick organized Korean Itinerant Mission in 1894 while he was in North America, but not in 1899 as Willocks thinks.

<sup>37</sup> MRW, (August 1894), p. 460. See also, Toronto City Directory, (1894), p. 286.

<sup>38</sup> William Scott, Canadians in Korea, (Toronto, Ontario: United Church of Canada Board of World Mission, 1975), p. 20. mimeographed edition. In his thesis, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention: 1889-1969," Cho Hyo-hun said, "In the spring of 1896 Fenwick returned to Wönsan, perhaps this time as an ordained minister." For this, see Cho's "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention: 1889-1969," unpublished Th.D. thesis submitted to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1970, p. 53; HCKS, p. 46. In regards to his ordination, Fenwick himself was silent. However, there were a few indications that he acted or appeared as a "Pastor." For this, see Fenwick, pp. 71, 77.

<sup>39</sup> Fenwick came to Canada late in 1893 and stayed mostly in the Toronto area. The next year, in 1894, he went to the U.S. and stayed mostly in Boston where Adoniram Gordon resided. Gordon died on February 2, 1895. Considering the chronology of these incidents, one possible assumption is that Fenwick was ordained sometime in 1894.

<sup>40</sup> The Baptist Missionary Magazine, Vol. 83:7 (July 1903), p. 182. Hereafter cited as BMM. For more information about Gordon, see Ernest B. Gordon, Adoniram Judson Gordon: A Biography (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1896); Ernest B. Gordon, Adoniram Judson Gordon: A Biography with Letters and Illustrative Extracts Drawn from Unpublished or Uncollected Sermons and Addresses (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896). See also, George Houghton, "The Contributions of Adoniram Judson Gordon to American Christianity" unpublished Th.D. dissertation submitted to Dallas Theological Seminary, 1970; Bruce Shelley, "A.J. Gordon and the Impact of Biblical Criticism" in Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, Vol. 13 (September 1970), pp. 109-118; Russell, pp. 61-89; "Adoniram jötsün gordon ūi yusan" (Adoniram Judson Gordon and His Legacy), in Mokhoe wa sinhak (The Ministry and Theology) (April 1991), pp. 192-193. This was originally Dana Robert's article; an anonymous translator translated it, probably the editor of the magazine.

<sup>41</sup> For a history of Gordon College, see Nathan R. Wood, A School of Christ (Boston, Massachusetts: Halliday Lithograph Corporation, 1953)

<sup>42</sup> Kim Yong-he, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoesa (History of Korean Baptist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Chimryehoe chulpansa, 1964), p. 13. See also, Kim, Han'guk chimryekyo inmulsa, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> John Beauregard, Archivist, Gordon College, 255 Grapevine Rd. Wenham, Massachusetts, said that he was not able to locate Fenwick's name in the archival material housed in

Gordon College. Fenwick probably was at Gordon College for short time not as a registered student but as an auditor or private scholar. Through his wife Fanny (nee Hinds), Fenwick was related to Gordon. Fanny had come to Korea in 1898 under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, South, U.S.A., having trained in Gordon's Bible School. For this, see "A Saint's Home Going" in Korea Mission Field, (March 1933), p. 51). Hereafter cited as KMF; Charles A. Sauer (ed.), Within the Gate (Seoul, Korea: The Korea Methodist News Service, 1934), pp. 48-49. According to John Beauregard, Mrs. Fenwick's name is not listed in the Alumni list, but only the year of her death (1933) was recorded in the archive. Beauregard's personal correspondence to present author, dated January 10, 1985.

<sup>44</sup>. Gordon College Catalogue (Winham, Massachusetts, 1920), p. 7; Present author's personal correspondence with John Beauregard, dated August 9, 1984. Mr. Thing was a deacon of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church in which Adoniram J. Gordon served as a pastor. For further information, see BMM, Vol. 81:10 (October 1901), p. 674; "The Ella Thing Memorial Mission" in Korean Repository, Vol. 5, (July 1896), pp. 299-300. Hereafter cited as KR. Later the ETM sent Miss Amanda Gardeline, Frederick W. Steadman, and Miss Arma Ellmer to Korea.

<sup>45</sup>. KR, (July 1896), p. 206.

<sup>46</sup>. MRW, (July 1896), p. 697

<sup>47</sup>. HCKS, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>. Cho, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention", pp. 62-63.

<sup>50</sup>. Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea .." PP. 129-130.

<sup>51</sup>. Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>52</sup>. Kim, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoesa, P. 14; HCKS, P. 53.

<sup>53</sup>. HCKS, p. 50.

<sup>54</sup>. Kim, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoesa, p. 13.

<sup>55</sup>. Fenwick, pp. 28-32.

<sup>56</sup>. Ibid., 53.

<sup>57</sup> Malcolm C. Fenwick, Life in the Cup (Mesa Grande, California: Church of Christ in Corea Extension, 1917), p. 200.

<sup>58</sup> HCKS, p. 50; Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea, pp. 63-64.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 57-58.

<sup>60</sup> The argument that Fenwick should have known them is based on Fenwick's words, "some American missionaries who had come to Corea in another mission after my visit among them in America"; this implies that Fenwick met them when he visited Boston. For this, see Fenwick's Church of Christ in Corea, pp. 57-58.

<sup>61</sup> HCKS, p. 53

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Cho, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention", p. 68. For further information on "Pansoonie", see Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea, p. 86.

<sup>64</sup> Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea, p. 75.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 77. In regard to Shin Myōng-kyun's ordination, Kim Yong-he said that he was ordained in 1905. For this, see Kim, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoesa, p. 14.

<sup>66</sup> Cho, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention", p. 71.

<sup>67</sup> Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea, pp. 75-77; HCKS, pp. 57-65; Kim, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoesa, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Kim, Ibid., p. 129; HCKS, p. 76; Kim, Han'guk chimryekyo inmulsa, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> HCKS, p. 92.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>72</sup> Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea, p. 25.

<sup>73</sup> Sōh Kyōng-jo, "Sōh Kyōng-jo ūi sindowa chōndowa Songchōn kyohoe sōlip yōksa" (The History of Songchōn Church and the Sōh Kyōng-jo's Work of Preselytization), in Sinhak jinam, Vol. 7:4 (October 1925). Reprinted by Yōksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe (The Historical Compilation Committee), Saemunan kyohoe munhōn



saryojip, Vol. 1 [Historical Documents on Saemunan Presbyterian Church] Seoul, Korea: Saemunan kyohoe, 1987, p. 442. Reprint has been used here.

<sup>74</sup> For this, see the "Explanatory Note" of the 1919 edition of Sinyak chönsö (New Testament) (Wönsan, Corea: Church of Christ in Corea, 1919), unpaginated.

<sup>75</sup> For example, see Matthew 18:24 in "Wönsan Version."

<sup>76</sup> See "Explanatory Note" in "Wönsan Version", unpaginated; Gürisdokyo wa kyöremunhwa yönkuhoe, Han'gül söngsöwa kyöremunhwa (Korean Language Bible and Korean Culture) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1985), p. 562. For more about Fenwick and his bible translation, see Yoo Young-sik, "'Speaking in Tongue': The Conflict Between Church-Sanctioned and Private Translations of the Bible in Late Nineteenth Century Korea" in Translation and Cultural Transformation in Korea, Theresa Hyun (ed.), (Toronto, Ontario: York University Press, 1995). Forthcoming 1996.

<sup>77</sup> HCKS, p. 83.

<sup>78</sup> This information is derived from Poküm chanmi (2nd ed.), written by "Pastor Malcolm C. Fenwick" for the Church of Christ in Korea, published in Wönsan in 1904.

<sup>79</sup> Before Fenwick, George Jones and Louise C. Rothweiler published 27 hymns in 1892; Horace Underwood published 117 hymns in 1894; and Graham Lee and Mrs. M.H. Gifford published 54 hymns in 1895. For this, see Kim Pyong-chol, Han'guk künde pönyök munhaksa yönku (Study of the History of Modern Korean Literature in Translation) (Seoul, Korea: Ülyu munhwasa, 1975), pp. 72-73.

<sup>80</sup> Yun Chi-ho, Yun Chi-ho ilgi (Diary of Yun Chi-ho), Vol. 5 (September 1902) (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yönchan wiwönhoe, 1973), p. 343.

<sup>81</sup> jiggy should read jigae. It is a Korean traditional carrier, known as A-frame in English.

<sup>82</sup> KR, Vol. 7 (February 1898), p. 77.

<sup>83</sup> Malcolm C. Fenwick, "Korean Farming", in KR, Vol. 5, (August 1898), p. 288.

<sup>84</sup> "Planet Jr. horse hoe" is a horse-drawn implement, a forerunner of modern cultivators, invented by Jethro Tull. It first was used in England during the latter half of the eighteenth century. It worked effectively and economically and

could be used for horse and manual work. For further information, see C.E. Green and D. Young (eds.), Encyclopedia of Agriculture (Edinburgh, England: William Green and Sons, 1908), p. 415.

<sup>85</sup> KR, Vol. 5, (August 1898), p. 289.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 292-293.

<sup>87</sup> Kim Young-ūi, Chwaung Yun Chi-ho sōnsaeng yakjōn (A Brief Biography of Yun Chi-ho) (Seoul, Korea: Kidokkyo chosōn kamrihoe, 1934), p. 149. This information also is based on Helen Fraser McRae's interview tape MGI Vol. 2346 # 3 Tape side 2, housed in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia. See also, "Canadians in Korea", in The United Church Record (October 1931), p. 26.

<sup>88</sup> Kim, Chwaung Yun Chi-ho, p. 149.

<sup>89</sup> Fenwick's nickname "Nonghak paksanim" was verified by the present author through an interview with Helen Fraser McRae on August 17, 1987, in Toronto. Helen was born in Wōnsan and raised there in the days of Fenwick. See also, HCKS, p. 54.

<sup>90</sup> A. Hamish Ion, The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), p. 105.

<sup>91</sup> Paik, Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Mission in Korea, 1832-1910, (P'yōngyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1927. Reprinted, Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1971, p. 47. The 1970 edition has been used here.

<sup>92</sup> Willocks, p. 122.

<sup>93</sup> Kim, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoe, p. 11. The name "Santem" has been romanized by this present author from Kim's Korean 산템. The present author's diligent effort failed to verify such seminary or school in Ontario. Kim erred by saying that Fenwick was supported by UT-YMCA; Fenwick never attended the University of Toronto. Many other historians have the same view as Kim; e.g., Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1982), p. 159; Lee Ho-un, Han'guk kyohoe chogisa (Early History of Korean Church), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1970), p. 143.

<sup>94</sup> Lee, Han'guk kyohoe chogisa, p. 192.

<sup>95</sup> For this, see Cho, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention", p. 41.

<sup>96</sup> Allen Clark, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of Christianity in Korea), (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1973), pp. 251-253, 299-302.

<sup>97</sup> See Lee's article in Chimsin taehakpo (Baptist Seminary News), Vol. 6, (March 31, 1980), p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Kim, Han'guk chimryekyo inmulsa, p. 14; Kim Chang-pae, Chimrye Kyohoe ūi San Jūngindŭl (Living Witnesses of Korean Baptist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Chimryehoe chulpansa, 1981), p. 16.

<sup>99</sup> Min, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, pp. 158-159.

<sup>100</sup> Kim Dŭk-hwang, Han'guk chongkyosa (History of Religions in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Haemunsa, 1988), pp. 346-347.

<sup>101</sup> Lee Man-yŏl, Han'guk kidokkyo wa minjok ūisik (Korean Christianity and National Consciousness) (Seoul, Korea: Jisik sanŏpsa, 1991), p. 450.

<sup>102</sup> HCKS, pp. 43-54.

<sup>103</sup> "Markham Township Census 1861" C-3, p. 19 in Markham District Historical Museum, Markham, Ontario.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. According to the present author's personal correspondence with Kate Hutcheson, Archivist, Glasgow University, Glasgow, dated March 1, 1994, McIntosh was a Divinity student at Trinity College. See also William M. MacGregor, Trinity College Glasgow: A Souvenir of the Union 1856-1929, (Glasgow, Scotland: Trinity College, 1930), p. 20.

<sup>105</sup> Annual Report of the Central Presbyterian Church (Toronto, Ontario: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing Co., 1889), p. 36.

<sup>106</sup> MRW, (December 1890), p. 943.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>108</sup> Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea, pp. 57-58.

<sup>109</sup> For example, Gospel of Luke 3: 16, 17, or Gospel of John 1:26 or 28 in Fenwick's "Wŏnsan Version."

<sup>110</sup> HCKS, p. 50.

<sup>111</sup>. For further information on "Chimryepŏp" (The Regulation of Baptism), see Kim, Taehan kidokkyo chimryehoesa, 18; HCKS, p. 59.

## CHAPTER SIX

## ROBERT HARDIE: PHYSICIAN, EVANGELIST, AND EDUCATOR

Robert A. Hardie devoted his early years to becoming a medical missionary, only to give up medicine when he became "reborn" as an evangelist. Because of his intensive proselytization, Hardie is remembered in Korean mission history as "the prime figure"<sup>1</sup> of the "Great Revival Movement" (hereafter cited as GRM), part of the religious awakening of the early 1900s. Hardie's GRM is considered as "a great turning-point"<sup>2</sup> in Korean mission history.

Of Scottish descent, Hardie (1865-1949) was born in Haldiman County, Ontario, on June 11, 1865. He was the first son among six children born to James and Abigail. (See APPENDIX XIV Geneology of Hardie) Ten years later, both his mother and father died (on January 23 and May 28, 1875, respectively.) The children subsequently were "farmed out" to various relatives; Hardie was sent to live with his uncle, Thomas Shaw, and his aunt, Fannie.<sup>3</sup>

Hardie attended a local school, near his hometown of Seneca. He obtained his teacher's certificate in 1884, taught at a school in the township of Seneca, Ontario, for two years and then entered Toronto School of Medicine in 1886, (presently the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto). He graduated in 1890 with an M.B. (Bachelor of Medicine).<sup>4</sup>

### Becomes a Medical Missionary

A number of things motivated Hardie to become a foreign missionary. The first was the influence of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission (SVM-FM). When Hardie was a first year medical college student at the University of Toronto (1886), a representative of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), John Forman, visited the university and presented the cause of foreign missions. When Forman proclaimed that the real need for medical men was in the foreign mission field, not at home, Hardie thought, "it was perfectly plain to me if I were going to practice medicine where 'we could be most useful' it must be in the foreign field".<sup>5</sup>

The second factor which influenced his decision was the University College's Young Men's Christian Association (UT-YMCA) (mentioned in Chapter Four). UT-YMCA set the precedent for the Medical Students' Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Toronto (MS-YMCA) to send mission doctors. The MS-YMCA decided to send Hardie as their representative to Korea, just as the UT-YMCA had sent Gale.

Given its influence, it is appropriate to discuss how the MS-YMCA was formed and how it reached its decision to send Hardie to Korea. The Secretary of the MS-YMCA, Harley Smith, wrote in The Medical Missionary, MS-YMCA's official magazine:

The Mission traces its origin to a small band of

students from the two schools of medicine [Trinity and Victoria] in Toronto, who met together in December 1885, and established a Young Men's Christian Association for medical schools. This association grew, and in the fourth year of its existence decided to send out one of its number to labor in the cause of Christ in a foreign field. The undertaking was a serious one, but it was to be performed by the aid of Divine strength. Mr. R.A. Hardie, of the fourth year in the Toronto school, was the chosen one, and he willingly offered himself for the work.<sup>6</sup>

According to Smith, then, the medical students' YMCA had been organized in December 1885. However, another record disputes this. That record was penned by Oliver R. Avison, a member of Hardie's sponsoring group and a Canadian who also went to Korea as a medical missionary (in 1893). (For Avison, see Chapter Eight.) Avison wrote the following in his Memoir:

A student named Robert A. Hardie suggested that the two Medical Schools [Victoria and Trinity] should unite in organizing a YMCA with the aim of developing a Christian fellowship. The Liberal Arts Department of the University of Toronto already had a very successful "Y" with a building of its own on the campus. It had sent one of the University graduates, Mr. James S. Gale, to Korea as an evangelistic missionary and was supporting him there.<sup>7</sup>

He further recorded:

One evening a group met at my home to consider the creation [of a MS-YMCA]. We met, considered, decided, organized, and even elected the necessary officers all in one evening, so it can be seen that Hardie's enthusiasm had borne fruit.<sup>8</sup>

Avison did not mention when this gathering took place, but it appears to have been sometime between late 1888 and early 1890, judging from his comments about the UT-YMCA's foreign mission and its agent, Gale (Gale went to Korea late in 1888).

If Avison was implying that Hardie was responsible for the founding of the MS-YMCA, his time frame contradicts the date of the MS-YMCA's founding given by Smith. Allen D. Clark (1908-?), an American missionary in Korea at the time of Avison and author of a biography of Avison, credited Hardie as "the organizer" of the MS-YMCA.<sup>9</sup> Still, Avison's dating is incorrect because Hardie entered the Toronto Medical College in 1886, a year after the foundation of the MS-YMCA. Secondly, Avison mentions the UT-YMCA's mission and Gale places the time of the organization of the MS-YMCA after the UT-YMCA's enterprise of sending of Gale to Korea in 1888. Smith's and Avison's records indicate that Hardie became a member of MS-YMCA when he entered the medical college in 1886. It was during his final year there (1889) that he proposed the organization of a foreign mission section in the MS-YMCA and the sponsoring of foreign missions, similar to the Arts students' arrangement. As a matter of fact, MS-YMCA appointed Hardie in May, 1889, as their agent.<sup>10</sup>

The mission itself was entirely nondenominational and Hardie's field salary of \$750 per year<sup>11</sup> was guaranteed "for a period of at least eight years".<sup>12</sup> The enthusiasm of the medical students for sending "their" representative missionary to Korea mirrored those shown by UT-YMCA members when they sent Gale, and Toronto's lay "Y" men, when sending Harkness and Fenwick, to Korea. The medical students' commitment to evangelizing in Korea was reflected in their newly-adopted



motto, i.e. to preach the Gospel and heal the Korean sick.<sup>13</sup>

The MS-YMCA Foreign Mission Committee planned on collecting \$1,000 for Hardie's outfitting and \$750 for his first year's salary. However, as of August 1890, only \$863 had been collected<sup>14</sup> from the standing membership of 179.<sup>15</sup> This amount was far below the expected contribution. The Committee spent \$241 on equipment, \$472 for two tickets (Hardie had married Margaret Kelly of Hamilton, Ontario, on December 27, 1886) from Toronto to Chemulpo, and \$25 for extra travelling expenses. When Hardie left, only \$125 remained in the Korean mission fund.<sup>16</sup> Hardie left Toronto for Korea in August of 1890.

#### The First Six Years: An Ordeal

Hardie, his wife Margaret,<sup>17</sup> and their two-year-old daughter, Eva, arrived in Pusan, southern Korea, on September 30, 1890. However, Hardie's original plan "to join hands with Gale"<sup>18</sup> in Pusan was derailed almost immediately. Gale had returned to Seoul in May 1890, after less than a year in Pusan. Moreover, by late 1890, Gale was considering joining the American Presbyterian Mission, North, for financial reasons, something which would require Gale to work under the direction of that denomination. Another consideration was that Mrs. Hardie was expected to give birth within a few months; thus, living in an alien place with no foreign residence was

considered to be unwise.<sup>19</sup>

About two months prior to Hardie's arrival in Korea, John Heron (1856-1890), the American physician in charge of "Chaejungwŏn" (Extended Relief House: Royal Hospital) in Seoul, died on July 26<sup>20</sup> and the physician initially in charge of the "Chaejungwŏn", Horace Allen, gave up missionary work when he was appointed U.S. Secretary of Legation in Seoul on July 23, 1890.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the physician's position in the "Chaejungwŏn" was vacant. After arriving in Pusan, Hardie left for Seoul late in 1890 and worked at "Chaejungwŏn" for about six months until his replacement, American missionary, C.C. Vinton (1856-1936), M.D., arrived early in 1891.<sup>22</sup> Some Korean historians claim that Hardie worked with Avison at the "Chaejungwŏn." For example, Paik Lak-geon wrote:

When Mr. Gale left the port [Pusan in 1890], Dr. Hardie went to Seoul and assisted his former teacher and compatriot, Dr. O.R. Avison, in the government hospital [Chaejungwŏn].<sup>23</sup>

Gale left Pusan for Seoul in May (1890), and was therefore not in Pusan when Hardie arrived. Another contemporary historian, Yun Chun-byŏng, shares the same view:

Hardie came to Korea as an independent missionary. He worked in Pusan first, then came to Seoul and worked with Avison at the Chaejungwŏn.<sup>24</sup>

These observations are historically incorrect, for Avison came to Korea in 1893, three years after Hardie. Both authors made other errors. Paik contends: "When Mr. Gale went to Wŏnsan to open the station for the Northern Presbyterian Mission [1892],

Dr. Hardie settled at Wõnsan and served as a medical missionary until 1898 [in the American Presbyterian Mission].<sup>25</sup> Yun also assented that Hardie came to Wonsan in 1891. Yun wrote: "From April, 1891, Hardie worked at the American Methodist Hospital in Wõnsan until his contract with the Canadian College Mission was terminated in May, 1898. Then, he transferred to the Korean [American] Methodist Church."<sup>26</sup>

Both Paik and Yun are in error, for Hardie, until 1898 (in which year he joined to American Southern Methodist Episcopal Church), was not associated with the American Presbyterian or the American Methodist Mission Board. Hardie remained an independent in Pusan, Seoul and Wõnsan. In regard to medical work in Wõnsan, it was William B. McGill (?-1918), M.D., an American Methodist Episcopal Church, North, who opened the first humanitarian facility there in 1892, the same year Hardie went to Wõnsan. As a matter of fact, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which Hardie joined later in 1898, opened the Wõnsan mission in 1902 when the American Methodist Episcopal Church, North, decided to turn over the Wõnsan "territory" to American Southern Methodists.<sup>27</sup> Thus, both Paik's and Yun's contentions that Hardie worked at the American Presbyterian or American Methodist hospital in Wõnsan from 1891 to 1898 until the time his contract with CCM expired are historically incorrect.

In reality, after he was replaced by C.C. Vinton in early April (1891), Hardie left for Pusan in the company of

his language teacher, arriving in Pusan on April 14;<sup>28</sup> his family remained in Seoul. In Pusan, he rented a house at a cost of \$6.00 per month, which served as both residence and work place. Hardie wrote:

At present I am forced to receive and attend to all patients in the little open court of the Korean [sic] house in which I am staying, my room being too small and dark for the purpose. In this court, which is little larger than a room of decent size, and in one end of which are the slop-drain, horse-stable etc., the sun's rays pour down with a force unknown at home and even now, May [1891], although protected by an umbrella, the heat is most depressing.<sup>29</sup>

In August (1891), Hardie was joined in Pusan by Mrs. Hardie and the two babies Eva, and Annie. During the winter of 1891-1892, Hardie's health began to fail and the Hardies relocated to Nagasaki, Japan, early in 1892; they returned to Pusan in the fall of that year.<sup>30</sup>

In Pusan, Hardie faced two problems. One was the competition for "territory" among the denominational missionaries in Korea. By 1892, there were at least four different denominational mission boards working in Korea.<sup>31</sup> As the numbers of missionaries grew, these denominational mission boards formed an organization called "The United Council of the Missions of the American and Victorian Churches" (hereafter cited as "The Council"). The purpose of the forming "The Council" was to prevent the duplication of work, the overlapping of territories, and possible conflicts of interest among the missionaries of different denominations. "The

Council" arbitrarily divided the country and allocated specific "territories" to each denomination. (See APPENDIX III)<sup>32</sup> Because "The Council's" territorial reach threatened to take over Pusan, Hardie considered moving to the Yalu River district, which marks the boundary of Manchuria.<sup>33</sup> In addition to this organizational pressure and uncertainty about where to work, Hardie was troubled both by inadequate financial support from his Mission Board in Toronto and his solitary life in Pusan. The following commentary appeared in the 1891 edition of The Medical Missionary:

This has been a very hard year in Korea [1891]. Dr. Hardie has had to pay \$14 per cord for very inferior firewood, and other articles are correspondingly dear, so that he and his family have been reduced to actual want, the money sent him being altogether inadequate owing to the unexpected circumstances.<sup>34</sup>

As mentioned, Hardie had been guaranteed a field salary of \$750 per year by the MS-YMCA. This amount was low compared to American salaries; the stipends for a single American male missionary was \$1,000.<sup>35</sup> It was even lower compared to the salary earned by Queen Min's physician, Annie Ellers (1860-1938)<sup>36</sup> who was paid \$1,800 a year.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, considering that Hardie was married and had two children, his salary was quite insufficient. Yet, the MS-YMCA in Toronto had trouble paying even Hardie's "low" salary. The following is a breakdown of MS-YMCA payments to Hardie.<sup>38</sup>

Figure 6:1 Hardie's Salary

year	1890	1891
amount	\$126.30 (October) \$ 49.00 (December)	\$106 (February 2) \$181 (February 18)
total	\$175.30	\$287

The whole financial statement is not available and it is difficult to know how much Hardie was paid per month by his supporters, but clearly the MS-YMCA's foreign mission fund was "meagre",<sup>39</sup> and Hardie obviously was in financial trouble. J. Earnest Fisher, later Hardie's son-in-law (Fisher married Annie, the second daughter of the Hardies', in November 9, 1918) and himself a missionary under Hardie's Mission Board, wrote about Hardie's life in Pusan:

That first winter 1891-92 in Pusan was very hard for the Hardies. The support from the YMCA was inadequate, the family lived in crowded quarters, and Dr. Hardie had poor equipment for his medical work. He was invited to join the Australian Presbyterian Mission which was opening work in Pusan, but he preferred to remain with the Canadian group that had sent him to Korea.<sup>40</sup>

Instead of joining the other denomination and thereby solving his financial problems, Hardie decided to remain loyal to his supporters in Toronto and supplemented his income by officiating as the medical officer for the Customs Office in Pusan.<sup>41</sup>

Once back in Pusan, Hardie was again troubled by the inter-denominational competition for converts and more financial difficulties. Finally, on November 19, 1892, he was

forced to fold up his mission "tent" in Pusan and relocate to Wõnsan, where he joined his two compatriots, Gale and Fenwick. (By this time, Gale had married John Heron's widow, Harriet, and was working under the American Presbyterian Church, North).

Once in Wõnsan, Hardie rented a room from Fenwick.<sup>42</sup> As noted in Chapter Five, Fenwick had to support himself in Wõnsan by farming, for he received no regular funding from any organization. Hardie learned Fenwick's survival techniques and did what Fenwick did -- farming, feeding cattle and growing fruit.<sup>43</sup> Fisher wrote: "They managed to have a good garden which kept her [Mrs. Hardie's] table supplied with vegetables and berries".<sup>44</sup> Joseph L. Gerdine (1870-1950), a former American Methodist missionary who boarded at Hardie's in Wõnsan, remembered:

My first home in Korea was with the Hardies in Wonsan. Out of the depth of my ignorance I had left home expecting not to get another Christian meal until furlough. .. A few days after I arrived Mrs. Hardie had coolies store away in her cellar for winter use about 2,000 heads of as fine celery as I ever saw. Fancy having hearts of celery for breakfast as well as for lunch and dinner every day, and jams, jellies and canned goods all produced from her garden.<sup>45</sup>

Hardie and his family remained in Wõnsan until 1896, when they returned to Canada for their first furlough after six years in the field. Hardie returned alone to Wõnsan in 1897, leaving his family in Canada.

As noted, Hardie had a rough time during his first six

years in Korea not because of cultural contrasts or political pressure from the Korean government. Hardie's problem was rather "in-house", one caused by denominational ascendancy over independent workers and a lack of funds. Hardie's case demonstrates the difficulties encountered by an independent missionary working among organized denominational groups. However, it was insufficient funding, together with the feeling of isolation engendered by not belonging to any denominational organization, which caused Hardie to decide to follow Gale's example and join the American Mission Board.

#### From Freelance Missionary to Denominational Missionary

In Chapter Four, it was mentioned that Gale joined the American Presbyterian Mission in 1891; his resignation threw his supporters in Toronto into a quandary as to how to maintain their mission effort without a representative in Korea. To this end, Hardie suggested that the two organizations, UT-YMCA and MS-YMCA, amalgamate and concentrate on providing better financial support. The matter was discussed by leaders of both organizations in early 1892 and they agreed to abandon former names and to form a new organization: "The Canadian Colleges' Mission" (CCM). Officially, the CCM was incorporated on March 15, 1892,<sup>46</sup> and appointed Hardie as its representing missionary. In regard to the amalgamation of the two institutions, the Secretary-



Treasurer of the CCM, Harley Smith explained:

The Canadian Colleges Mission is an outgrowth of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. In 1888, the YMCA of Toronto University sent as a missionary to Corea Mr. James S. Gale, and two years later the Medical Students' YMCA, following their example, sent to the same field Dr. and Mrs. Hardie. In March 1892, Mr. Gale having joined another board, [the date is incorrect. Gale joined American Presbyterian Mission, North, on August 31, 1891], these two associations, with a view to extending their work to other colleges, united in forming the C.C.M., with Dr. and Mrs. Hardie as its foreign representatives.<sup>47</sup>

CCM elected fourteen members to its governing Board<sup>48</sup> and agreed to maintain the initial goal set by both UT-YMCA and MS-YMCA, which was to foster the mission enterprise among medical students in Canada and "to propagate the gospel of Christ in Korea."<sup>49</sup>

Once the CCM had organized, it published the official journal, Canadian College Missionary.<sup>50</sup> Through the journal, CCM appealed to its members to be up-beat in their evangelizing work in Korea. The catch-word was: "Zeal[,] for any cause can be developed only in proportion to that zeal finding expression in practice: hence the work in Korea".<sup>51</sup> The CCM further called upon members to participate in mission work in a real "hands-on" manner by "observing a season of special prayer, Saturday evenings, from 9 to 10 o'clock, the hour of the native Lord's Day morning service in Corea."<sup>52</sup>

As mentioned, the idea behind the amalgamation was to ensure better financing for Hardie's mission work. However, even after the amalgamation of the two organizations,

financial problems continued and the CCM was forced to look for other options. The problem was that lay people had become suspicious of independent mission work; freelance missionary outreach was discounted, for it was believed that all missionaries should be guided by denominational "overseers." F.C. Stephenson, a member of the CCM Board and then the Secretary of The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, wrote:

There is money wasted and lives mis-directed because things are not done right. I say this after twenty years of experience and after studying every denominational and interdenominational society working in Canada, and after having studied the Canadian Colleges Mission very carefully. It was while I was working on a committee of the Canadian Colleges Mission and while Dr. Hardy [sic] was stuck in Korea for want of support that I made up my mind that special support ought to be the policy of the Methodist Church [of Canada], and that all missionaries should be under the supervision of some denomination.<sup>53</sup>

Around this time, American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which had opened its mission work in Korea with the coming of Clarence Frederick Reid, M.D. (1849-1915) in 1895,<sup>54</sup> was looking for a new medical missionary and began negotiating with the CCM. The CCM did not have much choice financially, and agreed to transfer Hardie to American Methodist, South. His appointment officially began on May 15, 1898.<sup>55</sup> Thus, a decade of University of Toronto students' evangelizing efforts in Korea was brought to an end by Gale's resignation from UT-YMCA in 1891 and Hardie's resignation from CCM in 1898.

Under his new Mission Board, Hardie's first assignment

was to start a medical mission work in Songdo, Hwanghe Province, presently North Korea. However, he had only been there less than a year (from October 1898 to August 1899) when he had to transfer to Seoul. There he took charge of the Seoul area and Kangwŏn Province in the absence of Clarence Reid, who had been forced to return to America on sick leave. It was here that an incident occurred which redirected Hardie's missionary career. Hardie was ordained as a deacon in the Southern Methodist Church by Bishop Alpheus Wilson on November 11, 1900.<sup>56</sup> After this, Hardie assumed responsibility for mission work in Wŏnsan and the area of Kangwŏn Province from 1902 to 1909; it was at this point that he began devoting himself to evangelical, rather than humanitarian, work. In regard to his transformation from missionary physician to evangelist, Hardie wrote: "I found the demand [for the medical work was] greater. However, there were not sufficient hospitals, and I gradually drifted into the evangelical work."<sup>57</sup>

#### The "Torch of the Revival Movement"

In this discussion of religious awakening, I will examine the expansion of the Korean Christian sphere in the early 1900s in historical context, and discuss what it meant to Korean mission history.

In general, Korean mission history credits Hardie as

being the one to ignite the "religious awakening of the early 1900s."<sup>58</sup> In Han'guk kyohoe paljõnsa (History of the Development of Korean Christianity, 1992), historian Chõn Taek-bu labelled Hardie "the prime figure"<sup>59</sup> of the GRM. In The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910 (1927), Paik Lak-geon, a pioneer in the study of mission history in Korea, wrote:

As far as can trace the origin of the revival, it began in 1903, when a group of missionaries of the Methodist met for a week of prayer and Bible study at Wõnsan. Among these was a Canadian missionary, Dr. R.A. Hardie.<sup>60</sup>

Recognition of Hardie's connection to the "Religious Awakening" comes not only from native historians, but also from missionary historians. In 1934, American Methodist Joseph L. Gerdine (1870-1950) said:

The part that Dr. Hardie had as God's chosen instrument in the great revival which began in Wonsan in 1903 and spread to all parts of Korea is already a part of history.<sup>61</sup>

In Church Growth in Korea (1934), former American Methodist missionary to Korea Alfred Wasson (1880-1964) wrote:

It [the revival movement] began in the Southern Methodist Mission and gradually spread until it became a conspicuous feature of the life of the entire Korean church, and was widely commented on in distant parts of the world. The leader of the movement was the Reverend R.A. Hardie, M.D.<sup>62</sup>

Hardie is thus considered the source of the religious awakening by both native and missionary historians.

As mentioned, by this point Hardie was no longer a medical missionary, but rather considered his main

responsibility was to be an evangelist. He worked hard proselytizing in Wōnsan and throughout Kangwōn province, but felt "humiliated" due to his lack of success.<sup>63</sup> Hardie wrote: "The failure of the work there [in Kangwōn Province] had done more than anything else to break me down and bring me to the end of myself".<sup>64</sup> Hardie did not specify just what the "failure" or the cause of the failure was, but it appears that he was "humiliated" because the number of Korean he actually converted was few. Even those who did convert did so not because of his labours, but because of other people's efforts. Hardie wrote:

I have seen many led to an intellectual knowledge and acceptance of these things, but I knew of few who gave any adequate evidence of knowing them as an actual and living experience and these few were for the most part the result of the labors of others.<sup>65</sup>

Then, suddenly, "something never before known"<sup>66</sup> happened in his own congregation, Hardie remembered:

As I stood before our Wōnsan congregation, that first Sunday morning after I had entered upon a realization of the fullness of the Spirit, and with shame and confusion of face confessed my pride, hardness of heart and lack of faith and also much that these had led to, they saw for the first time what conviction and repentance meant in actual experience. As I told them of how by simple faith in God's promise I had claimed the gift of the Holy Ghost, and as during the next three weeks they saw that there was an unmistakable change in my experience and life, they learned a new faith, and of the power of God 'to save his people from their sins.' It seemed as though every text quoted and every sentence uttered but to the heart and before the meetings were closed nearly every member of the church and many others were converted. The testimony of all was that they had never before

known anything of religion as a personal and living experience and the lives of nearly all attest to this day they were indeed made new creatures in Christ Jesus.<sup>67</sup>

Word of Hardie's "unmistakable change", "new faith" and belief in "the power of God" got around the country to both missionaries and natives.<sup>68</sup> Korean historian Chŏn Taek-bu noted that knowledge about how "the power of God" had changed Hardie was transmitted to and by native Christian leaders like Chŏn Kye-ŭn, Cha Ŭl-kyong and Kim Chang-sik.<sup>69</sup> The religious awakening experienced by Hardie spread nation-wide; from P'yŏngyang in the North to Mokpo in the South. Native congregations virtually everywhere in the country heard about and then experienced spiritual rebirth. The movement, as former missionary Bruce Hunt described, was "a great turning-point in the history of the Korean Church"<sup>70</sup> and the Korean revival was spoken of with "almost mystical respect."<sup>71</sup> As the result of the national religious awakening, the growth of the Korean Christian membership was enormous, as shown in Figure 6:2. For nine years, from 1901 to 1909, the total number of converts was 98,053. On average, there had been an annual increase of about 10,000; the total rate of the growth was 536.8 percent over nine years.

Three methods of evangelization were used to "boost" the growth of church membership.

The first was use of sakyŏnghoe (사경회 General Classes). Sakyŏnghoe was a general term for an assembly of lay people

drawn together for purposes such as Bible study, Christian education, management of Sunday School, church-building, and so on. Sakyŏnghoe also offered "secular" lectures on farming, sericulture and fruit cultivation. Sometimes, women-only Sakyŏnghoe were held; in these, women were instructed in juvenile education, hygiene, home economics, etc. A contemporary Korean historian, Son Sŭng-hŭi, wrote:

Sakyŏnghoe was a method missionaries adopted in Korea and it proved to be a big success. Sakyŏnghoe served a vital function for the Korean church by providing a chance to educate the people both in church and secular work. Through Sakyŏnghoe, Christians were able to energize their lives.<sup>72</sup>

Canadian missionary James Gale noted some aspects of the Sakyŏnghoe and how the people responded to them:

The months of autumn dragged by, the last of 1906. Into 1907 the year was launched, and still daily groups gathered for prayer. From all points of the north land, too, came Christians to the study class, seven hundred of them! -- they had walked, some of them, a hundred miles, some more, some less, carrying their rice on the back, which was to serve as board while attending.<sup>73</sup>

Normally, Sakyŏnghoe were held locally by different denominations for one week, two weeks, or longer. Each church sent representatives, and when the representatives returned home, they taught other members of the church who had not attended.

Statistics are not available as to how many total Sakyŏnghoe were held throughout the country. However, according to contemporary historian Kim Kwang-su, in 1909 alone, the American Presbyterian Mission, North, held 800

Sakyŏnghoe in its own districts across the country.<sup>74</sup> Kim reported that a total of 1,292,000 people attended that denomination's Sakyŏnghoe alone from 1910 to 1929.<sup>75</sup> This suggests that a minimum average of 64,600 people attended Sakyŏnghoe each year.

The second method was nobang chŏndo (노방전도), "Home Crusades". Considering the destitute economic situation of Koreans at that time (i.e., while under Japanese occupation), it is understandable that donations to churches were scarce and that the churches were not financially able to pay evangelists. Therefore, instead of giving money to a church to hire an evangelist, people offered a day or more, known as hŏn il or nal vonbo (날연보 Day Offering), for the work of evangelism, personally doing outreach and visiting nearby villages (nobang chŏndo). The overall statistics of how many days were offered by Christians in Korea is not available, but based on the limited statistics, we can see how it "became a concrete fact"<sup>76</sup> crucial to the growth of Christianity. For example, in 1911, 1,000 Presbyterian Christians of the city of P'yŏngyang offered 22,000 days.<sup>77</sup> This breaks down to a single Christian offering 22 days in that year, or about two days per month per person.

According to former Methodist missionary, Charles Stokes(?-1915), in 1910, a Methodist congregation in Kongju, Chungchŏng Province, offered a total of 3,458 days; this is the equivalent of one person working every day for more than



nine years.<sup>78</sup> Stokes stated further:

Not less than 100,000 days were expended by the Korean in personal evangelism. This figure becomes more meaningful when one realizes that it approximates the life-time service of eight men, all crowded into one year.<sup>79</sup>

The given data by both Presbyterian and Methodist sources indicates that people actively participated in nobang chōndo.

The third method was munsō chōndo (Literature Crusade) which was integrated with the method of nobang chōndo. When people visited nearby villages, they distributed Christian tracts, i.e., single copies of the Gospels of the New Testament, known as Jjok pokūm in Korean, and other Christian literature for evangelical purposes.

In 1910, 16,000 Jjok pokūm were distributed in Taegu, South Kyōngsang Province, and 35,000 in Sōnchōn, P'yōngan Province. That same year, the members of the Changdaeyōn church in P'yōngyang distributed 73,000 copies of Jjok pokūm.<sup>80</sup> In 1911, The Korea Mission Field reported: "Many millions of tracts and 700,000 gospels of Mark were purchased by native Christians [and] nearly every home in Korea has been visited."<sup>81</sup>

In sum, as Korean historian Kim Kwang-su stated, "the driving force of the astonishing church growth of the early Korean church [was] the Sakyōnghoe";<sup>82</sup> when combined with the other two factors, nobang chōndo and munsō chōndo, sakyōnghoe became the most influential tool for the church growth in Korean history.

Figure 6:2 The Growth of Membership from 1900 to 1909

year	S.M.	N.M.	Presby.	Total	# of increment	%
1900	899	4,768	12,599	18,266		
1901	831	5,855	11,963	18,649	383	2.1%
1902	964	6,915	13,575	21,454	2,805	15.0%
1903	1,003	6,985	15,712	23,700	2,246	10.5%
1904	1,208	7,796	19,492	28,496	4,796	20.2%
1905	2,921	12,971	26,514	42,406	13,910	48.8%
1906	4,998	23,455	37,870	66,323	23,917	56.4%
1907	6,081	24,255	48,361	78,697	12,374	18.6%
1908	7,687	23,243	60,982	91,912	13,215	16.8%
1909	9,809	24,724	73,184	107,717	15,805	17.2%

legends: S.M., Methodist Episcopal Church, South.  
 N.M., Methodist Episcopal Church, North.  
 Presby., Presbyterian Church of Korea.

source: Alfred W. Wasson, Church Growth in Korea (New York: International Missionary Council, 1934), p. 166. The total number, number of increment and percentage were calculated by the present author.

#### Correlation Between Christian Church Growth and Korea's Socio-Political Situation

Chapters Two and Three detailed how Christianity became implanted in Korean soil during the late nineteenth-century and how the socio-political climate and cultural background of that period facilitated Christianity's introduction into Korea. The Religious Awakening of the early 1900s was able to take advantage of that situation.

The first ten years of the twentieth century were a pivotal period in Korea's modern history; as a result of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, Korea became first a "Japanese Protectorate" (1905) and ultimately was annexed by Japan in 1910. During this period, the

colonized Korean people were so politically and socially helpless that they clutched at any "straws" for relief. The Christian church was perceived as just such a "straw" because of the spiritual solace (and political contacts) it offered. While Koreans had experienced foreign tutelage either by China, Japan or Russia<sup>83</sup> throughout their history, their identity as "Koreans" had never been threatened. However, faced with involuntary "Japanization" as they were, Koreans looked to the West, which had sent so many missionaries for aid. As so often happens in times of crisis, the psychological need for comfort predisposed the troubled populace towards acceptance of a religious faith that promised protection. Thus, Christianity, which Canadian and American missionaries in particular were promulgating, was viewed as a religion political force. In "Motives for Seeking Christ", written in 1906, the contemporary American missionary Charles E. Sharp (1870-1952) noted:

The revival has been felt widely outside of the church itself. Outside of the church there has been a widespread interest in Christianity. Among many who have been turning to Christianity the principal motive has been a desire for protection and power. Owing to the uncertainties of the times people have been banding together for mutual help. They see that the nations styled Christians are the ones that today possess the highest civilization and culture.<sup>84</sup>

When Sharp compared church missions with other social groups he concluded that out of the numerous movements which had developed during the early 1900s, the Christian church was the

only one that amounted to anything.<sup>85</sup> In Sharp's view, the Church was seen as a nucleus for nationalist groups. Indeed, a Methodist church in Wŏnsan even hung a Korean national flag in its hall.<sup>86</sup>

Japanese observers also linked the growth of the Korean church to political aspirations. A Japanese Legation in Korea report stated: "Those who were not contented with the Japanese occupation, they say, come! under the cross and cultivate the power to establish crusaders to drive out Japanese from Korea in the future."<sup>87</sup> Both Korean and Japanese sources indicate that the nationalist sentiment of Korean society in the early 1900s, provided a major boost to the growth of the church.

The increased numbers of church members generated two significant developments in the mission history of Korea. First, it forced missionaries to change their "missionary-owned" mission work to that of "native-owned" (or at least "equally owned").

The leadership of Korea's mission work up to this point had been the prerogative only of the Western missionaries. However, as a consequence of the dramatic increase in adherents after the Religious Awakening, the missionary community realized that a change of organization was necessary. For example, the Presbyterian Churches of America (North and South), Australia and Canada formed a common church administrative organization called "Taehan yesuskyo changrohoe nohoe" ("Presbytery of Korean Presbyterian Church", hereafter

cited as "Korean Presbytery") on September 17, 1995.<sup>88</sup> Previously the administration and government of the Presbyterian church system had been the respondents of the "Council of the Missions in Korea", which consisted solely of Western missionaries. However, when the "Korean Presbytery" was formed it included both missionaries and natives. This shift in the administration of church business, i.e. from missionaries in the mission to Koreans, was a significant change. The officials of the "Korean Presbytery" consisted of 38 missionaries and 40 natives.<sup>89</sup> The first elected officers were: Samuel Moffett (1864-1939), Moderator; Pang Ki-chang (1851-1911), Vice-Moderator; Han Sŏk-jin (1868-1939), Clerk; Song In-sŏ (1867-?), Assistant Clerk; Graham Lee (1861-1916), Treasurer.<sup>90</sup> Korean officials shared equally in the handling of church business, voiced opinions during decision-making sessions, and saw to it that the "Minutes" of the meeting were recorded in the Korean language. The forming of the "Korean Presbytery" laid the groundwork for the democratic administration of church business.

The second important development was Korea's change from a "missionary receiving" to a "missionary sending" country. In 1907, the Board of Foreign Mission of the Korean Church was established. It sent missionaries like Lee Ki-pung (1865-1942), one of the first graduates from P'yŏngyang Seminary to Cheju Island in 1907, and Choi Kwan-hŭl (1877-?) to Vladivostok in 1909. In October of that year, Han Sŏk-jin

(1868-1939) was sent to Tokyo to work for the Korean students there.<sup>91</sup>

On September 1, 1912, five years after the formation of the "Korean Presbytery", the organization became the "General Assembly", known as the "Taehan yesuskyo changrohoe chonghoe" (General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church). Its elected officers were: H.G. Underwood (1858-1916), Moderator; Kil Sŏn-ju (1869-1935), Vice-Moderator; Han Sŏk-jin (1868-1939), Clerk; Kim Pil-soo (1872-1948), Assistant Clerk; William Blair, Treasurer, and Kim Sŏk-chang (1876-1950), Assistant Treasurer.<sup>92</sup>

During this same period, similar changes were occurring within Methodist Church groups. On March 11, 1908, the American Methodist Church, North, formed the Korea Annual Conference ("Korea Conference") in Seoul, to which nine Korean representatives, Kim Chang-sik (1857-1929), Son Sŭng-yong (1855-1928), Lee Ik-mo (1869-1944), Hong Sŭng-ha (1863-1918), Chang Nak-do (1879-?), Kim Chang-kyu (?-?), Kwŏn Sin-il (1866-1929), Kim Woo-kwŏn (?-?), and Hyŏn Soon (?-?), were admitted with full membership. Two years later, Kim Chang-sik was appointed District Superintendent of Youngbyon, North P'yŏngan Province (presently North Korea) by the "Korea Conference."<sup>93</sup> The Methodists also formed a "Foreign and Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Korea". This organization sent Son Chung-do (1882-1931) to China as its representing missionary in 1911.<sup>94</sup>

In 1906, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established its own "Korea Mission". Up until that time, it had been under the jurisdiction of the China Methodist Church;<sup>95</sup> by forming a "Korea Mission", its mission work in Korea became independent from that administration. Following the formation of the "Korea Mission", the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established three of its own districts of Seoul, Kaesŏng, and Wŏnsan in 1908. By 1910, the number of districts increased to seven and the "Korea Mission" was renamed the "Korea Mission Conference" in 1914. Korean representatives Oh Hwa-yong (1879-1959), Kim Young-hak (1877-1932) and Choi Tae-gon (?-?), received full membership in this conference.<sup>96</sup>

Thus, developments in both Presbyterian and Methodist mission circles reached the point where the previously missionary-monopolized evangelism came to be shared with Korean converts. The Religious Awakening ignited by Hardie was responsible for both this and Korea's evolution from a "missionary-receiving" to "missionary-sending" nation.

Hardie is also remembered as an educator, particularly because of the theological teaching he did in the Korean Methodist Church. The Korean church historian Yun Chun-byŏng wrote:

The very person who laid the foundation of today's theological education in the Korean Methodist Church is Hardie. In 1905, he began a school called "Sinhakdang" (Hall of Theology). There was no real building, but he operated a two or three-month

"mobile school" by travelling around in Seoul, P'yŏngyang, Inchŏn or Kongju. In 1909, he founded a seminary called "Hyŏpsŏng sinhakkyo" (Union Theological School) in Seoul. Thus, he left an everlasting legacy in the history of theological education in Korean Methodist Church.<sup>97</sup>

Hardie served as the president of the "Hyŏpsŏng sinhakkyo" for fourteen years (until 1923). During his tenure as "President of the Seminary", he began publication of the theological magazine, Sinhak saekye (The Theological World, hereafter cited as SS) in 1916 (February); this continued to be published until 1955. The purpose of SS was "both to advance the knowledge of the church leaders and to cultivate the Korean Christians' faith and virtue through the study of the Bible and theology."<sup>98</sup> SS dealt mostly Christian education, systematic theology, Bible study, church history and "practical" theology.

Hardie resigned from the "Hyŏpsŏng sinhakkyo in June 1923. Thereafter, until his retirement in 1935, he worked as Editor-in-Chief of "Chosŏn yesukyo sŏhoe" (Christian Literary Society, hereafter cited as "Sŏhoe"). In conjunction of the "Sŏhoe", Hardie established a "Department of Translations" which employed four Korean translators.<sup>99</sup> For example, Yu Kyŏng-sang translated Hardie's The Introduction of New Testament into Korean and published it as Sinyak chongron in 1918. Another assistant, Choi Sang-hyŏn, translated Alfred Gandier's The Son of Man Coming in His Kingdom in 1928 and it was published as Jesu ũi chŏngukkwon. According to Kidokkyo



taebaekkwajajon (The Encyclopedia of Christianity), Hardie published 16 monographs (his own as well as translated works) and 46 articles during 12 years in office. Most of these were commentaries on the Bible or religious tracts.<sup>100</sup>

Hardie made one other outstanding contribution to Korean society, something unrelated to his roles of physician and evangelist. In an article in the Toronto Star, Archibald Lampman explained how Hardie had helped the Korean fruit sector under the headline: "Apple Trees from Toronto Basis of Korean Industry." Lampman wrote:

Forty-one years ago, Dr. R.A. Hardie, native son of Caledonia, Ont., wrote from Korea to his brother, Dr. E.S. Hardie, a Toronto dentist, asking him to buy and send out to him some apple trees. This was done. Today Korea exports apples to Japan.<sup>101</sup>

In 1989, fifty-seven years after Lampman's article, the Toronto Star carried another article on Hardie's link to the Korean apple industry; this one was written by Hardie's granddaughter, Dorothy Trebilcock, who had travelled to Korea to trace her family's history. Trebilcock detailed her grandfather's legacy of "apple trees in Korea" and claimed that he had "created Korea's apple trade."<sup>102</sup> Hardie had been raised on a farm and he thought that apples would improve the Korean diet. In fact, as has been mentioned, Hardie himself farmed, raised cattle and grew fruit to earn a living in Wönsan.

Hardie was not only introduced Western produce to Korea, but also led the campaign for improved farming technology.

While serving as President of the "Sŏhoe", he published a book called Chosŏn nongchon kujaechaek (A Remedy to Save Korean Farming Villages) written by Cho Min-yŏng. Hardie wrote an "Introduction" in which he highly recommended the book.<sup>103</sup>

### Retirement

Hardie and his wife Margaret retired from the mission field in 1935, after 45 years of mission work, and settled in Lansing, Michigan, where their daughter, Grace, lived. His wife died in 1945, and he died on June 30, 1949, at the age of eighty-four.

### Conclusion

Hardie originally went to Korea as an independent medical missionary. However, he gave up his missionary career after choosing to be an evangelist: he later became an educator, publisher and writer. Although all of these roles fell outside of his original training, Hardie was able to develop new careers as the need arose.

Through Hardie, Canadian students, particularly those studying in Ontario to become physicians, put their efforts into evangelizing in Korea. He tried to remain loyal to these students funding his mission work, but was forced to switch over to the American Mission Board for financial reasons.

Hardie made several major contributions to Korean mission history, including his stimulation of native evangelism; his formalization of theological education; and his publication of religious literature written in Korean. Most important of all, however, was that through the Religious Awakening movement in the early 1900s, Hardie was the "prime contributor" in making the Korean church "a Korean church", freeing it from missionary tutelage.

Notes to Chapter Six

<sup>1</sup>. Chŏn, Taek-bu, Han'guk kidokkyo paljŏnsa (History of the Development of Korean Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1992), p. 157.

<sup>2</sup>. William Blair and Bruce Hunt, The Korean Pentecost (Edinburgh, Scotland: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>. Hardie's biographical information is drawn from the following sources: Records of "United Church Cemetery, Seneca Township, Ontario, # 86173 NT - 101," kept in Haldiman County Museum, Caledonia, Ontario; James Hardie's (Robert's father) "Will" signed on May 17, 1875, "Will" # 824, Township of Seneca, kept in the Land Registry Office, Cayuga, Ontario; H.R. Page, Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Haldiman and Norfolk (Owen Sound, Ontario: Richardson Bond and Wright Co., 1972). Hardie had four brothers (Thomas, Herbert, Elgin and William) and one sister (Eva). According to the "Deed of Land", kept in the above-mentioned Cayuga Land Registry Office, and signed by Robert Hardie (grandfather of the Robert Hardie discussed here), James inherited 150 acres of land.

<sup>4</sup>. "Commencement Program" of the Medical College, University of Toronto, dated Tuesday, June 10, 1890. University of Toronto Archive File # P 87-0046, p. 3. See also, "Hardie File" A73-0026-137 in the University of Toronto Archives.

<sup>5</sup>. For Hardie's explanation of why he decided to become a missionary, see Robert Hardie, "The Preparation of the Worker, or Why I Became a Missionary", in Korea Mission Field, Vol. 10:1 (January 1914), p. 7: Hereafter cited as KMF.

<sup>6</sup>. The Medical Missionary (March 1891), p. 4. Hereafter cited as MM.

<sup>7</sup>. Oliver R. Avison, "Memoir", (1940), p. 84. Hereafter, cited as A-Memoir.

<sup>8</sup>. Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>9</sup>. Allen D. Clark, Avison of Korea: The Life of Oliver R. Avison, M.D. (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1978), p. 62.

<sup>10</sup>. MM, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>. The Missionary Review of the World Vol.3 (November 1890), p. 878. Hereafter cited as MRW.

<sup>13</sup>. This "Motto" appeared as the masthead of the first issue of MM, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>. Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>. MRW (November 1890), p. 878.

<sup>16</sup>. MM, p.4.

<sup>17</sup>. It appears that Mrs. Hardie was known by two given names. In "Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie," p. 1, housed in the United Church of Canada and Victoria University Archives (UCVA), University of Toronto, she is referred to as "Margaret M. Kelly". In another record, this by the Hardies' son-in-law, J. Earnest Fisher, she is called "Matilda". For this, see Fisher's Pioneers of Modern Korea (Seoul, Korea: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1977), p. 110.

<sup>18</sup>. A-Memoir, p. 85.

<sup>19</sup>. The second child, Annie Elizabeth (also known as Bessie), was born on December 12, 1890, in Seoul. For this, see Fisher, p. 110. Annie was the first baby born in Korea to Canadian parents.

<sup>20</sup>. Harry A. Rhodes, History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul, Korea: Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church, 1934), p. 625; Richard Rutt, A Biography of James Scarth Gale and A New Edition of His History of the Korean People (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972), p. 18.

<sup>21</sup>. Horace N. Allen. Korea: The Fact and Fancy (Seoul, Korea: Methodist Publishing House, 1905), p. 180.

<sup>22</sup>. Fisher, p. 111. See also, Paik, Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832-1910, (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1971), p. 239.

<sup>23</sup>. Paik, p. 190.

<sup>24</sup>. Yun Chun-byōng, "Hadi", in Han'guk kamrikyohoerūl saeun saramdūl (Those Who Built the Korean Methodist Church) (comp.), by Han'guk kamrikyohoe sahakhoe (Seoul, Korea: Tosō chulpan aeimaen, 1988), p. 159. Hereafter cited as HKS; Kidokkyo taepaekwa sajōn Vol. 15, (The Encyclopedia of Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1983), p. 1454. Hereafter cited as KTPS.

<sup>25</sup>. Paik, p. 190.

<sup>26</sup>. HKS, p. 159; KTPS, Vol. 15, p. 1454.

<sup>27</sup>. Paik, pp. 275-276.

<sup>28</sup>. "Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie", in UCVA.

<sup>29</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>. Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>31</sup>. The four different denominations were: the North and South branches of the American Presbyterian Church, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, North, and the Australian Presbyterian Church. At this time, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Canadian Presbyterian Church were not operating in Korea.

<sup>32</sup>. The United Council of the Missions of the American and Victorian Churches changed its name to "The Council of Missions holding the Presbyterian Form of Government" on January 28, 1893.

<sup>33</sup>. MM, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup>. "Editorial Notes", in MM, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup>. Rutt, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup>. "Korea, The Hermit Nation", in MRW (September 1889), p. 705.

<sup>37</sup>. "Korea", in MRW (April 1889), p. 312.

<sup>38</sup>. For further information on this, see the Secretary-Treasurer's Report of the MS-YMCA, in MM, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>. Fisher, pp. 112-113.

<sup>41</sup>. Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>42</sup>. Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>43</sup>. Yun Chi-ho. Yun Chi-ho ilgi (Diary of Yun Chi-ho), Vol. 5, (September 1902), p. 335; Fisher, p. 112; Joseph L. Gerdine, "More Pioneers of Korea", Within the Gate (Seoul, Korea: The Korea Methodist News Service, 1934), p. 51.

44. Fisher, p. 112.
45. Gerdine, p. 51.
46. "Annual Report of the University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association, 1893-1894" (Toronto, Ontario: Blackett Robinson, 1894), p. 2. See also, "Confidential Report on the Canadian Colleges' Mission", written by Herbert L. Troyer, dated February 1915, UCVA LGLY 1912-28 #84-74. See also, MRW (December 1897), p. 926.
47. William Scott, Canadians in Korea (Toronto, Ontario: Board of World Mission, United Church of Canada, 1975), pp. 22-23.
48. For the names of Board members, see "SVM Correspondence and Minutes," p. 2, LGLY 1921-28 #84-74 in UCVA.
49. MM, p. 1; Scott, p. 23.
50. When the medical students' YMCA in Toronto began its foreign mission enterprise and sent Hardie to Korea, it published a single issue of MM, which came out in March 1891. Later, when the Canadian Colleges' Mission was formed in 1892, one more issue of the former MM was published as the Canadian College Missionary. This CCM journal was also discontinued for a period; publication resumed in 1893, but the publication folded shortly thereafter. For this, see "Annual Report: University of Toronto Young Men's Christian Association 1893-94" (Toronto, Ontario: C. Blackett Robinson, 1894), p. 6. No complete issue of the Canadian College Missionary is known to be extant; however, fragmented issues may be found in the Divinity School Library, Yale University. For this, see Union List of Serials in Libraries of The United States and Canada, Vol. 2, 3rd ed., edited by Edna Brown Titus (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1965), p. 905.
51. Scott, p. 23.
52. Ibid.
53. "Student Volunteer Movement - Correspondence and Minutes", LGLY 1921-28, 84-74 in UCVA.
54. Lee Sŏng-sam, "Leedu", in Han'guk kamrikyohoerŭl madŭn saramdŭl (Those Who Made the Korean Methodist Church) compiled by Han'guk kamrikyohoe sahakhoe (Seoul, Korea: Kamrikyo kyoyukguk, 1987), p. 31.
55. Scott, p. 24.

56. "Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie", in UCVA, p. 6.
57. Toronto Star (September 22, 1932), p. 4.
58. References on the connection between the Religious Awakening movement and Hardie are numerous; see, Annie A. Baird, "The Spirit among Pyeng Yang [sic] Students," in KMF (May 1907), pp. 65-67; William N. Blair and Bruce Hunt, The Korean Pentecost and The Sufferings which Followed (Edinburgh, Scotland: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), pp. 61-79; William N. Blair, Gold in Korea, (New York: Central Distributing Department of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1946); Chŏn, Han'guk kyohoe paljōnsa, pp. 144-160; Charles Allen Clark, The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1930), pp. 147-151; Allen D. Clark, A History of the Church in Korea (Seoul, Korea: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), pp. 154-172; Robert A. Hardie, "God's Touch in the Great Revival", in KMF (January 1914), pp. 22-25; Graham Lee, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeung Yang [sic]", in KMF (March 1907), pp. 33-37; Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of the Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1982), p. 251; Min, Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyohoe hyōngsōng saron (The Theory of the Formation of the Christian Church in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press), pp. 42-54; Paik, pp. 376-368; Rhodes, pp. 280-288; Alfred W. Wasson, Church Growth in Korea (New York, International Missionary Council, 1934), pp. 29-33.
59. Chŏn, p.157.
60. Paik, p. 367.
61. Gerdine, p. 52.
62. Alfred Wasson, Church Growth in Korea (New York: International Missionary Council, 1934), p. 29.
63. "Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie", in UCVA, p. 8.
64. "Methodist Church South Report for 1905", pp. 39-44, cited in Paik, p. 368.
65. "Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie", in UCVA, p. 8.
66. Ibid., p. 9.
67. Ibid.
68. James S. Gale, Korea in Transition (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1909), p. 201.



69. Chŏn, pp. 202-203.
70. Blair, p. 7.
71. Ibid.
72. Son Sŏng-hŭi, "Taehan chaegukside sŏngryŏng undong" (The Holy Spirit Movement in the Church in the Period of the Empire of Taehan). Taehan chaequk yŏnku, Vol. 3 [Study on Taehan Empire] (1985), pp. 4-5.
73. Gale, Korea in Transition, pp. 202-203.
74. Kim Kwang-su, "Sakyŏnghoe", in KTPS, Vol. 8 (1983), p. 293.
75. Ibid.
76. "Nal yonbo", in KTPS, Vol. 3 (1983), p. 414.
77. Ibid.; Han'guk kidokkyosa yŏnghoe, Han'guk kidokkyo ūi yŏksa, Vol. 1 (History of Christianity in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1991), p. 280. Hereafter cited as HKY.
78. Charles D. Stokes, "History of Methodist Missions in Korea, 1885-1930", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1947, p. 193.
79. Ibid., p. 194.
80. HKY, pp. 280-281.
81. KMF, (January 1, 1991), p. 5; HKY, p. 280.
82. KTPS, Vol. 8, p. 293.
83. Pak, Sŭn-kyŏng, "Han'guk minjok kwa kidokkyo ūi kwaje" (The Task of Christianity in Korea). Ham, Sŏk-hŏn and Sŏh, Nam-dong (eds.), Han'guk yŏksa sok ūi kidokkyo [The Christianity in Korean History] (Seoul, Korea: Han'guk kidokkyo kyohoe hyŏpŭihoe, 1985), p. 227.
84. Charles Edwin Stokes, "Motives for Seeking Christ", in KMF (August 1906), p. 182.
85. Ibid.
86. Gale, p. 195.
87. Juhan ilbon kongsakwan kirok (The Document of the Japanese Legation in Korea, 1909), pp. 13-14, cited in Lee

Man-yŏl, "Hanmal kidokin ũi minjok ũisik hyōngsōng kwajōng" (The Process of National Convert Among Christians in the Late Nineteenth-Century), Han'guk kidokkyo wa minjok undong [Korean Christianity and National Movement] (Seoul, Korea: Sōsong, 1986), p. 62.

<sup>88.</sup> Taehan yesukyo changrohoe, "Chae ilhoe nohoerok" (Minutes of the First Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church) (September 17, 1907), p. 4. Hereafter cited as "nohoerok." See also, Kwak An-ryōn, (comp.), Changro kyohoesa chōnhwiji (The Collection of the History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Chosōn yasokyo sōhoe, 1935), p. 5. Hereafter cited as CKC.

<sup>89.</sup> "nohoerok", p. 5.

<sup>90.</sup> CKC, pp. 10-11; "nohoerok", p. 8. Prior to this organization of the Korean Presbytery, seven Koreans (Sō Kyōng-jo [1852-1938]), Han Sōk-jin [1868-1939], Yang Chōn-baek [1870-1933], Pang Ki-chang [1851-1911], Kil Sōn-ju [1869-1935], Lee Ki-pung [1865-1942], and Song In-sō [1867-?.], had graduated from P'yōngyang Presbyterian Seminary.

<sup>91.</sup> Min, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, pp. 262-269.

<sup>92.</sup> CKC, Vol. 2, p. 10.

<sup>93.</sup> CKC, Vol. 2, p. 288; "Methodist Episcopal Church, Korea Annual Conference 1908", pp. 18-19, cited in Stokes, p. 228.

<sup>94.</sup> "Son Chōng-do", in KTPS, Vol. 9, p. 687.

<sup>95.</sup> Stokes, p. 228; Clark, p. 179.

<sup>96.</sup> Kim Kwang-u, Han'guk kamrikyohoe paeknyōn (History of One Hundred Years of the Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Changmunsa, 1990), p. 87.

<sup>97.</sup> Yun Chun-byōng, Han'guk kamrikyo tosōchulpan paeknyōnsa (History of One Hundred Year of the Publishing Business of the Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Kamrikyo bonbu kyoyukguk, 1986), pp. 133-134; "Kamrikyo sinhak taehakkyo", (History of Methodist Seminary), in KTPS, Vol. 1 (1983), pp. 278-279.

<sup>98.</sup> Lee Man-yŏl, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa (The History of the Cultural Movement in the Korea Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1987), p. 391.

<sup>99.</sup> Yun, Tosōchulpan paeknyōn, pp. 134-135.

<sup>100</sup>. For this, see KTPS, Vol. 15, pp. 1454-1455.

<sup>101</sup>. Archibald Lampan, "Apple Trees from Toronto Basis of Korean Industry," Toronto Star (September 22, 1932), p. 4. Hardie's fourth brother Elgin S. was a dentist and lived at 1092 Queen St. W., Toronto.

<sup>102</sup>. Dorothy Trevilcock, "How grandfather created Korea's apple trade", Toronto Star (December 17, 1989), p. D5.

<sup>103</sup>. Cho Min-yŏng, Chosŏn nongchon kujaechaek (A Remedy for Korean Farming Villages) (Seoul, Korea: Sinhak saekasa, 1929), p. 1. Cf. Lee, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa, p. 341; and Han Yŏng-jae, Han'guk kidokkyo munsŏ paeknyŏn (The One Hundred Year History of Korean Christian Literature) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1987), p. 126. Both Han and Lee said that Hardie was the author of the Chosŏn nongchon kujaechaek. However, they were wrong. In the book, it is clearly indicated that Cho was the author. Cho's book was published by the Christian Literature Society while Hardie was serving as President. Hardie only wrote the "Introduction".

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE HALL FAMILY: TWO GENERATIONS OF MEDICAL WORK IN KOREA

William J. Hall's Early Days in Canada

Though he was a Canadian, William James Hall was sent by the American Methodist Episcopal Church as a medical missionary to Korea in 1892. He began his social projects (i.e., a hospital and a school) as well as his evangelical work in the northern interior in P'yŏngyang. His sudden death in 1894, after less than three years in Korea, appeared to end his mission efforts before his projects bore fruit. However, his projects were taken up by his son, Sherwood Hall, M.D., who pioneered treatment for the deadly paebŏng (tuberculosis). The two generations of humanitarian work accomplished by the Hall father and son team played a very prominent role in Korean mission history, as it was during their 76-year "regime" that many "firsts" were achieved.<sup>1</sup>

W.J. Hall was born on January 16, 1860, in Glen Buell, Ontario. He was the first of five children born to Irish immigrants George and Margaret Hall (See APPENDIX XV Geneology of Hall). Hall attended a one-room schoolhouse at Glen Buell, and then, in 1881, went on to high school in Farmersville (present-day Athens, Ontario). In 1883, he obtained a teacher's certificate, and taught at a public school near Glen Buell for two years.<sup>2</sup> Although little of his personal history

is known, he appears to have been of an independent mind. According to local history, he was a Methodist even though his parents were staunch Presbyterians.<sup>3</sup>

In 1885, he entered Medical College at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.<sup>4</sup> While at Queen's, Hall initiated the organizing of a medical students' Young Men's Christian Association. Omar L. Kilborn, M.D., one of Hall's classmates at Queen's and later a Canadian Methodist missionary to China, wrote:

The medical college had never, up to the session of 1885-86, had any organized Christian work. There was no medical Young Men's Christian Association, nor was there a prayer meeting of any sort. There was a flourishing university Young Men's Christian Association but meetings were always held in one of the classrooms of the Arts department, and it was commonly looked upon as an 'Arts' institution. It remained for W.J. Hall to organize, or at least to be the leading spirit, in the organization of the first Young Men's Christian Association of the medical college at Kingston [Queen's University].<sup>5</sup>

When the Medical Students' YMCA at Queen's University was organized in November of 1885, Hall served as Recording Secretary.<sup>6</sup>

#### Missionary Motivation and the Choice of Korea

Hall was influenced to become a foreign missionary by the then-fashionable "Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission (SVM), the outreach movement discussed in Chapters Four and Five. In the early spring of 1887, John Forman, one of the

leaders of SVM, visited Queen's and encouraged the students to work for foreign missions. Inspired by Forman, 21 students from University's Arts, Medicine and Divinity divisions (including Hall) signed "Declaration Cards" attesting to their intention to become foreign missionaries.<sup>7</sup> However, Hall experienced his "moment of decision" in July, 1887, when he attended D.L. Moody's "Summer School" in Northfield, Massachusetts. There, he met George D. Dowknott, Director of the International Medical Missionary Society of New York [hereafter cited as IMMS of New York]. Kilborn wrote:

From [Dowknott], [Hall] learned of the advantages afforded by this society [IMMS] for obtaining not only medical, but medical missionary training in New York City.<sup>8</sup>

Hall subsequently transferred to New York's Bellevue Hospital Medical College in the fall of 1887. He finished his third and fourth years of medical training, and graduated with an M.D. degree in 1889. Upon graduation, Hall was assigned by the Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A. to the Madison Street Dispensary, New York, as a home missionary.<sup>9</sup> Shortly thereafter, he met Rosetta Sherwood, M.D., who also had been assigned to the clinic by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Rosetta Sherwood herself had just earned her M.D. from Philadelphia's Women's Medical College. They became engaged in 1890. Both Sherwood and Hall anticipated being assigned as missionaries to China. However, Sherwood was unexpectedly delegated to Korea. At that time, a female American Methodist

medical missionary, Meta Howard M.D., (1886-1890 in Korea), was compelled leave Korea and return to America because of poor health; Sherwood was sent as her replacement, arriving in Chemulpo (presently, Inchŏn) on October 13, 1890.<sup>10</sup> For a period, Sherwood was stationed at Seoul's "Poguyŏkwan" (Women's Hospital), which Howard had founded in 1887. While working there, she also taught pharmacology and physiology at Ehwa hakdang,<sup>11</sup> a girls' school founded in 1886 by Mary F. Scranton, another American Methodist missionary. Late in 1891, William Hall was also assigned to Korea and arrived in Pusan on December 15 of that year. Hall and Sherwood were married on June 27, 1892, in Seoul, and so began their life as a medical missionary couple.

#### Pioneering Mission Work in Northern Interior: P'yŏngyang

From March 14, 1892, to April 18 of the same year, Hall and American Methodist, George Jones (1867-1919), travelled throughout the northern interior area of Kaesŏng, Taedong, P'yŏngyang, and Ŭiju. Upon his return, Hall requested that his Mission Board send him to P'yŏngyang, located about 180 miles from Seoul. He backed his request by pointing out that P'yŏngyang has geographical advantages, located and Peking, China, and accessible by both land and waterways. The area was also densely populated, with an estimated population over 100,000.<sup>12</sup> Swayed by his arguments, the Methodist Mission Board

assigned Hall to P'yŏngyang in August 1892.<sup>13</sup> However, opening a mission outside of Seoul was considered "dangerous,"<sup>14</sup> for a ban prohibiting foreigners from residing in the interior was still in effect, and, more to the point, "death was still the penalty for teaching Christianity."<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, it was with great caution that Hall made an exploratory trip to P'yŏngyang in November 1892; for safety's sake, he was accompanied by No Byŏng-sŏn (1871-1941: a language teacher)<sup>16</sup> and Kim Chang-sik (1857-1929: a native evangelist).<sup>17</sup> In late December, 1892, Hall returned to Seoul, leaving Kim and No in P'yŏngyang. When Hall went back to P'yŏngyang in February 1893, he was accompanied this time by William A. Noble (1886-1945), an American Methodist who had recently arrived in Korea (October 1892). Once in P'yŏngyang, Hall began purchasing property. He later admitted that it was, "[t]hrough our native helper [that] we were able to get a place well situated for our work, which I trust will soon be our hospital."<sup>18</sup> This was an admission that Kim and No had beaten the law by purchasing property for him, since foreigners were not yet allowed to purchase property outside of the areas specified in the treaty.<sup>19</sup> The deeds were registered in the name of a Korean known simply as "Mr. You", probably another of Hall's helpers in P'yŏngyang.<sup>20</sup> The property purchased was located on the west side of the city and had previously been used as "a house of entertainment" by local kisaengs' (kisaeng were female entertainers).<sup>21</sup>



Despite accepting that Hall owned property, the residents of P'yŏngyang were not yet ready to accept Westerners living in their midst. Hall wrote: "they [the natives] felt uneasy over my presence and [they] went to the Governor [Min Byŏng-sŏk]<sup>22</sup> and asked him to remove 'the foreigner', as they were much afraid."<sup>23</sup> Some natives displayed their anti-foreign bias by frequently showering Hall with stones.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, he did receive a modest welcome from the Governor, Min Byŏng-sŏk, mainly because of his medical service to the natives. The Governor tried to smooth things over by assuring the angry natives that: "The foreigner is not a bad man but a gentleman. He cures the sick and helps the poor."<sup>25</sup> Thus, it was Hall's humanitarian work which paved the way for later mission work. (Records indicate that Hall treated over 60 native patients a day during his initial period in P'yŏngyang.)<sup>26</sup> His wife, Rosetta Hall, wrote:

The Governor [of P'yŏngyang, Min Byŏng-sŏk] knew very well of Dr. Hall's relation to the purchase [of the kisaeng house], and his [Hall's] plans for medical work there, and because they wanted the Doctor, he [the Governor] winked at it, and gave him [Hall] his protection.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, the Governor even issued a proclamation stating: "These foreigners have permission from the King to travel in the interior, and anyone who interferes or makes trouble for him, must be brought before the Governor."<sup>28</sup>

While in P'yŏngyang, Hall initially tried to adopt a Korean lifestyle in order to curry favour with the natives,

but he soon gave that up. He explained: "I lived upon native food almost entirely. But a person gets tired of rice three times a day, so to-day I thought I would like some pan-cakes, but I could not obtain any flour."<sup>29</sup> Then, he bought some buckwheat and ground it through a native's mill. He was elated by such an "invention":

I had ten pounds of flour. I had some baking powder with me and very soon I had the mixture ready to fry. I had a fire made from corn-stalks, and upon this I cooked my cakes. I enjoyed them most heartily, and I will be able to have them often.<sup>30</sup>

As we have seen, Hall's mission enterprise in P'yŏngyang received political support from the Governor, Min Byŏng-sŏk, at least in the beginning. Hall took this as a green light to move his household to P'yŏngyang and in May, 1894, he brought his wife, their one year-old son, Sherwood, who had been born on November 10, 1893, Sherwood's amah (nurse-maid), and Yusan and Pak Esther, who served as house attendants.<sup>31</sup> Thus, with the Governor's protection, as well as property and native assistants, Hall appeared to be well settled in P'yŏngyang, with bright prospects for his mission enterprise. However, things soon became difficult, in part because of two incidents.

The first difficulty occurred when missionaries from the other denominations showed eagerness to also move into the territory, particularly through purchasing property in P'yŏngyang. About this, Rosetta Hall would later comment:

After the Doctor [Hall] had worked nearly a month

at P'yōngyang, and was gaining great favor among the people, he went with Mr. [William A.] Noble to Ūiju, and invited Revs. [Samuel] Moffett, [Graham] Lee, and W.L. Swallen [all American Presbyterians], who had come to P'yōngyang in the meantime, to live in one of his houses until they could buy for themselves. After Doctor [Hall] and Mr. Noble left P'yōngyang, the [these] Presbyterian brothers succeeded in purchasing property outside of the city, but they had not much more than done so before the people became alarmed at so many foreigners purchasing property.<sup>32</sup>

The people of P'yōngyang feared that "they would be taken over by "masses" of Western missionaries."<sup>33</sup> Mrs. Hall further recorded:

But when so many more who were not doctors came in, he [Governor] evidently changed his mind. At least he ordered Moffett to give back his deeds to the former owner, and them to give the money back. And also the people made it so hot for Moffett and [Graham] Lee [American Presbyterian], that they had to leave the city.<sup>34</sup>

In the end, the Presbyterian missionaries were driven out of P'yōngyang, leaving the Halls as the area's only Western missionaries.

The second conflict was caused in 1894-1895 by the Tonghak, a religio-political rebellion movement.<sup>35</sup> So popular was Tonghak ideology that natives openly exhibited their anti-Western sentiments. The Hall household (including the native helpers) faced strong opposition from the general populace of P'yōngyang and even Governor, Min Byōng-sōk, who previously had protected Hall, ceased to support him. W. J. Hall wrote:

[For] two nights the house was vigorously stoned<sup>36</sup> by a band of men who had been accustomed to spend their evenings there [at the kisaeng house, now in possession of Hall]. .. On the morning of the 17th

of February, several of the leading men of the district came in and said they had been accustomed to receive 1500 cash (\$2.50) from this house every year to sacrifice to the evil spirits, and they wanted me to give the same amount.<sup>37</sup>

They threatened to "kill the Christians and the foreigners,"<sup>38</sup> unless Hall responded to their demands. When Hall refused, the angry mob decided to persecute his native helpers,<sup>39</sup> thinking that the missionaries would be forced to leave the city, since they could do no mission work without native assistants. The mob formed an alliance with local government officials who put Kim Chang-sik, No Byōng-sōn, Moffett's helper known as Han and native assistants into jail.<sup>40</sup> Horrified by this, Hall telegraphed William Scranton, M.D. (1856-1922), an American Methodist, in Seoul.

Upon receiving news of what was happening in P'yōngyang, Seoul's foreign community decided to send a relief team composed of Samuel Moffett (an American) and William McKenzie (a Canadian); they arrived in P'yōngyang in May, 1894. Moffett and McKenzie, along with Hall, sent separate reports explaining the situation to the representative of their respective countries: Moffett sent one to American Consul, John Sill; McKenzie sent one to British Consul General, C. T. Gardner; and Hall sent one to American Methodist missionary, William Scranton. The diplomats in Seoul pressured the Korean government to release the imprisoned missionary helpers, and the native Christian assistants were set free. The Halls were ordered by British Consul General C. T. Gardner to retreat

from P'yōngyang, for it was still considered too "dangerous."<sup>41</sup> The Halls returned to Chemulpo on June 10, 1894, after having spent only about a month in P'yōngyang.

Four months later, in October, Hall left his family in Seoul and, together with Moffett and Graham Lee (an American Presbyterian), went back to P'yōngyang. The fighting between Chinese and Japanese forces had reached its peak in P'yōngyang. Hall described the battlefield at P'yōngyang:

We have partially visited the battlefield. It is strewn with Chinese bodies, some of which are still unburied, the rest have a few inches of dirt thrown over them. The stench is terrible and the sight indescribable.<sup>42</sup>

It was on this battle field that Hall "worked day and night caring for the sick and wounded of P'yōngyang. He used his bamboo cot for a stretcher, and his fellow Christians served as an ambulance staff."<sup>43</sup>

While tending the wounded and the sick in P'yōngyang, he himself was struck down by disease. Moffett, who had remained in P'yōngyang with Hall, wrote: "We all suffered from malaria, and as this seemed to have taken more serious hold upon the doctor [Hall], we arranged to leave for Seoul."<sup>44</sup> Hall had, in fact, contracted typhus fever and despite being taken to Seoul by Moffett and Lee, met his Maker on November 24, 1894, at the age of 34,<sup>45</sup> after having lived in Korea for only three years. He was buried on the banks of the Han River, Yanghwajin, outside of Seoul.

Legacy Continued

Hall's legacy -- particularly in the areas of education, medical work and evangelism -- was continued by his widow, his son Sherwood, and his native assistants.

After Hall's death, his widow Rosetta expressed the wish to build a hospital in P'yŏngyang in memory of her deceased husband, using money saved as the "P'yŏngyang Fund." (As early as 1892, when Hall was first assigned to P'yŏngyang, he had set up the "P'yŏngyang Fund" to help mission work in the area.) There was \$650 U.S. in the "P'yŏngyang Fund" at that time.<sup>46</sup> The Mission Board of the Methodist Church in Korea approved her request. Thus, the "P'yŏngyang kihol p'yŏngwŏn" (Hall Memorial Hospital in P'yŏngyang, hereafter cited as PKP) located next to the West Gate of P'yŏngyang, officially opened -- initially as a dispensary -- on February 1, 1897. Douglas Follwell, M.D., a Methodist missionary, took the charge of the PKP, as Rosetta Hall, discouraged by her husband's sudden death, had returned to America in December, 1894. With no secure funding, the PKP was constantly in financial trouble. "For years," Korean historian Lee Chun-ran noted, "the P'yŏngyang kihol p'yŏngwŏn suffered from a lack of sufficient funds with which to operate."<sup>47</sup> Finally, in 1920, the PKP was amalgamated with "P'yŏngyang chaejung p'yŏngwŏn" (P'yŏngyang Caroline A. Ladd Hospital in English which was founded in 1896). The name P'yŏngyang kihol p'yŏngwŏn remained until when

P'yŏngyang puin p'yŏngwŏn (Women's Hospital of Extended Grace) united with them in 1923 in which year the combined complex re-named "P'yŏngyang yŏnhab kidok p'yŏngwŏn" (P'yŏngyang Union Christian Hospital).

The school Hall founded in P'yŏngyang in 1894 later became known as Kwangsŏng School. The Ninety Year History of Kwangsŏng School (hereafter cited as History of KS) recorded;

The Kwang Sŏng School opened on April 1894 by William James Hall, physician, missionary, who then worked under American Methodist Episcopal Church, North, at the West of P'yŏngyang. There were thirteen students.<sup>48</sup>

After Hall's death, the school fell on hard times. The Kwangsŏng noted: "After that [the death of Hall], the Kwang Sŏng School made no progress but was faced with a slacking and lagging period until when John Moore (1874-1963, an American Methodist) came to P'yŏngyang and erected a school building in 1903 in the west of P'yŏngyang and named it "Kyŏkmul Hakdang."<sup>49</sup> In 1918, it, too, became Kwang Sŏng School.<sup>50</sup>

When the school was founded in 1894, Hall recorded that Hanja (Sino-Korean words), the Bible and Unmun (Korean vernacular writing, better known as Han'gŭl) were taught;<sup>51</sup> yet, the question of who taught remains unanswered. Even the History of KS is silent on this. However, as mentioned, Hall had two native assistants. The first, Kim Chang-sik, had assisted Hall with evangelical work and, in fact, became the first Protestant native minister later in 1901 (May 9).<sup>52</sup> There was also Hall's language teacher, No Byŏng-sŏn. No was a

graduate from Seoul's Paechae School, which had been founded by Henry Apenzeller, an American Methodist. No appears to have had a strong command of English. Given Kim's and No's qualifications, it is theorized that Kim would have taught Bible studies and No would have taught Hanja and Han'gūl. Furthermore, it is possible that No would have taught other subjects he learned at Paechae, e.g., Geography, Korean history, Mathematics, etc. It is my view that Kim and No were, in fact, the first teachers of Kwang Sǒng School.<sup>53</sup>

It is quite obvious that No was deeply influenced by Hall's Christianity.<sup>54</sup> As mentioned, he was well versed in English. In 1897, No published a book entitled Harak ūiwǒn sajǒk (Biography of Dr. Hall, 176 pages plus a few pictures and "Preface").<sup>55</sup> In actuality, No had simply extracted some parts of Rosetta Hall's book, The Life of Rev. William J. Hall (1897) and translated them into Korean. In his Harak ūiwǒn sajǒk, No described how he met Hall and how Hall had led him to Christianity. No even praised Hall as a Sǒngin (Saint).<sup>56</sup> Also in 1897, No wrote a pamphlet called Pahok jinsǒn ron, translated as "The Introduction to Christianity" by missionaries, but it literally means, "Treatise on the Investigation of Suspicion and Truth."<sup>57</sup> Pahok jinsǒn ron was designed to introduce Christianity to Koreans. No discusses the essence of Christianity and why Western missionaries had come to Korea to do evangelical and humanitarian work, using their own money and sacrificing their lives. No appears to



have been the first native Christian apologist; certainly he was the first native theologian to write about God, Christology, and Christianity. He understood God as "the great mercy and compassion, omnipresence, and the origin of the truth of all,"<sup>58</sup> somewhat of a mixture of the Buddhist and Christian concepts of the "Super Being." He understood Christ as stated in John 3: 16, i.e. that Christ was sent to the world by God to save all sinners. His understanding of Christianity is basically biblical and based on the idea that the loving God should be manifest through loving one's neighbors.<sup>59</sup> According to Korean historian Lee Man-yŏl, No's Pahok jinsŏn ron was a landmark in "Korean Christian theology," for it was the first Christian treatise written by a Korean.<sup>60</sup>

Mission work in Korea was politically interrupted during the Japanese occupation of Korea. More seriously, when the Communist established their hegemony over the northern part of Korea in the mid-1940s, Christian mission activities were prohibited. An estimated one million refugees, including Christians who wanted religious freedom, migrated south during the political turmoil of the late 1940s and early 1950s. These refugee Christians rebuilt some schools and churches in the south. Kwang Sŏng was one of them. In 1953 (Sept. 14), Kwang Sŏng School re-opened at Chungsdong, Seoul; in 1961 (April 20), it was moved to its present address: Sinsudong, Seoul.<sup>61</sup> Hall is still honoured as the

school's founder. The church Hall began in P'yŏngyang in 1894 with the help of Kim Chang-sik ("P'yŏngyang chaeil yebaedang," First Church of P'yŏngyang) later renamed, "Namsanhyŏn Church," was not rebuilt in south Korea.

While Hall had focused on providing schooling for boys, Mrs. Hall had established a special educational institute for blind people in P'yŏngyang, the first of its kind in Korea. It appears that this had come about because Hall's first Korean convert to Christianity in P'yŏngyang, Oh Sŏk-hyŏng, had a daughter, Pongrae, who was a blind. Sherwood Hall later wrote how his mother, Rosetta Hall, became involved in educating the blind:

Mr. O [Oh] had a little daughter [Pongrae] who was blind. Mrs. Hall had encountered blind and deaf-mute patients in her medical work and longed to be able to do something to help them. However, the condition of both the blind and deaf-mutes in Korea at that time, Mrs. Hall discovered, was indeed pitiable. The deaf-mutes were considered imbeciles who survived by their animal instincts and the blind became fortune tellers or sorcerers (mudang) if their parents were rich enough to have them thus trained.<sup>62</sup>

When Mrs. Hall found out that Pongrae was blind, she saw "[her] chance to begin."<sup>63</sup> Rosetta Hall wrote: "I set about contriving a way to prick Korean oiled paper with a needle to teach little Pongrae."<sup>64</sup> Such simple technology proved to her that if she knew how to read Braille, she could teach the blind.

It has been mentioned that she returned to America in 1894 following her husband's death. During her three-year stay

there, she learned the "New York Point System." After she returned to Korea on November 10, 1897, she travelled to P'yōngyang and opened "Puin p'yōngwōn" (Women's Hospital).<sup>65</sup> Less than a year later, she suffered another personal loss; her daughter, Edith Margaret (born January 18, 1895 in Liberty, New York) died on May 23, 1898, at the age of three. After her daughter's death, Rosetta added a wing to "Puin p'yōngwōn" and named it the "Edith Margaret Children's Ward". It was there that she began educating the blind. First, she transcribed the Korean alphabet into the New York Point System. Sherwood Hall remembered:

After moving to P'yōngyang [in 1897], my mother had started working again with Mr. O's [Oh Sōk-hyōng's] blind daughter, Pongrae. Teaching Pongrae with these new resources was at first slow and tedious work, but once she had mastered the alphabet and the syllabary, it was plain sailing. In a year, Pongrae could read all that my mother had been able to prepare and she learned to write in point and to make her own lessons from dictation. My mother also taught her to knit. Patients, seeing Pongrae so happy and industrious, would ask my mother if other blind girls they knew might join her. Thus began the first school for the blind in Korea.<sup>66</sup>

This school later became known as P'yōngyang maeng a hakkyo (P'yōngyang Blind School).<sup>67</sup> This was not merely the first school for the blind but also the first school for handicapped people of any sort in Korea's history. There, Rosetta Hall taught not only reading Han'gūl and knitting, but also courses such as arithmetic, geography, etc.<sup>68</sup> As of 1910, 26 students were enrolled. In 1914, the first student, Oh Pongrae, was sent to Japan for further education and returned home after a

year to become the first native blind teacher of a school for the blind.<sup>69</sup>

In 1917, Rosetta Hall relocated to Seoul and worked at "Tongdaemun Puin P'yōngwōn" (East Gate Womens' Hospital, presently Ehwa Women's University Hospital). Around 1920, she started a medical class for women at the same hospital. This medical class grew large enough to be recognized by the Korean Government in 1928 and was endowed with the name "Kyōngsōng Yōja Ūihak Hakkyo" (Seoul Women's Medical College),<sup>70</sup> thus becoming the first formal medical school for women in Korea. This institution was the predecessor of the present Korea University Medical College.<sup>71</sup>

After 35 years of mission work in Korea, Rosetta Hall retired in 1935 and settled in New Jersey, where she died on April 5, 1951, at the age of 85. She was eventually buried beside her husband and daughter at Yanghwajin, near Seoul.

William Hall's death triggered an historical relationship between Canada and Korea. When Rosetta Hall planned to returned to America, Esther Pak, Rosetta Hall's medical assistant, wanted to come to America to study medicine. Rosetta Hall agreed that: "Perhaps the time had come for Esther to pursue her long-cherished idea of studying medicine in America."<sup>72</sup> She therefore took Esther and Yusan Pak (Esther's husband) with her when she returned to the States in 1894; Esther was 17-years-old at that time. In July 1895, Rosetta Hall visited Glen Buell, Ontario, the hometown of her

late husband, accompanied by Esther and Yusan. They were the first Koreans to visit Canada and their appearance made quite an impression on Canadians. Rosetta Hall wrote: "Mr. Pak still wore his long hair rolled up in a top-knot [sangtu], concealed by a bowler hat! He created almost as big a sensation in the West as the 'Western barbarians' had in the Far East."<sup>73</sup>

A special service was held at Hall's mother church, Wesleyan Methodist Church, Glen Buell, on July 31, 1895.<sup>74</sup> At the service, a memorial plaque in his honour was dedicated to the congregation and installed at the front of the church. The church was decommissioned and its property sold in the early 1990s to a local realtor. Hall's memorial plaque was, however, removed and is now in the hands of Phyllis King, W.J. Hall's granddaughter. (The plaque's inscription, provided below, was copied by present author from the original plaque, now kept at Mr. and Mrs. King's summer cottage in Brockville, Ontario.)

In loving memory of Rev. William J. Hall [,] M.D.  
 who died in Korea Nov. 24, 1894,  
 Aged 35 years [sic]

I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, write,  
 beloved are the dead which die in the Lord from  
 henceforth, yes, saith the spirit, that they may rest  
 from their labors and their works do follow them.  
 Rev[elation]. 14: 13.<sup>75</sup>

When Mrs. Hall and the Paks returned to Liberty, New York (Rosetta Hall's hometown), early on August, 1895, Esther entered one of Liberty's public schools to prepare for medical school. Her husband, Yusan, was helped on Rosetta's initial family's farm. On October 1, 1896, Esther Pak entered the

Women's Medical College of Baltimore, now part of John Hopkins. She graduated with an M.D. in 1900,<sup>76</sup> at the age of 23, thus becoming Korea's first female medical doctor. Ironically, her husband, Yusan, died of tuberculosis just 21 days prior to her graduation.<sup>77</sup> After graduation, Esther Pak returned to Korea and worked at Poguyōkwan (Women's Hospital) in Seoul for three years; then, in March of 1903, she transferred to "Kihol P'yōngwōn" in P'yōngyang. There, Esther Pak was accepted no longer as an assistant but as a co-worker. Seven years later, she, too, fell victim to tuberculosis and died on April 13, 1910, at the age of 33. Esther's unexpected death shocked everyone, particularly seventeen-year-old Sherwood Hall, who considered Esther Pak "one of the family."<sup>78</sup>

#### Legacy Continued by Second Generation

It appears that Esther's death deeply influenced Sherwood Hall, for he decided to become a TB specialist. He wrote:

I resolved to do all in my power to help prevent the disease that had snatched her away in her prime and wasted the lives of so many of her fellow Koreans. I vowed that I would return to Korea as a TB specialist and would establish a tuberculosis sanatorium.<sup>79</sup>

As mentioned, Sherwood Hall had been born in Korea in 1893. The education of the children of missionaries posed a serious problem. Normally, the mother would educate the children at home until they were ready to enter the higher educational

institutions, such as high school. However, there were missionary families residing in P'yŏngyang. In June, 1900, Rosetta Hall formed a school to educate the children of missionaries; this school later known as P'yŏngyang Foreign School (PFS).<sup>80</sup> It was here that Sherwood Hall received his education until he was seventeen. Then, in 1910, Rosetta Hall was appointed as an official Korean delegate to the World Missionary Conference being held in Edinburgh, Scotland.<sup>81</sup> Rosetta Hall took Sherwood with her, intending to enrol him in an academy at home. After the conference, they returned to America. Later that year, Sherwood was admitted to the Mount Hermon School in Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, where he completed his high school education. Upon graduation from Mount Hermon in 1915, he continued his education at Mount Union College in Alliance, Ohio, graduating from there in June, 1919. (It was at Mount Union College that he met his future wife, Marian Bottomley.) That fall, Sherwood entered the University of Toronto Faculty of Medicine and graduated as an M.D. in 1924.<sup>82</sup> Sherwood later recalled that he had been at the University of Toronto during the very exciting period when Dr. Frederick Grant Banting and Dr. Charles Herbert Best were doing their research work on insulin for use as a treatment for diabetes.<sup>83</sup>

Marian Bottomley had entered the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1920 and, like Hall, also graduated in 1924 as an M.D.<sup>84</sup> Upon their graduation, these

"junior" Halls (Sherwood and Marian had married in 1922) were assigned to Korea as medical missionaries by the same mission (American Methodist Episcopal Church, North) that had sponsored Sherwood's parents. They arrived in Korea on April, 1926, and for Hall, it was like returning "home" after a 16 year absence.<sup>85</sup>

### Inception of New Legacy

Upon their arrival in Korea, Sherwood and Marian Hall were assigned to "Kusae P'yōngwōn" (Norton Memorial Hospital, hereafter cited as NMH) in Haeju, Hwanghe Province, with Sherwood being appointed superintendent. (NMH had been founded on November 1, 1910, by Arthur H. Norton [in Korea from 1906 to 1926] in memory of his mother, Louisa Holmes Norton.) While in Haeju, Hall set about doing something he had long planned for: preventing paebyōng, tuberculosis. Hall wrote:

Tuberculosis was sweeping unchecked through the country [of Korea] at that time. One out of five people fell victim to the disease as opposed to one in twenty elsewhere. Where Korea was beginning to feel the change from the old order of civilization to the new, tuberculosis was taking its toll. It stalked the new lines of travel and communication, scattering its microbes from isolated country villages to big cities and back again. Once these microbes reached into the Korean house there was little hope for the occupants. The foul, dungeon-like dwellings, on the whole, permitted no sunlight. So widespread was the disease that it attacked indiscriminately the farmer, the city-worker, the educated, the old, and the young.<sup>86</sup>

paebyōng was a serious social problem; one source indicated



that in 1930, 15% of Korea's entire population were infected with tuberculosis.<sup>87</sup> Matters were not helped by the fact that Western physicians avoided treating tuberculosis patients. Hall found out that even the Mission Hospital was refusing to admit TB patients. One of the staff at NMH informed Hall that "[It] is against the policy of our hospital [Norton Memorial Hospital] to take TB patients, for we would then be swamped with them and have no room for other types of patients."<sup>88</sup>

Setting aside the non-existence of facilities for the treatment of TB and the general public's lack of understanding about the disease, the most serious obstacle was the cultural bias against treating the seriously ill. It was believed "that fate [sickness] had been decreed for those who had offended the spirits."<sup>89</sup> Consequently, "little could be done." In such a traditional society as Korea, where folk beliefs about "fate" were deeply-rooted, people did not trust "scientific" treatments. Indeed, people believed that if one interfered with one's "fate" through the use of medicine or surgical treatment, the spirits would be angered and would levy an even worse punishment on them. In order to moderate such a "fate," people placated the spirits with food, and administered spirit-approved remedies such as "baemtang" (snake soup) or "rokhyŏl" (fresh deer blood) to the sick.

#### Pioneered in Treatment of Tuberculosis

Hall discovered that it would take time to bring his dream of a TB sanatorium for Koreans to fruition. Not only was a great deal of spadework needed in order to overcome cultural bias, but he had to face resistance from his own Mission Board, which cared little about building yet another medical institution. In fact, Hall encountered extremely harsh opposition. He was viewed by his fellow missionaries as "a wild visionary and an idealist,"<sup>90</sup> given that even existing medical works had to be discontinued because of a lack of funds. However, in 1927, Hall received approval from the Mission Board to go ahead with his plan, but only on the condition that there would be no financial assistance from his church. Therefore, he had to look for outside funding. Fortunately at that time, the bequest of \$3,850 U.S.<sup>91</sup> "for a new hospital in Korea,"<sup>92</sup> left by a Methodist woman, Mary Verburg of Ohio, was available. It was this grant which was earmarked for Hall's plan. Some Korean historians credit the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission Board as having financed the construction of the Sanatorium,<sup>93</sup> but this is incorrect. On April 13, 1928, construction began, and a Korean-style building with an eight-bed capacity officially opened on October 27, 1928, as the "Haeju Kyōlhaek Yoyangwōn" (Haeju Tuberculosis Sanatorium).<sup>94</sup>

The building was located just outside of Haeju in the area known as wangsinli. It had been built using a special material called suchang (cellu-glass) which admits ultra-

violet light, and was equipped with X-ray machines and other modern equipment.<sup>95</sup> Besides the medical facilities, the medical institute had a 25-acre farm, where "healthy" fruits and vegetables were grown. Hall believed that the sanatorium should also be a rehabilitation centre; to this end, he invited Dexter N. Lutz, an American agricultural missionary who was in Seoul at that time, to come and give practical instruction on farming. In fact, Lutz taught patients who were healthy enough about soil analysis, the better use of land, the terrace-farming of fruits and vegetables, dairy farming and animal husbandry. (Lutz also taught modern agricultural methods to the people of Haeju.) Thus, when patients left the sanatorium after treatment, they had "mastered" some knowledge of scientific farming, poultry raising, sericulture, and even carpentry and handicrafts. Hall insisted that "no patient would leave the model village until he was thoroughly strong physically, self-confident mentally, and had mastered whatever line of work in which he [or she] had chosen to specialize."<sup>96</sup> In truth, Hall's sanatorium did function as a "Chaehwalwŏn" (Rehabilitation Centre) as well as a medical facility. Indeed, the "sanatorium community" was so successful that it became the first "model farm" of the "modern farm movement" in Korea.<sup>97</sup>

One month after its opening, Hall reported that the sanatorium was so crowded that "even the doctor's office [and] the treatment room were filled with patients."<sup>98</sup> Six years

later in 1934, the initial eight-bed sanatorium had expanded to a fifty-bed institution;<sup>99</sup> it was reported that patients were coming not only from the Hwanghe Province but from as far away as Siberia and Manchuria.<sup>100</sup> On September 23, 1933, a sanctuary known as "The Rosetta Chapel," was opened. This had been built in memory of Sherwood's mother, using a \$10,000 donation made by Sherwood Hall's maternal cousin, Mary Crary (later Mrs. Harold Moore) of Denver, Colorado.<sup>101</sup> While Hall treated TB patients and educated the natives about public health and tuberculosis, Marian Hall founded "Yuk A Sangdamso" (Children's Welfare Clinic) at her house in 1928. Not much is known about "Yuk A Sangdamso", other than the fact that there were 60 mothers and over 100 children enrolled at the clinic in 1938 -- ten years after it had opened.<sup>102</sup>

Tuberculosis had first been treated on an *ad hoc* basis at the Severance Hospital in Seoul in March, 1920, by American medical missionary Frank M. Stites (in Korea: 1917-1923).<sup>103</sup> However, Hall's Haeju sanatorium, with its "modern" facilities was the "first" institute to specialize in the treatment of Korean TB patients. A contemporary American missionary, James Van Buskirt, M.D., wrote:

Hygiene instruction has been given [before], but up to 1928 there was not a modern sanatorium in the country. In that year a small School of Hygiene for the Tuberculous was opened. It nestles among the pine trees on the southern slope of a mountain, looking out to the bay, near the city of Haeju. There is now a main building equipped with X-ray machines, Alpine sun lamps, and all the modern apparatus for diagnosing and treating tuberculosis,

and with Manchurian-style heated brick beds for twenty patients. There is a smaller building for women patients, and one small cottage. Other cottages are to be erected in the near future. The patients, generally young people in whom the disease is starting, learn how to care for themselves and how to prevent the spread of the disease. The graduates of this school will be evangelists of the hope that the dreaded white plague can be conquered. The sanatorium is small, but it represents a beginning.<sup>104</sup>

Hall's sanatorium received no regular funding from any church or outside organization; although it tried hard to be self-sufficient, Hall was frequently faced with financial difficulties. As a result, Hall became an aggressive fundraiser.

In 1930, the Halls went on furlough, staying at Ventnor, New Jersey. While there, they made deputation visits to area churches as well as commuting to New York and Philadelphia to take courses to improve their medical skills. Hall was taking a course on TB at the Henry Phipps Institute in Philadelphia when he learned about the "Christmas Seal" campaign, especially about its financial rewards and success in educating Americans about tuberculosis. Fascinated by the concept, Hall visited the originator of the "Christmas Seal" campaign, Emily P. Bissell of Wilmington, Delaware. From Bissell, Hall learned that the stamp cost so little that everyone, young and old, rich or poor, could participate. Furthermore, he liked the idea that "all [everyone] became working partners in the fight [against] TB."<sup>105</sup> Hall was so excited about the funding possibilities of a Christmas Seal

campaign that he became determined to launch such a project<sup>106</sup> when he returned "home" to Korea.

At that time, Korea was under Japanese control. Thus, Hall requested permission from the Japanese Colonial Government in Korea to issue Christmas Seals, a totally unprecedented project. Fortunately, he was familiar with a Japanese official named Oda Yasuma,<sup>107</sup> who was working as an English secretary in the Foreign Affairs Department of Korea in Seoul. Hall explained to Oda his plans for the campaign, the spirit of the Christmas Seal project, and the fact that any resulting funds would be used for purely humanitarian purposes. Yasuma Oda "promised to do all he could to secure the necessary permit to issue the seals."<sup>108</sup> However, Hall's political naivete almost ended the project before it began. He wanted a design which had historical and cultural relevance to Korean's, since that would ensure support from the public. With this in mind, he designed a stamp which portrayed the famous "Tortoise Boat" invented by Admiral Yi Sun-sin of Yi dynasty. Unfortunately, since it was this invention which enabled the Koreans to destroy most of Hideyoshi's invading naval force in 1592, the emblem was a symbol of shame for Japanese. Hall wrote:

I had wanted the first seal design to catch the enthusiasm and imagination of the Korean public. Ancient Korea had invented the world's first ironclad battleship and had won a resounding victory over the wooden and less protected ships of the enemy [Japanese]. As English children never tire of hearing about Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson's

famous naval victory, so Korean children never tire of hearing their elders tell the story of Admiral Yi Sun-sin and his "tortoise boat," which the Japanese [could] neither board nor burn.<sup>109</sup>

He metaphorically equated the salvos from this battleship with the medicines which would defeat "the enemy" -- tuberculosis. Hall's historical and cultural ignorance resulted in a design which was viewed as a direct insult to the powers that be. Hall soon realized that he had overstepped himself as far as the present overlords of Korea were concerned.<sup>110</sup> To say that his proposed design was flatly opposed by Yasuma Oda would be an understatement. This experience taught him the perils of publicly humiliating the Japanese colonial government. He subsequently chose to use the historic "South Gate" of Seoul as his emblem, an image which received no objections from either Japanese or Koreans. Hall wrote:

After much thought and consultation with my Korean and Japanese friends, I came up with a safer, though far less dramatic design -- the historic Great Gate of the City Wall of Seoul. This was a familiar landmark to all in Korea. Like the Rock of Gibraltar, it represented to the Korean a citadel of strength.<sup>111</sup>

Korea's first Christmas Seal (with the emblem of South Gate) was issued on December 3, 1932,<sup>112</sup> by the authority of "Haeju Kusae Yoyangwŏn" (Haeju Salvation Sanatorium).<sup>113</sup> This was only the second time an Asian country had issued such a stamp. (Japan had issued one in 1927.) Then, various artists designed subsequent seals, the first of which was created by an unknown Korean artist connected with Seoul's YMCA. Later on, artists

like Elizabeth Keith and Kim Ki-chang, and Australian Presbyterian missionary, Esmond New, drew emblems for the seals.<sup>114</sup> Some historians in Korea claim that the surviving seals (which are in the possession of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington D.C.) were donated by Sherwood Hall to the Smithsonian Museum in his hometown of Richmond, British Columbia, Canada,<sup>115</sup> but they are mistaken. He donated seals to the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D.C.<sup>116</sup>

Despite the success of the Christmas Seal project, Hall believed it was more important to educate people about public health and the prevention of disease than to simply raise money. He therefore organized a campaign team, headed by Moon Chang-mo, M.D.,<sup>117</sup> which he sent out to other parts of Korea. Hall wrote:

They had travelled as far as from Pusan in the south to Songjin in the north, and had told over 9,100 students and 2,800 adults the story of the Christmas Seal and the pertinent facts on tuberculosis and its prevention.<sup>118</sup>

Hall made informative leaflets about the Christmas seal campaign for educational purposes and distributed them to churches, schools, hospitals and town centres.<sup>119</sup> When seals were issued, people were encouraged by the Governor of Hwanghe Province, Wŏn Chong-kyo, who said that buying a stamp was like "a means of obtaining health insurance for the buyer, his family and his own community."<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, the message sometimes became confused and some people mistook the seal itself as a cure for TB; in one case, a patient pasted a seal



to his chest, hoping to be cured.<sup>121</sup>

Considering the importance of the Christmas Seal project, Hall wanted the whole country and all the hospitals in Korea to be involved. At the time, there was a pan-denominational medical organization called the "Korean Medical Missionary Association" (KMMA: organized in 1907), which consisted of various medical missionaries serving in Korea.<sup>122</sup> Hall proposed to the KMMA that it become involved in the selling of Christmas seals and that the resulting income be shared by the rest of the sanatoriums. The members of the KMMA agreed to take over the Christmas Seal project,<sup>123</sup> and the campaign went nationwide. In the first year (1932), 350 wōn worth of seals were sold and five tuberculosis units split the funds. (See the recipients in Figure 7:1.)

Figure 7:1 The Receiving Hospitals of the  
Christmas Seal Sale in 1932

Name of the Recipient <sup>124</sup>	Share
Union Christian Hospital in P'yōngyang	50 <u>wōn</u>
Church of England Hospital in Yōju	50 <u>wōn</u>
United Church of Canada Hospital in Hamheūng	50 <u>wōn</u>
Severance Hospital in Seoul	75 <u>wōn</u>
School of Hygiene for Tuberculosis in Haeju	75 <u>wōn</u>
For research and laboratory work	20 <u>wōn</u>
For the future production of Tuberculosis literature	30 <u>wōn</u>

Source: Re-arranged by present author, based on KMF Vol. XXIX:5 (May 1933), p. 95.

Hall seemed to be satisfied with the result, not only because of the monetary success but also because of the campaign's ability to educate people and involve diverse

groups. Hall's Christmas Seal campaign also attracted support from outside of Korea. Hall wrote:

There has been a great demand for literature on tuberculosis, more than we have been able to meet. One of the interesting facts observed in the campaign was the diversity of the groups thus united in the fight against the common foe, tuberculosis. All religions and nationalities in Korea were represented and Christmas Seals money has come from Japan, Manchukuo [Manchuria], China, United States, and Canada.<sup>125</sup>

The Christmas Seal project continued to receive strong public support. In 1941, recipients of the campaign were double to those of the first year, as Figure 7:2 shows.

Figure 7:2 The Receiving Hospitals of  
Christmas Seal Sale in 1941

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Northern Presbyterian, U.S.A., in Andong  
 Australian Presbyterian, in Chinju  
 Northern Presbyterian, U.S.A., in Chūnju  
 Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A., in Haeju  
 United Church of Canada, in Hamheūng  
 United Church of Canada, in Yongjūng (Manchuria)  
 Union Christian Hospital, in P'yōngyang  
 Severance Hospital, in Seoul  
 Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A., in Songdo  
 Northern Presbyterian, U.S.A., in Sōnchōn  
 Northern Presbyterian, U.S.A., in Taiku  
 Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A., in Wōnsan

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Source: Anne C. Pieters, "Report of the 1940-1941 Christmas Seal Campaign", KMF Vol. XXXVII:3 (March 1941), p. 48.

As the following statistics show, Hall's sanatorium in Haeju was equally successful in healing patients.

Table 7:1 Statistics of Haeju Sanatorium  
from 1928 to 1933

year	admitted	recovered	discharged	died	total	outpatient
1928	5	-	-	-	240	102
1929	45	15	7	-	3,990	516
1930	60	8	22	-	7,530	446
1931	58	11	22	4	1,080	509
1932	95	22	32	1	11,120	451
1933	77	11	32	9	7,110	293
Total	340	67	115	14	31,070	2,217

Source: "Haeju Kusae Yoyangwŏn" in KTPS Vol. 16, p. 260

The work load of the Haeju sanatorium demonstrates how quickly Koreans accepted Western medicine and treatment. After seeing the effects of treatment and education on tuberculosis, Hall wrote that the people had become convinced that their old "baemtang" (snake soup) cure was dangerous, the "rokhyŏl" (fresh deer blood) was useless, and that a long period of rest and treatment at a sanatorium was more effective.<sup>126</sup> He achieved a major goal by destroying people's belief in folk remedies and other unscientific methods of treatment. The following Table 7: 2 illustrates that the sanatorium surpassed the "Haeju Kusae Hospital" both in staff and in patients.

Table 7:2 Statistics of the Sanatorium  
and Haeju Kusae Hospital in 1939

	<u>Sanatorium</u>	<u>Hospital</u>
Physicians	4	2
Nurses	8	4
Clerical workers	9	2
Patients	205	188

Source: "Haeju Kusae Yoyangwŏn" in KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 260.

However, during Japan's occupation of Korea in the 1930s and 1940s, mission work became increasingly difficult. Even the Christmas Seal campaign was halted by the Japanese colonial government in 1940, only eight years after the first issue. The campaign was revived in 1949 by Dr. Moon Chang-mo, who had been a key promoter of the Christmas Seal campaign in the days of Haeju;<sup>127</sup> nevertheless, the revival lasted only one year. On November 6, 1953, the Korean National TB Association was founded, and has since continued to issue annual Christmas seals.<sup>128</sup>

Figure 7:3

Korea's First Christmas Seal (December 3, 1932)  
promoted by Dr. Sherwood Hall



*1932-33  
Y.M.C.A. staff artist*

Photographs Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution

Magnification 2x

### Forced to Leave

Starting in mid-1930s, the Japanese militarism became more intensified in Korea. Under the slogan "Japan and Korea: One Nation", the Japanese colonial government forced Koreans to take Japanese names and adjust to Japanese customs. Oppression of Korean religious activity also intensified. Korean religious organizations affiliated with international organizations, such as YMCA, were forced to break off direct contact with them; any such international organization was permitted to have a Korean branch only through a Japanese "parent" organization. Foreign mission works in particular were politically pressured by the Japanese colonial government. Hall's work was no exception. In August, 1940, Hall was arrested by the Japanese military police, accused of "spying" for the Americans, and taken to Seoul where he spent a night in prison. Hall had been targeted by the Japanese security forces because of a 16 mm. film his wife, Marian, had shot of Haeju from a hill over looking Haeju city.<sup>129</sup> Hall was prosecuted by the Haeju Civil Court, and despite the aid of his Korean lawyer, the Court found both Hall and his wife guilty. The couple was sentenced "either [to spend] three months in jail or pay a fine of 5,000 yen [\$1,000] ."<sup>130</sup>

Early in October, 1940, as war clouds cast their shadows over the eastern part of Asia, representatives of Western countries who still had embassies or consulates in Seoul put

all their efforts towards evacuating their nationals. The Halls, however, could not leave Haeju until they had either paid their fine or served jail time. Hall contended: "Sometimes the paying of a fine is considered an admission of guilt, so it might be better to be jailed than to get into that trap."<sup>131</sup> While struggling to decide whether or not to leave Korea, he was contacted by the British Consul-General in Seoul, Gerald Phipps. Hall wrote: "Mr. Phipps told us that we had been shown the handwriting on the wall. Even though there was nothing legal about our trial, he strongly advised us to pay the fine and leave the country as soon as possible."<sup>132</sup> The couple did so. Before leaving, though, Hall authorized Dr. Moon Chang-mo, one of his assistants, to take over the operation of the NMH and Tuberculosis Sanatorium. However, Moon himself fled south when the Communists took over North Korea. Thus, the mission work in North Korea ceased.

The Halls finally left Korea on December 9, 1940, bringing to an abrupt end two generations of Hall medical mission work in Korea. Hall was assigned to Ajmer, situated at the base of Mt. Taragarth (3000 ft), in the northwest of India. There he built a sanatorium called "Madar Union Sanatorium" and issued a Christmas Seal for the first time in India's history. The couple remained in India for 23 years, continuing the fight against tuberculosis. In 1963, the Halls left India and retired to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Sherwood Hall died there on April 4, 1991, at the age of 98;

Marian Hall died a few months later on September 19, 1991, at the age of 95.

### Conclusion

W.J. Hall pioneered humanitarian works in the areas of medicine, education and evangelism in P'yŏngyang at a time when Korea was still closed to formal proselytization. His "success" in P'yŏngyang demonstrates that the Korean people were open to Western medical treatment, but not to foreign religions. Hall therefore used medicine to open doors for evangelization which was a rather common strategy of the early missionaries in Korea.

Hall's sudden death after working less than three years in Korea should have brought to an end his outreach work. However, thanks to the efforts of his widow, Dr. Rosetta Hall, and his son, Dr. Sherwood Hall, his mission continued. Rosetta Hall pioneered educating women in medicine; indeed, it was because of her effort that Korea's first woman doctor, Pak Esther, was certified in 1900. Rosetta Hall was also responsible for founding the "P'yŏngyang Maeng A Hakkyo" in 1894, and "Kyŏngsŏng Women's Medical College" (presently, Korea University Medical College) in 1928.

Sherwood Hall was born in Korea on November 10, 1893; he spent the first 17 years of his life there. After attaining his medical certification and marriage overseas, both Sherwood

and his wife, Marian, returned to Korea in 1925.

The most significant contribution Hall made to Korean society was, undoubtedly, introducing scientific medical technology to a culture which had previously relied on folk religion and remedies to cope with serious diseases. He did this by erecting Korea's first Tuberculosis Sanatorium, equipping it with modern technology. Moreover, his initiation of the Christmas Seal campaign was doubly beneficial in that it provided funding for the treatment of paebyōng and educated the public to understand that TB could be prevented or cured through scientific treatments.

Sherwood Hall was first and foremost a physician, but he also deserves to be remembered as a "Saemaül (New Community) leader" of the "Saemaül Undong" (New Community Movement), for he introduced new scientific farming methods and facilitated the building of a healthier community life. He used "his" farm for many purposes: to provide financing for the sanatorium; as an education center for modern farming; and as a training center for patients so that they could earn a living after leaving the sanatorium. Hall's "sanatorium-cum-rehabilitation centre" renders Hall the first institutional social worker in Korea's modern history. The total duration of the four Hall's (William James, Rosetta, Sherwood and Marian) service in Korea was 76 years. During this period, through their evangelism, medical treatment, educational outreach, special education for the blind, TB sanatorium, and their overall improvement of



community living standards, the Halls made a monumental and lasting contribution to Korean society.

Notes to Chapter Seven

<sup>1</sup> W.J. Hall served in Korea for three years from 1891 to 1894; Rosetta Hall, for 43 years, from 1890 to 1933, and Sherwood and Marian Hall, for 30 years, from 1925 to 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Rosetta Hall (ed.), The Life of Rev. William J. Hall, (New York: Young People of Canada and the United States, 1897), p. 45. Hereafter cited as Life of WJH; Sherwood Hall, With Stethoscope in Asia: Korea (McLean, Virginia: MCL Associates: 1978), p. 11. Hereafter cited as Stethoscope. For more information on W.J. Hall's early days, see Stethoscope, pp. 9-25. See also, Robert Sturgeon, "Boyhood Days" in Life of WJH. There is no record of where Hall received his teacher's certificate. In those days, "Normal Schools" offered a one-year course which enabled people to get the third class teacher's certificate in order to teach at primary or secondary schools. It appears that Hall attended a local school in Farmersville for two years and either took a one-year course somewhere else to get that certificate, or did some extra work at Farmersville to receive the certificate from there.

<sup>3</sup> Edgar Clow, "History of Glen Buell [Brockville, Ontario] United Church". Unpublished typed manuscript, (1950), p. 1. The present author acknowledges Prof. John H. Young, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, for providing this manuscript and other valuable leads on William James Hall. According to Dr. Young, in the late 1960s, the Glen Buell congregation amalgamated with the United Church in Lyn, a community not far from Glen Buell. The present author discovered that the property of the Glen Buell church Hall attended had been sold in the early 1990s to a local realtor, complete with the church building, which still stands.

<sup>4</sup> Life of WJH, 49.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 51. Other officials were: J.F. Smith (President), later medical missionary to Honan, China; D.A. Gallagher (Vice-present); T.J. Jameson (Treasurer).

<sup>7</sup> Life of WJH, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 55-56.

<sup>9</sup> Roger E. Thompson, "Madison Street Mission", in Life of WJH, p. 80.

<sup>10</sup>. Yun Chun-byōng, Han'guk kamrikyohoe oekukin sōnkyosa (Foreign Missionaries' "Who's Who" in the Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Kamrikyo kyoyukguk, 1989), p. 150; Stethoscope, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup>. Pak Kwang-sō, "Han'guk choecho ūi kyōlhaek p'yōngwōn saeun daktō hol" (Dr. Hall, Founder of the First TB Sanatorium in Korea), in Kaegan Asan [Asan Quarterly, #27 (Winter 1984)], p. 34.

<sup>12</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup>. W.J. Hall, "Pioneer Missionary Work in the Interior of Korea" in Chinese Recorder, Vol. XXIV (March 1893), p. 117.

<sup>14</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 105.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>. No Byōng-sōn studied at Paechae School, which had been founded by Henry Appenzeller in 1885. According to No's biographer, No Jong-hae, No Byōng-sōn was a honorary graduate of Paechae School in 1898. For this, see No Jong-hae, "No Byōng-sōn sōnsaeng ūi byōnjūng sinang kwa sahoe kaehyōk sasang" (No Byōng-sōn and His Faith of Apology and His Thought of Social Reform), in Han'guk kamrikyosa ūi saesigak [New View on the History of Korean Methodist Church] (Seoul, Korea: Poongman, 1988), p. 13. For further information on No, see No Jong-hae's pp. 11-30, 273-281.

<sup>17</sup>. No Byōng-sōn, "Sōngin haraki chosōnsō haenghangōs ūl kirokham" (Memor of William Hall of Korea), in Harak ūiwōn sajōk [A History of Dr. Hall] (Seoul, Korea: Yonsan insoeso, 1897), p. 154. William Hall is known as Harak (하 락 ) or ( 亨 ) in Korean name; Lee Sōng-sam, "Kim Chang-sik" in Kidokkyo taepaekkwā sajōn (The Christian Encyclopedia), Vol. 3 (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1985), p. 299. Hereafter cited as KTPS. Kim Chang-sik (1857-1929) was baptized by Frank Ohlinger (1845-1919), an American Methodist (probably in the early 1890s). Kim worked for Ohlinger until Ohlinger returned to America in 1891. When Hall came to Korea in 1891, Kim worked for Hall. As a matter of fact, Kim became the first ordained minister under the Korean Methodist Church in 1901.

<sup>18</sup>. Chinese Recorder Vol. XXIV (September 1893). p. 402.

<sup>19</sup>. In 1883, Korea opened three ports -- Inchōn (then Chemulpo), Pusan and Wōnsan -- for foreign trade.

<sup>20</sup>. Stethoscope, pp. 122, 129.

21. Lee Chin-ho, "Jaeims hol", in Han'guk kamrikyo sahakhoe, Han'guk kamrikyor ūl mandūn saramdūl [Those Who Built Korean Methodist Church] (Seoul, Korea: Kamrikyo kyoyukguk, 1987), pp. 24-25.

22. In Stethoscope (p. 138), Sherwood Hall recorded that "The Governor [of the P'yōngan Province] is a relative of the Queen, a powerful family here in Korea." The anonymous governor Hall mentioned here appears to be Min Byōng-sōk (1858-1940), according to the Korean source. For this, see Kuksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe, Kojong sidaesa (History of Kojong Period), Vol. 3 (1888-1895), p. 123. This work states that Min Byōng-sōk was appointed as "P'yōngando Kwanchalsa" (The Governor of P'yōngan Province) in November 1889, and was in P'yōngyang when Hall was there in 1894. For further information on Min Byōng-sōk, see Kojong sidaesa, Vol. 3, pp. 227, 365. Another Korean source indicates that Min Byōng-sōk was the Governor of P'yōngan Province and he persecuted Christians in 1894. For this, see "Song In-sō" in KTPS Vol. 9, p. 727.

23. Hall, Chinese Recorder (Vol. XXIV (September 1893), p. 402.

24. Hall, Chinese Recorder Vol. XXIV (March 1893), p. 118.

25. Ibid., (September 1893), p. 402.

26. Ibid., p. 402.

27. Stethoscope, p. 113.

28. Ibid., p. 112.

29. Hall, Chinese Recorder Vol. XXIV, (March 1893), p. 119.

30. Ibid.

31. Yusan and Esther married on May 24, 1892.

32. Stethoscope, pp. 113, 132.

33. Ibid., pp. 128, 132.

34. Ibid., p. 113.

35. For the discussion on the Tonghak, see "Among the Tonghak" in Chapter Nine.

36. W.J. Hall's language teacher, No Byōng-sōn (who was in P'yōngyang at that time) said "the stones flew on to the

house where they were like rain." For this, see Harak ūiwōn sajōk, pp. 155-156.

<sup>37</sup>. Hall, "Pioneer Missionary Work", Vol. XXXV (July 1894), pp. 314-315.

<sup>38</sup>. Ibid, p. 316.

<sup>39</sup>. Harak ūiwōn sajōk, p. 156.

<sup>40</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 132; Harak ūiwōn sajōk, p. 156; Lillias H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918), pp. 132-133.

<sup>41</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 145; Elizabeth McCully, A Corn of Wheat or the Life of the Rev. W.J. McKenzie of Korea (Toronto, Ontario: Westminster, 1903), p. 128.

<sup>42</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 150

<sup>43</sup>. Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>44</sup>. Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>45</sup>. Korean historian Kim Du-jong erred when he stated that Hall died in 1895, four years after his arrival in Korea. For this, see Kim's Han'guk ūihaksa (History of Korean Medicine) (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1979), p. 491. William Hall was in Korea for only three years.

<sup>46</sup>. Life of WJH, pp. 409-410.

<sup>47</sup>. Lee Chun-ran. "Han'guk e issōsō ūi miguk sōnkyo ūiryōhwaldong" (The Activities of the American Missionaries in Korea", in Idae sawōn [Journal of History of Ehwa University], Vol. 10 (1972), p. 17.

<sup>48</sup>. Kwangsōng kusipnyōn p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe, Kwangsōng kusipnyōnsa (Ninety-Year History of Kwangsōng School) (Seoul, Korea, Minjung insoe kongsa, 1984), p. 41. Hereafter cited as Kwangsōng.

<sup>49</sup>. Kwangsōng, pp. 41-42.

<sup>50</sup>. Ibid., p. 881.

<sup>51</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 129.

<sup>52</sup>. Hong Sōk-chang, "Kim Chang-sik", in Han'guk kamrikyohoerul mandūn saramdūl, p. 37. The first native ministers were ordained in 1908 by the Presbyterians, seven

years after Kim Chang-sik.

<sup>53</sup>. In No Byōng-sōn's biography, No Jong-hae said that No Byōng-sōn taught at Paechae School in the 1920s. For this, see No Jong-hae, Han'guk kamrikyosa ūi saesigak (New View on the History of Korean Methodist Church) (Seoul, Korea: Punman, 1988), p. 276. No also said that No Byōng-sōn taught at Paechae School after his wife died. However, No Jong-hae did not mention when No Byōng-sōn's wife died.

<sup>54</sup>. This judgement is based on No's writing, particularly, "Sōngin haraki chosōnsō haenghangōsūl kirokham" (Memoir of William Hall of Korea", in Harak ūiwōn sajōk, pp. 151-159.

<sup>55</sup>. The author of the biography is anonymous. However, it is quite probable that the book was prepared by No Byōng-sōn, for the following reasons. 1) No was the Korean closest to Hall fluent in English, and 2) No indicated that "I wanted to write about Hall, so I entitled [the book] as the history of Saint Hall" (p. 159).

<sup>56</sup>. For this, see Harak ūiwōn sajōk pp. 151-159.

<sup>57</sup>. Pahōk jinsōn ron is an 18-page pamphlet published in 1897 by Taehan sōngkyo sōhoe in Seoul.

<sup>58</sup>. No, Han'guk kamrikyosa ūi saesigak, p. 21.

<sup>59</sup>. Pahōk jinsōn ron, p. 11.

<sup>60</sup>. Lee Man-yōl, Han'guk kidokkyo munhwa undongsa (The History of the Cultural Movement in the Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1992), p. 337.

<sup>61</sup>. Kwangsōng, p. 882.

<sup>62</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 144.

<sup>63</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>. Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>65</sup>. Yun, Han'guk kamrikyohoe oekukin sōnkyosa p. 158.

<sup>66</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 187.

<sup>67</sup>. "Round Table Discussion on the Hall Family" in Jugan kidokkyo (December 21, 1991), p. 13; "P'yōngyang maeng a hakkyo", in KTPS, Vol. 15, p. 855.

<sup>68</sup>. Rosetta Hall, "Work for the Blind", in Korea Mission Field (April 1909), p. 79. Hereafter cited as KMF. See also, Kaegan asan, p. 31.

<sup>69</sup>. "P'yōngyang maeng a hakkyo", in KTPS, Vol. 15, p. 856.

<sup>70</sup>. Lee Sōng-sam, "Rosetta Sherwood Hall", in KTPS Vol. 16, p. 597.

<sup>71</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 159.

<sup>73</sup>. Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>74</sup>. "History of Glen Buell United Church", p. 2

<sup>75</sup>. The present author visited "Picnic Island", Mr. and Mrs. Phyllis King's summer cottage, in Brockville, Ontario, on July 21, 1994.

<sup>76</sup>. Harold J. Abrahams, The Extinct Medical Schools of Baltimore, Maryland (Baltimore, Maryland: Maryland Historical Society, 1969), p. 123.

<sup>77</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 196; "Faithful Unto Death" in KMF, (May 1911), p. 140. For further information on Pak Esther, see Hong Sōk-chang, "Pak Esther: First Medical Doctor", in Han'guk kamrikyoherŭl mandŭn saramdŭl, pp. 136-141.

<sup>78</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 196.

<sup>79</sup>. Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>80</sup>. Ibid., pp. 194-195. In regard to the history of P'yōngyang Foreign School, see "P'yōngyang oegukin hakkyo", in KTPS, Vol. 11, p. 1314. For the discussion of the education of the children of missionaries, see Graham Lee, "Should the Children of Missionaries be Educated" in KMF, (March 1909), pp. 34-36.

<sup>81</sup>. For further information on the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, see KMF, (April 1909), pp. 50-52.

<sup>82</sup>. University of Toronto Graduates Record. University of Toronto Archives, File # A73-0026-134.

<sup>83</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 256.

<sup>84</sup>. Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>85</sup>. Rosetta Hall and her son, Sherwood left Korea in 1910 to attend World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland. Mrs. Hall returned to Korea in 1911, but Sherwood stayed in the States to study at Mount Herman School, Mount Herman, Massachusetts.

<sup>86</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 367.

<sup>87</sup>. Yōnsei Taehakkyosa (History of Yōnsei University), p. 136, cited in Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa (History of Social Movements in Korean Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1990), p. 262.

<sup>88</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 316.

<sup>89</sup>. Ibid., p. 442.

<sup>90</sup>. Ibid., p. 355.

<sup>91</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 355.

<sup>92</sup>. Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>93</sup>. For this, see Kaegan asan, p. 41.

<sup>94</sup>. "Haeju paebyōng yoyangwōn hōndangsik" (The Dedication of Ceremony of Haeju Tuberculosis Sanatorium), in Sinhak saeke (The World of Theology), Vol. 13:6 (November 1928), p. 99.

<sup>95</sup>. Sherwood Hall, "Application of Sanatorium Methods to Korean Patients", in The China Medical Journal, Vol. 44 (July 1930), p. 664; See also, Sinhak saeke, Vol. 13:6 (November 1928), p. 100.

<sup>96</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 459.

<sup>97</sup>. Kaegan asan, p. 71. Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries in Korea had founded a "Mission Agriculturalist Association" in 1929, but focussed more on the development of a farming village. For more information on this, see Chōn Taek-bu, Han'guk kidokkyo chōngnyōnhoe undongsa (History of Korean YMCA) (Seoul, Korea: Chongumsa, 1978), p. 393.

<sup>98</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 395.

<sup>99</sup>. Sherwood Hall, "Pioneer Medical Missionary work in Korea", in Within the Gate (Seoul, Korea Methodist News Service, 1934, 103; KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 260.

<sup>100</sup>. "Station Brevity - Haeju," in KMF (February 1930), p. 37.



- <sup>101</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 463.
- <sup>102</sup>. Ibid., p. 595.
- <sup>103</sup>. Yōnsei taehakkyo ūikwa taehak, Ūihak paeknyōn (History of One Hundred Years of [Western] Medicine in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1986), pp. 84-85.
- <sup>104</sup>. James Van Buskirt, Korea: Land of the Dawn (Toronto, Ontario: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1931), p. 111.
- <sup>105</sup>. Within the Gate, p. 420.
- <sup>106</sup>. Ibid., p. 421.
- <sup>107</sup>. When Saito Makoto was appointed Governor General of Korea for the second time (his first term being from 1919 to 1927), he brought Oda Yasuma (who had been educated in America) to Seoul as his English language interpreter. Oda Yasuma was a Christian and he served as Superintendent of the Japanese Methodist Church Sunday School in Seoul. For more information on Oda and his life in Korea, see Oliver R. Avison, Memoir, unpublished manuscript, [1934?], pp. 596-601.
- <sup>108</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 434.
- <sup>109</sup>. Ibid., pp. 434-435.
- <sup>110</sup>. Ibid., p. 435.
- <sup>111</sup>. Ibid., p. 436.
- <sup>112</sup>. Sherwood Hall, "The Story of Korea's First Christmas Seal", in KMF Vol. XXIX:5 (May 1933), p. 93.
- <sup>113</sup>. "Haeju kusae p'yōngwōn" is another name for "Haeju kyōlhaek yoyangwōn."
- <sup>114</sup>. The year and artists who drew the seals are: 1933-34 (YMCA staff artist); 1934-35 (Elizabeth Keith); 1935-36 (Twiki Nul); 1936-37 (Elizabeth Keith); 1937-38 (Kim Ki-chang); 1938-39 (Kim Ki-chang); 1939-40 (Esmond W. New); and 1940-41 (Elizabeth Keith).
- <sup>115</sup>. "Round Table Discussion on Hall", in Jugan kidokkyo (Weekly Christian) (December 21, 1991), p. 14; Kaegan asan, p. 43.
- <sup>116</sup>. Stethoscope, pp. iv, 453

<sup>117</sup>. Per Moon Chang-mo's personal witness, see the "Preface" of Harak ūiwōn sajōk, unpaginated. Dr. Moon, a graduate from Severance Medical College (who did his summer internship at the Hall Memorial Hospital in P'yōngyang in 1928 and 1929) worked at Hall Memorial Hospital in P'yōngyang from 1933 to 1938 and then opened a private practice in Haeju. When Sherwood Hall was forced to retreat from Haeju in 1940, his medical works were handed over to Dr. Moon. For this, see "Preface", in Harak ūiwōn sajōk. Sherwood Hall said, "Dr. Moon gave his full time to the students as he was our best speaker." For this, see KMF, p. 94. Moon remains the most reliable source of (oral) information about the Hall family.

<sup>118</sup>. KMF, Vol. XXIX (May 1933), p. 94.

<sup>119</sup>. Sherwood Hall, "The Story of Korea's first Christmas Seal", in KMF, Vol. XXIX:5 (May 1933), p. 94.

<sup>120</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 448.

<sup>121</sup>. Jugan kidokkyo, p. 15.

<sup>122</sup>. When the Korea Medical Missionary Association organized in 1907, it was Korea Branch of the Medical Missionary Association of China. In 1922, the relationship with the

Medical Missionary Association of China was dissolved, and a new constitution and by-laws were adopted. The founding members of this new Association were Dr. O.R. Avison, Dr. J.H. Wells, Dr. T.H. Daniel and Dr. H.H. Weir. Dr. Avison served as the first president. For further information, see E.W. Anderson, "Early Days of the Korea Medical Missionary Association", in KMF (May 1939), pp. 95-96; "The Korea Medical Missionary Association", in KMF (July 1909), pp. 123-124; "Han'guk Sōnkyo Ūisahoe", in KTPS Vol. 16, p. 121.

<sup>123</sup>. KMF (May 1933), p. 95.

<sup>124</sup>. Diligent search has failed to find official exchange rate between U. S. dollar and Korean wōn during 1930s. However, the unofficial rate in 1930 has been estimated at 2 Korean wōn per 1 U. S. dollar. In 1930, a conference organizer made an announcement that a room cost 16 wōn (\$8.00). That same year, Dr. Y.S. Lee of Severance Medical College and Dr. J. E. Fisher of Choson Christian College presented a paper at another conference and received 2 wōn on the dollar. For this, see KMF, (April 1930), pp. 78, 80.

<sup>125</sup>. KMF, (May 1933), p. 95.

<sup>126</sup>. Stethoscope, p. 457.

- <sup>127</sup>. Harak ũiwõn sajõk, p. 2.
- <sup>128</sup>. Jugan kidokkyo, p. 18.
- <sup>129</sup>. Ibid., pp. 560, 590
- <sup>130</sup>. Stethoscope, pp. 576, 581.
- <sup>131</sup>. Ibid., p. 582.
- <sup>132</sup>. Ibid.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

OLIVER R. AVISON AND HIS MEDICAL CONTRIBUTION  
TO KOREAN SOCIETYChildhood

Many Koreans remember Oliver R. Avison, M.D., as a founder of Severance Hospital and Severance Medical College, the first Western-style hospital and medical college in Korea. Through these medical institutions, the monumental contribution Avison made to Korean society was the transformation of the "miraculous" foreign medical field into an indigenous one by teaching Korean physicians.

Oliver R. Avison was born on June 30, 1860, in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England, the third of five children born to Simeon and Elizabeth Avison (See APPENDIX XVII Geneology of Avison). In 1866, the family emigrated to Canada, settling initially Brantford, Ontario.<sup>1</sup> Then, three years later, the Avisons moved to Almonte, near the town of Smith's Falls, Ontario. It was there that Avison received his early education. After graduating from a local high school in 1876, Avison went on to a Normal School in Ottawa, Ontario, where he earned a "Third Class Teacher's Certificate." He then taught for one year at "Hutton's School House", a public school near Smith's Falls. Following this, he attended a preparatory school for university, with the intention of studying at the

University of Toronto (hereafter cited as U of T) in order "to become a college teacher."<sup>2</sup>

Before entering the U of T, however, he found employment at a drug store owned by Dr. J.S. McCallum in Smith's Falls.<sup>3</sup> It was there that Avison met his future wife, Jennie Barness (1862-1936), marrying her on July 28, 1885.<sup>4</sup>

Avison's three-years apprenticeship under Dr. McCallum proved to be one of the most important influences on his career. It was indisputably this early training which laid the foundation for his profession in pharmacy and medicine. Avison wrote: "For three years I learned chemistry, botany, medical materials, manufacturing processes, compounding prescriptions and business methods."<sup>5</sup> All of these skills would stand him in good stead in the remarkable years to come.

### Professional Training

Early pharmaceutical education in Ontario originated with an organization called the "Toronto Chemists' and Druggists' Society", founded in 1867. This was the predecessor of the "Ontario College of Pharmacy" founded two years later<sup>6</sup> (hereafter cited as OCP), from which Avison graduated in 1884. For many years, the OCP played a key role in pharmaceutical education in Canada. Earnst Stieb, an historian of Canadian medical history, noted:

[The] Ontario College of Pharmacy, like its British

and some of its early American counterparts, functioned as a licensing and regulatory body, as a teaching college, and as a professional society. In many respects it was to Canadian pharmacy what the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy was to American pharmacy.<sup>7</sup>

According to the 1884 "Report of the Board of Examination to the Council of the Ontario College of Pharmacy", Avison was one of twenty-seven out of forty-seven candidates to pass the qualifying examination. The "Report" further noted that Avison was awarded the Gold Medal for Pharmaceutical Proficiency and two additional Gold Medals for having distinguished himself in chemistry and *materia medica*.<sup>8</sup> McCallum of Smith's Falls was Avison's "preceptor," as it was a requirement at that time to have the tutelage of a qualified pharmacist for three years prior to graduating as a full-pledged pharmacist.<sup>9</sup>

Upon Avison's graduate from OCP, one of the instructors, H. Montgomery, resigned in order to assume the presidency of the University of North Dakota, and Avison was offered his position. In 1885, another lecturer, H.J. Rose, decided to move to California, and Avison was also asked to teach Rose's chemistry course.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, Avison had fulfilled his wish "to become a college teacher" and seemed satisfied with his professorship at the OCP. However, Edward B. Shuttleworth (1842-1934), then Dean of the OCP, saw the potential Avison had for a medical career and, "brushed aside [the] objection [of not going into medicine] by saying that even [with] an M.D. [degree, Avison

would not have to] go into medical practice".<sup>11</sup> Shuttleworth also told Avison that once he, himself had refused a chance to study medicine and had been sorry ever since,<sup>12</sup> adding, "If I were in your place, I would not accept [even] the best position in a drug store in Toronto."<sup>13</sup>

At that time, there were three medical colleges in Toronto: Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto (hereafter cited as UTFM) (formerly Toronto School of Medicine), Trinity Medical College, and Ontario Medical College of Women which was phased out in 1906 when UTFM admitted female medical students.<sup>14</sup> Avison decided to attend Toronto School of Medicine as it would give him a year's credit for his work in pharmacy, thus enabling him to graduate in three years rather than four years.<sup>15</sup> Upon graduation in 1887, he was awarded an M.B. (Bachelor of Medicine).<sup>16</sup>

After graduation, Avison was appointed to teach *Materia medica* and Pharmacy at UTFM while continuing his teaching at OCP.<sup>17</sup> In addition, he opened his own medical practice, first at 363 Carlton Street (1888 to 1890), and then at 212 Carlton Street, where he lived and worked until 1893, the year he left for Korea.<sup>18</sup> Avison had a full slate of teaching, giving nine lectures a week at the OCP and four at the UTFM. Moreover, his medical skills were such that he became family physician to then mayor of Toronto, Robert John Fleming.<sup>19</sup> Academically and professionally, Avison was a man with a bright and promising future in Canada.

### Decision to Become a Missionary

Avison's decision to go to Korea as a missionary appears to have been influenced by two forces: Avison's own zeal for missionary work and the example set by Horace Underwood, the first American Presbyterian missionary, who arrived in Korea in 1885. Avison was a member of the Sherbourne Street Methodist Church at that time,<sup>20</sup> the present-day Saint Luke's United Church at 353 Sherbourne Street. In addition to his professional involvements both academic and medical, Avison also devoted time to mission work. He was a lay-preacher in Toronto's east end, and also, in 1885, helped to found the Medical YMCA at the University of Toronto (hereafter cited as MS-YMCA), becoming its first president.<sup>21</sup> As well, Avison was the editor of Medical Missionary, published in Toronto in 1890.<sup>22</sup>

In November of 1892, when Underwood was back in New York on furlough, Avison invited him to Toronto, ostensibly to create more interest in missionary work among his medical students.<sup>23</sup> While Underwood did encourage several medical students during his stay in Toronto, he also strongly affected his host and hostess. Avison later confessed:

[Underwood's] visit not only did what was desired for the students[,] but also stirred Mrs. Avison and me so greatly that we decided to offer our services to the Methodist Church of Canada[,] if they would send us to Korea.<sup>24</sup>



Their offer, however, was not accepted, as the Methodist Church in Canada was not conducting mission work in Korea at that time.

Nevertheless, believing that Avison would be an effective medical missionary, Underwood submitted Avison's name, "without consulting us [the Avisons]"<sup>25</sup> to the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, North, in New York. One year later, Avison was asked to come to New York to meet Frank Ellinwood, the Secretary of the Board. Their first encounter was decisive. When Avison inquired to whether they [the Presbyterians] could make a good Presbyterian out of him [Avison being a Methodist], Ellinwood replied that they had no intention of turning him into a Presbyterian, but "... wanted to send some of the good Methodist fire out to Korea to set ablaze the work of the missions out there."<sup>26</sup> Avison was impressed with this, commenting "If that were the spirit of the Presbyterian Board, I would be able to work under their direction."<sup>27</sup> Following this meeting in early 1893, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions of the U.S. officially appointed Avison as its medical missionary. Underwood was undoubtedly the most influential person in bringing Avison to Korea, Avison became his "most sympathetic and efficient co-worker and advisor."<sup>28</sup>

Bridging Duties: Physician of the King and the Outcast

The Avisons arrived at Pusan, in southern Korea, in mid-June, 1893;<sup>29</sup> in August, they moved to Seoul. There, Avison took up his duties at the "Chaejungwŏn" (Royal Hospital) on November 1, and was also appointed King Kojong's private physician.<sup>30</sup> Within a few weeks after his appointment as Royal Physician, Avison received a message that King Kojong was ill, and he was summoned to the Palace. His "baptism of fire" had arrived. Avison recalled:

On entering His Majesty's room I found his face and scalp so greatly swollen that he could not open his eyes to see his new physician. His face was also very red and blistered.<sup>31</sup>

Through an interpreter, Ko Hŭi-kyōng (? - ?), Avison asked if King Kojong had worn a new hat recently. When the reply came in the affirmative, Avison then made his diagnosis with ease, as he had treated many similar cases of poison-ivy dermatitis in Canada. Likewise, Koreans also suffered occasionally from a condition caused by the varnish on their hats, a shellac made from the sap of poison oak trees. Without a doubt, Kojong was suffering from lacquer poisoning. People observing the examination marvelled at the diagnostic skill of this new doctor so recently arrived in Korea.

Although Avison was sure about his diagnosis, he was worried about whether or not he could cure the condition quickly. After returning to his residence, Avison sent a generous amount of topical medicine (the name is not known) to be applied freely and constantly to the king's face. When

Avison called on his royal patient the next day, he found out that:

the swelling was much lessened, the burning feeling had been relieved and his eyes could be opened enough to enable him to see those around him, including the doctor. There was great rejoicing and the reputation of the new physician was established.<sup>32</sup>

This incident is similar to the one Allen had been involved in ten years previously, as discussed in the foregoing chapter. Avison's diagnosis served to demonstrate to both the populace and the Royal family the excellence of Western medicine. Thereafter, Avison maintained a steady and gratifying relationship with King Kojong and was frequently called upon to attend Kojong. A sedan chair was provided by the Palace for Avison's use, thus causing him to be "regarded as a semi-government official"<sup>33</sup> by Koreans. Harry Rhodes (1875-1965), a contemporary American missionary, confirmed that, "during one year, Dr. Avison made thirty-three professional calls on the King and during political troubles [i.e., Sino-Japanese War, 1894-05] often went twice a day to see him."<sup>34</sup>

Soon after Avison's arrival in Seoul, he also attended a commoner patient accompanied by Samuel Moore, an American, as an interpreter.<sup>35</sup> His patient was a "baekjōng" (butcher) [later known as Pak Sōng-chun]; at that time, butchers were held in such low social esteem that they were treated as "unhumans."<sup>36</sup> Consequently, the fact that a king's physician also tended to butchers caused a sensation throughout Korea's traditional

Confucian society. Moore wrote: "He [Pak] could not understand why the king's physician should condescend to call on a butcher."<sup>37</sup> Yet, grateful for Avison's ministrations, Pak told other butchers about what the king's physician had done for him. He also began to attend church, his fellow-butchers soon following suit. This church, presently known as Seoul's Songdong Church, became known then as the "baekjōng kyohoe" (butcher's church)<sup>38</sup> because of there were so many butchers in attendance. Thus, Avison's medical services acted as a "bridge", linking two antipodal social strata -- the ruler and the ruled, yangban and chōnmin. This was an earthshaking incident in such a traditional Confucian hierarchial society as Korea.

#### Medical Mission Work in Korea at the Time of Avison's Arrival

Following the acclaim accorded Dr. Allen's "miraculous" Western medicine, the importance of medical work was recognized by various mission boards, particularly those in the United States. Indeed, various American missionary groups then sent their own medical doctors, who established numerous small clinics and dispensaries in different parts of the country.<sup>39</sup> Once installed, however, each medical missionary seemed to follow his own rules. While this pattern of dispersed medical aid was to be commended, the work was totally disorganized, with no cooperation among the medical

missionaries; many even competed with each other. In reality, these mission "hospitals" were one-man "cottage-hospitals." That is, traditional Korean houses were widely used as clinics.

Indeed, Avison soon found out that the Royal Hospital itself (Chaejungwŏn in Korean) was a "hospital" in name only. The medical work was carried out in three small rooms -- a waiting room measuring 15 x 12 ft, a consulting room measuring 12 x 7 ft, and a "pharmacy", 15 x 7.5 ft, all of this in an ordinary Korean house.<sup>40</sup> Avison wrote:

When I visited it [the Royal Hospital] the first time I was greatly disappointed though I had been warned not to expect much as the buildings were all of Korean style and the work being done was practically only that of a dispensary.<sup>41</sup>

To compound difficulties, the Royal Hospital was controlled by chusas (petty government officials) dispatched by "Tongli kyosŏp tongsang amun" (The Department of Diplomatic and Commercial Affairs) under the pretext of "administration", and virtually all of the hospital's space was occupied by them and their servants. Avison commented:

When I was assigned to the Kurige Hospital, there were administrators [chusas] in the hospital who were dispatched by the government, plus another 45 "servants" <sup>42</sup> of theirs [chusas] occupied every space of the hospital. The lives of those people were relied on the money granted by the King for the hospital. There was only one patient.<sup>43</sup>

When the Royal Hospital was established in 1885, Kojong promised to grant 3,000 wŏn for the purpose of hospital operation; these funds, however, were siphoned off by the

chusas, and "little of it reached its proper goal."<sup>44</sup> The number of the unemployed chusas attached to the hospital was indicative [as discussed in Chapter II] of the Yi dynasty's surplus of yangban who passed the kwagŏ and yet were unemployed because of the shortage of government positions. An example of the destructiveness of chusas interference occurred while Avison was out of the city. One high-ranking chusa, whose name remains unrecorded, rented out the clinic area Avison was using to Japanese doctors in order to gain more income.<sup>45</sup>

In view of all these problems, Avison became convinced of the necessity for the hospital to operate completely independently of the Korean government. "I [was] determined," Avison said, "to take a stand that would settle whether I was to be continually hampered or be given authority over its affairs."<sup>46</sup> Avison wrote proposals and sent them to both the Korean government and the Mission Board in New York. He demanded that all chusas be moved out of the hospital, that he be allowed to remodel the hospital property at the expense of the Mission and that the Mission Board operate the hospital without government funding. Consequently, the operation of the hospital would then be free from interference by Korean government officials.<sup>47</sup>

Avison's proposition was accepted by both the Korean government and the Mission Board. This opened up a new era of medical history in Korea -- privatization of hospital

operations and freedom from Korean government influence. This occurred in 1895, 10 years after the establishment of the Royal Hospital and just two years after Avison's arrival.

#### Hygienic Situation in Korea at the Time of Avison's Arrival

A French historian Charles Dallet wrote an ethnography of traditional Korea, Histoire de l'Église de Corée (1874), describing the hygienic situation there in late nineteenth-century. According to Dallet, the Korean people, from those dwelling in the Royal Palace down to those living in shanties, were obsessed with demon propitiation.<sup>48</sup> In order to assuage the various demons, Korean people constantly offered various foods through ceremonies conducted by fortunetellers or sorceresses.<sup>49</sup> In this respect, Avison concurred with Dallet's views:

At the time of our arrival in 1893, we found an alarming state of ignorance and superstition with invariable accompaniments of lack of all knowledge of sanitation and the causes of disease, resulting in a continuous succession of epidemic diseases and the continual presence of endemic illnesses which were decimating the population. Body vermin were abundant, bedbugs infested the houses, green vegetables that were to be eaten uncooked were often washed in streams polluted with the overflow from privies and drainage from fields that had been fertilized by human excrement from persons infested with many kinds of intestinal parasites.<sup>50</sup>

Avison also observed that people dumped their chamber pots into open ditches along the streets; besides being foul smelling, these channels served as breeding places for all

kinds of germs.<sup>51</sup> This unhealthy and unsanitary situation threatened not only the lives of Koreans, but also missionaries. Indeed, at least 16 missionaries and their children fell prey to various diseases before 1900.<sup>52</sup>

Avison was alarmed at the Koreans' superstitions concerning the causes of illness. Koreans believed that demons or evil spirits existed, that these could take possession of human beings, and cause many kinds of mental and physical afflictions. Moreover, since the causation of a particular disease was a specific evil spirit, that evil spirit had to be exorcised from the sick person. Avison wrote:

Not knowing the true causes of their many physical ills, not to mention their mental and spiritual troubles, they attributed nearly all sicknesses, especially those they could not distinctly blame on a directly observable event, to the presence of an evil spirit and then their treatment consisted in the offering of prayers, sacrifices and bribes to the supposed troubles of their peace and health.<sup>53</sup>

Avison's observation was correct; part of the exorcism ritual required that gifts as well as prayers be offered to the demon before it would leave the patient alone.<sup>54</sup>

A contemporary religious historian, Kim Kwang-il, relates the same state of affairs as was observed by Avison and Dallet. Kim notes that when a disease, natural disaster, accident, or death occurs, or when the danger of such is imminent, a kut [a shamanistic rite] is performed by a mudang [shaman].<sup>55</sup> Prior to holding the kut, Koreans consult a chōmjangi (one who practices divination) to diagnose the cause



of the misfortune. After gathering all of the patient's personal information, (i.e. sex, birthrate, time of birth and so on) a chōmjangi's first institutional diagnosis would be which ancestor or spirit is causing the problem. For example, if a chōmjangi falls asleep during the process of chōm (divination), an ancestor who has died of a narcotic is considered responsible; if the chōmjangi smells fish, this indicates that an ancestor who had met a bloody death is responsible.<sup>56</sup> Thus, Koreans first have their illnesses diagnosed by chōmjangi, and then are treated by mudang. These shamans provide therapies, medicine, massage or other physical treatments through kut.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the kut has both curative and preventive functions. Avison observed:

They [mudang] have many ways of casting out spirits or otherwise dealing with them such as beating the sick man or frightening him; scorching or piercing the flesh over the painful part; punching a picture of the affected part with a needle which will be withdrawn when the sick one is cured; writing on tablets or pasting paper on the upper part of a gate or door. Sometimes they decide the cause of the family trouble is some malign happening to the ancestral tomb and the hand of the family must go to the tomb, search for the trouble and get rid of it. In fact, sickness and troubles are all caused by the intervention of one or more demons which in the nature of things can only be exorcised by payments of money to those who by study and practice have become masters or mistresses of the spirits concerned.<sup>58</sup>

As well as having to deal with the Koreans' "demonic" perception of disease, Avison was faced with other medical "mountains" to climb. One such mountain was smallpox, a calamity causing many deaths among the Korean population. As

there was no remedy to smallpox known to Koreans, the death rate was high. The following data provides some idea of how widespread and insidious the disease was. According to Dallet, in one village, in the mid 1880s, only two children out of 72<sup>59</sup> survived the disease, and generally, every year several thousands died in Seoul. Indeed, in some years, deaths from smallpox even outnumbered the birth rate.<sup>60</sup> Dallet's rather sweeping remarks may not provide reliable statistics, but they do indicate how seriously this disease affected Korean society in the late nineteenth-century. When smallpox was expected to arrive in a village, both men and women took baths constantly, using new bathing accoutrements because smallpox was considered a "sonnim" (honourable guest).<sup>61</sup> If someone became infected, their family put up a flag outside the home, signifying that they had received the "honourable guest" and that no visitors were welcome lest they anger that "guest."<sup>62</sup>

Koreans believed that the spirit of smallpox originally resided in China but travelled to Korea at certain times; thus, when babies became infected with smallpox, they were described as having received the sonnin from China. In fact, the devastation caused by smallpox was so ingrained that Koreans did not count their children until after they had passed the age of two,<sup>63</sup> because of the high death rate among infected babies. Indigenous treatment for smallpox, according to Avison, was "to place before the sick child food, money, anything of value, and then bow before it in obeisance of the

spirit and beseech it to depart."<sup>64</sup> People did not bury the bodies of those killed by smallpox; instead, they hung them on a tree or wall after wrapping the corpse in straw, for "they believe[d] the spirit that killed the child [would] be angry if its body [were] buried, and it [would] enter another child and take it too."<sup>65</sup>

Avison was determined to eliminate this deadly disease. He suggested to Korean mothers that they have their babies vaccinated. As usual, in a society where traditions are deeply rooted, people generally distrusted the "new" and "foreign." They refused Avison's offer of vaccinations because the shots caused their babies pain and because they did not believe that such a method could keep the sonnin away.<sup>66</sup> However, one day a Christian woman who had seen Avison save Korean patients in the hospital brought her baby and asked him to do something to save it too. Avison wrote:

Gladly I did so [gave the baby vaccination] and told her to bring it [the baby] every day to let me see that all was going well. The little sore soon got well of course and when, as time passed and the child's second birthday went by and no smallpox had occurred, and when still more time passed and the child's smooth skin was left unmarred.<sup>67</sup>

Eventually, people began acknowledging that none of the vaccinated children were contracting the disease, and that the sonnim of smallpox were being destroyed. Thus, the smallpox demon was shown to be a "phantom" and this opened the peoples' minds to Western medicine.

The second "mountain" tackled by Avison was cholera. At

least two major cholera epidemics had swept Korea before Avison's arrival: one in 1821 and the other in 1862.<sup>68</sup> Like smallpox, the Korean people considered cholera to be an unavoidable calamity.<sup>69</sup> According to a report by Kim I-kyo (1764-1832), then Governor of P'yŏngan Province, 1,000 people in P'yŏngyang City died of cholera during 10 days in July, 1821; and during that same epidemic, 100,000 people died across the country.<sup>70</sup>

The cholera epidemic in 1895 was no less severe. Lillias Underwood, M.D. explained:

The disease began with terrible violence, men in full vigor in the morning were corpses at noon, several members of the same family often dying the same day. It cropped out in one neighborhood after another with a steadily marked increase every day, that was frightful in its unrelenting, unswerving ferocity.<sup>71</sup>

Koreans believed that medicine was useless against cholera since cholera took the form of a "rat spirit", and entering into the human body "through the feet and gnaw[ing] its way up the legs to the abdominal organs. [Korean] attributed the terrible cramps in the muscles to this gnawing by the spirit."<sup>72</sup> In order to get rid of the "rats," people "offer[ed] prayers to the spirit of the cat, hung a paper cat on the house door, and rub[bed] their cramps with a cat's skin."<sup>73</sup> The cholera epidemic in 1895 had a particularly high death rate; Norman Found, a former Canadian medical doctor, reported that "as many as 300 a day died in the capital [of Seoul and] the final toll was something in excess of 300,000."<sup>74</sup> Knowing how

serious it was, Yu Kil-jun (1856-1914), the Naebudaesin (Minister of Home Affairs), called upon Avison, and asked him to take charge of the capital and quarantine the disease. Yu provided \$2,000 U.S. to meet operating expenses with the promise of more if required,<sup>75</sup> and placed twenty policemen under Avison's direction.<sup>76</sup> A team of nurses, doctors, missionaries and other foreigners, including Japanese, met in Seoul and chose Dr. Avison as the director of this emergency work.<sup>77</sup> They built "Shelters" around the city and began the process of educating the people that cholera had nothing to do with the "rat spirit", but that contaminated food spread the disease. In order to rid the people of their misconceptions, Avison made 50,000 posters in Korean and 1,000 in Chinese.<sup>78</sup>

The posters read:

Cholera is not caused by an evil spirit. It is caused by a very small particle of living matter called a germ. When this living germ gets into your stomach, it multiplies rapidly and causes the disease. You do not have take cholera if you do not want it. All you have to do is to kill the germ by cooking your food thoroughly and eating it before it can become contaminated again. Drink freshly-made rice water. If you drink plain water, boil it and keep it in clean bottles. As you may have come in contact with the germ without knowing it, always wash your hands and mouth thoroughly before eating anything. If you do these things you will not have cholera.<sup>79</sup>

At the same time, the Ministry of Home Affairs specified various sanitary regulations and announced them in the kwanbo (the Official Gazette).<sup>80</sup> Avison described the impact of this quarantine education as his "greatest of triumphs";<sup>81</sup> the

survival rate at one "Shelter" was 65 percent.<sup>82</sup> But more importantly, "the greatest triumph" was the destruction of the notion of the demon causing the disease. To show its gratitude, the Korean Government sent gifts and letters of thanks to those involved in the cholera quarantine.

Encouraged by this success, Avison moved on to distributing more posters and pamphlets, such as those dealing in "Smallpox and Vaccine," "Eating Asiatic Cholera," "Mosquitoes and Malaria," "Body Lice and Typhus Fever," and so on. Moreover, his medical accomplishments served as living testimony to the efficacy of mission work, and also promoted trust in it: "People have learned to trust the missionaries," Avison wrote, "as never before and a greater portion of the city than ever before has been brought into contact with the missionaries."<sup>83</sup> Not surprisingly, his control of the 1895 cholera epidemic made Avison a "persona grata in the social life of Seoul."<sup>84</sup>

### Making a New Era in Korea's Medical History

#### A. Severance Hospital

As mentioned above, when Avison arrived in Korea, he was dismayed on many points. The medical missionaries already there followed individualist plans, each insisting on doing things his own way. Unable to co-operate, they instead

competed in attracting patients to treat. On top of this, the Royal Hospital facilities were totally inadequate, and the indigenous population -- ruled by ancient superstitions -- distrusted the foreign medical practitioners. Yet, in spite of such an unpromising beginning, Avison accepted the challenge and devoted himself to bringing modern medical practices to Korea.

In 1899, the Avisons were forced to return to Canada unexpectedly; both husband and wife had fallen ill and had to return home on a health leave. While Avison was in Toronto, he began plans to build a hospital in Korea and met the architect Henry B. Gordon (1854-1951), a friend of Avison's and an active "Y" man who had helped to organize the "Corean Union Mission" (See Chapter Five). After hearing Avison's ambitious plans, Gordon agreed to draw up blueprints of a hospital free-of-charge;<sup>85</sup> thus, he became the project's first contributor.

After recovering his health in Toronto, Avison travelled to New York in the fall of 1899, taking the hospital plans with him. He stayed there until the spring of 1900 in order to attend the meeting of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, held at Carnegie Hall. At the conference, Avison presented a paper entitled, "Unity in Medical Missions." Citing an overwhelming need for medical attention facing missionaries in Korea, Avison argued that missionaries "must not try to carry [medical work] on as a denominational enterprise. It must be a joint undertaking of all the missions

so that enough medical teachers, nurses, and funds might become available."<sup>86</sup> Among the delegates in the audience was a man named Louis H. Severance (1838-1913).<sup>87</sup> At that time, Severance was a banker at the Commercial Bank of Cleveland, Ohio, and later became treasurer of the Standard Oil Company in the same city. After the Conference, Severance met Avison and asked if there were any blueprints for the hospital Avison was planning to build. Avison thought that it was the supreme moment.<sup>88</sup> He quickly took out Gordon's plans from his bag and showed them to Severance, who, after asking a volley of questions, seemed satisfied. Avison later found out that Severance had subsequently contributed money for the project. Avison reminisced, "it was only \$10,000 but it looked like a million to me then."<sup>89</sup>

Avison and his family returned to Korea that fall, elated at the outcome of his fund-raising efforts. On arriving, he bought a 9-acre parcel of land in the Todong district, also known as Poksung a gol, just outside of the South Gate in downtown Seoul. After Avison's purchase of the land, the Korean government promised to build the new Seoul Railroad Station directly across from the hospital, thus ensuing easy access to the area.<sup>90</sup> The cornerstone of the new hospital was laid on November 27, 1902. Prior to this, in 1901, the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of Canada sent Henry Gordon, the architect, to supervise the building construction; he arrived in Korea in mid-June of that year.<sup>91</sup>



The process of construction proceeded according to plan until it came time for the installation of the heating and plumbing systems. Avison originally had chosen a Chinese contractor, Harry Chang, to oversee construction. However, it soon became apparent that Chang was not familiar with Western building requirements, such as the installation of the modern heating plant, the ventilating system, the sewage system, etc. As there was no one in Korea who had any knowledge of such things, Gordon and Avison ended up doing the job themselves. Avison recounted that even Gordon, who had designed the new system, had no actual work experience. Still, after a "few" trials, Avison and Gordon managed to solder joints, etc.<sup>92</sup> The building was opened on September 23, 1904<sup>93</sup> able to accommodate 30 patients, though it could house 40 in times of emergency.<sup>94</sup> Although the project ended up costing \$25,000 rather than the expected \$10,000, Severance again came to the rescue. Besides covering the additional expenses, he sent his own personal physicians, Drs. Jesse W. Hirst (1864-1952) and A. I. Ludlow (1876-1961) in 1904 and 1907, respectively, to help with the hospital's workload and to teach at the medical college Avison had started (more on this later).

As of 1913, six denominations (American Presbyterian, South and North; American Methodist, South and North; Canadian Presbyterian and Australian Presbyterian) had dispatched their representatives to Severance Hospital and College.<sup>95</sup> Statistics in 1934 (the year Avison's retirement) show that forty-seven

thousand patients were treated in the Severance Hospital, another 1,270,000 in the dispensary and 28,000 in the out-patient department.<sup>96</sup> That same year, 352 Koreans graduated from Severance College with medical degrees and 150 with nursing degrees.<sup>97</sup>

The Severance Hospital was one of the greatest revolutionary steps in the history of medicine in Korea, both in terms of advancing public health and providing medical education to the Korean people. Former missionary-educator J. Earnest Fisher (1889-?) noted, "nothing was being done"<sup>98</sup> about providing Koreans with access to either formal medical training or modern Western medical technology, at least "until the arrival of Dr. Oliver R. Avison in 1893";<sup>99</sup> indeed, the Severance Hospital "became the headquarters" of medicine in Korea.<sup>100</sup>

#### B. Severance Medical College

The genesis for the education of Koreans in Western medicine by Protestant missionaries was the early medical missionaries hiring of natives to serve as hospital assistants. For example, as early as 1886, when Allen started Royal Hospital, he and other staff members, such as H. Underwood and Henry Appenzeller, taught chemistry, physics, mathematics, and English to their Korean assistants,<sup>101</sup> in addition to training those same assistants as orderlies.

Another example is provided by the work of Rosetta Sherwood Hall, an American who arrived to Korea in 1890. Assigned to the Women's Department of the Royal Hospital in Seoul, she hired a Korean girl named Kim Chŏm-dong and taught her, along with "two or three other girls" basic nursing skills.<sup>102</sup> Avison's inclination to educate natives about medicine can be traced back almost to his arrival in Seoul. In his article, "Creating a Medical School in Korea," Avison related his initial thoughts about the need for a medical school:

We had not been long in Korea when the conviction came to me that while we must of necessity do all we could to relieve the immediate distresses, our numbers were too few ever to catch up with the constantly increasing need for more doctors to treat the sick and reduce the tremendous death rate. As we could not expect the Mission Boards to send out enough doctors to do this, it became evident that it would be necessary to raise up a group of native physicians as quickly as possible.<sup>103</sup>

Avison's teaching experience at OCP and UTFM prepared him to establish a medical college in Korea. In fact, his vision of a college was modeled after his *alma mater*; similarly, Gale followed the example of the Ontario School System when he wrote textbooks for Korean students. Avison related: "Naturally my idea of medical education was that of the University of Toronto. Plans for a medical school must include the preparation of not only doctors, but also of nurses, pharmacists, dentists and opticians."<sup>104</sup>

Avison thought that young men from the yangban class would be the most suitable for a medical education, as they

already received at least some kind of formal learning. Unfortunately, however, this plan flew in the face of cultural norms. Avison later recalled that upon deciding to recruit prospect candidates, he gathered several yangban youth and asked them: "Do you want to be [a] doctor?" They responded, "what do doctors do?" Avison then replied "doctors come to hospitals and treat their patients, look after sick people, and treat diseases."<sup>105</sup> Whereupon the young men left Avison, saying, "We can't do that kind of work."<sup>106</sup> Avison saw that they had exceptionally long finger-nails and asked, "Why do you grow your finger-nails so long?" They answered, "to show that we are not obliged to perform manual labour."<sup>107</sup> This exchange awakened Avison to the fact that he would have to get his "disciples" from the lower class, which was made easier by Protestant missionaries from the start having concentrated on educating members of the lower class; in fact, these people were the missionaries' primary target of proselytization and formed the foundation of Korea's early Christian community.

Besides the difficulty of recruiting candidates, teaching medicine in a society whose vocabulary lacked scientific terms and medical terminology was, Avison admitted, as difficult as "build[ing] Utopia."<sup>108</sup> To begin with, Avison had to develop a Korean-language textbook for teaching his students. Avison stated: "By March, 1899, we had completed the translation of the [Henry Gray's] *Anatomy*, when a series of illnesses made our return to Canada necessary."<sup>109</sup> When he returned to Korea,

he turned his attention to various subjects, such as Chemistry, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, Bacteriology and Microscope, Diseases of the Skin, Physiology, etc. He was aided by, Kim Pil-soon,<sup>110</sup> then a medical student at Severance. By 1905, textbooks on all subjects relevant to a medical course were available.<sup>111</sup>

Avison and the teaching staff<sup>112</sup> felt that their original seven students<sup>113</sup> who "had persisted so many years in their medical studies were ready to be sent out as doctors on their own."<sup>114</sup> However, as these Koreans had been educated under "private" instruction, their diploma needed to be recognized by the government. By this time, Korea was being ruled according to the Japanese Protectorate Treaty. Avison realized that the missionaries had to make sure of the interest and cooperation of the Japanese Resident-General, Prince Ito Hirobumi, "without which we would have no authority to award medical degrees that would enable the new doctors to practice medicine."<sup>115</sup> Ito was "invited" as a guest of honour to present the diplomas at the ceremony on June 8, 1908.<sup>116</sup> Thus, for the first time, seven Koreans officially were inaugurated as medical doctors in Korea. They were the first of many "crops," 25 years after Allen's introduction of Western medicine in 1884 and 15 years after Avison's arrival in Korea. Along with their diplomas, they also received licenses to practice medicine in any part of the Japanese Empire without having to pass a government examination.<sup>117</sup>

Avison initiated a three-year course in Pharmacy in 1905 as well as a dental department, which was an integral part of the medical school.<sup>118</sup> In 1906, Avison began the Nursing School at the Severance Hospital with the help of Esther L. Shields (1869-1941). The first Korean licensed nurse, Bessie Kim, graduated from Severance four years later.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, Severance Hospital and Severance Medical College was a nursery for Korean medicine. Kim Du-jong wrote:

In the history of modern medicine in Korea, the position of the severance Hospital is incomparable to any medical institution. In regard to the medical education, it began in 1899<sup>120</sup> in the premise of Chaejungwŏn by Avison who came to Korea in 1893.<sup>121</sup>

Avison was passionately committed to turning all forms of mission work over to Korean nationals "as soon as there has been sufficient progress,"<sup>122</sup> he himself setting the example. When he retired in 1934, the presidency of the Severance Medical College was assumed by a Korean, Oh Kŭng-sŏn, M.D. (1878-1963).<sup>123</sup> It appears that Avison's plan to replace Western missionaries with native-trained medical men and women nevertheless bothered some Western medical missionaries. In his article, "Future of Medical Missions in Korea," E.W. Demaree, M.D., (in Korea from 1929 to 1940) of the Southern Methodist Mission, U.S.A., complained that under Avison's plan there was no "opportunity" for Western missionaries, but only an "exit." Demaree went on to charge that Western missionaries were on the verge of being ousted from nearly all lines of

mission work.<sup>124</sup> Avison countered by arguing such "devolution" was what Western missionaries should be aiming for and thus it should not cause apprehension to true Christians. Avison did not view medical mission work as a type of permanent employment for Westerners, but rather as a temporary activity whose goal, in fact, was to make Western missionaries obsolete. He believed, for example, that the business of the Severance Medical College was not to provide life-time jobs for Western missionary doctors, but rather to prepare Korean men to take over these jobs.<sup>125</sup>

In truth, Avison did leave a legacy of "exit" as was charged, for he was a visionary with a broad-minded approach not only to medical mission work, but also to evangelism in Korea. In this he was successful, for in 50 years after implementation of his plan to "indigenize" the missionary field, Korea was no longer a "missionary-receiving" country, but rather had become a "missionary-sending" nation, as discussed in the Introductory Chapter.

#### All Are Human Beings

The successful control of the 1895 cholera epidemic was mentioned previously. As a token of its appreciation, the Korean government sent letter of thanks<sup>126</sup> and gifts, such as rolls of silk, fans, and silver ink-stands, etc.<sup>127</sup> to those missionaries who participated in the cholera control mission.

Thus, like Horace Allen ten years earlier, the missionaries' elimination of an epidemic gained them official favor, as well as the gratitude of the general populace. Encouraged by the government's response, Avison and Samuel Moore decided to use this opportunity to press for social equality for all commoners, particularly baekjōng. According to the statistics of 1895, approximately 30,000 butchers and their families struggled for existence throughout the country.<sup>128</sup> Avison and Moore sent a proposal to the government for the "unhuman" butcher class to be freed from social discrimination. The proposal read:

Your excellency,

It is not necessary to draw your attention to the great disability under which the butchers of Korea live. Though they are useful members of society and not behind other men in intelligence they are not permitted the honourable custom of putting up their hair in topknots and of wearing hats, the symbols of manhood in Korea. We are venturing to hope that this condition may be remedied now when so many broad-minded and liberal men hold positions in your government. We assure you that we represent the views of all foreign residents in Korea and that all will be greatly pleased to see such an act of justice done to this long-suffering group of your people.

We are, dear sir,

your obedient servants,<sup>129</sup>

[Signed by Oliver R.

Avison

Samuel F. Moore]<sup>130</sup>

Minister Yu Kil-jun's response to Avison surprised the entire missionary community in Seoul. Yu agreed that "[the government] would have notices posted at once throughout the country proclaiming the new law,"<sup>131</sup> allowing butchers to wear



topknots, "the symbols of manhood in Korea."<sup>132</sup> The Government's new law read as follows: "From this time butchers are to be regarded as men. They are hereby permitted to dress their hair and wear hats according to the general custom of Korean men."<sup>133</sup> Avison recounted the following story:

Not long after that I saw a well-dressed Korean coming down the street with the stately tread of a gentleman and as we approached each other I recognized my old friend, Pak [Pak Song-chun], the butcher, walking along the street for the first time in his life -- a Man.<sup>134</sup>

Only Avison's Memoir gives this version of the "butcher and topknot" controversy. Avison suggested that it was the proposal he and Moore filed with the government which allowed butchers to wear the topknot, a symbol of "man's" outfitting. This is in direct conflict with the historical facts surrounding the situation.

During the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Japanese imposed social reform measures upon Korea, purportedly in the name of strengthening Korea's national security, promoting political stability and social order, and nurturing economic and cultural progress. In reality, the Japanese wanted to free Korea from its traditional suzerain-tributary relationship with China. More specifically, they wanted hegemony over Korea. Accordingly, Korean officials were forced to form a new government from pro-Japanese elements, such as Kim Hong-jip, Yu Kil-jun and Kim Yun-sik, etc.; the majority of this new government were members of the Progressive Party that had

initiated the abortive 1884 coup. Social changes implemented by the Korean government under Japanese direction were called the "Kabo kyongjang" (Kabo Reform) in 1894, and, in order to carry out the various changes, Korea's pro-Japanese officials created the Naegakchedo (Cabinet System) for government operations. This was headed by Kim Hong-jip as Prime Minister, Yu Kil-jun as Home Minister and Kim Yun-sik as Foreign Minister. The "Kabo Reform," whatever its motivations, did constitute a positive radical departure from the past. In the area of social reform, for example, the class distinction between yangban and commoners and the prohibition on widows remarrying were abolished. Under the same reform, baekjong (butchers) were recognized as legal human beings in 1894,<sup>135</sup> a year before the missionaries' petition was submitted.

### Retirement

The Avisons left Korea on December 6, 1935 and spent most of the rest of their lives in Florida, U.S.A. Jennie Avison passed away on September 15, 1936, and Avison died twenty years later on August 28, 1956. They were both buried in Smith's Falls, the town where they first met so many years ago.<sup>136</sup>

## Conclusion

Avison came to Korea as a medical missionary at the turn of the century, during the Kaehwaqi or Enlightenment Period. Generally, medical work had been responsible for opening the door for Protestant mission work after Dr. Horace Allen's life-saving cure of Min Yong-ik in 1884. However, the early stage of medical "miracles" carried out by the individual denominations were little more than "showpieces" for the evangelists. Koreans remained victims of unhealthy public sanitation and superstitions concerning the cause of disease. This dire state of affairs compelled Avison to take matters into his own capable hands, and he decided to build a hospital and start medical college. Through these institutions, he both healed the sick and educated the native youth.

Avison's primary tool for enlightening Korean society was not philosophical Western dogma but the practical teaching of Western medical and technological sciences. In wisely choosing this "instrument," he managed to reduce -- to some degree -- the Korean belief in demonic possession as the cause of illness. Furthermore, Avison fought against social discrimination, as shown by his serving as physician to both kings and outcasts. But most importantly, it was Avison who transformed the "miraculous" foreign medical field into an indigenous one by teaching Korean physicians that they, too, could take matters into their own well-trained hands.

Notes to Chapter Eight

<sup>1</sup> For Avison's biography, see Avison's Memoir (1940). Hereafter cited as A-Memoir; Ha Lee-yōng, "Öbisūnpaksa sojōn" (A Brief Biography on Dr. Avison), in Kidok sinbo (Christian News) (January 6 - September 28, 1932). Hereafter cited as KS; Allen Clark, Avison of Korea: The Life of Oliver R. Avison, M.D. (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1978; Henry Morgan (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1912), pp. 35-36; Yōnsei taehakkyo paekjunyōn kinyōmsaōphoe, Yōnsei taehakkyo paeknyōnsa (A History of One Hundred Year of Yōnsei University), (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1985), pp. 131-142. Hereafter cited as Yōnsei paeknyōnsa.

<sup>2</sup> A-Memoir, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 73-74. Dr. J.S. McCallum later became Reeve of Smith's Falls in 1909. Source: Record News (Smith's Falls' local newspaper), "Scrap Book, S.L." (n.d.), p. 13, housed in the Smith's Falls Public Library.

<sup>4</sup> A-Memoir, pp. 66, 81. Jennie was the daughter of S.M. Barnes, who was then a blacksmith and carriage builder. Barnes later became Reeve (1897-1898) of Smith's Falls, Ontario. Source: Record News, (n.d.), p. 13. See also, William Cochrane (ed.), Men of Canada (Brantford, Ontario: Bradley, 1891), p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> A-Memoir, p. 73; KS, (February 1932), p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> Charles M. Godfrey, Medicine for Ontario: A History (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Co., 1979), p. 102; Earnst W. Stieb, "Edward Buckingham Shuttleworth 1842-1934", in Pharmacy in History, Vol. 12:3 (1970), pp. 93-94; William H. Lewis, "Pharmaceutical Education in Ontario: 1867-1900," unpublished B.Sc. Pharm, thesis, Ontario College of Pharmacy, University of Toronto, (February 1953), p. 7. For more on OCP, see B.P. DesRoches, "The First 100 Years of Pharmacy in Ontario", in Canadian Pharmaceutical Journal, Vol. 105 (July 1972), pp. 23-25. Hereafter cited as CPJ; A.V. Raison, "Ontario College of Pharmacy:1871-1971" in CPJ, Vol. 104 (February 1971), pp. 10-12.

<sup>7</sup> Stieb, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> "Report of the Board of Examination to the Council of the Ontario College of Pharmacy" in CPJ (June 1884), p. 17. See also, Nathaniel A. Benson, "Doctor in Korea", in Varsity Graduate (19 January 1956), p. 44; Morgan, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup>. A-Memoir, p. 77.

<sup>10</sup>. A-Memoir, pp. 78-81; Lewis, pp. 13, 36-37.

<sup>11</sup>. A-Memoir, p. 80.

<sup>12</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>. Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>14</sup>. R. Buehrle, "The Roots of Our Medical School", in The University of Toronto Journal, Vol. 44:6 (April 1967), p. 220. Hereafter cited as UTJ; J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1912 (Toronto, Ontario: L.K. Cameron, 1910), p. 207; J. David Beatty, "History of Medical Education in Toronto" in UTJ, Vol. 67:5 (March 1897), pp. 152-157; William R. Feasby, University of Toronto: Faculty of Medicine 1843-1966 (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto, 1967), p. 24, mimeographed edition.

<sup>15</sup>. Clark, Avison of Korea, p. 60.

<sup>16</sup>. Feasby, p. 69. University of Toronto Faculty of Medicine started to confer M.D. in 1928. For this, see Feasby, p. 38. Interview with Dr. J. Kenneth Ferguson, Professor Emeritus of Pharmacology at the University of Toronto, Toronto, September 7, 1993. Interview with Dr. Earnst W. Stieb, Dean, Faculty of Pharmacy at the University of Toronto, April 22, 1993. According to Ferguson, Stieb, and Feasby, graduates from previous years could be granted the new degree, M.D., after writing a thesis and paying a small registration fee. This change was in keeping with general practices across the North American continent. In "A Register of the Graduates of the University of Toronto from 1843 to 1920: Faculty of Medicine" (p. 161), Avison is listed as an M.D. which indicates that he changed status from M.B. to M.D.; however, Robert Hardie, who graduated in 1890, remained as M.B. in the list (p. 198). Avison's son Douglas, who graduated from the same school in 1919, also remained as M.B. in Torontonensis (University of Toronto Yearbook, 1919, p. 161). Both are housed at the Alumni Office at University of Toronto Faculty of Medicine.

<sup>17</sup>. University of Toronto Medical Faculty (1887-1888) (Toronto, Ontario: Rowsell and Hutchison, 1887), pp. 27-28; Faculty of Medicine - University of Toronto (Calendar for 1889-1890), p. 29, published by University of Toronto; Lewis, pp. 36-37.

<sup>18</sup>. Toronto City Directory (1885), p. 286; Vol. 2 (1888), p. 328; (1889), p. 395; Vol.1 (1890), p. 430; (1892), p. 516. When Avison left for Korea, his property on 212 Carlton Street

was sold to James E. Forfar, M.D. Forfar's inscribed name can still be seen on the door at 212 Carlton house. For this, see Yoo Young-sik, Earlier Canadian Missionaries in Korea A Study in History 1888-1895 (Toronto, Ontario: The Society for Korean and Related Studies, 1987), p. 65.

<sup>19</sup> Yoo, p. 66. See also, Victor L. Russell, Mayors of Toronto, 1834-1899, Vol. 1 (Erin, Ontario: The Boston Mills Press, 1982, pp. 120-124.

<sup>20</sup> A-Memoir, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> Varsity (26 November 1887), p. 56; A-Memoir, p. 85.

<sup>22</sup> Medical Missionary was published in Toronto only in 1888 and ceased.

<sup>23</sup> Varsity (23 November 1892), p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> A-Memoir, p. 92. See also, Lillias Underwood, Underwood of Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> A-Memoir, p. 92; KS, (March 1932), p. 228.

<sup>26</sup> A-Memoir, p. 93; Clark, p. 69.

<sup>27</sup> Clark, pp. 69-70.

<sup>28</sup> Underwood of Korea, p. 114.

<sup>29</sup> There are discrepancies about the date Avison arrived in Pusan. In his book, Avison of Korea, Clark recorded that Avison arrived in Pusan on Sunday, June 16, 1893, p. 75. However, according to the calendar, June 16 fell on a Friday of that year, not on Sunday. A Canadian missionary, William Scott, claims that Avison arrived in Pusan on July 13, 1893. For this, see his Canadians in Korea (Toronto, Ontario: United Church of Canada, 1976), p. 25. Avison recalled in his Memoir (p. 104) that when he arrived at William Baird's house in Pusan, he found "a small group of foreigners gathered there for Sunday worship." Granting Avison's memory that it was a "Sunday" that he arrived in Pusan, he may have arrived either on June 18 or July 16 for both the 18th and the 16th fall on the Sunday in each month of the respective calendar.

<sup>30</sup> KS (March 1932), p. 249; A-Memoir, p. 81.

<sup>31</sup> A-Memoir, p. 534; KS (April 1932), p. 271.

<sup>32</sup> A-Memoir, p. 535.

<sup>33.</sup> Ibid; Clark, p. 92.

<sup>34.</sup> Harry A. Rhodes, History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul, Korea: Choson Mission Presbyterian Church, 1934), p. 118.

<sup>35.</sup> Samuel Moore, "The Butchers of Korea", in Korean Repository (April 1898), p. 131. Hereafter cited as KR.

<sup>36.</sup> Chŏn Taek-bu, Tobaqi sinang sanmaek (The Indiginous Population's Mountain of Faith) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1992), p. 37.

<sup>37.</sup> Moore, p. 131.

<sup>38.</sup> Chon, p. 37.

<sup>39.</sup> Kim Du-jong, Han'guk ūihaksa (History of Medicine in Korea) (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1978), pp. 487-493; Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa (History of Social Movements in Korean Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sŏhoe, 1987), p. 95; Clark, p. 104.

<sup>40.</sup> For more information on "Chaejungwŏn", see, Min Kyōng-bae, "Chaejungwŏn" in Kidokkyo taepaekwa sajŏn, Vol. 13 (Encyclopedia of Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1983), pp. 1180-1181. Hereafter cited as KTPS.

<sup>41.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 184a.

<sup>42.</sup> It is not known exactly how many chusas were there. Their "servants" were kisaeng (dancing girls), who were attached to individual chusas. For more information on this, see Clark, pp. 84-85.

<sup>43.</sup> KS (March 1932), p. 263. The one patient was a young man whose knee was festering.

<sup>44.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 188. There are discrepancies in regards to the amount of money from the King. According to Avison, it was 3,000 wŏn in Korean monetary units. For this, see KS (March 1932), p. 249; Yun Chi-ho said that it was \$5,000 U.S. For this, Yun Chi-ho ilgi (Diary of Yun Chi-ho) (February 1895) (Seoul, Korea: Kuksa p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, 1975), p. 20 and Yŏnsei paeknyŏnsa recorded that the amount was 3,000 wŏn in Korean money which represents \$1,500 U.S. (p. 49). Korean sources are not available on this, but it appears to be 3,000 wŏn in Korean money.

<sup>45.</sup> KS (April 1932), p. 279; A-Memoir, p. 454.

<sup>46.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 194.

<sup>47.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 195.

<sup>48.</sup> Charles Dallet, Histoire de L'Église de Corée, Vol. I (Paris, France: Librairie Victor Palme, 1874), p. CXLIX.

<sup>49.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50.</sup> O. R. Avison, "Some High Spots in Medical Work in Korea", in Korea Mission Field, Vol. 35:4 (April 1939), p. 72. Hereafter cited as KMF.

<sup>51.</sup> Ha Lee-yōng, "Sasipnyōnjōn ūi Chosōn ūi wisaengsangtae" (Hygienic Situation of Korea Forty Years Ago), in KS (June 1932), pp. 352, 363, 373, 394.

<sup>52.</sup> Those who died in the field before 1900 were: J. Henry Davies (Australian), who died of smallpox on April 5, 1890; John Heron (American), who died of dysentery on July 26, 1890; David and Wilhelmina, the children Franklin Ohlinger (American), who died in 1893; William James Hall (Canadian), who died of typhus on November 24, 1894; Nancy Baird, daughter of William Baird (American), who died on May 13, 1894; twin daughters of O. R. Avison, who were born on July 3, 1895, in Seoul, and died on July 4, 1895; Cadwallader C. Vinton, who died on August 22, 1894, and Thomas Vinton, who died on August 19, 1896, both were the children of C.C. Vinton (American); Anna Jacobson (American), who died in 1897; William John McKenzie (Canadian), who died of fever on June 23, 1895; Fred Miller, who died on November 7, 1898; Eli Landis (American), who died of typhus in April 1898; Edith Margaret Hall (Canadian), who was born in Korea, daughter of William James Hall, and died of dysentery on May 23, 1898 at the age of three; Charles Raymond Lee, son of Graham Lee (American), who died on June 9, 1899.

<sup>53.</sup> Avison, "Some High Spots --", in KMF, Vol. 35:5 (May 1939), pp. 103-104.

<sup>54.</sup> J. B. Busted, "The Korean Doctor and His Methods", in KR, Vol. 2 (May 1895), pp. 188-193. According to E. Landis, M.D., there were 36 different spirits the exorcists practiced to. For this, see his "Notes on the Exorcism of Spirits in Korea", in Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Vol. 3:3 (1895), pp. 1-8.

<sup>55.</sup> Kim Kwang-il, "Kut and the Treatment of Mental Disorders", in Shamanism The Spirit World of Korea. Yu Chai-shin and Richard Guisso (eds.), (Berkeley, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1988), p. 132. In Korea, the shaman is



always female.

<sup>56.</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>57.</sup> Laurel Kendall, Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirit: Women in Korean Ritual Life (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. 92.

<sup>58.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 466.

<sup>59.</sup> Dallet, p. IX. Dallet has never been to Korea. His Histoire was based on Marie Nicolas Antoine Daveluy's (1818-1866) field reports. Daveluy was smuggled into Korea in 1845 and mostly lived in Kangkyōng and Kongju of Chunghōng Province until he persecuted in 1866. This indicates he made this report sometime in the mid-1880s.

<sup>60.</sup> Dallet, pp. 34-35, 72.

<sup>61.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 402.

<sup>62.</sup> Dallet, p. CXLVIII.

<sup>63.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 401.

<sup>64.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 402.

<sup>65.</sup> Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>66.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67.</sup> Ibid., pp. 403-404.

<sup>68.</sup> Kim, Han'guk ūihaksa, pp. 369-370.

<sup>69.</sup> Dallet, p. CXL.

<sup>70.</sup> Kim, Han'guk ūihaksa, p. 369.

<sup>71.</sup> Lillias Underwood, Fifteen Years Among the Top-knots or Life in Korea, (New York: American Tract Society, 1904), p. 137.

<sup>72.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 407. See also, William Rockhill, China's Intercourse with Korea: From the XVth Century to 1895 (New York: Paragon Book, 1970), p. 56. Originally, Rockhill's work appeared in Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. xiii (1888) under the title "Korea in Its Relations to China."

<sup>73.</sup> Underwood, Top-knots, p. 139.

<sup>74</sup> Nathaniel A. Benson, "Doctor in Korea", in Varsity Graduate (January 1956), p. 45; Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa, p. 97. A Canadian historian, A. Hamish Ion, said that the 1895 cholera caused the death of 600,000 people. For this, see his The Cross and the Rising Sun, Vol. 2: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1993), p. 184.

<sup>75</sup> O. R. Avison, "Cholera in Seoul", in KR, Vol. 7 (September 1895), p. 342; Yun Chi-ho ilgi, Vol. 9 (April 1931), p. 353. According to Lillias Underwood, who involved in this emergency cholera hospital, the money was "'eaten' by greedy underlings on all hands." For this, see Underwood, Top-knots, p. 137.

<sup>76</sup> A-Memoir, p. 405.

<sup>77</sup> Later, all Japanese withdrew on the ground that they did not care to work under a Westerner.

<sup>78</sup> KR, Vol. 7, (September 1895), p. 342.

<sup>79</sup> A-Memoir, p. 406.

<sup>80</sup> Yu Kil-jun, Naebudaesin, (Acting, The Ministry of Home Affairs) announced the legal measures on cholera in Kwanbo (Official Gazette) both on June 8 and 10 (by the lunar calendar). For full details, see Kuhan'guk kwanbo (May 18-November 15, 1895), pp. 1011-1012 and pp. 1015-1017. Cf. Kim, Han'guk ūihaksa, p. 475.

<sup>81</sup> KMF, Vol. 35:5 (May 1939), p. 104.

<sup>82</sup> Underwood, Top-knots, p. 142.

<sup>83</sup> Avison, "Cholera in Seoul", p. 343.

<sup>84</sup> Benson, p. 46.

<sup>85</sup> A-Memoir, p. 419.

<sup>86</sup> Clark, p. 112.

<sup>87</sup> For information on Severance, see Stanley White, "A Missionary Philanthropist: A Sketch of the Life and Work of Louise Severance", in Missionary Review of the World (December 1913), pp. 895-901. Hereafter cited as MR; Min Kyōng-bae, "Severance", in KTPS, Vol. 9, pp. 494-498.

<sup>88</sup> A-Memoir, p. 426.

- <sup>89</sup>. Clark, p. 115; A-Memoir, p. 428.
- <sup>90</sup>. Yōnsei paeknyōnsa, p. 45; Kim, Han'guk ūihaksa, p. 485.
- <sup>91</sup>. "News Calendar", in Korea Review (June 1901), p. 270.
- <sup>92</sup>. A-Memoir, p. 440. Kim Pil-soon then a medical student became Gordon's interpreter.
- <sup>93</sup>. There are discrepancies regarding the date of the opening of the hospital. Clark said "The cornerstone of the building was laid November 27, 1902, and the building was finally completed and opened on September 23, 1904. Mrs. Avison opened the building with a silver key and Dr. Underwood gave the address." For this, see Clark, p. 119. Lee Kwang-rin claims that the hospital was opened on November 16, 1904. For this, see Olibo al ebisūnūi saenge (Life of Oliver R. Avison) (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1992), p. 164. For a brief history of Severance Hospital, see Min Kyōng-bae, "Saebūrans pyōngwōn", in KTPS, Vol. 9, pp. 495-98.
- <sup>94</sup>. KS, p. 448; MR (April 1905), p. 315.
- <sup>95</sup>. Chōn Sang-ūn, "Kwahak kisulhak" (Science and Technology), in Han'guk hyōndae munhwasa taekye (An Outline of Korean Modern Culture), Vol. 2 (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Press, 1976), p. 566. Hereafter cited as HMT.
- <sup>96</sup>. Benson, p. 46.
- <sup>97</sup>. "Ten Distinguished Men Receive Honorary Degrees", in University of Toronto Monthly (June 1937), p. 237. Hereafter cited as UTM.
- <sup>98</sup>. Earnest J. Fisher, Pioneer of Modern Korea (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1979), p. 52.
- <sup>99</sup>. Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup>. HMT, p. 565.
- <sup>101</sup>. "The Beginning of Medical Work in Korea", in KR, Vol. 1 (December 1892), p. 357; Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa (History of Korean Christian Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo Sōhoe, 1982), p. 153.
- <sup>102</sup>. R. S. Hall, "Esther Kim Pak", in The Life of Rev. William J. Hall, Rosetta S. Hall (ed.), (New York: Press of Eaton and Mains, 1897), p. 200. See also, Sherwood Hall, With Stethoscope in Asia: Korea (McLean, Virginia: MCL Associates, 1978), p. 47. A contemporary historian, Lee Chun-ran, claimed

that Sherwood taught medicine to one Japanese and four Koreans. Though Lee did not specify the names of those individuals, one of them was Kim Chōm-dong. For this, see Lee Chun-ran, "Han'guk e issōsō ūi mikuk sōnkyo ūiryohwaldong" (The Activities of the American Missionaries in Korea), in Idae sawōn, Vol. 10 [Journal of History of Ehwa University], (1972), p. 11. Hereafter cited as Idae sawōn. Kim was baptized and was christened as "Esther" in 1891 and married Pak Yu-san in 1892; thus she is better known as Esther Pak.

<sup>103.</sup> O.R. Avison, "Creating a Medical School in Korea", in UTM (November 1937), p. 40.

<sup>104.</sup> Ibid., p. 41; KS, (20 July 1932), p. 417.

<sup>105.</sup> KS, (July 1932), p. 403.

<sup>106.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108.</sup> UTM, p. 41.

<sup>109.</sup> Ibid; Paik Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910 (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1971), p. 336. Unfortunately, the manuscript of the translation of the Gray's Anatomy was lost in a fire during the time of his furlough in Canada.

<sup>110.</sup> Clark, p. 125. Non-missionaries translated some medical text-books. For example, Mrs. William Baird translated Henry Gray's Botany for Common School in 1902, and James Gale translated Gray's Advanced Botany in 1902.

<sup>111.</sup> UTM, p. 41.

<sup>112.</sup> The early teaching staff was: Avison, Jesse W. Hirst, Eva Field, J. Hunter, A.M. Scharrocks, and Esther L. Shields. For more information, see Yōnsei paeknyōnsa, p. 65.

<sup>113.</sup> The names of the seven graduates were: Hong Jong-un, Hong Sōk-hu, Kim Pil-soon, Pak Sō-yang, Kim Hūi-yōng, Shin Chang-hūi, Chu hyōn-chik.

<sup>114.</sup> Clark, p. 125.

<sup>115.</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>116.</sup> For the details of the graduation ceremony, such as Governor-General Ito's speech, Avison's Address, etc. see "Graduation Exercises: First Graduating Class, Severance

Hospital Medical College" in KMF, Vol.4:7 (July 1908), pp. 98-102 and Vol.4:8 (August 1908), pp. 123-127.

<sup>117.</sup> UTM, p. 41; Idae sawōn, p. 9.

<sup>118.</sup> Yōnsei paeknyōnsa, p. 65. M.J. Edmunds, "Training Native Nurses", in KMF, Vol. 2:8 (June 1906), pp. 154-155; Sherwood Hall, p. 386.

<sup>119.</sup> Kim, Han'guk ūihaksa, p. 63; Clark, p. 129; Yōnsei paeknyōnsa, p. 63.

<sup>120.</sup> According to Daniel L. Gifford, a contemporary American Presbyterian missionary, Avison began to teach medicine to Koreans sometime in 1896. Gifford said, "It is worthy of mention that the lads at the [Royal] Hospital are being given a medical training by Dr. O.R. Avison." For this, see "Education in the Capital of Korea", in KR, Vol. 5 (August 1896), p. 215.

<sup>121.</sup> Kim, Han'guk ūihaksa, p. 485.

<sup>122.</sup> O.R. Avison, "The Future of Medical Missions", in KMF, Vol. 30:6 (June 1934), p. 112.

<sup>123.</sup> Yōnsei paeknyōnsa, p. 97; "Oh Kūng-sōn", in KTPS, Vol. 11, pp. 1113-1114.

<sup>124.</sup> E.W. Demaree, "The Future of Medical Missions in Korea" in KMF, Vol. 30:4 (April 1934), pp. 74-76.

<sup>125.</sup> Avison, "The Future--", in KMF, Vol. 30:6 p. 113; Min, Han'guk kidok kyohoesa, pp. 102-105.

<sup>126.</sup> Underwood, Top-knots, p. 145. The Letter of Thank was signed by Kim Yun-sik, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated on August 22, 1895.

<sup>127.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128.</sup> This number is based on data from the "Annual Report of Foreign Mission, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (1896), p. 158. Cited in Min Kyōng-bae, Han'guk kidokkyo sahoe undongsa (History of Social Movements in Korean Church) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1990), p. 103.

<sup>129.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 324.

<sup>130.</sup> Samuel Moore (1860-1906) was an American Presbyterian missionary who mainly worked with the butcher class. In A-Memoir, no specific signatures were given to the original

proposal; however, later documents indicated that Avison, Moore and Pak Sōng-chun, himself a baekjōng, prepared the petition and sent it to the Government. For this, see "Notes and Comments", in KR, Vol. 2 (July 1895), pp. 279-280.

<sup>131.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 324; Yun Chi-ho ilgi, (April 1931), p. 353.

<sup>132.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 324.

<sup>133.</sup> Ibid; Chōn, Tobaki sinang sanmaek, p. 34.

<sup>134.</sup> A-Memoir, p. 325.

<sup>135.</sup> Chindan hakhoe, Han'guksa: hyōndae (Korean History: Modern Period) (Seoul, Korea; Ūlyu munhwasa, 1963), pp. 242-44. For "Kabo Reform", see Lew Young-ick, Kabo kyōngjang yōnku (Study of the Kabo Reform) (Seoul, Korea: Ilchogak, 1991), particularly, "Social Reform" on pp. 214-16.

<sup>136.</sup> The gravestone at Hillcrest Cemetery, Smith's Falls, is inscribed that Avison was born in Korea, which is incorrect. For this, see the picture of the "Graves of Dr. and Mrs. O.R. Avison" in Yoo, Earlier Canadian, unpaginated.

## CHAPTER NINE

William J. McKENZIE: BRIDGING TWO RELIGIONS AND TWO NATIONS

Childhood

Though William John McKenzie lived in Korea only 559 days, about a year and half, he made mission history through his direct evangelism to and education of ordinary Koreans. He particularly strove to free Korean Christians from Western missionary tutelage. He did this by implanting the spirit of self-determination. Because this was a quality emphasized by the newly created, nativist religion of Ch'ōndokyo, many of its members were attracted to Christianity. McKenzie's success was such that upon his death, the Presbyterian Church of Canada elected to begin sending official missionaries to Korea.

McKenzie was born on July 15, 1861, at West Bay, Cape Breton, located at the eastern tip of Nova Scotia. He was the third of six children born to Robert and Flora (née McRae) McKenzie. William attended the one-room local school and demonstrated his extraordinary intellectual ability by obtaining a "B" Certificate, the highest degree then granted for Public School work, when he was fourteen.<sup>1</sup> He taught at his hometown school for five years until 1880, when he entered Pictou Academy in Pictou, Nova Scotia. In 1883, he entered Dalhousie College (now Dalhousie University) in Halifax, Nova

Scotia, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in 1888. McKenzie continued his education at the Presbyterian College (hereafter cited as PC) in Halifax, also known as "Pine Hill".<sup>2</sup> While he was a student at PC, the Student Missionary Association of that institution sent him to the arctic region of Labrador, where he served as a missionary representing the Association for 18 months, from May, 1888, to October, 1889.<sup>3</sup>

#### From Labrador to Korea

Unlike the previously mentioned Canadians (i.e., Gale or Fenwick) who were motivated by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions to become a foreign missionary, McKenzie's motivation for going to Korea was kindled by "a book"<sup>4</sup> he read on his way to Labrador. McKenzie wrote:

Found it [Corea: The Hermit Kingdom] full of instruction. The Presbyterians have taken the initiative there and translated the Bible into Korean. Why not go out there [Korea] and do as Paul did. Get there [Korea] some way, and grow into their life by some trade or labor, and also preach. Then stir up the Church, if need be, for assistance.<sup>5</sup>

He returned to Halifax from Labrador late in 1889, continued his study at PC, and graduated in 1891 with a degree in theology. While at the divinity school, he also studied medicine at Dalhousie Medical School and did some practical work at Victoria Hospital in Halifax,<sup>6</sup> thinking that this medical knowledge would help him when he embarked on foreign



mission work. Upon graduation from PC, he was ordained under the Presbyterian Church of Canada and took charge of a congregation presently known as St. Andrew's United Church,<sup>7</sup> at Stewiack, Nova Scotia. The church still displays a memorial plaque to McKenzie, which reads:

In loving memory of Rev. William James [sic, should read John] McKenzie B.A. Minister of Lower Stewiacke Congregation from 1891-1893 and afterwards the first missionary of The Presbyterian Church of Canada in Korea, where after less than two years of devoted and successful labour he was stricken with fever and taken home to God, June 1895. He rests from his labour and his works do follow.<sup>8</sup>

McKenzie's passion for Korea, to "get there and grow into their life [lives]" and to work until "[his] dust mingle[d] with theirs"<sup>9</sup> led him to resign from St. Andrew's after only two years. In those days, Canadian Presbyterian Church's foreign mission work was carried out separately by the Western Division of Foreign Mission Committee based in Toronto and the Eastern Division Committee (hereafter cited as FMB-ED) based in Halifax until 1914 in which year these two mission bodies merged to form the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.<sup>10</sup> At that time, FMB-ED was financially over extended<sup>11</sup> and saw no feasible way, given the current situation, to open up a new area of missionary outreach. FMB-ED directed McKenzie either to go where FMB-ED mission work was being undertaken,<sup>12</sup> or to apply to the American Presbyterian Mission Board which was already conducting mission work in Korea.<sup>13</sup> The Minutes (1893) of the FMB-ED

recorded that:

The Committee laboured to show him [McKenzie] that mission fields, such as Honan under our own church in need of men and with a climate as well adapted to his constitution as Corea [sic] can be, have a greater claim on his services than Corea [sic].<sup>14</sup>

Despite this, McKenzie insisted on serving in Korea. He arranged with the FMD-ED for permission to solicit financial support from the congregations of the Presbyterian Church of Canada,<sup>15</sup> even though he was officially "unattached" to his church.<sup>16</sup> To this end, he visited churches in eastern Canada, telling them of his determination to do missionary work in Korea; eventually, people like James Forrest<sup>17</sup> became interested in McKenzie's plans and gathered sufficient funds to equip him. Thus, McKenzie was able to leave Halifax on October 26, 1893, as an independent missionary, arriving at Pusan, Korea, on December 12 of the same year. A few days later, he arrived at Chemulpo, and then proceeded on to Seoul. He stayed in the capital for less than a month before leaving for the northern interior.

#### Adaptation of Korean *Modus Vivendi*

On January 10, 1894, McKenzie left for P'yŏngyang accompanied by James Hall, a Canadian who was then associated with the American Methodist Episcopal Church. They arrived at P'yŏngyang six days later. McKenzie immediately set about to learn the Korean language, and to find a place where he could

base his evangelical work. Hall and Samuel Moffett, an American Presbyterian in P'yōngyang at that time, both recommended that McKenzie go to Hwanghe Province. McKenzie's biographer and former Canadian missionary, Elizabeth McCully, wrote:

Hwanghaedo [Hwanghe Province] the next province to the south [of P'yōngan Province, in which P'yōngyang is located], was strongly recommended, with its large cities, Changyōn and Haiju [Haeju], neither very far from Chemulpo [present-day Inchon], where foreign supplies could be obtained, and having large country districts outlying.<sup>18</sup>

The village of Songchōn,<sup>19</sup> known as "the cradle of Protestant Christianity in Korea,"<sup>20</sup> is located in Hwanghe Province. McKenzie's language teacher, Sōh Kyōng-jo, in reference to McKenzie's arrival in Songchōn, wrote: "On the last day of February 1894, a tall foreigner accompanying a Korean came to my house. I found out that the foreigner, whose name was McKenzie, was from Canada."<sup>21</sup> McCully was more exact, noting that McKenzie had arrived at Songchōn on Friday, February 3, 1894.<sup>22</sup> McKenzie decided to stay at Songchōn, "at least until the farming season would begin, when Mrs. Sōh [Kyōng-jo] must work in the fields and could no longer accommodate a foreigner in her house."<sup>23</sup> In fact, McKenzie remained there until his death in 1895, except for two short trips to Seoul.<sup>24</sup> In a letter to his friend Bobitt in Labrador, McKenzie explained why he chose to leave Seoul and live in this remote area:

There are quite a number of foreigners in the capital, of all nations.<sup>25</sup> Many are consuls, besides quite a number of missionaries, who are stationed

here. Don't understand me as being afraid of foreigners, i.e., English, German, French, American, et cetera, but so much time would be taken up calling and receiving calls that I could not give my undivided attention to the language.<sup>26</sup>

Exact statistics on Seoul's foreign population at the time of McKenzie's arrival (1893) is not available, but it is a considered calculation that there were probably at least over 100 foreigners in total in Seoul, including the children of the missionaries and non-missionaries.

It appears that his decision to live in the countryside was not only influenced by his desire to study Korean language and culture, but also because of his financial situation. When he arrived at Songchŏn, he had only \$800 in his possession; he told Sŏh that he believed the money would last much longer in the country than in the city.<sup>27</sup>

To early missionaries, Songchŏn was merely a "stop-over" along their journey further north or "a place to get language training." For example, Horace Underwood and Henry Appenzeller, both Americans, visited Songchŏn in 1886 while travelling around the northern area. Likewise, James Gale stayed there for three months early in 1889, and Malcolm Fenwick lived there for three years, from 1890 to 1893.

McKenzie remained completely isolated from Westerners while in Songchŏn -- "even letters were beyond his reach."<sup>28</sup> There he adopted the native Korean modus vivendi; he dressed as a Korean scholar, ate only Korean food and set up residence in a Korean house, even sleeping on the traditional Korean

ondol<sup>29</sup>. A letter to his friend, John Mont, in Halifax, related his life in Songchŏn:

I am now going on the 8th month without speaking a word of English or seeing a white face during which I have not been a day sick. I find the Korean dress the best by far and cheapest while living among them, though the only missionary who does so. Expenses during these months was less than \$55 gold. Of course that was exceptionally small.<sup>30</sup>

His living expenses were about \$7 per month. This was about the same as what the indigenous population was living on, which demonstrates that his standard of living was about the same as his Korean neighbours. According to Lillias Underwood, a contemporary American missionary, a "native's" earnings were about five dollars per month in 1895.<sup>31</sup> When a native evangelist was hired by the mission board, the native helper was paid five dollars a month.<sup>32</sup> Although McKenzie forced himself to subsist solely on a Korean diet, his abstemiousness was once sorely tested. At Christmas, 1894, Lillias Underwood sent McKenzie a box of homemade bread, plum cake, canned fruits, and so on, as she knew that he had no "foreign" food and had to eat only Korean fare. On receiving the delicacies, McKenzie declared that he "dared not to taste them, knowing that if he did it would be impossible to go back to native food."<sup>33</sup> Instead, he gathered the village children together and distributed the food among them.<sup>34</sup>

McKenzie's donning of Korean attire was done in order to get "nearer to the people"<sup>35</sup> and thus win their trust. McCully describes the benefits McKenzie derived by dressing as a

Korean:

The children at once seemed to lose all fear of him, and this was a real joy. Then the reserve of the women was broken and he became their confidante. Especially in his visits to other villages he discovered the advantage of wearing the new costume.<sup>36</sup>

Despite such acceptance, the following passage reveals his troubled state of mind.

[One] Saturday I took a walk down to the shore, where the waters of the Yellow Sea, that separates me from China, were rolling at my feet. .. as I stood upon that shore, my eyes filled with tears. Memories of my past and old associations came sweeping in upon me. Oh, how I did love that broad expanse of ocean, even though a storm was beginning to sweep over it! I thought I was at home - I never felt so before - everything seemed natural. I thought the sea at least understood me. I could hardly realize I was in a dark pagan land, with all else so beautiful and natural; but as I turned to the slopes on the mountain side and saw the little mud and straw houses, strange dress, and my nice little guide, a boy of fourteen [Sōh Pyōng-ho, son of Sōh Kyōng-jo] I knew it was only a momentary dream.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, although McKenzie appeared to be strong and living a satisfying life; mentally, he felt as if he were in exile.

#### Making Christianity Korean

Using Songchon as his homebase, McKenzie travelled from village to village,<sup>38</sup> spending most of his time in Changyōn County, Hwanghe Province. (See Figure 9:1 Map of Hwanghe Province). During these rounds, the most remarkable contribution McKenzie made to Korean mission history was

instilling a self-supporting spirit in his parishioners. Korean historian Paik Lak-geon wrote: "He [McKenzie] was apparently the first to inaugurate a self-supporting program in church-building, and the first church built by Koreans was erected in this village under his direction."<sup>39</sup> Generally, the most pressing problem facing missionaries in the early days was how to spend the mission's money efficiently. A contemporary American missionary, Daniel Gifford, wrote that the Mission Board spent money on building churches and schools, and paying the indigenous Christian workers' salaries. This resulted in resistance from Korean converts whenever the missionaries wanted "to shift the financial burden to native shoulders."<sup>40</sup> In response, McKenzie advocated a unique solution. His idea was to teach Koreans that mission work, such as the building of churches or the erection of schools, was after all, the responsibility of the Koreans themselves. This philosophy was manifest in the erection of a church building at Songchŏn in 1895. In order to implant the spirit of self-reliance in his Korean parishioners, McKenzie, "...told them I'd not give one cash to help but give a stove and pipes when all was complete."<sup>41</sup> In a letter to George Jones of Chemulpo, he further noted that, "I let them know it [the erection of the church] is their work."<sup>42</sup> McKenzie declared that he could hardly have been prouder of a costly cathedral than he was of this simple, unpretentious native structure. The building, of 250-seat capacity, cost the villagers 80 days

in labour and 170,000 cash in Korean money.<sup>43</sup> This was the first church ever built by Koreans "unaided",<sup>44</sup> and "no debt hung over it"<sup>45</sup> upon its completion.

The church was dedicated on July 3, 1895.<sup>46</sup> The local leader and McKenzie's friend, Sōh Kyōng-jo, ascribed the success of Christian work at Songchōn to McKenzie by saying, "if McKenzie did not come to Songchōn, there would be no such glory as of building a church in Songchōn and consequently there would be no other church building in the Hwanghe Province."<sup>47</sup>

In fact, the indigenous erection of the Songchōn Church was a milestone in the mission history of Korea. Lillias Underwood wrote:

The church in Sorai [sic], the first built and paid for by the natives, was in fact the first Presbyterian church built in Korea. The Christian natives in Seoul had met in a little guest-house on our place, and in similar rooms in other sub-stations. So Sorai [sic] in the van set the marching order, and all others, with almost no exceptions, have followed in their lead.<sup>48</sup>

Indeed, when Horace Underwood began to build Chungdong Church (present-day Saemunan Church) in 1895 in Seoul, his congregation was most certainly inspired by the example of Songchōn Church. It was recorded that:

The people went to work with a will, the pastor and one or two other missionaries took off their coats and lent a hand at the work, boys hauled stones, Korean gentlemen, scholars, and teachers who had never lifted anything heavier than a pen, set themselves to work on the building, carpenters gave their skilled labor every alternate day, working for their own living only one out of every two.<sup>49</sup>



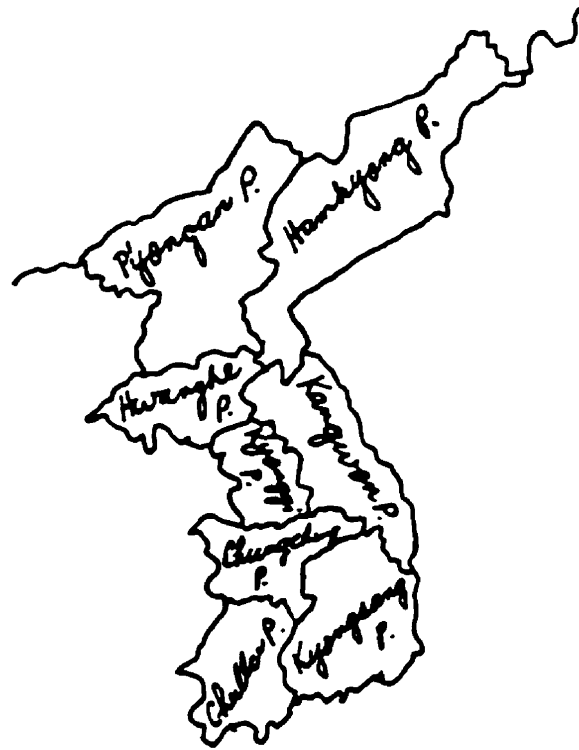


Figure 9:1 Map of Hwanghe Province



Another of McKenzie's major contributions was his education efforts, particularly in regards to teaching women. He opened a school on February 26, 1895,<sup>50</sup> in Kim Yun-bang's<sup>51</sup> sarangbang (Korean traditional guest room) in order to educate the children of village Christians.<sup>52</sup> According to local history, two native teachers, Sŏh Sang-bong, brother of Sŏh Kyŏng-jo, and Lee Kuk-bo<sup>53</sup> were hired as instructors, each receiving an annual salary of \$17. The school was known as the "McKenzie School" to Westerners and "Songchŏn hakkyo" (Songchŏn School, later Haesŏ<sup>54</sup> Chaeil School, Haesŏ First School) to Koreans. Harry Rhodes, a contemporary American missionary, wrote that "the Songchŏn School was started in the spring of 1895 under the guidance of the Rev. Wm. McKenzie ... they [the girls] sit in the same room and study the same lessons as the boys ... The Songchŏn school is for the boys and girls of the church."<sup>55</sup> A picture in Corn of Wheat (1903) by McCully shows a mixed gender class of 10 children: 6 boys and 4 girls.<sup>56</sup> Teaching boys and girls the same subjects together in the same room was an unheard practice in a Confucian society where a principle norm was that "a boy and a girl should not sit together after they have reached the age of seven." Indeed, McKenzie's defiance of this social code was a revolutionary act. At Songchŏn School, both sexes were taught Geography, Korean Language (instead of Chinese,<sup>57</sup>), Mathematics, Korean History, the Bible and the Lord's Prayer.<sup>58</sup> McKenzie strongly believed that only the Korean language should be taught to Korean

people, and he criticized Koreans' emphasis on learning Chinese as vanity.<sup>59</sup> Whether or not McKenzie himself taught at the school is unclear, but his diary indicates that he did visit the school regularly, to lead prayers and attend to the children.<sup>60</sup> It appears that he was indirectly involved in teaching in that he supervised the programme. His idea of self-reliance applied to education as well, although he did provide the teacher's salaries while the villagers were building the church, since that undertaking was such a burden. McKenzie stated:

I agree with Saw [Sōh Kyōng-jo] to-day [February 10, 1895] to pay the boy's teacher wholly for one year - ten bags of rice and one suit of clothes for the year - while they are building the church. We will consult farther. Thus, Christian work is independently Korea; thus Christianity will be made strong and Korean.<sup>61</sup>

Then suddenly, in 1895, in the midst of these ambitious works, McKenzie took ill and died (this will be recounted later). The British Consul, Walter C. Hillier, authorized the missionary Underwood and the American physician H. G. Wells to administer the matters of McKenzie's death as well as his effects. Sōh Kyōng-jo requested that Underwood use the money McKenzie left behind for the expansion of the "McKenzie School." Hillier allowed 3,000 yang in Korean money to be used as Soh requested,<sup>62</sup> and with this funding, Sōh built "two neat classrooms"<sup>63</sup> as additions to the church. Subsequently, the school was recognized by the Government as a four-year elementary school and its name was changed to "Haesō Chaeil

Hakkyo." <sup>64</sup>

The year 1920 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of three incidents: the first church-building, the foundation of the "McKenzie School," and the death of McKenzie. "The Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of Canada" (1920) recorded the following:

Letter from Miss Lear, Halifax, June 9th, suggesting contribution of \$1,000 from Forward Movement to help Korean Christians in their erection of Sorai [sic] School building as a memorial to W.J. McKenzie, this being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the McKenzie School at that point. <sup>65</sup>

This motion to send money for the "McKenzie School" was approved by the Committee on July 27, 1920. <sup>66</sup> That same year, a special ceremony was held in Songchon to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary, with Canadian missionary representatives in attendance. <sup>67</sup> One of the Canadians attending, Elizabeth McCully, reported that forty graduates of the "McKenzie School" were at the ceremony. Among them was Pak Chae-wŏn, a "McKenzie alumnus" who had gone on to graduate from Severance Medical School: it was he who delivered one of the more memorable speeches. <sup>68</sup>

Comprehensive statistics concerning "McKenzie School" are nonexistent; however, the following is known:

Table 9:1 Haesŏ Chaeil Hakkyo 1895-1937

year	# of teachers	# of students
1895 *	2	10
1895 **		
1900 ***	?	50
1925	3	84
1929	3	78
1931	2	81
1932	3	90
1933	2	82
1934	2	116
1935	2	110
1936	2	110
1937	2	111

\* The year "McKenzie School" was founded.

\*\* Two classrooms attached to the church building; officially upgraded to four-year elementary school and renamed "Haesŏ Chaeil Hakkyo."

\*\*\* Harry Rhodes, History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul, Korea, Choson Mission Presbyterian Church, 1934), p. 239.

Except where noted, statistics are based on Taehan yesuskyo changrohoe chonghoerok (The Record of the Korean Jesus Presbyterian Church) (1925-37), as cited in KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 254.

The "McKenzie School" even spawned a branch school. Hŏh Gan, who was in the "Sir James Hall Group"<sup>69</sup> and graduated from "Haesŏ Chaeil School," (the former "McKenzie School") in 1907, founded a branch school in his hometown when he returned. In actuality, a good number of graduates from the "McKenzie School" contributed in various ways to late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Korean society. For example, Sŏh Pyŏng-ho<sup>70</sup> was active in the field of education, social movements such as the YMCA, and the independence movement during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Others, like Kim Pil-

soon,<sup>71</sup> Pak Chae-wōn<sup>72</sup> and Kim Myōng-sōn,<sup>73</sup> were prominent in the area of medicine. Women graduates were equally active; for example, Kim Ham-ra,<sup>74</sup> Kim No-dūk,<sup>75</sup> Kim Soon-ae,<sup>76</sup> Kim Maria,<sup>77</sup> and Kim Pil-rye<sup>78</sup> were all deeply involved in education, the women's movement, and the independence movement against the Japanese domination.

Besides educating females, McKenzie worked to raise the status of Korean women, who were "shy" and "despised,"<sup>79</sup> to equal status with their male counterparts. His method of evangelization required women to participate in church works: e.g., women prayed in public at services and visited the neighbouring village as evangelists. McKenzie wrote:

They [women] threw off the restraint of custom and country -- a wonderful change came over the women, hitherto bound by the unexplainable reserve that made speech in the presence of men an impossible thing. They [women] began in the little Sore church to offer public prayer. -- four of the Christian women visited one or two of the neighboring villages.<sup>80</sup>

McKenzie himself described this as, "a wonderful change"<sup>81</sup> and noted that "their lives are indeed reformed."<sup>82</sup>

Through the erection of church buildings and education at institutes, McKenzie taught Koreans to be free from reliance on mission funding, and therefore to be financially and administratively independent from missionary tutelage. Thus, McKenzie facilitated the "Koreanization" of Christianity through his initiation of self-reliance programs. More importantly, though, he sought to implant egalitarianism in

Korea's Confucian, hierarchical society, a society in which women were regarded as inferior.

### Among the Tonghak

As discussed in Chapter Two, when Western Religion (in this case, Roman Catholicism) was introduced to Korea through China in the sixteenth century, it was adopted as a "learning" known as "Sōhak" (Western Learning) by some Korean intellectuals of the namin yangban group. When Protestantism was introduced in the late nineteenth century, some Koreans feared that the coming of the Western powers was being aided by the adoption of Christianity. Among those who feared the penetration of Western power was one Ch'oe Chae-u (1824-1864), a ruined yangban in the south of Kyōngsang Province. In 1860, he founded Tonghak, a movement which advocated "the East for Easterners," or "Korea for Koreans." Etymologically, Tonghak, or "Eastern Learning", is antithetical to Sōhak or "Western Learning." The religious aspect of this movement constituted Ch'oe's new religion "Ch'ōndokyo" (The Religion of Heavenly Way). This consisted of a combination of universally applicable elements from Korea's different religious traditions:<sup>83</sup> Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shamanism, and even Christianity.

The Tonghak movement has been characterized by historians as a "rebellion," "uprising," or "peasants' war". Some

contemporary Westerners equated Tonghak to China's Tai-ping<sup>84</sup> or Boxer Rebellions.<sup>85</sup> McKenzie describes them as "Communist," "Nihilist" or "a sort of Coxey's Army."<sup>86</sup> Politically, the first goal of the Tonghak movement was to protect the country from Western imperialism, so it was anti-West as well as anti-Japanese. Founder Ch'oe stated: "It is the righteous thing to do for all Koreans, no matter what their religious backgrounds are, to expel Westerners and Japanese."<sup>87</sup>

However, during the 1890s, the Tonghak movement began to address more internal political issues, protesting against such things as the peasants' exploitation by the landlords, local hyangli's (petty functionaries) misconduct, the levying of heavy taxes, etc. In February 1894, for example, a leader of Tonghak in southern Korea, Chŏn Pong-jun (1854-1895), investigated a peasant revolt as protest against magistrate Cho Pyŏng-gab's illegal extortions and tyrannical cruelty in governing.<sup>88</sup> The central government did not address the cause of the peasants' complaint, but rather retaliated against the Tonghak, "attesting the Tonghak rebels and destroying their homes, thereby precipitating a full-scale uprising [of Tonghak]."<sup>89</sup> Angry Tonghak proposed Paejŏng kaehyŏk (Reforms of Maladministration of the Government) to the Governor of Chulla Province, Kim Hak-jin (1838 - ?), two of which were the disciplining of those hyangli whose conduct was improper and a ban on the collection of all arbitrary and irregular taxes.<sup>90</sup> During this so-called second stage of the Tonghak movement,



the unexpected occurred in the northern part of Korea (where McKenzie lived) when the two supposedly antithetical religions of Tonghak (Ch'ōndokyo) and Sōhak (Christianity) encountered each other. McKenzie wrote:

I noticed on my arrival [from Seoul on October 10, 1894] that many of my former acquaintances who only a few months before invited me to their villages now carefully shunned me. No person wished to be identified with the foreigner. Several friends warned me of my danger as the Tonghaks were getting very numerous and were already threatening to kill the 'Westerner' and all the 'Western doctrine' folk [Christians].<sup>91</sup>

In the winter of 1894, McKenzie's life was threatened twice.<sup>92</sup> Despite this, he chose to stay and thus was the only foreigner who had the "rare privilege"<sup>93</sup> of being eyewitness to both the Tonghak uprising and the Sino-Japanese War in the northern part of Korea. Moreover, he was the one who precipitated an alliance between the Tonghak (Ch'ōndokyo) religion and Sōhak (Christianity).

In his letter to George Jones of Chemulpo, McKenzie wrote, "we are making history every day. Some [of the Tonghak who were] at the service yesterday are to-day on the war-path."<sup>94</sup> However, although the Tonghak were anti-Western, they perpetrated no direct act of hostility against Christianity. Rather, the Tonghak provided a medium to aid the proselytization of Christianity, at least in McKenzie's area of Hwanghe Province. Robert Speer (1867-1947), Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., wrote:

And the Tonghak rebellion, instead of supplanting Christianity with the religion which Choi [Ch'oe] had devised as superior to it, or of driving out of the country any foreigners who were propagating it, both gave to Christianity a powerful impulse and opened the way for its wider dissemination.<sup>95</sup>

Likewise, Sōh Kyōng-jo commented: "During this time of the unrest even more Tonghak considered Songchōn as a refuge and came to services on Sundays [numbering] about 80 [as opposed to the] 20 or 30 [attendants] on normal Sundays."<sup>96</sup> Sōh did not specify exactly how many Tonghak attended such services, but he did imply that on occasion more than half of the congregation were "non-regulars."

From this, a functional relationship can be established between the growth of the church and the high degree of political unrest. McKenzie himself noted that, "there is no doubt but the Tonghak are precipitating the spread of the Gospel."<sup>97</sup> This was in part due to the fact that McKenzie was actively engaged in trying to convert the Tonghak to Christianity. Indeed, he recorded that he had some Tonghak friends and that they visited Songchōn, where he was stationed.<sup>98</sup> Oftentimes the Tonghak leaders would attend his services, motivated by a "deep and sincere inquiry after truth"<sup>99</sup> through Christianity, or McKenzie himself would hold "Christian services in the house of Tonghak of prominence."<sup>100</sup> Even more revealing, some Tonghak came to McKenzie to seek advice "on how he [the Chief of Tonghak] should treat the Governor."<sup>101</sup> And, when donations were solicited for the

construction of a church, some Tonghak made monetary contributions toward the church-building fund. McKenzie recorded that "two or three Tonghak gave three hundred yang (about \$15), the wife of one of them fifty yang, and their chief five hundred yang -- over six hundred yang [actually, 850 yang total], or thirty dollars contribution in one day."<sup>102</sup> People in Hwanghe Province suffered from Tonghak and Japanese atrocities during this period of the Tonghak rebellion, and many people in neighboring villages considered Songchŏn as "a haven of safety,"<sup>103</sup> believing that McKenzie would protect them;<sup>104</sup> "many are coming to our village to live, some fairly well-off, some poor,"<sup>105</sup> McKenzie noted. Some people even sought a certificate from him when they traveled around the vicinity to "prove" that they were not Tonghak.<sup>106</sup>

In order to symbolize that Songchŏn was a safe zone, and a symbol of Christianity, McKenzie and "his" villagers raised the flag of St. George's on December 12, 1894, the anniversary of his arrival. "Tonghak and anti-Tonghak, Christian and anti-Christian," McKenzie wrote, "were eager in bearing [sic, lending] a hand in erecting a tall pole that could be seen all around"<sup>107</sup> the vicinity; as the flag unfurled, all the people at the scene sang a hymn together.<sup>108</sup> "By that sign," Paik Lakgeon said, "the Christian Church was later known throughout Northern Korea."<sup>109</sup> As far as Songchŏn was concerned, there was no religious distinction between Tonghak and Christianity or between East and West. As one Tonghak chief stated: "We both

[Tonghak and Christians] worshipped God and were therefore alike."<sup>110</sup> Thus, under the banner of the cross, Tonghak and Christians established one common community.

A few days after the raising of the flag, McKenzie recorded that several Tonghak had called to have a look at the foreigner after having seen the banner, and McKenzie himself visited villages that were "entirely Tonghak and receiv[ed] a true welcome."<sup>111</sup> He was not only evangelically active (i.e., the merging of Tonghak and Christian philosophy), but also involved in humanitarian work. McKenzie said that he was known as a "medicine man," rather than teacher<sup>112</sup> throughout the province of Hwanghe, particularly during the period of Tonghak unrest. He visited the Tonghak wounded<sup>113</sup> on his own, and on occasion was sent for by Tonghak leaders to tend to wounded Tonghak.<sup>114</sup>

This symbiosis between Tonghak and Christian philosophy is a unique event in both religious and secular history. In her biography on McKenzie, Corn of Wheat, Elizabeth McCully wrote about this under the title "Among the Tonghak" (pp. 163-198). Almost the same account, entitled "Seven Months Among the Tonghaks [sic]," appeared in English in the Korean Repository (hereafter cited as KR);<sup>115</sup> the author was anonymous. While the story of the Tonghak involvement outlined in McCully's book is not given much credence by historians in Korea because of the rarity of the book, (the book was published in Toronto, Canada in 1903), the article in KR is

often treated by Korean modern historians as an important account, since it was a unique observation by a foreigner. Indeed, just who wrote it has become a point of dispute among secular and church historians. Han Woo-keun wrote an article called "Tonghak nongmin ponggi" (The Rebellion of Tonghak Peasants), with a reference to the above KR article in Han'guksa (History of Korea),<sup>116</sup> as did church historian Min Kyōng-bae in his book Kyohoe wa minjok (The Church and the Nation, 1981).<sup>117</sup> Both denied that McKenzie was the author of the article. However, the present author's own research has revealed that McKenzie did in fact write the account.

When the trio of Maritimers (Grierson, Foote and McRae, as will be recounted later), were sent by the Presbyterian Church of Canada to Korea in 1898, McRae, himself a Cape Bretoner, possessed a letter of authorization from McKenzie's mother, Flora:

St. George's Channel  
West Bay  
June 4th, 1898

To the British Consul,  
I hereby request that the effects of the late  
Rev. Wm. J. McKenzie be handed over to the  
care of Rev. D.M. McRae, missionary.  
[signed] Mrs. Flora McKenzie.<sup>118</sup>

After arriving in Korea on September 7, 1898, McRae met with British Consul, Walter C. Hillier, and visited Songchōn. McRae discovered that the KR article mentioned above had been written by McKenzie and sent a copy of the KR to the editor, Baddeck Telephone, a hometown newspaper for both McKenzie and

McRae, with the following explanation:

The following article was published by the Korean Repository of June, 1895, and is as it came from the pen of the late Wm.J. McKenzie, who left his home, St. George's Channel, West Bay.<sup>119</sup>

McRae sent it from Wŏnsan on March 7, 1899. The editor of the Baddeck Telephone published the story serially on April 19, April 26 and May 3, 1899. McKenzie himself had recorded that: "Mr. Appenzeller wants the story of the Tonghak for the Repository."<sup>120</sup> He noted this in his diary on May 10, 1895, while he was in Seoul on his second trip. Another reference also assigns the article's authorship to McKenzie. In his compilation entitled, Bibliography on Korea, Horace H. Underwood, the son of the first Presbyterian missionary to Korea, Horace G. Underwood, credited McKenzie as the author of that article.<sup>121</sup>

However, Min strongly disagrees:

it is obvious that the anonymous missionary mentioned cannot be W.J. McKenzie. [For] the missionary said that he left the village in May 1895. But McKenzie never left the village until the time of his death which fell on July [1895].<sup>122</sup>

Min erred with the date of McKenzie's death. McKenzie died on 23 June, not July as Min understood. Min's argument that "McKenzie never left the village" is not valid, for, as mentioned, McKenzie made two visits to Seoul, one in April of 1894, and the other one in May, 1895. (See APPENDIX XIX Chronology of McKenzie). It was during his second trip (May 1895) to Seoul that Appenzeller, the editor of the Repository,

asked McKenzie to write about the Tonghak. Given the above facts, there can be no doubt that the anonymous article, "Seven Months Among the Tonghaks [sic]," was written by McKenzie himself.

### McKenzie's Sudden Death

Both Koreans and missionaries in Seoul were shocked to hear of McKenzie's death on June 23, 1895, at the age of 34. McKenzie had lived only 559 days (about 18 months) in Korea, 339 days of which were spent in Songchŏn. Strangely, this is about the same amount of time he spent in Labrador. The American medical missionary, J. Hunter Wells, who investigated the cause of his death, sent the following report:

About the first duty as a doctor I was called upon to perform was to investigate the suicide of Mr. McKenzie who was possessed of the erroneous idea of the appropriateness of isolation, exile, Korean food and so forth. He was living alone up in Sorai [sic]. Notwithstanding that when he shot himself he was a victim to the 'isolation-exile' theory.<sup>123</sup>

He was buried behind the church he had erected with the help of the Korean villagers with whom he had lived; thus, "[his] dust mingle[d] with theirs," just as he had wished.

McKenzie's death brought some significant developments to the history of Korean church. In 1900, his fiancée,<sup>124</sup> Louise McCully (1864-1945) of Truro, Nova Scotia, arrived in Korea through the auspice of Presbyterian Church of Canada. McCully was the daughter of Wilson family in Truro, Nova Scotia, whose

family were devoted Christians and were interested in mission work. They founded a mission church called "Berachah Mission" in the east end of Truro, Nova Scotia, early in the 1880s which no longer exists. This "Berachah Mission" supported McKenzie financially and even held a farewell service when McKenzie left for Korea.<sup>125</sup> McCully was involved with the International Missionary Alliance for World Mission in New York. Records indicate that she attempted to be sent to Korea when McKenzie died. The "Alliance's" journal, Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary, wrote that upon the news of the death of McKenzie, "one of our beloved students [McCully] was about to leave Nova Scotia to join in his glorious work; "<sup>126</sup> but, for some reason, McCully went to China (the date is not known). McCully was transferred to Korea in 1900 because the Boxer Movement in China allowed no foreigners there.<sup>127</sup> As a matter of fact, McCully was the first single woman missionary sent by the Presbyterian Church of Canada. She was assigned to Wōnsan, and, in 1909, was joined by her sister, Elizabeth McCully (1862-1941), the author of Corn of Wheat, a biography of McKenzie.

As early as 1903, Louise gathered the native women together and trained them to become church workers. This was the beginning of the "Marūda Wilson Yōja Sinhakwōn" located at Myōngsok-dong in Wōnsan (Martha Wilson Memorial Theological Training School for Women. Hereafter cited as Wilson School).<sup>128</sup> In fact, this was "the first institution for



theological education for women in Korea."<sup>129</sup> In 1908, the students numbered 40; in 1930, the institution expanded to include programmes such as Biblical Studies, Systematic Theology, Christian Education, Church History, and Practical Theology. The faculty members were Cho Hŭi-ryŏm (1885-1950), Lee Kyu-yong, Kim Maria, and Pak Kŭm-ryo, who mostly studied in Canada or America.<sup>130</sup> However, during the Japanese occupation, the schools run by missionaries were interrupted by the Japanese colonial government, and "Martha Wilson" was no exception. In the 1940s, faculty members like Cho Hŭi-ryŏm and Lee Kyu-yong were deprived of their professorship when the Japanese gendarme held a hard line toward the missionaries. Even worse, when the Communists occupied the northern part of Korea, Cho was kidnapped on October 9th (1950) and killed at the Wonsan jail.<sup>131</sup> With the division of the peninsula (South and North Korea at the 38 parallel) in 1950, the area in which the "Martha Wilson" is located came under the control of the Communist regime. From that time onwards, the missionary activities ended.

According to contemporary historian, Chŏn Taek-bu, there are about 80 graduates of "Martha Wilson" in the Seoul. They perform various do some social and evangelical works such as raising funds to send Christian workers to help people in prison or giving scholarships to the children of disabled veterans of the Korean War.<sup>132</sup>

Besides initiating theological education for women,

McCully contributed to the organization of the Women's Missionary Society (WMS) in Korea, beginning in Wōnsan in 1903. By 1909, there were 263 WMS members in the territories under the Canadian missions.<sup>133</sup> McCully's methodology of organizing WMS in the northern part of Korea was used in the rest of the country. In her book, Our Shares in Korea, McCully wrote:

These four Missions [Presbyterians of the Northern and Southern, U.S.A., Australians, and the United Church of Canada] united all their work under one organization in the General Assembly. The General Assembly considered the idea in various committees, gave permission that it be presented to next year's Assembly, and then confirmed decision that the Woman's Missionary Society of the Korean Church be recognized by the Church courts and fostered by its care. Thus an All-Korea W.M.S. is now existent and Miss Louise McCully, of our mission, was elected its first president.<sup>134</sup>

Thus, the Korean system of WMS was modelled after the Canadian WMS system.

McKenzie's mission work was not halted by his death, but was rather in many ways stimulated by it. Upon receiving the news of his death, the question of continuing his mission work seriously engaged many people in the Maritimes. When, late in 1895, Sōh Kyōng-jo wrote a letter<sup>135</sup> beseeching Canadian Christians to send a religious leader to replace McKenzie arrived, this again rekindled the "Korean question" in the Christian community in the Atlantic Canada. For a time, arguments were made for and against the Presbyterian Church of Canada taking over McKenzie's unfinished work; ultimately, it

was decided to send missionaries to Korea.<sup>136</sup> As a result, Robert Grierson, William Foote and Duncan McRae arrived in Korea on September 7, 1898, and a new chapter in the Presbyterian Church of Canada's official mission work began. As of 1929, 34 years after McKenzie's death, there were 49 male and female Canadian missionaries in Korea,<sup>137</sup> not including their children or other civilians. Hence, McKenzie's death brought about a closer relationship between Korea and Canada. As Robert Grierson rightly commented: "Canada and Korea are linked together by William J. McKenzie."<sup>138</sup>

### Conclusion

McKenzie went to Korea as an independent missionary with the informal backing of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. He decided to isolate himself in a remote region in order to quickly absorb the Korean language and culture. However, it appears that financial concerns also influenced this decision, as he received no regular funding. By adapting the Korean mode of living, McKenzie was able to win over the locals; even the Tonghak rebels who had once attempted to kill him were eventually converted to Christianity. Yet McKenzie's embracing of the Korean life-style was viewed as an "erroneous idea" by later missionaries, and one which cost him his life.

In general, the missionary strategy of how to conduct mission work in the early period was to focus on urban areas.

Staying in big cities, like Seoul, P'yōngyang and Pusan was considered both safer and healthier than living in rural villages. Not incidentally, by the missionaries congregating these areas, it was easier for them to maintain a sense of "Western" community. It should be noted that the Korean government's favouring of this "urbanized" mission life-style was due in part to the ease with which it could tabs on the foreign community.

McKenzie, however, chose to work in a remote area and specialized in rural proselytization. McKenzie's approach to evangelizing to the Korean people was to encourage to develop a spirit of "Self-reliance", rather than training them to rely on foreign aid. Independent, Korean, governance of native congregations was, he believed, the only way that Christianity could become a truly Korean religion. He encouraged natives in Songchōn to make both social and mental reforms, primarily through his initiation of church-building -- financed by Koreans -- and the operation of a school in which males and females were treated equally. By providing girls with the same access to education as that of boys, and through his insistence that women's participation in church work be the same as men's, McKenzie strove to build an egalitarian society in Songchōn. That McKenzie's philosophy of mission policy became a role model for other missionaries is evidenced by the wide-spread encouragement by missionaries in Seoul for Korean congregations there to fund and erect their own churches.

McKenzie's death shook, but did not collapse, the bridge he had so laboured to build between the cultures of Canada and Korea.

Notes to Chapter Nine

<sup>1</sup> John McNab, They Went Forth (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1933), p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> McKenzie's biography is based on the following sources: Elizabeth A. McCully, A Corn of Wheat or The Life of Rev. W.J. McKenzie of Korea (Toronto, Ontario: Westminster Co., Ltd., 1903), pp. 9-18; McNab, They Went Forth pp. 188-195. The present author translated McCully's Corn of Wheat into Korean under the title, Hanalūi mil-i ttōlōjō jugūimyōn, which was published in 1985 by the Education Department of the Presbyterian Church of Korea.

<sup>3</sup> McCully, pp. 19-51; William J. McKenzie, "The Moravian Missions in Labrador", in The Theologue, Vol. 1:1 (December 9, 1889), p. 20; W.H. Smith, "A Missionary Crusader: McKenzie of Korea", in William McTavish (ed.), Missionary Pathfinders: Presbyterian Labourers at Home and Abroad (Toronto, Ontario: Mission Book, Co., 1907), pp. 184-185.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Canadian historian John McNab, the unnamed "book" McKenzie read on his way to Labrador was William E. Griffis' Corea: The Hermit Nation (London, England, W.H. Allen & Co., 1882). For this, see McNab, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> McCully, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> McCully, p. 52. The present author heard from both Mary Grierson, wife of Robert Grierson, a former Canadian missionary to Korea who was also a friend of McKenzie, and Helen McRae, daughter of Duncan McRae of Cape Breton, McKenzie's hometown. Both Grierson and McRae went to Korea as Presbyterian missionaries in 1898.

<sup>7</sup> McCully, p. 56. See also, "History of Stewiacke Congregation," unpublished typescript prepared by the congregation. It was provided by the minister of the church, Judy Crump. Dated November 15, 1986.

<sup>8</sup> Judy Crump's personal letter to the present author, dated November 15, 1986.

<sup>9</sup> McCully, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Acts and Proceedings of the Fortieth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Appendices, p. 101.

<sup>11</sup> McNab, p. 194.

<sup>12.</sup> The mission fields under FMB-ED were: New Hebrides (began in 1848), Trinidad (began in 1868), and British Guinea (began in 1885); the mission fields under the Western Division were: Formosa (began in 1871), India (began in 1877) and Honan, China (began in 1888).

<sup>13.</sup> McCully, p. 55.

<sup>14.</sup> "Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada" (Truro, Nova Scotia, October 3, 1893), p. 2, housed in the Maritime Conference Archives (Halifax, Nova Scotia). Hereafter cited as Halifax-MCA.

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid. At that time, there were about \$2,000 in the "McKenzie Fund." For further information on this, see Halifax-MCA (Halifax, Nova Scotia, April 28, 1896), p. 2.

<sup>17.</sup> The present author heard from a former missionary, Helen McRae from Halifax, that James Forrest was the treasurer for the McKenzie support group. Forrest was a banker, a member of the Park Street Presbyterian Church in Halifax, and an active member of the city YMCA. McKenzie wrote in his diary in early 1895: "my treasurer in Halifax had died, some months ago." According to an obituary which appeared in the Acadian Recorder, Forrest died on October 3, 1894. For more information on Forrest, see Acadian Recorder (October 4, 1894).

<sup>18.</sup> McCully, pp. 92-93. For further information on McKenzie's trip to P'yōngyang, see William James Hall, "Pioneer Missionary Work in the Interior of Korea", in The Chinese Recorder Vol. XXV:7 (July 1894), pp. 314-316.

<sup>19.</sup> Songchōn is a small village located in Changyōn County, Hwanghe Province. It has also been known as Solle, Sorai, Sore, or Sorae. In the late nineteenth-century, the village consisted of about 70 households. For further information, see Chōn Taek-bu, "Sorae Kyohoe", in Kidokkyo tae paekwa sajōn (The Christian Encyclopedia), Vol. 9, (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1985), pp. 555-557. Hereafter cited as KTPS.

<sup>20.</sup> Paik Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910 (Seoul, Korea: Yōnsei University Press, 1971), p. 139.

<sup>21.</sup> Sōh Kyōng-jo, "Sōh Kyōng-jo ūi sindowa chōndowa Songchōn kyohoe sōlip yōksa" (The History of Songchōn Church and the Sōh Kyōng-jo's Work of Proselytization), in Sinhak jinam Vol.

7:4 (October 1925). Reprinted by Yōksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe (The Historical Compilation Committee), Saemunan kyohoe munhōn saryojip, Vol. 1 [Historical Documents on Saemunan Presbyterian Church] (Seoul, Korea: Saemunan kyohoe, 1987), p. 444.

<sup>22</sup>. McCully, p. 101. It appears that McCully confused the date; the February 3 fell on a Saturday, not on a Friday, in that year.

<sup>23</sup>. McCully, p. 102.

<sup>24</sup>. See "Chronology of McKenzie" in APPENDIX XIX.

<sup>25</sup>. Exact statistics on Seoul's foreign population at the time of McKenzie's arrival are not available. According to Harry Rhodes, there were 35 Presbyterian missionaries in 1893. For this, see his History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. 1884-1934 (Seoul, Korea: Chosōn Mission Presbyterian Church, 1934), p. 625. A journal published in Canada has following record: "The total number of missionaries and their wives is at present [1891] about 30; all living in the capital city Seoul." For this, see The Medical Missionary (March 1891), p. 5. When taking into consideration the children of the missionaries of different denominations and non-missionaries, there were probably at least over 100 foreigners in total in Seoul when McKenzie arrived.

<sup>26</sup>. McCully, p. 105.

<sup>27</sup>. Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>28</sup>. McCully, p. 114.

<sup>29</sup>. An ondol is the traditional Korean sub-floor heating system. The flooring of a house is heated by the heat from the flue running beneath it; this flue carries the heat from the kitchen fireplace to an outside chimney at the other end of the house.

<sup>30</sup>. McKenzie's letter to John W. Mont, minister of the Bethany Church, Armdale, Nova Scotia, dated May 1, 1895, housed in the Halifax-MCA. Hereafter cited as McKenzie's letter to Mont.

<sup>31</sup>. Lillias Underwood, Fifteen Years Among Top-knots or Life in Korea (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1904), p. 132. L. Underwood did not specify whether this applied to daily or salaried income.

<sup>32</sup>. Ibid., p. 131.



33. Ibid., p. 123.
34. McCully, p. 245.
35. Ibid., p. 150.
36. Ibid. See also, pp. 106, 185.
37. Ibid., pp. 107-108.
38. According to his diary, McKenzie visited the following villages: Obane, Changyŭn, Chodong, Hajen, Sinchŭn, Kannikol, Penamikol, Tetani, Quanchang, Songdo, Kumijŏn, Chungsan, Yungsudong, Hwangmyŏngchŏn, Haeju, Kurangay, and Mokdong.
39. Paik, p. 205.
40. Daniel L. Gifford, Every-Day Life in Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), p. 195.
41. McKenzie's letter to Mont.
42. McCully, p. 230.
43. There is no available data on the exchange rate during McKenzie's time in Korea. In a diary entry for November 5, 1894, he wrote that someone donated fifty yang, or \$2.50 (McCully, p. 147) (probably in US currency), towards the church-building fund. By McKenzie's calculation, one dollar was worth 20 yang. Based on this calculation, the 170,000 yang ultimately donated would have been worth \$8,500 (US). However, it is doubtful that a simple, "native-style" church cost that much to build. Other records show how much a normal tiled house cost at that time.
- For instance, a house worth \$120 U.S. was built by Shin Myŏng-gyun, a native evangelist who worked for Malcolm Fenwick, a Canadian missionary. There is also a picture of "Songchŏn Church", in Fenwick's The Church of Christ in Corea (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), pp. 44, 80. The cost of the Western-style Severance Hospital was \$25,000 (US), about three times more than Songchŏn Church. Given the differences in size, workmanship, and technical complexity between the Severance Hospital and Songchŏn Church, the cost of the latter (170,000 yang or \$8,500 in U.S.) appears too excessive.
44. McKenzie's letter to John W. Mont of Bethany Church, Armdale, Nova Scotia.
45. Lillias Underwood, p. 124.

46. KTPS, Vol. 9, p. 556.
47. Sinhak jinam, p. 444.
48. Lillias Underwood, p. 130.
49. Ibid., p. 133. See also, Horace G. Underwood, "An Object-Lesson in Self-Support." Missionary Review of the World, Vol. 23:6 (June 1900), pp. 443-449.
50. McCully, p. 159; Sinhak jinam, p. 447.
51. "Haesŏ Chaeil Hakkyo", in KTPS, Vol. 6, p. 254. Kim Yun-bang was the first of nine children born to Kim Sŏng-sŏm and An Sŏng-ŭn. The other children were: Yun-o, Yun-il, Pil-soon, In-soon, Ku-rye, No-duk, Sun-ae and Pil-rye.
52. Sinhak jinam, p. 447; KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 254.
53. "Haesŏ Chaeil Hakkyo", in KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 254.
54. Haesŏ is another name for Hwanghe Province.
55. Rhodes, p. 239. See also, "Miss Maria Kim, M.A.", in Living Epistles in Korea: Short Sketches of Miss Maria of Wonsan and Miss Maud J. Mackinnon of Sungjin (Toronto, Ontario: Literature Department, Woman's Missionary Society, n.d.), p. 4.
56. See the picture "Group of Day-School Children" on page 159 in Corn of Wheat.
57. "Haesŏ Chaeil Hakkyo", in KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 254. No source is given as to which textbooks were used. However, there were some textbooks written by missionaries the year before McKenzie founded the school and he might used them. These include Samin pilji (World Geography) written by Homer Hulbert in 1892; Jigu yakron (Introduction to World History) written by Mary Scranton in 1894; and Elementary Korean Language written by George Jones in 1894.
58. Chŏn Taek-bu, "Sore Kyohoe" (Songchŏn Church), in KTPS, Vol. 9, pp. 556-557.
59. McCully, p. 159.
60. Ibid., p. 213.
61. Ibid., pp. 158-59.
62. KTPS, Vol. 16, p. 254; Sinhak jinam, p. 447.

63. Missionary Review of the World, (June 1900), p. 445.
64. Sinhak jinam, p. 448.
65. "Minutes of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Canada" (22 June 1920), pp. 14-15.
66. Ibid.
67. "Picture Collection," United Church of Canada and Victoria University Archives, Accession # 76.001.
68. Elizabeth A. McCully, "Where the Saints' Feet have Trod", in Korea Mission Field, Vol. 16:12 (December 1920), p. 248. Hereafter cited as KMF.
69. The British navigator Basil Hall (1788-1844), the son of James Hall, left England for China and arrived at Kwangtung, northeast of China on May 25, 1816. From Kwangtung, en route to Japan, Hall encountered the Paekryong Islands in the vicinity of Songchön. On September 1, he named this area the "Sir James Hall Group Islands" in honour of his father. For further information, see Basil Hall, Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island (London, England: John Murray, 1820), pp. 1-57. See also, Sorai by the Sea: Souvenir (Seoul, Chosen, July 1918). This area has yet another English name. In the "General Sherman Incident" of 1866 (recounted in Chapter Two) part of investigation was carried out by American Naval Commander Robert Shufeldt, who was then anchored in Tadong Bay, near the mouth of Kumipo Harbor, near Songchon. Shufeldt named the place "Wachusett" after their ship. Hence, this area is also known as "Wachusett Island" by the Westerners. However, Shufeldt did this mistakenly, confusing Tadong Bay for Taedong River in P'yöngyang. For further information on this, see "Papers from Sorai Beach", in KMF (September 1920), p. 197. See also, Lee Jong-wön, "Paekryöngdo", in Sinangge (The World of Faith) (December 1987), pp. 124-128.
70. Sȫh Pyȫng-ho was born in 1885 (July 7), the second son of the Sȫh Kyȫng-jo who was McKenzie's "little friend and language teacher". Sȫh became the first indigenous baby known to be christened in the history of Korea. As well, he was the first graduate of Seoul's Kyȫngsin School (in 1905). Sȫh later became an educator and a fighter for Korea's national independence. For more on Sȫh, see KTPS, Vol. 8, p. 1001.
71. Kim Pil-soon (1880-1922) was one of the first seven graduates of the Severance Medical College in 1908, and also one of Avison's primary translators of medical textbooks.

<sup>72.</sup> Pak Chae-wŏn (?-?) was a graduate of Severance Medical College and later opened up a practice in Songchŏn.

<sup>73.</sup> Kim Myŏng-sŏn (1897-?) was a graduate of Severance Medical College (1925) and later became Principal there in 1952.

<sup>74.</sup> Kim Ham-ra (1887-?) graduated from Chŏngsin Girls' School in 1907 and became a teacher.

<sup>75.</sup> Kim No-duk (?-?) graduated from Chŏngsin Girls' School and became an educator.

<sup>76.</sup> Kim Soon-ae (?-?) graduated from Chŏngsin Girls' School in 1910 and became an educator.

<sup>77.</sup> Kim Maria (1891-1944) graduated from Chŏngsin Girls' School in 1911 and became an educator and leader at the time of the 1919 Independence Movement. For more about her, see "Miss Maria Kim, M.A.", in Living Epistles in Korea, pp. 3-11.

<sup>78.</sup> Kim Pil-rye (1891-?) was a 1907 graduate of Chŏngsin Girl's School, taught there, and later became its principal.

<sup>79.</sup> McCully, p. 115.

<sup>80.</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>81.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82.</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>83.</sup> Noh Jŏng-sun, "Religion and Just Revolution." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary (New York), (1984), p. 75.

<sup>84.</sup> Robert Speer, Missions and Modern History, Vol. 2, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1904), p. 359.

<sup>85.</sup> Lillias Underwood, p. 127.

<sup>86.</sup> McCully, p. 166. "Coxey's Army" was an industrial reform movement in America in 1894 led by Jacob Sehler Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio. Coxey was a successful self-made businessman and a reformer with a special interest in fiat money. During the post-1893 depression, he came up with a plan to save the country by enacting two bills which would provide for large issues of legal-tender currency; these were to be used to pay for the construction of good roads and other public improvements, thus furnishing work for the unemployed. In an attempt to persuade the government to adopt his idea, he and

some 500 followers marched into Washington, D.C.; he and others members of his group were arrested, fined, and sent to jail for carrying banners and walking on the grass of the Capital's grounds. For more about Coxey's Army, see Donald Le Crone McMurray, Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894 (New York: AMS Press, 1970). Robert Speer compares the Tonghak to the mid-nineteenth-century Chinese Tai-ping Rebellion. For this, see his Missions and Modern History Vol. 2 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1904), p. 359.

87. "Nokdu changgun", in Narasarang, # 15 (1974), p. 142.

88. Lee Ki-baik, New History of Korea (Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 284.

89. Nam Andrew, Korea: Tradition and Transformation (Seoul, Korea: Hollym, 1988), p. 175.

90. Lee Ki-baik, p. 287; Han Woo-keun, Tonghak nongmin ponggi (Seoul, Korea: Ilchogak, 1989), pp. 113-114.

91. "Seven Months Among the Tonghaks", in Korean Repository (June 1895), p. 201. Hereafter cited as "Seven Months."

92. McKenzie's letter to Mont.

93. "Seven Months", p. 201.

94. McCully, p. 169.

95. Speer, p. 387.

96. Sinhak jinam, p. 446.

97. McCully, p. 186.

98. Ibid., pp. 157, 167.

99. Ibid., p. 158.

100. Ibid., p. 161.

101. "Seven Months", p. 206; McCully, pp. 186, 188.

102. McCully, pp. 158, 161.

103. Sinhak jinam, p. 446.

104. McCully, p. 174.

- <sup>105.</sup> Ibid., p. 194, 153.
- <sup>106.</sup> Ibid., p. 184. McKenzie said, "I give a lot of notes to certify they are not Tonghaks. I tell them they are of no use, but they still demand them. I give them; they cost nothing."
- <sup>107.</sup> Ibid., p. 184.
- <sup>108.</sup> Ibid., pp. 155, 184.
- <sup>109.</sup> Paik, p. 193.
- <sup>110.</sup> McCully, p. 170.
- <sup>111.</sup> Ibid., p. 155.
- <sup>112.</sup> Ibid., p. 217.
- <sup>113.</sup> Ibid., p. 187.
- <sup>114.</sup> Ibid., p. 196.
- <sup>115.</sup> (June 1895), pp. 201-208.
- <sup>116.</sup> Kuksa p'yōnchan wiwōnhoe (comp.), Han'guksa: kūndae Vol. 17 (Korean History: Modern) (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1981), pp. 179-180.
- <sup>117.</sup> Min Kyōng-bae, Kyohoe wa minjok (The Church and the Nation) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo sōhoe, 1981), pp. 182-189.
- <sup>118.</sup> MG 1 Volume 2339, "Miscellaneous", in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- <sup>119.</sup> Baddeck Telephone (April 19, 26, 1899), p. 2; (May 3, 1899), p. 2. Baddeck is 30 miles west of Sydney, in northeastern Nova Scotia. The inventor Alexander Graham Bell lived there and his name was added to the town's to honour him.
- <sup>120.</sup> McCully, p. 211. The Korean Repository was first published on January 1, 1892 by Franklin Ohlinger, a American Methodist; it ceased publication after a year because Ohlinger returned to America in 1893. In 1895, Korean Repository resumed publication under Henry Appenzeller and George Jones.
- <sup>121.</sup> Horace H. Underwood, Occidental Literature on Korea (Seoul, Korea: Chosōn Christian College, 1931), p. 94.
- <sup>122.</sup> Min, p. 196, # 82.

<sup>123.</sup> J. Hunter Well, "Medical Impression", in KR. Vol. 3, (June 1896), p. 238.

<sup>124.</sup> Oliver R. Avison, Memoir, unpublished manuscript, (1940), p. 295. This was also communicated by Helen McRae, who was the daughter of the former missionary Duncan McRae (who went to Korea in 1898), and Mary Grierson, who was the wife of the Canadian missionary Robert Grierson, who also went to Korea in 1898.

<sup>125.</sup> McCully, p. 61.

<sup>126.</sup> "Korea. A Pioneer Gone", in Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary, Vol. XV:25 (December 18, 1895), p. 386.

<sup>127.</sup> Helen McRae, A Tiger on Dragon Mountain (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island: A. James Haslam, 1993), p. 79.

<sup>128.</sup> Chŏn Taek-bu, "Marūda Wilson Yōja Sinhakwŏn", in KTPS, Vol. 5, p. 651.

<sup>129.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130.</sup> Ibid., p. 652.

<sup>131.</sup> "Cho Hŭi-ryŏm", in KTPS, Vol. 13, p. 1245.

<sup>132.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134.</sup> Elizabeth McCully and E.J. Fraser, Our Shares in Korea (Toronto, Ontario: Board of Foreign Missions of The United Church of Canada, 1930), p. 23.

<sup>135.</sup> McCully, p. 254.

<sup>136.</sup> "The Acts and Proceedings of the Presbyterian Church of Canada" (Montreal, Quebec: June 8-17, 1897), p. 175.

<sup>137.</sup> This information is based on the roster of Canadian missionaries in Our Share in Korea, p. 64.

<sup>138.</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

### CONCLUSION

This study of how Canadian missionaries influenced late nineteenth-century Korean society is not intended to be a comprehensive overview of Canadian missionary work in Korea. Rather attention has been focused specifically on the activities of Canadian Christian evangelizers operating in Korea from 1888 to 1898.

At the close of the nineteenth century, Korea was an international battleground, which severely weakened the power of the monarch and led to social and political instability. International and domestic pressures weakened the country's "isolation policy" to the point where the "Hermit Kingdom" was forced to open its doors to the Western world.

In 1876, Korea signed a "Treaty of Amity and Trade" with Japan; subsequently, similar treaties, like the "Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce" (1882), were signed with Western countries. Though clauses permitting "mission work" were not included in any treaty, Christian missionaries (Protestant) were able to "sneak" into Korea under the guise of humanitarian workers, such as medical doctors or educators. The first such "undercover missionary" was Horace Allen, an American medical missionary. It was his "miraculous" success in saving the life of Prince Min Yǒng-ik<sup>1</sup> which earned the acceptance of Western medicine, first by the royal family, and later by the general populace. Thus, Allen's "success"



provided a precedent for Protestant Christian missionaries to come to Korea as "physicians" or "educators" at a time when promulgation of "foreign religion" was prohibited.

When North American Protestant churches sent their representatives to Korea during the late nineteenth century, the zeal for evangelizing in a "pagan country" was phenomenal, particularly among Christian college students. Such enthusiasm "was [channelled] into the Mount Hermon Conference in the summer of 1886"<sup>2</sup> and led to the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM-FM), which adopted "Evangelization of the World in This Generation" as its slogan.<sup>3</sup> The movement soon spread throughout Western countries, and Canada was no exception. James Scarth Gale was one of many students who volunteered to serve as a foreign missionary; he was sent to Korea by the University College Young Men's Christian Association, University of Toronto. Gale was an independent worker, as he had no denominational loyalties. Moreover, he was an Arts student -- trained in the Classics and history -- not a theologian. As such, Gale lacked the dogmatic mind-set typical of "gospel evangelists", an "inadequacy" which proved a benefit not only to Korean society, but to Western society as well.

During his 40 years (more than half of his entire life) of labour in Korea, Gale made monumental contributions to Korean society in diverse fields: evangelism, education, social movements, theology and literary works.

Gale's idiosyncratic approach to evangelism was his "in-cultural" method. He began his parish ministry in an area of Seoul that was essentially a ghetto for the lower class and these were the people who comprised most of his original congregation. However, the demographic make-up of church membership diversified as members of different social classes were attracted by Gale's leadership. Indeed, Gale's major legacy to Korea's mission history was his successful advocacy of breaking down traditional social barriers and implementing the new concept of human equality.

One of Gale's most significant contributions to evangelism was his incorporation of "heathen" music into "sacred" rituals. Gale founded the "Han'guk umak yonkuhoe" society in 1917 in order to study Korean music; eventually, he was able to compose hymns set to the tune of indigenous folk songs like "Yangsando" (See Figure 4:7). Gale was the first Western missionary to attempt "in-culturation" at the grass-roots level.

Gale also worried that Western missionaries might reign over Korean converts in a form of "Christian tyranny" in a way similar to that which enabled "Confucian tyranny" to dominate the Korean people in the traditional Yi dynasty. Consequently, he employed theological liberalism to form "Korean Christianity".

By involving himself in educational institutions in Chongsin and Kyongsin, Gale expanded the levels of education

available, i.e., from "elementary" to "middle", and revolutionized the curriculum by introducing astronomy, physics, chemistry and algebra, etc. In order to achieve this, he himself wrote text-books to teach "his" students. Gale's efforts to awaken Korean people through education was such that he helped Korean youth study in North America, in defiance of the existing "official" policy of not sending "natives" to America for higher education. He believed that he was in a "heathen" country not only to "Christianize" its people, but also to enlighten them about human dignity and human values. Gale's mission method attracted progressive-minded youth like Lee Sang-je, Yun Chi-ho and Syngman Rhee, individuals who would later assume important roles in modern-day Korean politics and society. Moreover, during the time of the Japanese Occupation, many independence movement leaders flocked to Gale's church and made it "a home."

The official stand of Western missionaries in the field was that they must accord "loyal recognition"<sup>4</sup> to the Japanese overlords of Korea; missionaries rarely spoke against the Japanese annexation of Korea. Some modern historians (e.g, Song Kŏn-ho and Min Kyŏng-bae), view Gale as "pro-Japanese". In fact, Gale initially favoured China when it came to cultural issues and Japan when it came to political influence over Korea. However, he repudiated this attitude when he saw what the Japanese did to Koreans, like the assassination of Queen Min in 1895. Thereafter, he expressed his opposition to

the Japanese occupation through communiques such as "My Audience with the King" in 1898, or his personal letter, in 1916, to a former British Ambassador to the U.S., Lord James Bryce. To condemn Gale as "pro-Japanese" or "anti-Korean" is inaccurate; he should rather be criticized for lacking the "guts" to fight with more than just his pen.

In recognition of Gale's translation of Korean literature into English, Canadian biographer Henry Morgan described Gale as "the foremost literary interpreter of the Korean mind to the Occidental world."<sup>5</sup> As well, Gale should be equally praised for his translation of English works into Korean, thus reaching out to Koreans. The Bible (New Testament) was already translated by 1876. This Ross Version had been completed before the formal arrival of Protestant missionaries in Korea. However, it was considered useless, as the words and style of the translation made little or no sense. Missionaries in the field continually "competed" with each other in translating the Bible; the Gale Bible was the most controversial, the major point of controversy being the choosing of terminology appropriate to both Western sensibilities and the indigenous culture. Those who also understood the Korean culture were better at finding ways to adapt Christian evangelism to Korean need. Though the Gale Bible was proscribed by the church, he published it privately in 1925 (hence, the appellation "Gale Bible"). The Gale Bible is a unique translation in that Gale was the first and last to translate both the New Testament and

Old Testament; though not recognized as such, it highly influenced the later "official" translation of the Bible.

Besides being the translator of both the New and Old Testaments, Gale was the lexicographer of the Korean-English Dictionary, published in 1897. This dictionary was a major achievement and widely used by missionaries in learning the Korean language until the publication of Samuel Martin's New Korean-English Dictionary in 1967. Gale also wrote the History of the Korean People (1924-1927), which was the second Korean history book undertaken by a Western scholar.<sup>6</sup> Gale's historical view of Korean society was Sinocentric and emphasized the influence of China and Confucianism, a considerable "weakness" due to his reliance on Korean Sinophile books like the Tongguk tonggam and Tongmong sonsup. Still, Gale's History of the Korean People and his Korean-English Dictionary opened Korean study to Western scholars.

His best-known translation of an English work into Korean was John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, known as Chöllloyŏkjŏng, in 1895. Significantly, Chöllloyŏkjŏng was written by Gale using strictly Han'gŭl (Korean script) for the first time in the history of Korean literary work. This broke the traditional bias of Korean literati for Hanja (Chinese characters). His use of Han'gŭl was yet another example of Gale's targeting of ordinary people for conversion. The appearance of Chöllloyŏkjŏng had a revolutionary impact on the development of Korean literature.

As noted, Gale was a product of the nineteenth-century Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission. Because he was sponsored by a pan-denominational group of students, he was able to freely modify his methods of evangelism. It appears that this feeling of being an "independent" remained with him even after he had officially bonded to a denomination; he frequently deviated from the path of denominational loyalty. Gale was more concerned about first conducting humanitarian work and then building Christianity on that foundation. Through culturally sensitive evangelism, educational activities, social movements and literary work, Gale made many lasting contributions to Korean society.

Aside from the enthusiasm of Canadian students for missionary endeavours, zeal was also shown by lay Christians in Toronto, primarily those associated with the Toronto YMCA. These individuals formed an mission organization known as the "Corean [sic] Union Mission" (CUM), mainly through the efforts of Henry B. Gordon (1854-1951), a member of Knox Presbyterian Church, Toronto. CUM's first representing missionary was Robert Harkness, a graduate of University College, University of Toronto, and a friend of Gale. Harkness and his wife Isabella had gone to Korea along with Gale. However, they lived in Korea for less a one year, being forced to leave due to health problems.

Malcolm C. Fenwick, who was born in Markham, Ontario, replaced Harkness, thus becoming CUM's second representative.

It is important to note that Fenwick was not trained in theology, or even the humanities. He was originally a farmer, but had become hardware store manager in downtown Toronto by the time of his departure for Korea. Like Gale, Fenwick was an independent missionary. Once in Korea, he settled in Wonsan, located in the northeast of Korea. He was the first missionary to attempt rural mission work while residing in the countryside. In Wõnsan, Fenwick once again farmed for a living, as he was not guaranteed a field salary by CUM.

Three years later (in 1893), he returned to Canada and did not return to Korea until 1896. During this period, several important things happened to Fenwick. The first was his disassociation with CUM and his founding of the "Corean [sic] Itinerant Mission" (CIM) in Toronto in 1894. (This was virtually his own organization.) The second thing was his connection with Baptists in America. He attended Adoniram Judson Gordon's (1836-1895) "Missionary Training School" in Boston and was ordained by Gordon himself. While in Boston, some missionaries from Clarendon Street Baptist Church (the church where Gordon was ministering) went to Korea under the auspices of the Ella Thing Memorial Mission (ETM) in 1895. As noted above, Fenwick returned to Wonsan in 1896 and carried on his mission enterprise in the name of CIM. In 1900, the missionaries under ETM were forced to fold up their mission "tent" because of financial problems. When the ETM group returned home, the area of Kongju (Chungchõng Province) was

transferred to the care of Fenwick. This transaction was possible because of Fenwick's connection with Gordon and the Clarendon Street Baptist Church in Boston. Fenwick's mission work became more active once he obtained the Kongju area. Because of this connection with Baptists, Fenwick is known as the founder of the Baptist Church in Korea: that, however, is historically incorrect.

In Wōnsan, Fenwick adopted a Korean *modus vivendi*, donning Korean clothes and eating Korean food in order to get closer to the natives. Despite his best attempts, however, there were significant cultural barriers that he could not overcome. In addition, the area of Kongju he took over from the ETM was about 300 miles from Wōnsan, his primary place of residence. Considering the cultural barriers he encountered and the vastness of his pastoral territories, he decided to train Koreans to serve as evangelical workers. In order to achieve this, he established two "training schools" -- one in Wōnsan and the other in Kongju. This utilization of indigenous proselytizers proved to be a success. By 1905, his Korean cadre had built 31 churches throughout Chungchōng and Chulla Provinces. One year later, Fenwick organized the Taehan kidokkyohoe (Church of Christ in Korea [sic]), with himself as a "Bishop." Fenwick's significant contribution to Korean mission history was his effort to "Koreanize" Christianity by using the indigenous evangelists. Aside from this evangelical contribution, his most remarkable contribution was his



translation of the Bible. Like Gale, Fenwick translated the New Testament (published as Sinyak chōnsō in 1919). This rendition was known as the "Wōnsan Version". The "Wōnsan Version" used gookmoon, colloquial Korean language, with no moonjas, idiomatic phrases from the Chinese Classics. In a deliberate attempt to reach illiterate people and children. His translation also contributed to spreading the use of *Han'gūl* as a literary median.

Fenwick also translated traditional English hymns into Korean and used them in "his" church. Significantly, he also included hymns written by both Western missionaries and Korean evangelists like Shin Myōng-gyun.<sup>7</sup>

As noted, Fenwick had started as a farmer and he farmed in Wōnsan for a living. This led to his introducing modern farming methods and new farming tools to his Korean surrounding community. He also introduced fruit cultivation, which even became a part of the school curriculum.<sup>8</sup> Fenwick's contribution in improving agricultural "modernization" in late nineteenth-century Korea should be recognized in equal proportion to his indigenization of Christianity in Korea.

Following the example of the University of Toronto-YMCA missionary enterprise's sending of James Gale, the medical students' YMCA of the University of Toronto decided to send their own missionary to Korea to work with Gale. Robert Hardie arrived in Korea on September 30, 1890. Hardie was the first physician to become involved in Canadian mission work in

Korea. Evangelism, combined with humanitarian work, was the hallmark of Canadian mission work. Unfortunately for Hardie, Gale chose to join the American Presbyterian Mission Board in 1891 (August 31) for financial reasons, just after Hardie arrived in Korea.

Hardie, too, was hampered by insufficient funding from his Toronto sponsors. After Gale's abandonment of Arts students' YMCA, both the Arts "Y" and medical students' "Y" amalgamated to form the Canadian College Mission (CCM) an enterprise which benefitted from their combined funding. However, this did not entirely solve the problem of funding. Like Gale, Hardie was forced by insufficient funding to join the American Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1898 (May 15). In 1900 (November 11), Hardie was ordained in the American Methodist Church and became involved more in evangelism than in medical work. In the history of Christianity in Korea, there occurred a turning point known as "The Great Revival Movement of 1907". It was this movement which exponentially enlarged the membership of Korea's Christian church. Hardie has been credited as the one who "lit" the movement.<sup>9</sup>

Aside from general evangelism, Hardie began to provide theological education from 1905, which was the year he began conducting a "mobile" Bible School ("Sinhakdang": Hall of Theology) in various cities. This was the "seed" from which the Methodist's "Hyōpsōng Sinhakdang" (Union Theological

School) developed in 1905. Hardie served as its President for 14 years. During his tenure as President, he published a theological magazine called Sinak saekye (The World of Theology), beginning in 1916. Through this publication, he professionalized the teaching of theology by treating it as an academic subject. In 1923, Hardie assumed the position of Editor-in-Chief of the "Chosŏn Yesukyo Sŏhoe" (presently Korean Christian Literature Society). He contributed to this society, which was devoted to the production of Christian literature, until his retirement in 1935.

Hardie spent half of his life (45 years) in Korea. For the first ten years, he had worked as a "freelancer" a semi-evangelist and semi-physician. After becoming a denominational missionary, he concentrated on working as an evangelist, theological educator, writer and translator.

William James Hall, another Ontarian, also went to Korea as a medical missionary. In his second year of medicine at Queen's University, Hall was influenced by the SVM-FM and decided to become a missionary. In 1887, he interned at New York's Bellevue Hospital Medical College, which offered both medical education and medical missionary training. He graduated from Bellevue with an M.D. degree in 1889. For the next two years, he worked as a "home" missionary in New York City. In 1891, Hall was sent to Korea by the American Methodist Mission Board and joined his fiancée, Rosetta Sherwood, who had been sent to Korea a year before by the same

mission board. The couple married in Korea in 1892.

Hall was the first Western missionary to settle in P'yōngyang (in 1892); there, he began evangelizing as well as providing medical care and education. The inhabitants of P'yōngyang were initially dismayed to see a Westerner in their city, but Hall was "protected" by the then-Governor Min Byōng-sōk, who valued Hall's medical training.<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Hall established a school in P'yōngyang for the blind; this was the first institution of its kind in Korea. Mrs. Hall's school was the predecessor of "P'yōngyang maeng a hakkyo" (P'yōngyang Blind School).

Regrettably, Hall contracted typhus and died in November 1894, after only three years in Korea. Yet Hall's death did have a positive side-effect. When Mrs. Hall returned to America after her husband's death, she brought her medical assistant, Kim Chōm-dong (known as Esther Pak) and Esther's husband, Pak Yu-san, with her. In 1895, Mrs. Hall visited Hall's hometown, Glen Buell, Ontario, along with the Paks; they were the first Koreans ever to visit Canada.

Hall's work was continued by his widow, his son Sherwood, and by Hall's Korean assistants. Sherwood Hall returned to Korea after obtaining his degree in medicine from the University of Toronto in 1924. Along with him came his wife, Marian Hall, who also was an M.D. These "junior" Halls were assigned at a hospital in Haeju, Hwanghe Province (presently North Korea). There they built "Haeju kyōlhaek yoyangwōn"

(Haeju Tuberculosis Sanatorium) and pioneered treating paebyŏng, tuberculosis, known as the "fatal disease." Hall established a 25-acre farm beside the Sanatorium not only to grow fruits and vegetables, but also to use as part of his regime for rehabilitation. The farm became a "model" for teaching people in the area about farming. Hall's "sanatorium-cum-rehabilitation centre" renders Hall the first institutional social worker in Korea's history.

As a sideline of his treatment of paebyŏng, Hall initiated the issuing of the Korean "Christmas Seal" in 1932; this legacy still continues. Eight years later, the Hall family was forced to leave Korea due to the war clouds being cast over the eastern part of Asia. In sum, the two generations of Halls contributed 76 years of service to Korea. All four of them were medical doctors. However, they also were responsible for modernizing education, providing special education for the blind, advancing the treatment of paebyŏng, promoting rehabilitation through farming at the Sanatorium, and introducing the "Christmas Seal" campaign.

After the start of the Korean War in 1950, the country was divided into two. Once the northern part of Korea was occupied by the Communists, no mission work was allowed. Consequently, missionary organizations (e.g., like mission schools) ceased to exist. Many of the schools and churches previously in the North were reestablished in the south. The school Hall began in P'yŏngyang was relocated to Seoul: now

known as "Kwangŏng School", it is located in downtown Seoul.<sup>11</sup>

Oliver Avison was yet another medical man educated at the University of Toronto; he arrived in Korea in 1893. At that time, mission "hospitals" in Korea were "cottage-hospitals", with poor facilities and limited manpower. Avison was determined to establish a "modern" hospital and educate Koreans as physicians. In the spring of 1900, he attended a mission conference in New York, at which he appealed for a "joint undertaking" by the church and the medical mission boards in order to provide better care to the Korean people. To achieve this, he required a hospital with modern facilities. Missionary philanthropist Louis Severance of Cleveland, Ohio, donated \$10,000 U.S., for the project. The "modern" hospital was completed in 1904 and named after the donor, thus becoming the "Severance Hospital". This institution "became the headquarters" of medicine in Korea.<sup>12</sup>

In order to train Koreans as physicians, Avison translated English medical texts such as Henry Gray's Anatomy (with the help of his Korean assistant, Kim Pil-soon). Avison's first seven medical students graduated in 1908 with M.D. degrees. This was a historical event in the history of modern Korea. In 1905, Avison began a three-year course in Pharmacy and, in 1906, opened a school of Nursing. Avison retired after 42 years of mission work in Korea.

Until Avison came to Korea and built the Severance Hospital, the medical facilities run by individual

denominations were only minimally effective due to poor facilities and a lack of trained manpower. By establishing a hospital and medical college, Avison not only healed the sick, but also taught Koreans how to heal their own people. Thus, Avison transformed the previously Western missionary field of "miraculous" medicine into an indigenous one.

All missionaries sent to Korea prior to William John McKenzie were Ontario-born Canadians. McKenzie was from the eastern part of Canada, having been born in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and educated at Dalhousie and at the Presbyterian College, both in Halifax, Nova Scotia. While McKenzie was influenced to some degree by the Student Foreign Mission Movement -- a phenomenal movement among Christian students in North America -- his decision to go to Korea was prompted by a book, later known as Corea: The Hermit Kingdom (1882), written by William E. Griffis.<sup>13</sup> McKenzie was anxious to be sent by his church, The Presbyterian Church of Canada. Upon discovering that it was impossible for his church to financially support him, he solicited financial aid from his friends.

McKenzie arrived in Korea on December 12, 1893, as an independent unfunded missionary. He settled in the remote village of Songchŏn, located about 200 miles northwest of Seoul. There, he adopted the Korean *modus vivendi*, eating and dressing like them and even sleeping on a typical "rough" Korean floor (*ondol*).

Once established in Songchŏn, he began evangelizing, visiting from house to house and village to village. He also began a co-ed elementary school which was expanded after his death to include both Junior and Senior High School classes. This institution became known as "Haesŏ chaeil hakkyo", or the "McKenzie School". His evangelical work was well-received, and after a year or so, with the help "his" Korean Christians, he built a church in Songchŏn. It is particularly significant that the "Songchŏn Church" had been built by Korean Christians who donated both their own time and money. Until this point, it had been customary for missionaries to provide the money for the erection of churches or schools.<sup>14</sup> McKenzie advocated Korean self-reliance; since mission work benefitted Koreans, Koreans should conduct it. McKenzie's advocacy of self-reliance influenced other denominational missionaries, like Horace Underwood, an American Presbyterian, who encouraged his Korean congregation to build the "Saemunan Church", which is still standing in downtown Seoul today.

By promoting education, particularly co-education, and female participation in congregational decisions, McKenzie revolutionized the status of Korean women. Teaching both males and females together was forbidden in Confucian society; yet, at the "McKenzie School", both sexes were taught together. Several renowned people who came from the "Songchŏn Village" began their education at the "McKenzie School". Two of the most important were Kim Myŏng-sŏn, the former Director of



Severance Medical College, Yōnsei University, and Sōh Pyōng-ho, an educator, social activist and leader of the independence movement against the Japanese Occupation of Korea.

The status of women in traditional Confucian society was "inferior" to that of men; because of this, women were expected to be "shy" and "retiring", in keeping with their social "unimportance". McKenzie set about to reform women's image through evangelization. He highlighted the importance of women to society and to the church by insisting that they participate in public activities. Renowned women from "Songchōn Village" were Kim Ham-ra, Kim Maria and Kim Pil-rye, all leading figures in education, the women's movement and the independence movement against the Japanese Occupation.

McKenzie remained in remote Songchōn during the Tonghak Rebellion of the early 1890s. The Tonghak Rebellion was Korea's equivalent to China's Tai-ping (Boxer) Rebellion in the sense that it was anti-Western and anti-Christian. During the political unrest caused by the Tonghak, "Songchōn Village" served as neutral territory, becoming as a place of "refuge" because of McKenzie; this helped turn people to Christianity. Many Tonghak attended his services and made "deep and sincere inquir[ies]"<sup>15</sup> about Christianity. Some even donated money towards the erection of the church mentioned above.

McKenzie died in 1895 (June 23) after residing in Korea for about 18 months (only 559 days). His sudden death resulted

in The Presbyterian Church of Canada's officially sending missionaries to replace him. William Foote, Robert Grierson and Duncan McRae, all Nova Scotians, arrived in Korea on September 7, 1898, three years after McKenzie's death. Thus began the Presbyterian Church of Canada's official mission work in Korea.

McKenzie had lived like a Korean and his adoption of a *Koreanish* life style received a positive response from Koreans themselves. McKenzie "Koreanized" Christianity through the initiation of a programme of self-reliance and also emphasized education as a means of introducing egalitarianism into Korea's traditionally hierarchical society. His mission methodology was not that of a fanatic evangelist; rather, he emphasized the importance of humanitarianism and respected other faiths, as shown by his relationship with Tonghak believers.

Despite Canada's extensive involvement in missionary endeavours in Korea in the late nineteenth century, no Korean or Western scholar has yet addressed the topic in a thorough academic fashion, as indicated in the introductory chapter. The primary reason appears to be that these earlier Canadian missionaries came to Korea as independent enterprisers, except for two sent by the American mission board, and another two who joined the American mission board only after they had spent some time in Korea; some remained independent. Another reason why the theme may have been avoid is the historians'

bias towards "Americanism." Thus, these Canadian missionaries' contributions were overshadowed by those of American missionaries. As well, the lack of available research materials in Korea may have made the topic difficult to explore. The reasons appears to be: because when these earlier Canadian missionaries came to Korea they were independent enterprisers, except a couple sent by American mission board and a couple later joined American mission board and some remained as independent, or scholars' bias of "Americanism" thus these Canadian missionaries' contribution overshadowed by American missionaries or the lack of availability of research materials in Korea made the study to receive cursory attention.

Notes to Conclusion

<sup>1</sup>. Horace N. Allen, Things Korean (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1975), p. 72.

<sup>2</sup>. Peter Bush, "The Foreign Mission Movement among Canadian Students, 1884-1923", unpublished paper, Knox College, University of Toronto, 1987, p. 7. See also, C. Mark Steinacher, "Some Influences of the Student Volunteer Movement on Canadian Presbyterianism", in The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (1990), pp. 39-63.

<sup>3</sup>. Jerald C. Brauer (ed.), Dictionary of Church History (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1971), p. 792.

<sup>4</sup>. Kang Wi-jo, Religion and Politics in Korea Under the Japanese Rule (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup>. Henry J. Morgan, (ed.), The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1912), p. 428.

<sup>6</sup>. The first history book written by Protestant missionaries in Korea was: Homer B. Hulbert, The History of Korea (Seoul, Korea: Methodist Publishing House, 1905).

<sup>7</sup>. For this, see Pokum chanmi (Gospel Song) translated and compiled by Malcolm Fenwick and published by Church of Christ in Korea in Wonsan in 1904. Fenwick began to translate English hymns into Korean when he arrived in Songchon Village in the spring of 1890 (Fenwick arrived in Korea on December 8, 1889). Some of the first hymns Fenwick translated were "Jesus Loves Me", written by Anna Bartlett Warner (1824-1915) in 1859 and "I am So Glad", written by Philip Paul Bliss (1838-1876) in 1870. Both hymns are still in the hymnbook major Protestant denominations are using. In regard to Fenwick's interest in translating hymns, see Malcolm C. Fenwick, Church of Christ in Corea (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1911), p. 21.

<sup>8</sup>. Kim Yong-hŭi, Chwaung Yun Chi-ho sonsaeng yakjon (A Brief Biography of Yun Chi-ho) (Seoul, Korea: Kidokkyo choson kamrihoe, 1934), p. 149.

<sup>9</sup>. Chon Taek-bu, Han'guk kidokkyo paljonsa (History of the Development of Korean Christianity) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan kidokkyo chulpansa, 1992), p. 157.

<sup>10</sup>. Sherwood Hall, With Stethoscope in Asia: Korea (McLean, Virginia: MCL Associates, 1978), p. 113; Kuksa p'yonchan

wiwŏnhoe, Kojong sidaesa (History of the Kojong Period) Vol. 3 (1888-1895) (Seoul, Korea: Tamgudang, 1970) pp. 123, 227, 365; Kidokkyo taepaekwa sajŏn (Seoul, Korea: Kyomunsa, 1983) Vol. 9, p. 727.

<sup>11</sup>. Kwangsŏng kusipnyŏn p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe, Kwangsŏng kusipnyŏnsa (Ninety-Year History of Kwangsŏng School) (Seoul, Korea: Minjung insoe kongsa, 1984), p. 41.

<sup>12</sup>. Chŏn Sang-ŭn, "Kwahak kisulhak" (Science and Technology) in Han'guk hyŏndae munhwa taekye (An Outline of Korean Modern Culture) Vol. 2 (Seoul, Korea: Korea University Press, 1976), p. 565.

<sup>13</sup>. John McNab, They Went Forth (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1933), p. 191. See also, Elizabeth A. McCully, A Corn of Wheat or The Life of Rev. W.J. McKenzie of Korea (Toronto, Ontario: Westminster Co., Ltd., 1903), p. 20.

<sup>14</sup>. Daniel L. Gifford, Every-Day Life in Korea (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), p. 195.

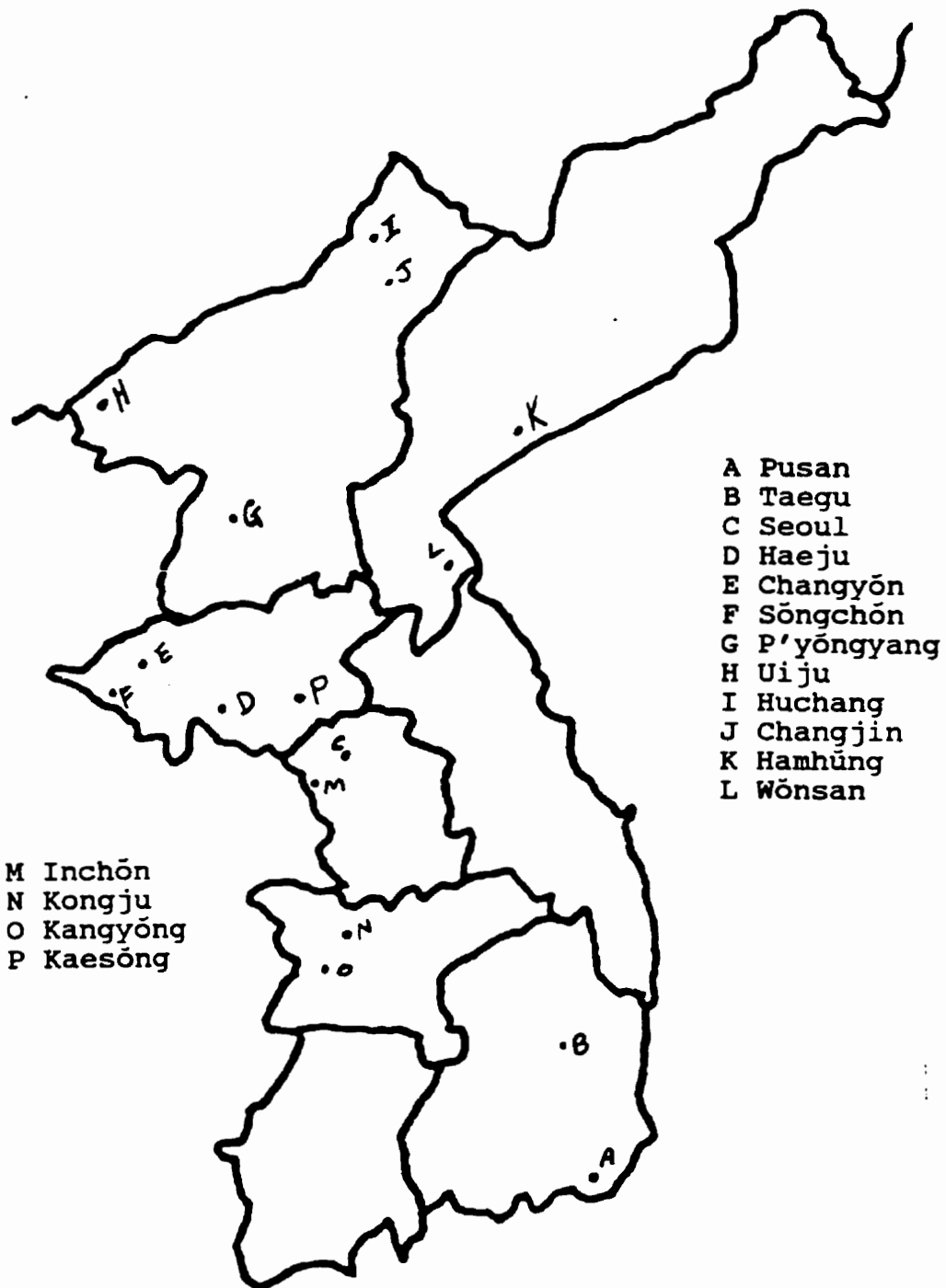
<sup>15</sup>. McCully, p. 158.

Korea and its Northeast Asian Setting

(Reprinted with permission from the American Map Corporation, New York, U.S.A.)

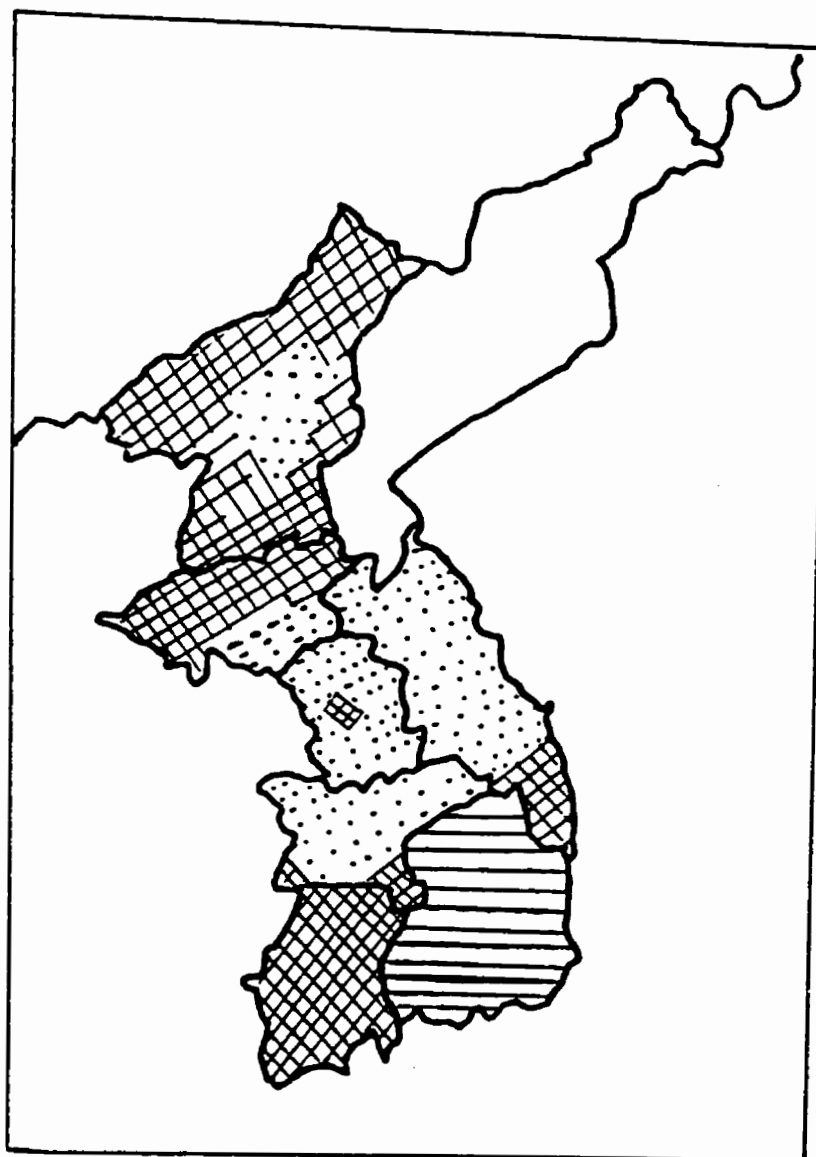






Map of Korea Showing Localities  
Mentioned in Thesis.



## APPENDIX III

Map of Korea and territories "owned" by different countries' mission board (1898)



-  Canadian Presbyterian Mission
-  American Methodist Mission
-  American Presbyterian Mission
-  Australian Presbyterian Mission

Adopted from "Allocation of Territory Among Major Denominations in Korea", in Lak-geon Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910 (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1970), unpaginated.



## APPENDIX IV

## Gale's Letter to Lord Bryce of England

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, P.C., C.M.  
The Athenaeum, 107 Pall Mall, London.

[March 10, 1919]

My Lord,

I realize that I am taking a great liberty in addressing you on the question of a hearing for Corea among the smaller nations of the earth, seeing I am a missionary and not a diplomatist. However, remembering still the deep interest you took in matters that pertained to this little country during your short stay, and knowing how deeply you appreciate the struggle of a people that are down toward something better, I know I shall find at least, a wise, a just, and a sympathetic hear.

Corea has been for nine years under Japan, in which time she has learned much, has had much done for her, good roads made, great improvements everywhere, but during which time her heart has not been won. The fault, however, may be wholly hers and not Japan's. Let me mention first the more recent happenings as I go on further to give as nearly as I can the relation of these two peoples.

On the first of March a very peculiar demonstration took place throughout the peninsula. A manifesto suddenly made its appearance, and was handed about the streets of Seoul by the hundreds, announcing the independence of Corea and the freedom of the Korean people. It was signed by thirty-three names. The

first on the list was that of Son Pyung-heui, the leader of the native cult, Ch'un-do Kyo (Church of the Divine Way), said to have a million and a half followers. Fifteen of the names, some of them men of considerable influence, are associated with this religion.

The second name on the list is that of Kil Sun-joo, the blind pastor of Pyengyang, a Presbyterian, the leading preacher of the north. Fifteen of the list are Christians, Presbyterians and Methodists, living in various parts of the country. The other three names are those of leading Buddhists. In this way the list is widely representative.

The demonstration was purely a peaceful one, of the nature of passive resistance. They met in groups, unknown to the police, all over the land and announced their independence. No violence was to be resorted to, and no resistance was to be offered of any kind, but this announcement only, that they were Koreans and would never accept the rule of Japan.

One of the significant things in connection with the demonstration is the fact that of the student classes, the Government School students took the lead, that is the students have been wholly under Japanese tutelage and have never come in touch with the foreigner. I have always felt that a purely Christian representation meant little as it might be regarded as an exotic growth, but here is this native cult church, the most powerful, and, as far as I know, the only large purely

native organization of any kind up against the Government. Ten years ago they were the friends of Japan. To-day they are at the front in an effort to give expression to the opposition they hold. The Government students, too, I have always understood to be with Japan, but that also has proved not to be the case. Many of them to-day are in prison.

For a week we have had these demonstrations and more are to follow. Yesterday's Japanese paper says that over thirty were killed in Sung-ch'un [Sun-ch'on] in the north, fifty-one in Kang-su to the west, and about twenty in Yang-tuk further south. We must remember that these are unarmed non-resisting people, merely persisting in their watch-word demonstration.

The United States, as you may remember, made a special treaty with Corea that differs from that of other nations. Part of Art. I reads: "If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

Mr. Roosevelt, when this matter was brought to his attention, quite justly and rightly, I should think, answered in essence, "Corea has taken no step in her own behalf, you cannot expect me to take it for her." This question is still to the fore. What is Corea doing in her own behalf? If nothing more takes place than the demonstrations already made throughout the land, joined in by all classes, Corea has

indeed shown courage of a very high order, her old men, young men, young lads as well as school-girls.

Japan as you know, permits no expression of opinion regarding political matters, and nothing printed in any book, sheet, or newspaper that does not first come under the Government's eye to be passed upon. Not for a moment would it allow the raising of the question of Corea's independence. It required a great deal of courage for men to meet and march through the streets in bands shouting their word, 'Independence Forever!' I saw them passing up and down the main streets of Seoul and waving their caps in front of the police offices. Most of them are in prison now, and it is assuredly no joke to be in a Japanese prison as a political offender. Though a sincere friend and admirer of Japan in many ways, I would prefer to shoulder a rifle and go and meet the Germans on the Western Front to being a weaponless Korean guilty of shouting "My Country Forever!" against Japan, and have to meet the gendarmerie and police, who, apparently still resort to the thumb-screw, if not the stake, in their efforts to extort evidence. This would seem to be proof that Corea has not only courage, but that she is doing all she can within her narrow limits, putting her life upon the altar for her country.

One of my friends, a missionary among the Japanese, whose opinion I greatly esteem, takes exception to all this movement, and says Corea is a law-breaker so acting and

speaking. Perhaps that is true technically, you will know better than I, though I feel that there is an invisible law of equity somewhere that speaks to the conscience and says that such expression is the inherent right of all men.

The most significant move we have seem, is the closing if [of] the shops of Seoul yesterday (March 9th) and to-day, with a boycott of the Japanese, not a Corean being seem in their settlement.

The organization, hidden wholly from sight, that is behind this is moving the country as one man, till even the merchants of the capital, undaunted by their leaders' possible punishment, forget all about their gains in their protest against the Japanese (thoroughly German) military machine. Had they have the light of day to work under, and the newspapers in their favor, it would still have been a feat of the very first order, but seeing that they are under the ban and every liberty wholly denied, it is proof that Corea can organize when the need calls for it.

The [this] is the beginning of a campaign of passive resistance that I understand will not cease, but will increase and grow, in order to call the attention of [the] League of Nations to Corea's case. That the heart of the people is in it go[es] without saying.

The reason for it is not hard to seek. The Japanese have always been unfavorably regarded by the Corean. From earliest days, 58 B.C. and on, names and terms in history referring to

Japan, are marked with a contemptuous flaw. Even to the present day there is the old Chinese dislike of the Japanese in [the] Korean's soul, an unreasonable dislike, a historic bent of the mind one might call it. There is also the reasonable dislike founded on hard experience. My feeling is that it rests at least partly on one great defect in Japan, her courts, her laws, her judges are not just. Justice cannot be had from a Japanese judge where the case stands between one of his own countrymen and an alien. [The] Japanese is always right. That spirit ruling the land for ten years has made them thoroughly disliked, and at the present moment the pent-up feelings have come to the breaking point, and the universal call now is "Independence Forever!."

The schools have ceased to be. The Government Medical School, the Higher school, the Girls Higher School, the Christian Schools following suit are closed.

A day or two ago the lady principal of a Middle School, that is under the care of the American Presbyterian Mission, brought me a letter to have it deciphered. It ran: "We students of the Middle School, since the call for independence was given, have decided to study no more while the Government of Japan, that has usurped the place of old Corea, directs the Educational Bureau. We swear a solemn oath that we will not begin again till independence is a fait accompli. There is something pitiful in their ignorance of what would be required to bring this about. Seven of these girls are now in prison

for venturing to give expression to these sentiments as they marched in the street behind the patriots.

The question is asked, ["]Would Corea make good supposing she were free?["]. I am not sure. Under the old king she did very badly, but the old king is dead. In behalf of her national probabilities I can say that while she has had only a dim traditional history from the time of Tan-goon the founder 2333 B.C. to 58 B.C., she has had a very definitely recorded history from that time on. She remained a single undivided nation, independent, except for the mere nominal suzerainty of China, from 668 to 1910 A.D. Only twice during this long period did her reigning house fall and a new family come to the throne, once in 918 and again in 1392 A.D. During these 1200 years she has lived happily under many good kings. Sometimes under kings of less worth she has gone back. For all that time there were no civil wars like our Wars of the Roses, not one. Outlaws like Robin Hood appeared at times, one even gained possession of the capital in 1624, but his insurrection only lasted a few weeks and his was the greatest. Two of her kings she condemned and put off the throne, they having failed to live up to the moral standards of the time, one in 1506, because he neglected the state for the society of loose women, and one in 1622, because he failed in a great act of filial piety toward his mother.

During these years Corea fought off many enemies, and preserved her nation intact. From the 10th to the 13th

Centuries it was the Tartars (Ki-tan and Nuchen) whom she had to meet. In 1235 the Mongols appeared and while they overcame China and gained possession of the throne, Corea shook them off again and again, as Tennyson's dog 'that shakes his ears'. For two centuries she withstood the pressure and survived.

Later the Manchus who overcame China (1618), made an incursion into Corea in 1636, but retired, leaving Corea nominally under their suzerainty, but quite by herself.

Corea has left a vast literature, poetry, history, philosophy, religion, science and art. She invented an alphabet in 1466 based on the Chinese tones of music, that surely is the simplest and most perfect medium of sound record in the world. She invented moveable type in 1407, fifty years before Gutenberg, and which China is sometimes given credit for it the evidence is not clear. She manufactured such porcelain as the world of the connoisseur still seeks with unwaning interest. She made and makes such paper as China regards with envy deeply recorded in her history. She has a great host of literati to her credit. A multitude of them lived as contemporaries of Chaucer, Yi Saik, Chung Mong-joo, Kim Koo-yong, Chung To-jun, Yi Soong-in, Kwun Geun, too many to mention, and again with our Shakespeare, crossing the line from the 16th to the 17th Century, Yi Hang-bok, Yi Chung-kwi, Kim Sang-hun, Yi Soo-kwang, Chang Yoo and others.

The value and worth of these great scholars is proven more and more conclusively by the Japanese themselves, who buy



their books with an avidity that is more discouraging to the poorer foreigner. Only the other day I found a set of the works of Hu Mok (1595-1682 A.D.) twenty-two volumes. I offered two yen a volume, forty-four yen, but I lost them, for the next day a Japanese gave three yen and carried them off. I only wish I had given the sixty-six as I know of no other copy purchasable at the present time.

The mural paintings discovered recently in the tombs of north Corea, I am told by Professor Siren, teacher of Art in the University of Stockholm, are among the wonders of the world.

Corea fell on evil days at the beginning of the 20th century when it seem[ed] as though Japan or Russia must have her. Japan was certainly preferable, and then Corea came first to independence of China's suzerainty in 1895, then under Japan's suzerainty in 1905, and finally to annexation in 1910.

As I have before mentioned the suzerainty of China was a very nominal thing. The imperial Government never interfered with the integral affairs of Corea. Her sanction simply was given to the reigning sovereign. She sent an envoy each year and received an envoy with tribute in return, but that was all.

In the year 1323 A.D. the Mongol Government at Peking decided to make Corea a province of China, and govern her by Chinese officials. This move was checkmated by a very able memorial written by a Korean scholar, Yi Che-hyun, who, in his

petition, voiced many of the sentiments associated with the League of Nations to-day. This was the nearest Korea ever came to being annexed till 1910, when she was sold by six or eight officials, without the people ever having been considered.

If it were required that a nation be in every way efficient from a modern point of view, up to such and such a degree, before her claim could be heard, Korea might fall short, though we should still remember that she is a child of the Far East's most famous civilization. She is not equal to Japan in organization, or in neatness and diligence, but I learn that even though Germany made Alce[sic, Alsace]-Lorraine clean, and far surpassed France in neatness and order, the heart of the people was never hers. So it is here. Korea calls for a hearing and her case is a pitiful one. In religion, in language, in customs, in ideals, she differs wholly from Japan. She is a Confucian nation, a scholar at heart, while Japan is a fighting Buddhist, with Bushido, or the Warrior as her divinity. She has an ingrained love of the old German system, and it is just as hateful to live under for Korea as for Belgium.

Will the Continuation Committee of the League of Nations not be free to consider just such cases as hers. If nations like Turkey, Bulgaria and Mexico are to be free to rule over their own kind, how much more Korea, who surely is as far superior to these as the Chinese scholar was superior to the wild Tartar of the desert.

Last Sunday evening (March 9th), the Director of Home Affairs, Mr. Usami, asked for an interview with some of the oldest missionaries, and nine of us gathered to meet him. He was very courteous and kind and I could see that he deeply appreciated the gravity of the situation. After some introductory remarks he asked the pointed question, "Seeing there are leading pastors arrested in connection with the revolt against the Government, how comes it that the missionaries knew nothing about it?" The answer was, "the Koreans in revolt knew right well that if they took the missionaries into their confidence, they would immediately try to dissuade them from any such venture, hence the missionaries were not allowed the slightest inkling of it."

He then asked us to tell him plainly wherein we felt Japan had failed, and I mentioned two points that seemed to stand out against her regime, as being largely responsible for the present situation. First, while Japan has done much for Korea, made roads, given a secure government, instituted laws, opened up ways of commerce, and safeguarded health, mentally she had placed the Korean under a reign of terror. He does not dare to utter the prompting of his heart lest the spy and the gendarmes or the soldier have him away to prison with its medieval horrors. I said to Mr. Usami[,] "You will pardon me but I am sure I am right in saying that you can never get at a Korean's real heart; I can, but not you. Why? Because while I am sure he does not fear you, he fears that machine that

stands back of you and fills his soul with terror. Ten years ago many Koreans were with Japan; to-day they are all gone, miles away in heart."

The second point was, Japan had said again and again that she would assimilate the Koreans and make of them Japanese. I felt this impossible. Koreans might be subjects of Japan but never Japanese. Their civilization, their ideals, their religion, their language forbade it. In my own country, Canada, French Canadians never became Englishmen and never were asked to be. So it would be here. Such is in outline the case of Korea as it appears to me. Being a friend of both Japan and Korea, I foresee nothing but increasing trouble and blood-shed as long as the present system is in vogue. I appeal to Your Lordship as one of the kindest friends living of all humanity for your wise and sympathetic interest in this matter.

My very esteemed friend the Rt. Rev. Bishop Trollope who has kindly consented to see this letter on its way, will be able to give you much fuller details and a better estimate of the situation than anything I have written. He is the best posted authority I know on matters pertaining to this part of East Asia.

With many thanks and grateful appreciation,

very sincerely yours,

[signed] James S. Gale

source: University of Toronto Archives

## APPENDIX V

Lord Bryce's Letter to James Gale

3 Buckingham Gate, S.W.  
24th May 1919.

My Dear Mr. Gale:

Thank you very much for your extremely interesting letter, which has been handed to me by Bishop Trollope. I have just had a long talk with him, in which he has given me fully his views of the situation in Korea, and I need hardly say that they agree in substance with yours, which you have explained with so much clearness. It was a real pleasure to hear from you again. We have often recalled the two days we spent in that striking city where your lot is cast. Indeed no people ever interested me more in some ways than the Koreans, and one cannot but admire the loyalty with which they cling to their nationality.

Can nothing be done for them? I gather from Bishop Trollope that both you and he think there will be no use any active agitation in this country on their behalf, nor can anything be done officially, at least at the Paris Conference, because they are technically now subject to Japan, and we could not interfere with the control Japan exercises except by laying ourselves open to have questions brought up which we could not admit to be within scope of the Conference, such, for instance, as to those of Egypt, South Africa and Ireland, although, I need hardly say, our purposes and policy are entirely different from those which Japan has been following.

Nevertheless, we can watch the question and try to urge our Government and the Government of the U.S. to take any steps that they can by way of friendly advice tendered to Japan to treat Korea with more consideration, and to abstain from those harsh measures which, I gather, they have taken. If it could be shown that those measures were specially directed against Christians, we should, of course, have a strong case for representations, but I do not gather from you that there is anything that can be called a religious persecution. If Christian teachers have been harshly dealt with it would appear to be not on any religious ground but because they are naturally, by their advanced education, prominent in expressions of nationalistic sentiment.

As respects the Koreans themselves, is it possible for them to do anything more than maintain an attitude of carefully guarded and prudent passive resistance, abstaining from and disregarding any political action of a revolutionary kind? That would be hopeless in present circumstances, but passive resistance, temperately conducted, does tell in the long run. Would not their best course be to devote themselves to maintaining national feeling by literature and by adherence to their old traditions, so as to keep alive the spirit of the people till better days arrive? Stringent as Japanese rule may be now we cannot tell that that can be always maintained. There are revolutionary forces already faintly visible in Japan, which might affect its constitution and government. If

it were to become democratic and the prestige of the present regime be shaken a new regime might be unwilling or unable to maintain harsh and arbitrary government which has been followed since the organization of the country. The larger is the educated class in Korea the stronger must it become ultimately, let the Japanese do what they will. You cannot denationalize 12 or 14 millions of people who want to cling to their language and preserve their national type. After a while the game is not worth the candle. The Prussians did not succeed in Germanising Posen, or even re-Germanising Alsace. The day of retribution came. So it may come, let us hope in a milder form, in Korea, though possibly not in our time.

There is also a possibility that Japan may be undertaking more projects than she can carry through. The Powers have allowed her, very wrongly as most of us think, to establish herself firmly in Shantung, where she is trying to stick her claws deep into Chinese trade and acquire monopolistic advantages for herself. America and Britain ought not to permit this, and we may have to collide with her if she persists. In this age of the world one cannot in the least foretell what things may have become in twenty years. We can only do what seems the best for the moment, and trust to the principles of right and justice ultimately to assert themselves. Anything you can tell me from time to time about the situation, and any observations you can give me from your knowledge on the spot of the designs of Japan generally, will

be very welcome. I am sending this through Bishop Trollope as he tells me it would not be safe to trust to the post, not even if a letter was addressed to the Consulate. You will, no doubt, find opportunities from time to time to send a letter through safely to me. Believe me.

Very sincerely yours,

James Bryce,

[signed]

source: University of Toronto Archives



APPENDIX VI

## "Japan's Problem"

Doubtless Japan felt in 1910 when the announcement was made, "Korea Annexed," that she had entered upon a path of glory unexampled by anything in her past history. Here were 80,000 square miles of land hers, with the flag of the Rising Sun floating over it; a foothold gained on the mainland, and a definite-start [sic] made for the mastery of East Asia.

Had Korea been an inanimate object, without some, or sense, of feeling, it doubtless would have been as Japan thought. Her dry biting atmosphere of winter could have been overcome; her dull brown hills could have been whipped into line, roads and waterways opened up, and a world of wonder made of her to blossom like the rose - an agreeable picture to the mind of the ordinary Japanese who had just heard that Korea was annexed.

But the Japanese are foolish folk, just as we all are at times. They, too, like some of us, think they know it all before they try their prentice hand, and, when the day of reckoning comes, make a poor showing.

So it is today. The Japanese are trying to hide it even from themselves, but the fact remains that they have made a failure in Korea, so that the peninsula is less theirs today than it was when annexed. In her efforts of the last three months to compel the Koreans to love her, she has driven even her friends far away, and now has a problem on her hands that

may well give her pause.

"Where lies the trouble? What is the matter"

Foreigners go by and they see great material improvement in Korea well ordered streets, better buildings, vastly improved sanitary conditions, increase of prosperity, and they herald the news abroad that [the] Japanese has been a boon unexampled.

This is the superficial view that makes matter more than mind, and body greater than soul. It is the view of the man who has not yet learned Shakespeare's little line, "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."

The writer used to imagine that Japan would prove an expert at reading the Korean mind, seeing that she was an Oriental herself, and was therefore within the charmed circle of the East, but he has changed his mind. Japan knows little or nothing of what Korea means or matters. The methods she adopts, the words she speaks, the announcements she makes prove her ignorance. It is not unfair to say that she is wholly unaware of the kind of being she has to deal with, and so today has resorted to the bayonet and gun-butt to solve her problem.

An old woman with her hand shot off by buck-shot, a little-boy of twelve with his skull smashed in, an old man smothered with his head in a cess-pool are startling landmarks along the way, but they do not solve the problem.

Japan began with a handicap. For a thousand years and

more the Korean has viewed the Japanese as his mortal enemy. Three hundred years ago this enemy landed and went through the country with fire and sword, confirming the view, till his name became the synonym for all that is evil. This name has remained ever since the Hideyoshi invasion. Now Japan comes over the guise of the beneficent pater familias [sic] to rule. Starting with a debt heaped up, it surely behooved her to walk circumspectly, with all wisdom and sympathy if she even hoped to guide the people of Korea into a companionable relationship with herself.

But she showed her mistaken reading of the problems from the very first by her determination to assimilate. She actually thought that she could make of the Koreans Japanese; wipe their language off the slate; remake their history; bury their literature out of sight, and cause them to forget 2000 years of a civilization quite equal to that of Japan. She forgot that Koreans were an older race than herself, and that they taught her religion and morals; and were her masters in the arts and crafts that make her famous today; that they are mentally quite her equal, though a people of entirely different ideals. Without a notion of all this she has set to heat up and hammer them into freshly made Japanese, and put bushido patriotism into their souls as you would put salmon into a tin. Never was there a greater misreading of the other man, with utter failure in its wake. The Koreans today are united in their opposition to the whole Japanese propaganda,

and will have nothing to do with it. It is not a question of Christians; peers, literati, farmers, labourers are all in it.

The Japanese thought their civilization would win the Korean. They are an organized nation, while the Koreans are not; they have won a place in the council of nations, while the Korean has won nothing; they are orderly and delicate, while the Korean is the reverse, but this again has failed.

Along with Japanese civilization go some very marked defects that the Korean sees full well. For example, their planting of the brothel system all over the land, and the exploiting of the fallen woman with a million dollars back of her, is something new to the Korean, and something that he has been quick to see. "We are an immoral race ourselves," says he, "but never as bad as this," and those who read and are acquainted with Korean history know that he is right.

If Japan had understood even a little of what her task meant and ever hoped to win the Korean she would have barred the door against the fallen-woman, the unrighteous judge, the official land-grabber and a host of other evils that stalk through the land.

Japan forgets that Korea sees, takes note and thinks. When her youth are forbidden every national ambition, but instead, are tempted by hand-bill and word of mouth to yield body and soul to the insidious snares of the vilest organizations, will they not see? The thinking classes cannot but say "Don't talk to us of Japan, she is not civilized."

The Korean like other varieties of human being can lie. At times he is a past-master at telling what is not true, and yet he knows that lying is degrading and will not allow his teachers, his governor, his magistrate to lie without marking him an inferior order of man. The Japanese do not seem to know this. Here, too, they have misread the Korean mind. They think they can say anything they like in their government papers, and report what is or what is not with impunity. They forget that the Korean reads it with keen eye and common sense and says, "Egregious liars, all of them!"

The fact that Viscount Kid Yon-sic, oldest of the peers, head of the Confucian College and ever a friend of Japan in the past joined the movement early in March, but has yet found no mention in the public press; or that Cache Chong-suk's going to prison with all the literati in his train has called forth no comment, while the papers talk still as though the Christians were the whole movement, only convinces the Korean the more that official Japan does not speak the truth.

The writer could tell of many other things that go to prove that the Government has misread the Korean, and now expects to set right its bungled handiwork by the gun-butt and the bastinados.

The task still remains. How is Japan going to do it? She will never make Japanese of Koreans by force. The writer knows the Korean fairly well; once rouse him and he is as hard as adamant. He smiles today bare-handed at all the accumulated

terrors of Japan. "Do your worst," says he, "shoot and kill. The time will come in the ordered providence of God when the tables will be turned and I shall be ready for you." Japan is making out of Korea a hardened fearless nation, where she will have twenty millions of sworn enemies. This is the course that she is at present pursuing.

"Can Japan solve the problem, or is it beyond her?" Most thinking people think the latter. The writer feels she might solve it if she would. Given a group of Japanese of the Kato order, who are fearless to start with, as fearless as the Korean; who would read the other man sympathetically and see that though he is not equal to Japan in some respect, he is superior in others; who would like to treat him as he himself would be treated, and we shall make a start at the solution.

But to shoot point-blank with ball-cartridge into the crowd that simply says "Give me liberty," or to pound with gun-butt and bludgeon those who smile and say, "Korea forever," or to insult girls because they will not be afraid, is a matter that will bring the ball-cartridge home to Japan some day, and the gun-butt back of her ear in a way to make her see stars.

The brutal story of the Kang Kei boys has already appeared in The Advertisers, eleven of them beaten to a pulp thirty blows each May 16, 17, 18 ninety in all after which they were left uncured for some to die like dogs - of Japanese

Whatever their crime may have been does Japan think that

this method of dealing with Korea's young men will solve the problem? We leave her wise men and women to answer?

James S. Gale, 1919 [?]

[hand-written document]

Author's possession

## APPENDIX VII

The Declaration of Principles of the Korean Itinerant Mission founded by Malcolm C. Fenwick in 1894

In Corea millions of human souls are in pressing need of the Gospel, and thus far the vast majority of the people have been wholly unreached by any herald of the cross. For all these centuries generation after generation has perished without the knowledge of Christ.

The present missionary methods and agencies employed are so plainly inadequate to supply this need that, unless some new or additional measures are adopted, it is a hopeless task to attempt to overtake this appalling destitution.

Without any interference with the work of other societies and missionaries now on the field, there is both an open door and ample room for some supplementary effort especially directed toward the immediate preaching of the Gospel throughout Corea. This is the great object of the Korean Itinerant Mission. It is to be interdenominational in character, evangelistic in spirit, and aggressive in method, not building on any other man's foundation, but pressing into the regions beyond and aiming to preach the Gospel to every creature.

God seems in our day to be leading His Church greatly to multiply both gifts and workers. In answer to united prayer to the Lord of the harvest that He would thrust forth labourers into His harvest, hundreds of men and women are being made



ready to undertake the work of evangelization where as yet Christ is not named. Many of them cannot conform to any fixed and uniform educational standard, and will be shut out from the mission field if they are required to prepare by the usual full course of study. And yet they give evidence that by the Holy Spirit's teaching they have been qualified to sow the seed of the kingdom.

Another of the signs of the time is found in the signal blessing which God has granted to Gospel witness and work done in the name of Jesus, in simple faith, in supreme dependence upon the Holy Spirit, and in confidence that, in answer to believing prayer, all needful support will be furnished by the voluntary offerings of God's people without the necessity of direct appeal for money, of [or] incurring debt, or of assuming obligation for any fixed amount of salary.

These simple facts and principles serve to indicate the basis upon which the Korean Itinerant Mission is formed and is to be carried on. Its doctrinal standards are not those of any one body of disciplines exclusively, but rather those great fundamental truths embraced alike by the Reformed Church in all its branches, and forming the basis of the so-called Evangelical Alliance.

As the prime purpose of this mission is to penetrate into the regions beyond, the territory as yet unoccupied for Christ is to be recognized as its special field. All conflict and collision with existing missionary organizations, or with

missionaries now employed, should be carefully avoided, and brotherly love should be cherished and active co-operation promoted. If only Christ be preached, by whomsoever it be, let us rejoice.

The mission gladly welcomes as its workers those who are highly educated. No contempt is cast upon learning and culture in seeking to make room for those not so highly qualified. But the supreme qualification sought in all candidates, and for lack of which no other can compensate, is the evidence that they have been truly born again and have been fitted by the training of the Holy Spirit to witness to Christ and to win souls. Every precaution will be taken, therefore, to insure at least a high type of spiritual character in accepted candidates; and it is thought best that those who have had no previous experience in mission work be fully accepted missionaries after two years of trial upon the field.

Some one missionary will be asked to act as director on the field; but in the prosecution of the work important steps are to be taken only after conference and united prayer among the missionaries have brought them into unanimous accord. Any tarrying to wait upon God until His mind is made known will be richly repaid by the confident persuasion that He is guiding in every new step. Should conflict arise through variance of opinion, the council of references at home should be consulted.

Believing that God, rather than man, has led the way in

the forming of this new mission for Corea, we commend it to the love, sympathy, and prayers of all those who hold to the inspired Word of God, who believe in the one name whereby there is salvation, who depend upon the Holy Spirit for all power in service, and who love Christ's appearing and kingdom.

Director: Malcolm C. Fenwick, Wonsan, Corea, Asia.

Honourable Secretary and Treasurer, Joseph R. Douglas,  
box 342, Toronto, Canada.

source: Missionary Review of the World, Vol. 7 (June 1894),  
pp. 460-461.

## APPENDIX VIII

## Fenwick's "Explanatory Note" on Bible Translation

In making this translation for Corea, the texts used were Rotherham, Conybeare and Houston, the Authorized, American Standard and Tauchnitz in English; Schereskewsky and the Revised Wen-li in Chinese; Nestle's, Westcott and Hort and Textus Receptus in Greek; Strong's and Lyddon and Scott's Lexicons.

From the standpoint of Korean, help has been sought from the modern students of Korean, who from their childhood have read the Bible in their mother tongue through their own simple and accurate writing, instead of through the Chinese writing, as they of the old school did. Hence this translation is in the spoken dialect, rather than the stilted and unprecise Chinese matrix of the old Korean writing. No scholar of the old school in Corea, who studied previous to the time when the Korean *Ghookmoon* came into its own, will approve this translation. The bright young Korean student, who says what he means in the simplest language, and means what he says, may appreciate it, because he is not seeking to approve his scholarship by speaking so that no more than one man in his county will understand him, but aims at talking so that unlettered women and children will easily catch his meaning.

It is natural, therefore, for *moonjas* to be practically absent from this translation, except those for which there is

no vernacular equivalent, as the aim is to be understood and not ambiguous.

The names follow the Chinese, according to the decision of the first and only mass-meeting of missionaries convened in Corea to learn whether they wished the names in the Korean Bible to follow the existing pronunciation of the names of the Chinese Bible, or whether a new set of names should be transliterated. The unanimous decision of the mass meeting was for the Chinese names, as it was considered unnecessary to burden the Koreans with two sets of names; and the translators, who called the meeting, were so instructed.

This note is not meant to convey the idea that any of the texts consulted, or any Korean assistants, are responsible for the renderings in the translation. The desire has rather been that the final Arbitrator should be the original Author, so far as the translator knows His Voice, is subject to His Will, and knows the contents of the Books He inspired.

The translator blushes with shame that he knows that marvellous Voice so little, and has been in so small a measure subject to the gentle Love-will of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. But weak and insufficient though it has been, it has at least been his desire that the Spirit of final Arbitrator of what He meant, when he put these words of Life into the mouths of Holy men of old, and bore them along as they spake.

M.C.F. [Malcolm C. Fenwick], Wonsan, May 14th, 1912.

source: "Wonsan Version", 1919. Unpaginated.

## APPENDIX IX

## Chronology of James Scarth Gale

- 1863 February 19, born in Alma, Ontario, Canada.
- 1882 Entered St. Catharines' Collegiate Institute, St. Catharines, Ontario.
- 1884 Entered University College, University of Toronto.
- 1886 From May to September, went to Sorbourn University, Paris, France for language training.
- 1888 April 12, appointed as University of Toronto YMCA representative foreign missionary to Korea.
- Graduated from University College, University of Toronto.
- October 25, left Toronto for Vancouver.
- November 13, set sail for Korea.
- December 12, arrived in Pusan, Korea.
- December 15, arrived in Chemulpo, present Inchon.
- 1889 Left for Haeju, Hwanghe Province, early in March, present North Korea, and arrived Haeju on March 17.
- Stayed in Songchōn village, Changyōn District, Hwanghe Province, present North Korea, from March to June.
- Left for Pusan (date is not known), accompanying Lee Chang-jik, arrived in Pusan in August and stayed there until May 1890.
- 1890 Co-compiler with Horace Underwood of A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language.
- 1891 Left for Mukden, Manchuria on February 27 with Samuel Moffett to see John Ross and returned to Seoul in June.
- August 31, joined American Presbyterian Mission Board, North; henceforth, he discontinued his association with University of Toronto YMCA.
- 1892 April 7, married Harriet E. Gibson Heron, widow of

John W. Heron, M.D., of American Presbyterian Mission, North. Dr. Heron had died on June 26, 1890.

June, moved to Wōnsan, Hamkyōng Province, presently North Korea, opened mission work there under the auspice of American Presbyterian Mission, North.

Translated the "Acts" of the New Testament.

1893 Member of the "Board of Official Translators" of the Bible until 1923.

1894 Published Korean Grammatical Forms.

1895 Translated John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and published it as Chōlloyōkjōng. First translation of Western literature into Korean in history.

Translated "Gospel of John", New Testament.

Translated "Korean History" from Tongguk Tonggam and published it serially from the September issue of the Korean Repository until 1896.

December, went to Yokohama, Japan to arrange publication of his Korean-English Dictionary. Gale stayed there until March.

1896 Began to write "Korean History" series in Korean Repository.

1897 May 13, ordained as a Presbyterian minister at New Albany Presbytery, Indiana, U.S.A.

Published Korean-English Dictionary.

1898 April, returned to Wonsan from furlough.

Published Korean Sketches.

1899 Returned to Seoul late in the year.

Became correspondent for North China Daily News of Shanghai, China.

1900 Installed as the first minister of the Yondong Presbyterian Church in downtown Seoul.

1901 Founded and became Principal of the Jesus Church Middle School, predecessor of the present Kyōngsin Middle and High School, as well as Yondong Girls' School, presently Chōngsin Girls' School. Both are in

downtown Seoul.

Became a Professor, P'yōngyang Theological Seminary.

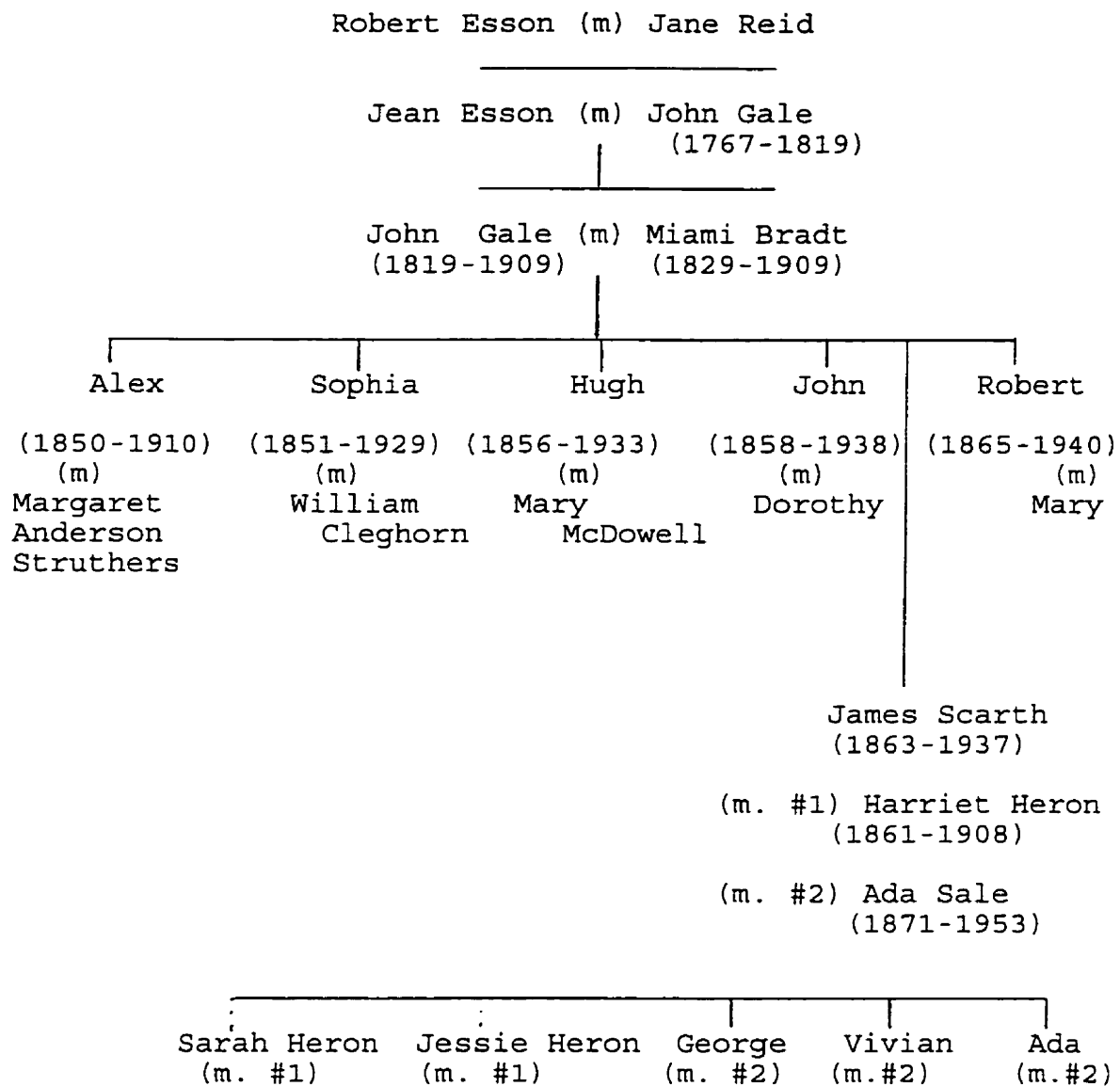
- 1903 One of the founding members of the Hansōng Young Men's Christian Association, presently Korean YMCA and was elected as its first President.
- 1904 Organized the Association of Korean Education with the members of the Yōndong Church.
- May 31, received degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa* from Howard University, Washington, D.C.
- 1905 Editor for Kurisko Sinmun (Christian News).
- 1907 Editor for Yesukyo Sinbo (Christian Herald).
- 1908 Harriet Gale died on March 29, at the age 48.
- 1909 Published Korea in Transition.
- 1910 Gale married Ada Louisa Sale on April 7. She was born in Cheshire, England in 1871, and educated in England and Japan. Her father, George Sale, was a businessman in Japan.
- 1911 Became President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch.
- 1914 Published Korean-English Dictionary (The Chinese Characters).
- 1917 Organized the Association of Korean Music Society.
- Editor, Korea Magazine (in English).
- 1922 Translated and published The Cloud Dream of the Nine into English.
- 1925 Published his own private translation of New and Old Testaments.
- 1927 May, resigned as pastor of Yōndong Church.
- June 22, left Korea, a year before his official retirement.
- 1928 August 31, officially retired from mission work.
- 1937 January 31, died at the age of 74 in Bath, England.



1953      January 25, Ada died after 16 years after her  
             husband, at the age of 82 in Bath, England.

## APPENDIX X

## Genealogy of James Scarth Gale



## APPENDIX XI

## Chronology of Malcolm C. Fenwick

- 1865      born in Markham, Ontario.
- 1883      went to Manitoba for about three years in search of a job.
- 1886      returned to Toronto and lived with his mother, Barbara at the east end of the city.
- 1886-1889 worked for a wholesale hardware store in downtown Toronto.
- 1889      December 8, arrived at Chemulpo (presently Inchŏn), sent by the Korean Union Mission in Toronto.
- 1890      Spring, went to Songchŏn, Hwanghe Province, about 200 miles from Seoul.
- 1893-1896 returned to Canada and remained mostly in the U.S.
- 1893      translated the Gospel of John into Korean.
- 1894      disassociated from the Korean Union Mission and organized a mission known as the "Corean Itinerant Mission".
- ordained by Adoniram J. Gordon, Minister of the Clarendon Baptist Church, Boston.
- 1896      returned to Wŏnsan, Korea.
- 1900      Kongju, Chungchŏng Province (where the Baptist missionaries were working) was transferred under Fenwick's care.
- 1900      married Fanny Hinds, a missionary under American Methodist Mission Board, South.
- 1906      organized the "Taehan Kidokkyohoe" (Church of Christ in Korea) with 31 different worshiping places under his "territory" and he became a "bishop".
- 1919      published his translation of the New Testament, known as "Wŏnsan Version".
- 1933      January 20, Fanny Fenwick passed away.
- 1935      December 6, Fenwick passed away, at the age of 68.

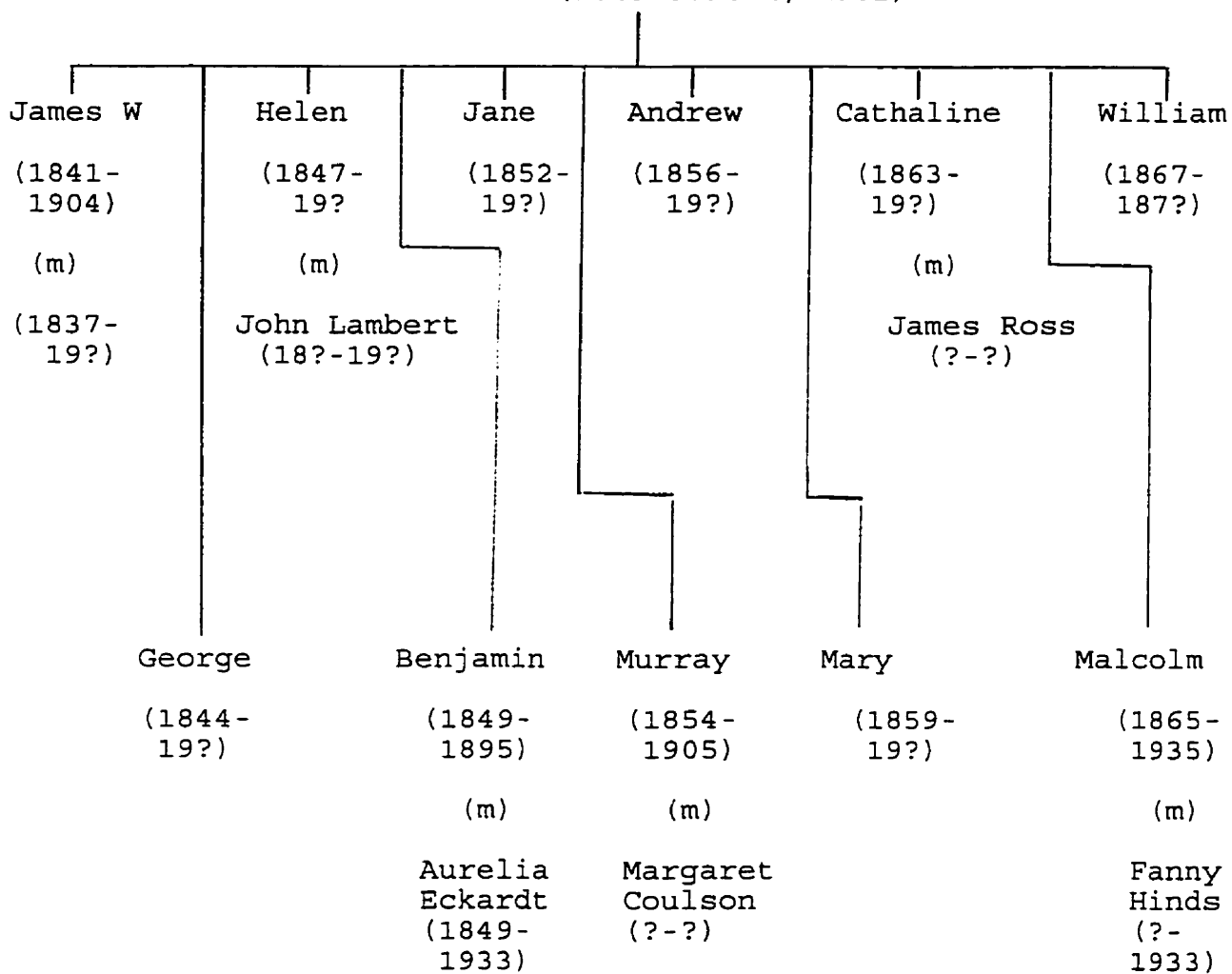
## APPENDIX XII

## Genealogy of Malcolm C. Fenwick

Archibald Hugh Fenwick (1813-Aug. 4, 1868)

(m)

Barbara Ann Latham (1823-June 1, 1901)



## APPENDIX XIII

## Chronology of Robert Hardie

- 1865      born in Ontario, Canada, on June 11.
- 1886      married Margaret M. Kelly on December 27.
- 1889      appointed representative foreign missionary of the  
Medical Students' YMCA, University of Toronto.
- 1890      May, graduated from Medical School with an M.B.
- 1890      arrived in Seoul on September 30.
- 1890      worked for Royal Hospital in Seoul from October, 1890  
to early April 1891.
- 1891      left Seoul for Pusan on April 11, arrived in Pusan on  
April 14.
- 1892      went to Nagasaki, Japan, early in 1892 for health  
reasons.
- returned to Pusan from Nagasaki sometime in the Fall.
- arrived in Wõnsan (presently in North Korea) on  
November 19.
- March 15, the amalgamation of University of Toronto  
YMCA and Medical Students' YMCA. Formed the Canadian  
College Mission (CCM). Hereafter, Hardie represented  
CCM.
- 1893      Hardie built his residence in Wõnsan.
- 1896      Hardie returned to Canada in July for his first  
furlough.
- 1897      Hardie arrived back in Wõnsan on October 28, having  
left his family in Canada.
- 1898      Hardie transferred to the American Southern Methodist  
Mission. Hereafter, the relationship between  
University of Toronto YMCA and Korea mission work  
ceased.
- 1898      Hardie was assigned to Songdo, Hwanghae Province  
(presently in North Korea) and stayed there until  
August 1899.

- 1899 re-assigned to Seoul, where he remained until early 1900.
- 1899 September 28, appointed as a member of the Executive Board of the Bible Society.
- 1900 November 11, ordained as a Deacon in the American Southern Methodist Church by Bishop Alpheus Wilson.
- 1900 travelled to Kangwŏn Province, in the northeast section of Korea, where he laid the foundation for mission work there.
- 1903 August, attend Bible Conference in Wŏnsan.
- 1904 arrived in America for furlough.
- 1905 returned to Wŏnsan in December.
- founded the Sinhakdang (Hall of Theology). This was a mobile Bible Institution. Hardie visited different cities for a few months at a time and provided theological instruction. This became the Union Theological Seminary, Methodist, in Seoul in 1913.
- 1907 The Great Revival Movement in P'yŏngyang.
- 1906 returned to Wŏnsan and stayed there until 1909.
- 1909 transferred to Seoul.  
taught Bible classes in the Pierson Memorial Bible School and the Methodist Biblical Institute.
- 1913-1922 President, Union Theological Seminary in Seoul.
- 1916 editor, Sinhak Saekae (Theological World).
- 1921-1927 President, Christian Literature Society in Seoul
- 1924 President, Kidok Sinbo (Christian Messenger).
- 1935 retired after 45 years in Korea.
- 1945 Mrs. Hardie died.
- 1949 Robert Hardie died on June 30, at the age of 84.

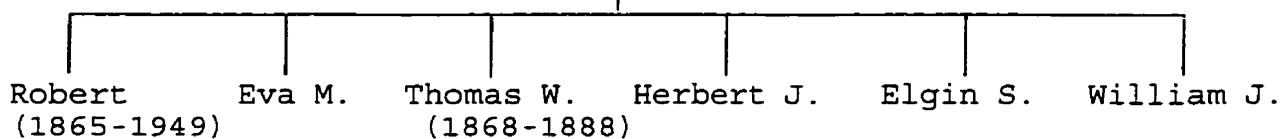
## APPENDIX XIV

## Genealogy of Hardie

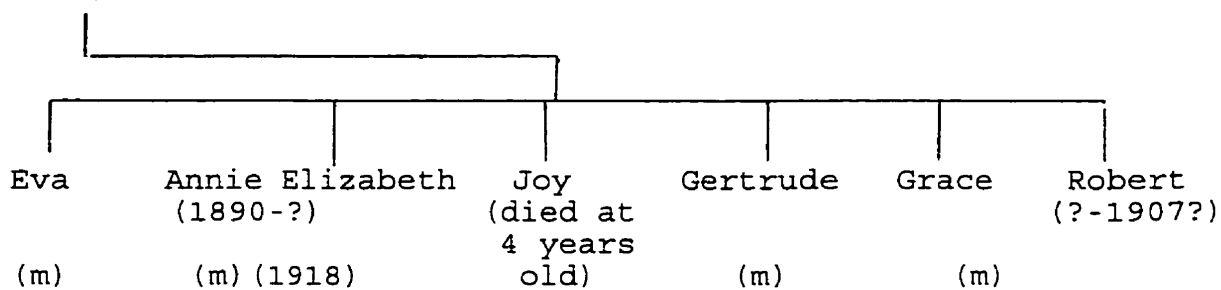
James Hardie (1825-1875)

(m)

Abigail (1838-1875)



(m) (1886)

Margaret Kelly  
(?-1945)Clarence  
WilsonEarnest  
FisherClifford  
Barnum

H. Warner

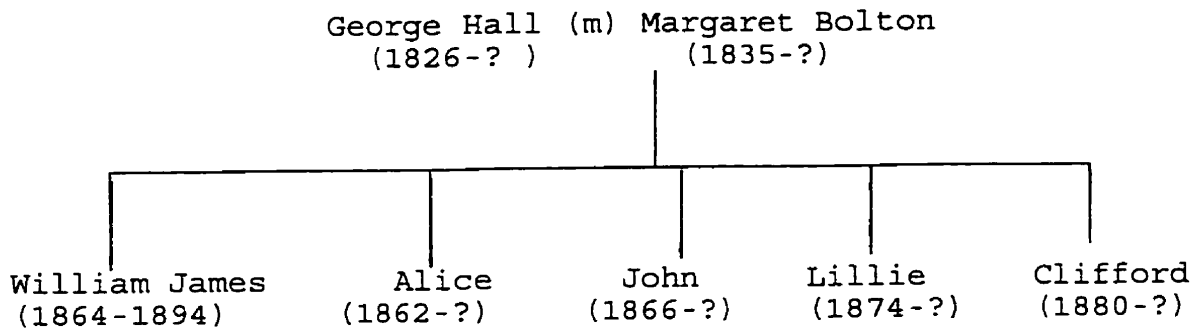
Bruce

Dorothy

Robert

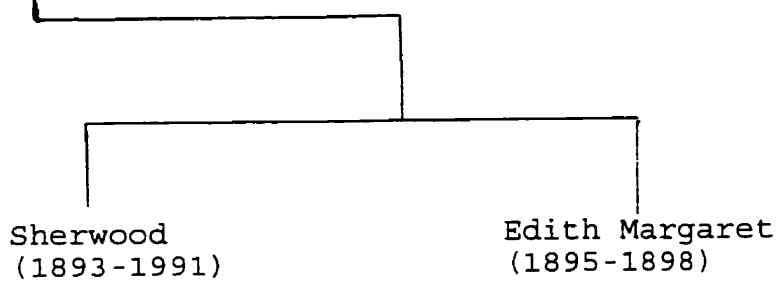
## Appendix XV

## Genealogy of William James Hall



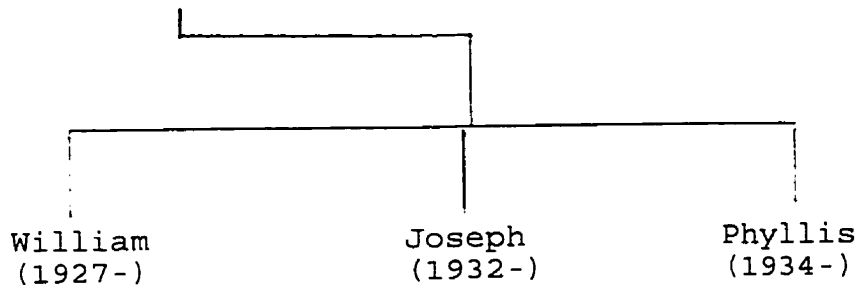
(m)

Rosetta Sherwood  
(1865-1951)



(m)

Marian Bottomley  
(1896-1991)





## APPENDIX XVI

## Chronology of the Halls

legends: WJH (William James Hall), RSH (Rosetta Sherwood Hall, wife of WJH), SH (Sherwood Hall, son of WJH and RSH), MB (Marian Bottomley, wife of SH)

- 1860 Jan. 16, WJH was born in Glen Buell, Ontario, Canada.
- 1865 Sept. 19, RSH was born in Liberty, New York, USA.
- 1885 WJH entered Medical College, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.
- WJH initiated the organizing of a medical YMCA at Queen's.
- 1886 RSH entered Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philidelphia.
- 1887 Summer of, WJH attended Dwight L. Moody Summer School at Northfield, Massachusetts. WJH met George D. Dowknott, Director of the International Medical Society of New York, who encouraged WJH to move to New York. WJH entered Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York that fall.
- 1889 WJH graduated from Bellevue Hospital Medical College and was appointed Medical Superindendent at the Madison Street Medical Mission under the Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A.
- RSH graduated from Women's Medical Collge of Pennsylvania and was assigned Madison Street Medical Mission, where WJH was working.
- WJH and RSH were engaged and RSH was appointed as medical missionary to Korea by Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A.
- 1890 Oct. 13, RSH arrived at Pusan, Korea.
- 1891 Sept. 19, American Methodist Episcopal Church assigned WJH to Korea.  
Dec. 15, WJH arrived at Pusan, Korea.
- 1892 March 2, WJH left Seoul for the northern part of Korea.

March 14, WJH arrived at P'yōngyang.

March 28, WJH arrived at Uiju, a border county between Manchuria and Korea.

August, WJH was appointed to P'yōngyang missionary by the field mission board and visited P'yōngyang for a month.

1893 Feb. 29, WJH returned to Seoul from P'yōngyang.  
Nov. 10, Sherwood Hall was born in Seoul.

1894 Mid-March, WJH came to P'yōngyang with Kim Chang-sik and No Byōng-sōn, and bought a house.

April WJH started a school (present-day Kwangsōng School in Seoul), hospital work and evangelism. During this period, a Korean, Kim Chang-sik, helped WJH with evangelical work and No Byōng-sōn helped with school work as WJH's language teacher.

May 4, the Hall family, including Sherwood's nursemaid, Sylvia and Yusan and Esther Pak, came to P'yōngyang.

June 6, the Halls left P'yōngyang for Seoul because of the disturbance of the natives.

Oct. 1, WJH went back to P'yōngyang and contracted a disease.

Nov. 19, WJH returned to Seoul.

Nov. 24, WJH died of typhus.

While WJH was in P'yōngyang, he baptized two Koreans: Cho Jun-young and Ju Kyōm-jo. The date is not known.

1894 Dec., RSH returned to America bringing SH and a Korean couple, Esther and Yusan Pak.

1895 Jan. 18, Edith Margaret was born at Glen Buell.

1896 June 21, MB was born in Epworth, England.

Oct. 1, Esther Pak entered Women's Medical College in Baltimore.

1897 Feb. 2, Hall Memorial Hospital in P'yōngyang was opened.

Nov. 10, RSH returned to Korea.

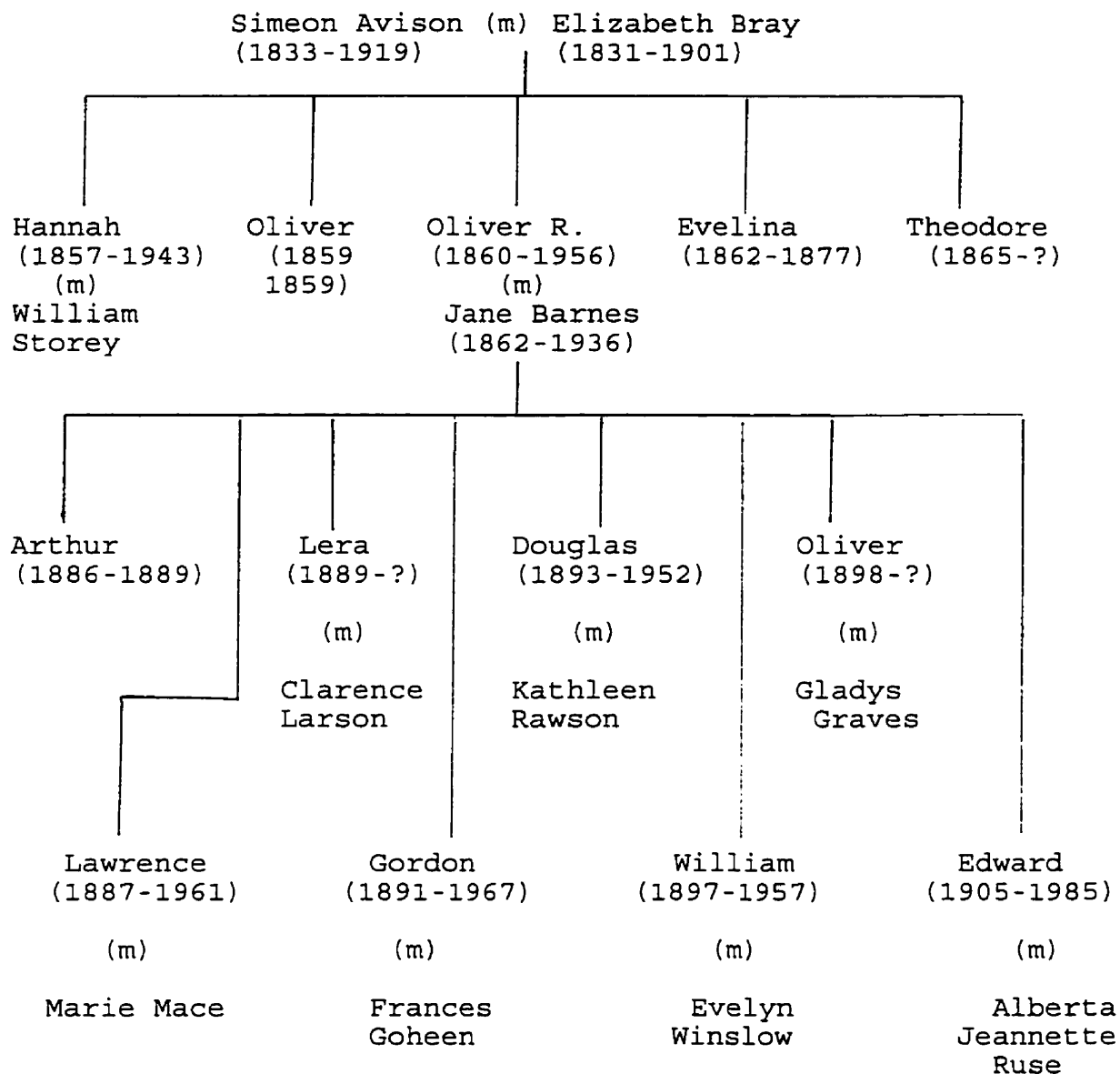
1898. May 1, Halls family arrived in P'yōngyang.

- May 23, Edith Margaret died in P'yŏngyang.
- 1899 Yusan Pak contracted tuberculosis and died in the States.
- 1900 Esther Pak returned to Korea with an M.D.
- 1910 Esther Pak died of tuberculosis.
- 1911 SH entered Mount Hermon School in Mount Hermon, Massachusetts.
- Bottomley emmigrated to Canada and settled in Athens, Ontario, the hometwon of WJH.
- 1915 SH entered Mount Union College in Alliance, Ohio and graduated in 1919.
- 1917 MB starts teaching at Rootstown School in Ohio.
- 1918 April, SH and MB engaged.
- 1919 SH entered Medical College, University of Toronto.
- 1920 MB entered Women's Medical Collge of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.
- 1922 June 21, SH and MB married.
- 1923 SH graduated from Medical Collge, University of Toronto.
- 1924 June 24, MB received an M.D. from the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania.
- 1925 August 15, SH and MB came to Korea as medical missionary sent by the American Methodist Episcopal Church.
- 1927 Feb. 18, James Hall (son of SH and MB) was born in Korea.
- 1928 Oct. 27, SH founded the School of Hygiene for the Tuberculosis and Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Haeju, Korea.
- 1932 Oct. 8, Joseph, son of SH and MB, was born at Haeju, Korea.  
Dec. 3, Christmas Seal
- 1933 Oct. 20, RSH left Korea for America after her retirement.

- 1934 Sept. 12, Phyllis, daughter of SH and MB, was born at Haeju, Korea.
- 1940 Dec. 9, SH and his family went to Ajmer, northwest, India. He built Madar Union Sanatorium and issued Christmas Seal for the first time in India.
- 1963 SH and MB left India and retired in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.
- 1991 April 4, SH died in Vancouver at the age of 98.
- 1991 Sept. 19, MB died in Vancouver at the age of 95.

## APPENDIX XVII

## Genealogy of Oliver R. Avison



\* Avison's twin daughters were born in July 3, 1895 in Seoul, Korea. Died July 4, 1895 and are buried in the Yanghwajin Foreign Cemetery in Seoul, Korea.

## APPENDIX XVIII

## Chronology of Oliver R. Avison

- 1860 June 30, born in Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England.
- 1866 February, Avisons emigrated to Canada, settling in Brantford, Ontario.
- 1868 Avisons moved to Almonte, Ontario, near the town of Smith's Falls, Ontario.
- 1876 graduated from Normal School in Ottawa (similar to U.S. Teachers' College). Earned a Third Class Teacher's Certificate and taught at Hutton's School House, a public school in Kitley, near Smith's Falls, Ontario.
- 1879 served apprenticeship in pharmacy at Smith's Falls for three years.
- 1881 entered Ontario College of Pharmacy (OCP), the precedent of the Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Toronto.
- 1884 graduated from OCP and taught microscopic *materia medica* and botany, 1884-1892 at OCP.
- 1885 July 28, married Margaret Jane Barnes of Smith's Falls.
- 1885 September, entered the Toronto School of Medicine, later known as Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto.
- 1887 June, graduated from medical school with an M.B., later obtained M.D. and C.M.
- 1887-1893 taught pharmacology and therapeutic at Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto.
- 1887-1893 practiced medicine in downtown Toronto.
- 1893 June 18 or July 16, arrived in Pusan and departed for Seoul in late August.
- 1893 appointment as a medical missionary under Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church of America.
- 1893-1908 physician to Emperor Kojong.

- 1895-1933 appointed by the British Government as physician to the British Legation.
- 1899 began to teach medicine to Korean youth.
- 1899 March, came to Canada for furlough and stayed about two years in Canada and U.S.
- Henry B. Gordon, a Toronto architect drew plans for a hospital.
- 1900 Spring, Avison attended Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Mission in New York.
- met Louis H. Severance of Cleveland, Ohio. Severance promised a contribution towards the construction of the hospital.
- 1904 November 16, official opening of the Severance Hospital in Seoul.
- 1906 began the Nursing School at Severance Hospital.
- 1908 June 8, graduation ceremony of the first seven Korean physicians under Avison's teaching.
- 1916-1934 Avison became Principal of Choson Christian College, the precedent of present Yōnsei University.
- 1924 granted M.D., *honoris causa*, from the University of Toronto.
- 1925 granted LL.D., *honoris causa*, from the College of Wooster, Ohio.
- 1935 December 6, left Korea for the U.S., retired in Florida.
- 1936 September 15, Margaret Jane Avison passed away.
- 1956 August 28, Avison died at the age of 96.

## APPENDIX XIX

## Chronology of McKenzie

- 1861 July 15, born in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada.
- 1888 graduated from Dalhousie with a B.A.  
from May to October 1889: student missionary to Labrador
- 1891 graduated from Presbyterian College with B.D.  
Minister at St. Andrew's, Stewiacke, Nova Scotia until early 1893.
- 1893 October 26, left Halifax for Vancouver.  
November 10, arrived in Vancouver.  
November 13, left Vancouver for Korea.  
November 27, arrived in Yokohama, Japan.  
December 12, arrived in Pusan, Korea.  
December 15, arrived in Chemulpo, presently Inchon.  
December 18, arrived in Seoul.
- 1894 January 10, left for P'yŏngyang, P'yŏngan Province (presently North Korea).  
January 16, arrived in P'yŏngyang.  
January 25, left P'yŏngyang for Songchŏn, Hwanghe Province.  
January 27, arrived in Hwangju, Hwanghe Province.  
January 29, arrived in Sinchŏn, Hwanghe Province.  
February 3, arrived in Songchŏn.  
April 23, left for Seoul (first trip to Seoul).  
April 30, arrived in Seoul.  
May 10, left for P'yŏngyang with Samuel Moffett. as a "rescue team" upon receiving William James Hall was in trouble with natives.  
June 3, returned to Chemulpo from P'yŏngyang.  
October 10, returned to Songchŏn.  
December 12, raised St. George's flag.
- 1895 early February, began subscription for church-building.  
February 26, began "McKenzie School."  
May 1, left for Seoul (this was his second trip to Seoul).  
May 6, arrived in Seoul.  
May 26, returned to Songchŏn.  
Sometime in early June, contracted typhus and later committed suicide on June 23. He was 34 years old.



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Abbreviations

<u>ABQ</u>	<u>American Baptist Quarterly</u>
<u>BH</u>	<u>Baeksan hakbo (Baeksan Gazette)</u>
<u>BMM</u>	<u>(The) Baptist Missionary Magazine</u>
<u>CPJ</u>	<u>Canadian Pharmaceutical Journal</u>
<u>CRMJ</u>	<u>Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal</u>
<u>CH</u>	<u>Chindan hakbo</u>
<u>CAFM</u>	<u>Christian Alliance and Foreign Missionary</u>
<u>CHST</u>	<u>Christian Herald and Signs of Our Time</u>
<u>HI</u>	<u>Han'guk ilbo (The Korea Times)</u>
<u>IRM</u>	<u>International Review of Mission</u>
<u>JBTS</u>	<u>Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India</u>
<u>JK</u>	<u>Jugan kidokkyo</u>
<u>KC</u>	<u>Katolic chōngnyōn (The Youth of Catholics)</u>
<u>KS</u>	<u>Kidok sinbo (The Christian News)</u>
<u>KDS</u>	<u>Kidokkyo sasang (Christian Thought)</u>
<u>KTPS</u>	<u>Kiddokkyo taepaekkwa sajōn (The Christian Encyclopedia)</u>
<u>KMC</u>	<u>Knox College Monthly</u>
<u>KH</u>	<u>Korea Herald</u>
<u>KJ</u>	<u>Korea Journal</u>
<u>KMF</u>	<u>Korea Mission Field</u>
<u>KOR</u>	<u>Korea Review</u>
<u>KO</u>	<u>Korean Observer</u>
<u>KR</u>	<u>Korean Repository</u>

- MWS Mokhoe was sinhak (Ministry and Theology)
- MRW Missionary Review of the World
- NCD North China Daily
- PRDC (The) Presbyterian Record for the Dominion of Canada
- SJ Sinhak jinam
- SS Sinhak saekye (The World of Theology)
- TS Toronto Star
- TKBRA Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
- UCR United Church of Record
- UPC United Presbyterian Church (Scotland)
- UPMR United Presbyterian Missionary Record (Scotland)
- UTJ University of Toronto Journal
- UTM University Toronto Monthly
- VG Varsity Graduate (University of Toronto)
- WTJ Westminster Theological Journal

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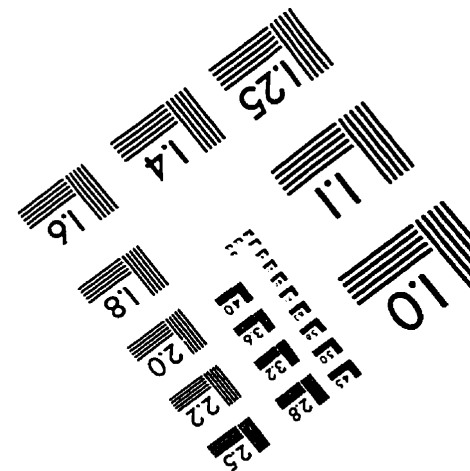
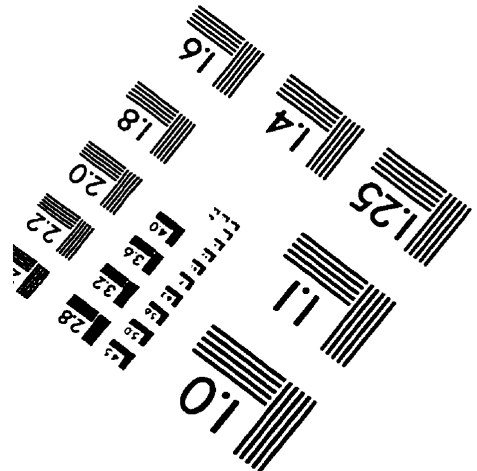
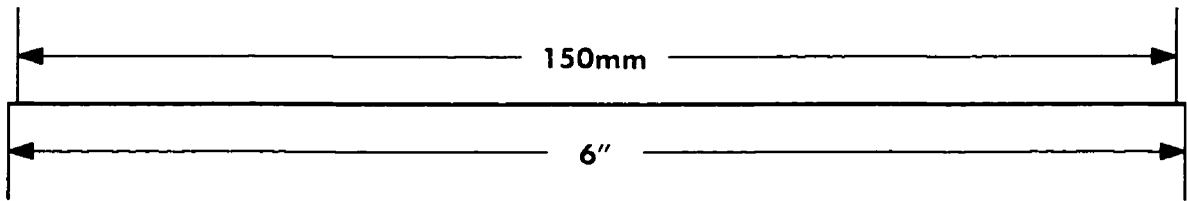
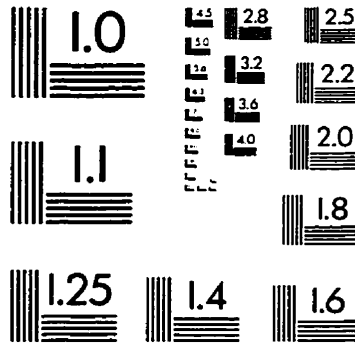
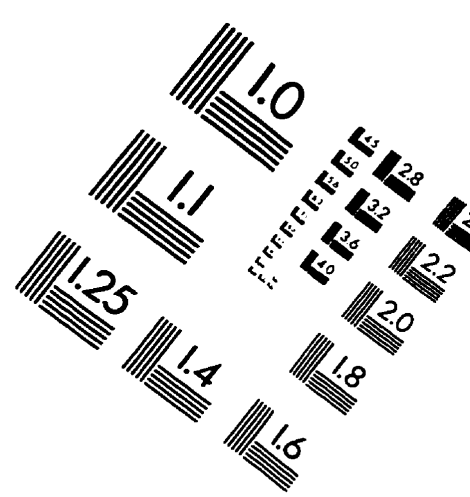
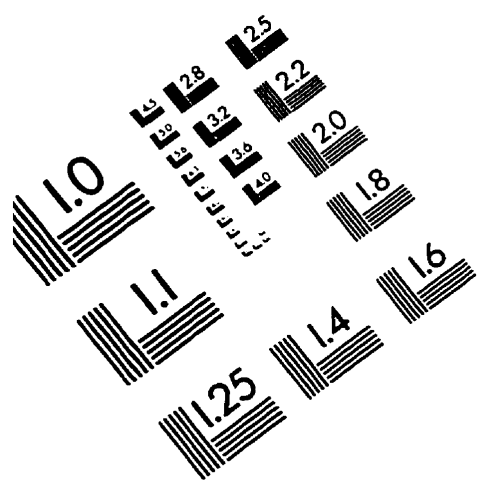
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