

# PYEONGAN PROVINCE AND THE ORIGINS OF MODERN SOCIETY

MICHAEL D. SHIN

Since Taejo [Yi Seonggye, the founder of Joseon] took over the kingship from the Wang family by military force, there were many valiant commanders from the northwest among the retainers who aided him. However, after he established his government, he ordered that people from the northwest not be appointed to high positions.

During the next 300 years, no one from Pyeongan or Hamgyeong province had a high post...

The *sadaebu* of Seoul did not associate with or marry people from the northwest. People from the northwest did not dare to think about associating with *sadaebu* from Seoul.

As a result, *sadaebu* ultimately disappeared from the two northwest provinces... The two northwestern provinces of Hamgyeong and Pyeongan are not fit to live.

Yi Junghwan (1751)<sup>1</sup>

The strength [of Christianity] is significant to the point that it makes people wonder whether or not Confucian Joseon will become in the future a Christian Joseon just as a Buddhist Joseon had once become a Confucian Joseon.

Yi Gwangsu (1918)<sup>2</sup>

The northwest region was a vanguard of modernity in Korea. Though containing less than twenty per cent of the country's population, Pyeongan province produced a disproportionately high number of leaders, intellectuals, and artists during the twentieth century. They included: the writer Yi Gwangsu; activists such as An Changho; Jang Myeon, premier of the Second Republic; ROK generals Baek Seonyeop and Baek Inyeop; businessman Bak Heungsik (founder of Hwasin Department Store); educators such as Baek Nakjun (L. George Paik, president of Yonsei University and Minister of Education in the Syngman Rhee administration); poet Gim Soweol; soprano Yun Simdeok; religious figures ranging from Ham Seokheon to Mun Seonmyeong (Sun Myung Moon), founder of the Unification Church; and marathon runner Son Gijeong, gold medalist in the 1936 Berlin Olympics.<sup>3</sup> They formed one of the two major regional power groups in Korea during the early twentieth century, the other being from Jeolla province.

The emergence of these figures in Pyeongan province was the result of a conjuncture of factors. During the Joseon period (1392–1910), the province was politically

marginalized with few of its residents gaining high official posts in the capital. The influence of Neo-Confucianism was weaker in the northwest, and in contrast to its low level of agriculture, commerce which was not valued highly in Confucianism was relatively developed as its merchants reached markets throughout the country and engaged in international trade. In the late nineteenth century, with the onset of imperialism, it began to adopt Western ideas, particularly Protestant Christianity, much earlier and faster than other regions of the country. The region also rapidly adopted and promoted Western-style education, producing modern individuals who became a new elite. The main objective of this article is to examine the how these three factors — commercial capital, Christianity, and modern education — contributed to transform Pyeongan province from a marginalized, backward region into a leading force in the transition to modernity. The growth of churches and schools created a new network of institutions between the family and the state that were strongly united under a single ideology. They were rooted in a modernizing economic sector that was more market-oriented and moving toward factory production. In short, developments in the province can be interpreted as the beginnings of civil society.<sup>4</sup>

## Commerce

The northwest provinces occupied a unique place within the political economy of Joseon. At the founding of Joseon in 1392, parts of the northwest were not part of its territory. They were not completely reclaimed until 1450 during the reign of King Sejong.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps because of its proximity to a contested border, the northwest was politically marginalized during the Joseon period. As mentioned in the quote from Yi Junghwan's *Taengniji* that opens this chapter, northwest residents who passed the civil service examination were discriminated against in appointment to official positions, unable to gain high posts.<sup>6</sup> The economy of the region was also backward since wet-field rice cultivation was not widely adopted, leaving agriculture relatively underdeveloped. It is not surprising that Yi Junghwan considered the northwest to be unlivable in, but even as he was writing his text in the eighteenth century, changes were well underway that would fundamentally transform the region.

The rise of markets beginning in the seventeenth century began to transform Joseon's agriculture-based economy.<sup>7</sup> Confucian thought looked down upon commerce, regarding agriculture and scholarship as far more noble pursuits. In accordance with this belief system, the government of Joseon attempted to restrict commerce through a system of official merchants who were given monopolies over specific goods. From the seventeenth century, however, marketplaces began to appear throughout the country. One common form was the so-called "five-day market" where itinerant merchants gathered in a location every five days. As more farms organized their production for the market, a new class of private merchants emerged while government monopoly

merchants declined. Some amassed tremendous amounts of wealth as their operations extended beyond regional markets and engaged in international trade.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Pyeongan province became one of the main commercial centres of the country. Two factors made conditions in the northwest particularly favourable for commercial development. First, development of gold and silver mines began in the northwest in the same century, and production grew tremendously in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, providing both tribute to China and capital for commercial ventures. Second, Qing China, just as Ming China had, required tribute missions from Joseon to travel by an overland route, rather than by a sea route. Merchants from the northwest who accompanied the tribute missions were able to play a central role in foreign trade and thus accumulate great sums of wealth.<sup>8</sup> Many of the powerful private merchants who emerged in this period were from Pyeongan province. *Taengniji* noted that Pyeongyang and Anju (the provincial capitals of south and north Pyeongan province, respectively) had the largest number of rich merchants after Seoul and Gaeseong. In Pyeongyang, over forty kinds of stores became established, selling goods ranging from daily necessities to paper, cotton, silk, and metal goods and performing services such as dyeing.<sup>9</sup> Some merchants were involved in commercial agriculture, selling products such as tobacco.<sup>10</sup> Merchants in the province reached markets throughout the country and handled goods from both Qing China and Japan.

The growth of commerce stimulated the beginnings of industry in Pyeongan province as handicraft industries began to emerge in the eighteenth century. As in other countries, they produced goods that utilized resources that were nearby and plentiful. One of the main industries to emerge in the province was brassware. As the use of metallic currency increased in the eighteenth century, some merchants involved in the bronze trade began to expand into making brassware. By the nineteenth century, artisan towns specializing in brassware emerged in regions such as Napchongjeong in Jeongju, as well as in Gaeseong. Similar developments occurred in other towns of the province. By the early nineteenth century, Anju became the centre of the ironware industry, and the silk industry thrived in Yeongbyeon and Seoncheon as well as in Anju.<sup>11</sup> These towns seem to have had concentrations of relatively large-scale household industries where itinerant merchants (*pobusang*) picked up their wares and brought them to the periodic markets. Opportunities for growth and expansion continued past the middle of the century as a primitive factory system developed based on specialization and division of labor.<sup>12</sup>

Commercial development also stimulated urbanization in Pyeongan province. Pyeongyang became the second largest city in the country; by the end of the eighteenth century, it had a population of slightly over 100,000. By comparison, the population of Seoul was 189,000, and the population of Jeonju (Jeolla province) was 72,500 in the same period. Seoul grew to 250,000 to 300,000 people in 1910, and estimates for the

total population of the country in that year range from 13 to 17.4 million.<sup>13</sup> Pyeongan province as a whole was also more urbanized than other regions of the country. It had the most towns with a population of over 5,000, a total of thirteen.<sup>14</sup> Of cities with a population greater than 2,500, Pyeongan province contained thirty-one out of 137 towns, exceeding both Gyeongsang (thirty towns) and Jeolla (twenty) provinces.<sup>15</sup> Even small towns in Pyeongan province were active as commercial centres in the late Joseon period. For instance, the town of Jindu in the county of Bakcheon (north Pyeongan province) had a population of only 2,500 to 3,000, but it was located at a key distribution point for commercial goods. Not only was it close to larger towns, but the ferry for the Daejeong River was also located there, and it had two post-horse stations. It grew significantly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with active markets whose merchants operated throughout the province.<sup>16</sup>

In short, what emerged in Pyeongan province in the late Joseon period was a social space that was significantly different from the more fully Neo-Confucianized areas in the central and southern regions of the country. Social relations were more mediated by markets than in other regions of the country. In a book published in 1929, Baek Nakjun, who, like Yi Gwangsu, was from Jeongju in north Pyeongan province, summarized the characteristics of the province as follows:

The people in northern Korea are more aggressive and energetic than those of the south. They have been hard workers, fighting against the mountainous environment in which they till the ground. Not many of the northerners held high offices in the government, but were rather subject to the oppression and extortion of the officials sent from Seoul. Their social customs were also somewhat different from those of the capital. There were no strict class distinctions, as in Seoul and the southern provinces, neither was there rigid separation of the sexes—a custom resulting from the literal interpretation of one of the five relations of the Confucian teachings. Religiously, the people largely professed Confucianism, but it had no such hold on them as it had in southern Korea.<sup>17</sup>

There were signs that the communities in the province were becoming politicized, growing dissatisfied with the existing order to the point of seeking its overthrow. For instance, the *Jeonggamnok*, a famous book of prophecy that predicted the fall of Joseon, appeared in the northwest in the eighteenth century, and it was spread throughout the country by fortunetellers from Pyeongan province.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the first major peasant rebellion of the nineteenth century broke out in Pyeongan province in 1811, the Hong Gyeongnae Rebellion. Though merchants were not leaders of the rebellion, they were involved in the preparations, including some large merchants. Not surprisingly, the rebellion occurred in areas where commerce was developed. For instance, a peasant army was stationed in the town of Jindu, and one of the major battles was the siege of Jeongju. However, the failure of the rebellion demonstrated that the merchant communities in the province had not yet developed into a political force.<sup>19</sup>

Foreign imperialism abruptly forced Joseon to confront the capitalist world system in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Joseon's first modern treaty was the Treaty of Ganghwa, which it signed with Japan in 1876. The treaty stipulated that the three ports of Incheon, Busan, and Wonsan would be open to foreign commerce. In 1897, Gojong issued a royal decree opening the ports of Mokpo in Jeolla province and Jinnampo in Pyeongan province. Two years later, in 1899, the city of Pyongyang was opened to foreign merchants.<sup>20</sup> The opening to foreign commerce further transformed the political economy of Pyeongan province. Competition from foreign merchants and businesses had a devastating effect on many native merchants and handicraft industries. However, the province was one of the few regions of the country in a position to take advantage of changing economic conditions to transform into a major industrial centre. By the mid 1920s, Pyongyang became the only industrial city in Joseon,<sup>21</sup> and although Japanese controlled most of industry, some Joseon merchants were able to transform themselves into capitalists.

One example of a merchant who was able to prosper despite the turbulence of this period was Yi Seunghun (1864–1930), who later became one of the leaders of the Sinminhoe and a key organizer of the March First Movement. Born into a poor commoner family, he was orphaned at an early age, like Yi Gwangsu, and became an errand boy (*sahwan*) in the house of one of the largest brassware merchants in Napcheongjeong. Since the owner conducted transactions from his house, Yi Seunghun learned about the business, and he also roomed with the itinerant merchants who came to pick up their wares. From 1879, he began working as an itinerant merchant himself, going to markets in both Pyeongan and Hwanghae provinces. Combining his savings with a loan from O Chieun, a local money lender from Seoncheon, he opened his own store and factory in 1887 and was successful enough that he later opened a branch in Pyongyang. Though his business was destroyed during the Sino-Japanese War, he quickly built it up again with an additional branch in Jinnampo. By the turn of the century, he started to expand into other businesses. He formed a trading company in Pyongyang in 1901, engaged in currency speculation, and started a cargo transport business in Seoul, seeking to move into foreign trade.<sup>22</sup> Yi Seunghun's success, despite the fact that he was a commoner and an orphan without family connections, demonstrates that until the opening of Pyeongan province, economic conditions were still conducive to the growth of native merchants.

At the turn of the century, however, Japanese merchants quickly achieved a dominant position in Pyeongan province commerce. Before the port opening, Japanese merchants based in Incheon would establish branches in Jinnampo or Pyongyang and operated through Joseon middlemen. After 1897, Japanese gradually moved their operations to Pyongyang, obviating the need for middlemen, and they generally opened trading companies or operated medicine, earthenware, and general merchandise stores.<sup>23</sup> Japanese merchants opened Western-style stores that were

open for business everyday, unlike Joseon merchant houses that still mainly relied on itinerant merchants and five-day markets. In 1902, there were 547 Japanese among the 639 foreigners residing in Jinnampo (89%), and by 1906, the number of Japanese grew to around 4,000.<sup>24</sup> Another important factor in the growth of Japanese merchants was the construction of the Seoul-Uiju railway (1902–1905?). Though the concession for the Seoul-Uiju railway was originally given to a French company and then to Busan-based entrepreneur Bak Kijong,<sup>25</sup> the Japanese obtained control of it by 1904 and accelerated its construction because of the Russo-Japanese War. The Busan-Seoul-Uiju railway line enabled Japanese merchants to transport merchandise cheaply to the northwest regions, giving them even more of an advantage over local merchants. Yi Seunghun's businesses suffered many setbacks around the time of the Russo-Japanese War, and his brassware company and the industry as a whole went into decline, unable to compete with imported products.<sup>26</sup> It is not surprising that almost all of the merchants involved in the "Incident of the 105" and the Sinminhoe were in businesses that were in direct competition with Japanese ones.<sup>27</sup>

In a colonial or semi-colonial situation, capitalist transformation involved not only supplanting the economic position of feudal forces but also dealing with an environment that was already capitalist and in which foreign businesses had superior resources. In Pyeongan province, it was large merchants, rather than owners of handicraft industries, who were the most successful at transforming into capitalists. There were not many cases where an individual merchant or a single merchant family acted as an entrepreneur. Instead, the tendency was for several merchants to join together to form joint-stock companies. Though large merchants had more financial resources than other potential entrepreneurs, they still had to pool their capital together in order to achieve a scale that could compete with Japanese businesses. Their strategy was summarized by Yi Seunghun's phrase, "Gwanseo jamunnon," whose characters mean "northwest region," "capital," and "gate."<sup>28</sup> These new companies brought about a shift in the roles within the merchant community. Originally, local money lenders had acted as financiers to the small-scale merchants in the region, and now the merchants such as Yi Seunghun and Yi Deokhwan served as "frontline" managers in the new enterprises while money lenders such as O Chieun and O Huiwon remained behind the scenes as investors.

First, merchants established several general merchandise stores/trading companies in the major towns and cities in the province. General merchandise stores were new to Joseon; there does not seem to have been any Korean-owned stores in Pyeongan province until 1903.<sup>29</sup> Merchants who had travelled to the periodic open-air markets in the countryside now gathered in towns as stockholders of stores that were the precursors of department stores. The modernization of their distribution systems seems to have been an effort to regain business that was lost to Japanese stores and thus to reassert their dominance in commerce. The most significant store was probably

the Sangmudongsa, which was established in Yongcheon in early 1908 as a joint-stock company, but little is known about the central store and office. More is known about its Seoncheon branch which had around 100 stockholders of its own including Yi Seunghun and O Huiwon and which was managed by Yang Junmyeong. The company was capitalized at 9,000 won, making it smaller in scale than comparable Japanese companies, but it was profitable enough that it was able to pay a dividend to its stockholders in its first year. Rather than importing through Japanese or Chinese merchants, Sangmudongsa sought to establish direct ties with Western merchants and engage directly in the import/export trade. In early 1910, they had negotiations with an Italian company that had branches in Seoul and Inchon, but nothing came of it.<sup>30</sup>

The first joint-stock companies focused on products that had been made by existing handicraft industries in the region. Two examples are the brassware and the dyeing and weaving industries. First, in April 1909, several businessmen, led by Yi Seunghun and Yi Deokhwan, all of whom had experience in the brassware business, joined together to form the Pyongyang Chagi Chusik Hoesa (Pyongyang Brassware Company). They sought to raise 60,000 won by selling stocks but only reached about half their goal. Despite early success, the company went through difficulties during the “Incident of the 105” years; however, the World War I years were profitable as the company was able to double its capitalization to the original goal of 60,000 won and increased the number of employees from six or seven to sixty-one. Ultimately, it seems that it was a victim of the post-war recession; it closed down and was sold to a Japanese company in 1919.<sup>31</sup>

Second, Pyongyang Yeomjikso (Pyongyang Dyeing and Weaving Company) was founded in September 1912 and was managed by Yi Deokhwan, one of the leaders of the Sinminhoe’s South Pyeongan branch. It was the successor to the Pyongyang Dyers and Weavers Cooperative, which had been formed in 1910 but was closed down the following year. The company had a small-scale factory (29 *pyeong* in area during the years 1913–15) and about 12–30 employees. While it was able to increase production during the years 1912–14, it suffered tremendous losses in 1915; it rebounded again by 1918 but was sold in 1920 to a Chinese businessman. In general, the first generation of companies engaging in modern factory production all closed down by 1920.<sup>32</sup>

Despite these failures, Pyongyang began to develop into the centre of Joseon industry from the mid 1910s as a new generation of businessmen began to emerge. From 1906–1913, Japanese entrepreneurs established most of the factories in Pyeongan province, but from 1914, ones established by Joseon businessmen were more numerous. Joseon companies were concentrated in a small number of industries that did not compete directly with Japanese businesses such as textiles, food processing, rubber, and metalworks. These industries were not very capital-intensive, used raw materials that were plentiful in the region, and could rely on technology and know-how accumulated in handicraft industries.<sup>33</sup>

In the 1910s and 1920s, the major industries in Pyeongan province were the sock, rice polishing, and rubber industries. The sock industry is an illustrative example of the patterns and timing of growth of capitalist industry in the province. The regional sock industry began in 1906 when Gim Giho purchased sock machines and began operating them in the house of O Yunseon, a *gaekju* merchant. He operated this business until he was arrested in 1911 in the “Incident of the 105.” Another pioneer was Bak Chirok, a printer and bookseller who also sold school supplies. He ran a small-scale sock business for a short time in the late 1900s, and when he quit the business, he divided up the machines among his employees, acting as a catalyst for the growth of the industry. In the 1910s, several sock manufacturers, many of whom were originally merchants, opened business, but most were small-scale operations that lasted only two to three years. During this decade, the sock industry in the Pyongyang area lagged behind that of Seoul. However, the situation changed suddenly after 1919 as Pyongyang overtook Seoul as the centre of the sock industry. Between 1918–1923, sock production in Pyongyang increased thirteen times, and it increased three times in the next two years. Companies grew in scale, and their products captured markets throughout the country.<sup>34</sup>

The growth of industry did not result in the disappearance of handicraft industries in the province. What emerged was a dual-structure industrial sector in which a modern sector of factory production dominated by Japanese companies coexisted with a handicraft sector dominated by small-scale Joseon companies.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, the commercial sector was increasingly coming under the control of Japanese merchants, threatening the livelihood of Joseon merchants. Foreign merchants outcompeted and supplanted native merchants, and foreign businesses undermined many existing handicraft industries. In short, Japanese imperialism had a devastating impact on the economy of Pyeongan province. However, the forms of social organization that had developed in the region in the late Joseon period also enabled merchants both to modernize their operations and to engage in resistance against the Japanese, culminating in the March First Movement.

## **Christianity**

Another distinctive feature of modern Korean history has been the growth of Christianity, and it played a central role in transforming merchant communities into a “proto” civil society. However, in the late nineteenth century, the northwest seemed to be an unlikely place for a foreign religion to take root. At the time, the region was viewed as a hotbed of anti-foreign sentiment because of the General Sherman incident in 1866. In August of that year, an American merchant arranged with a British trading company to send a warship, the *General Sherman*, to Korea in an effort to open trade relations. It sailed up the Daedong River toward Pyongyang, and

when its first request for negotiations was denied, it proceeded to travel further up the river. It ran aground near Pyongyang, and the ensuing standoff ended in early September with a skirmish in which the ship was set afire and everyone on board was killed. Since a Protestant missionary was killed in the incident, early missionaries viewed Pyongyang the “Sodom of Korea.”<sup>36</sup>

A few decades later, however, the situation completely changed, and missionaries came to refer to Pyongyang (and sometimes Seoncheon as well) as the “Jerusalem of Korea.” Among the forms of Christianity, it was Protestantism and, more specifically, Presbyterianism that became dominant in Pyeongan province. Although the absolute numbers were not large, the growth of Presbyterian Christianity in the province was remarkably rapid by any statistical measure. Between 1893–1899, seventy-three of the 154 Presbyterian churches established in the country were located in Pyeongan province, with another fifty-one in Hwanghae province.<sup>37</sup> In 1907, 333 of 399 Presbyterian churches were in the two northwest provinces.<sup>38</sup> Of a total of around 7,500 Presbyterian converts in 1898, 5,950 or 79.3% were from the northwest. As late as 1932, believers in Pyeongan province still comprised 38.5% of the 260,000 Protestants in the entire country.<sup>39</sup> The objective of this section is to give an overview of the early history of Presbyterianism in Pyeongan province.

Intellectuals from Pyeongan province have offered explanations for their province’s affinity for Christianity. In his history of Protestantism in Korea, Baek Nakjun wrote:

When the country was opened to the West, the energetic people of the North soon caught the spirit of the times. Thus the character of the people, the political vicissitudes, the social background, and the religious conditions, made possible the success of Christianity in the north.<sup>40</sup>

Baek’s explanation suggests that many of the factors behind the growth of commerce in the province—political marginalization and the weakness of the Confucian social order—were also behind the growth of Christianity. Yi Gwangsu gave similar reasons for the growth of Christianity. In “*Sin saenghwallon*” (Theory of a new life), an unfinished treatise serialized in 1918, he noted its democratic nature, the failures of Confucianism, and native beliefs in heaven and the afterlife dating back to ancient times. Adding that other important factors were Christianity’s organizational strength and its ability to satisfy the moral demands of the people, he also emphasized that what Christianity provided was a way of life that fulfilled the needs of the people. Converts “found [in Christianity] a solemn and pious way of life.”<sup>41</sup>

Christianity acted as a catalyst for many of the changes associated with the transition to a modern society. First, churches were a centre for the production of modern individuals. They introduced new practices of everyday life and forms of ethical regulation that disciplined individuals into modern forms of behaviour. Second,

churches also created a new network of institutions between the family and the state that fostered the formation of a new elite. They promoted reforms that altered gender and parent-child relations and placed the family under the regulation of the church. They prepared individuals to work in a modern economy and developed their political consciousness. The Presbyterian Church had strong ties to the business community in the province; in fact, the majority of Joseon businessmen in the sock and rubber industries were Christian.<sup>42</sup> Christian churches also played a leading role in the domestic nationalist movement in the 1910s and in organizing the March First Movement. The connections among Presbyterianism, capitalism, and nationalism are demonstrated by the fact that ninety-three of the people originally sentenced in the “Incident of the 105” were Christians of whom eighty-one were Presbyterian. The introduction of the religion transformed merchant communities into “the only community in Joseon that is as strongly united under a single ideology and banner” as Confucianism.<sup>43</sup>

The first missionary to travel through the northwest provinces was the Presbyterian missionary Horace Underwood (1859–1916), who had been born in England but immigrated to the United States in his youth. Arriving in Joseon in 1885, he was not formally part of a mission but initially taught at the new hospital established by Horace Allen (1858–1932) since Christian proselytizing was forbidden at the time. After the Gapsin Coup of 1884, the government slowly relaxed restrictions on Christianity, partially in gratitude to Allen, a medical doctor who treated one of Queen Min’s relatives severely injured in the coup. Underwood formed the first Presbyterian church in Seoul and was the founder of the school that was the precursor to today’s Yonsei University. Leaving from Seoul in the fall of 1887, he passed through Gaeseong, Songcheon, and Pyongyang and went all the way to Uiju on the border with China. This overland route to China, on which tribute missions had passed, was once an expression of the hegemony of the Chinese world order, but now it was being traversed by Western missionaries, whom the Chinese had viewed as barbarian. Travelling on foot and on horseback, Underwood sold Bibles, did some discreet preaching, and occasionally lost his way.<sup>44</sup> Little did anyone suspect that the arrival of this solitary missionary augured the northwest passage’s future transformation into a path of steel railways that connected the region, through the open ports, to the new hegemonic centres of the capitalist world economy.

The missionaries’ approach to evangelism was known as the “Nevius method” which was based on the ideas of John Nevius, a missionary from China, who came to Seoul for a short visit in 1890. The Nevius method stressed that churches should be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating; that is, churches should be built and managed by the converts themselves, and native converts should be used to do evangelistic work.<sup>45</sup> This method seems to have been particularly effective in the north; as L. George Paik noted, “In the North, especially, the actual work of propaganda was most of it done by the Korean Christians.”<sup>46</sup>

The first church in Pyongyang was the Neoldari Church, which was established in 1893. In 1892, Han Seokjin (1868–1939), an early convert from Uiju, established a Presbyterian mission in Pyongyang under the guidance of Samuel A. Moffett, who was the “pioneer missionary to Northern Korea.”<sup>47</sup> Moffett was a graduate of the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, the first of several who came to northern Korea.<sup>48</sup> When Moffett came to Pyongyang on a more permanent basis in 1893, he began holding church services in his home, and after he moved to a different place, his old home became known as the Neoldari Church. Around the same time, churches were also formed in Pyeongwon and Yonggang as well as in Jaeryeong and Anak in Hwanghae province.<sup>49</sup> The rise of Christianity was originally an urban phenomenon, with churches emerging in the towns and cities along the Seoul-Uiju railway line.

In accordance with the Nevius method’s principle of self-propagation, many of the early churches in Pyongyang originally began as offshoots of the Neoldari Church that separated from the main congregation as it continued to expand. By 1899, the Neoldari Church had grown large enough to require the building of a new church in a different location and the election of two elders. Now that it had attained a more “proper” church organization, it was renamed the Jangdaehyeon Church, also known as the Central Church of Pyongyang.<sup>50</sup> In fall 1903, the Nammunoe Church split off from the main church as did the Jangdong Church in 1905.<sup>51</sup> After separating from the Jangdaehyeon Church in 1906, the Sanjeonghyeon Church grew to 300 members just a year later.<sup>52</sup> Thus, when L. George Paik wrote that “after 1898 the Pyeng Yang (*sic*) station became the center of all Christian activities in northern Korea,” he was referring to more than just the city’s geographical location.<sup>53</sup> By 1924, there were six main churches within Pyongyang city limits and 120 total in the greater Pyongyang area.<sup>54</sup> Not only was there an increase in the number of churches, but they were also connected through a network of inter-personal relations, creating a foundation for unity and collective action against the colonial state. As the number of churches grew, normal church activities strengthened the formal and informal networks among them. For example, from 1917, the Sanjeonghyeon Church began inviting reverends from churches in nearby towns to lead their annual winter Bible Study sessions.<sup>55</sup>

The northwest began to rise to preeminence among Presbyterian churches around 1895.<sup>56</sup> It seems to be no coincidence that two periods of growth occurred after the two major wars in this period.<sup>57</sup> There was a sudden growth in the number of churches both after the Sino-Japanese War and after the Russo-Japanese War during the “Great Revival” movement of 1907. One of the more immediate factors in the growth of Christianity seems to have been the devastation and dislocation caused by the wars which was especially severe in the north. For instance, during the Sino-Japanese War, Christian refugees from Pyongyang would found churches when they fled to the countryside, leading to the spread of churches throughout the province.<sup>58</sup>

Between 1905 and 1907, the total number of churches in the country doubled from 321 to 642, most of them in the northwest.<sup>59</sup>

The “Great Revival” movement of 1907 was one of the early turning points in the growth of Christianity in Joseon. It marked both the emergence of the northwest as leaders within the Joseon Christian church and a growing rift between converts and missionaries as Joseon believers began to emerge from the control and guidance of missionaries. The revival originated in a week-long session of prayer and Bible study in Wonsan in 1903 led by a local Methodist missionary.<sup>60</sup> It was not intended to be an evangelical movement; in fact, one of the motivations of the missionaries was to depoliticize their congregations. The Presbyterian missionary council in Joseon had resolved in 1901 to maintain a separation of church and politics.<sup>61</sup> As one missionary stated, “We felt that the Korean church needed not only to repent of hating the Japanese, but a clear vision of all sin against God...We felt...that embittered souls needed to have their thoughts taken away from the national situation to their own personal relation with the Master.”<sup>62</sup> The politicization of Joseon believers became a constant source of tension within the Presbyterian Church.

What actually ensued was an outpouring of emotion that astonished the missionaries. When missionaries in Pyongyang heard about the revival meetings, they decided to hold their own in August 1906. A series of prayer meetings occurred over the following weeks, culminating in the famous revival of January 1907 during the annual Bible training class of the theological seminary. One foreign observer wrote:

[The missionary] reached only the word “my Father” when a rush of power from without seemed to take hold of the meeting. The Europeans described its manifestations as terrifying. Nearly everybody present was seized with the most poignant sense of mental anguish; before each one his own sins seemed to be rising in condemnation of his life. Some were springing to their feet pleading for an opportunity to relieve their consciences by making their abasement known, others were silent, but rent with agony, clenching their fists and striking their heads against the ground in the struggle to resist the power that would force them to confess their misdeeds. From eight in the evening till five in the morning did this same go on, and then the missionaries, horror-struck at some of the sins confessed, frightened by the presence of a power which would work such wonders, reduced to tears by the sympathy with the mental agony of the Korean disciples whom they loved so dearly; some in prayer, others in terrible spiritual conflict. Next day the missionaries hoped that the storm was over and that the comforting teaching of the Holy Word would bind up the wounds of yester-night but again the same anguish, the same confession of sins; and so it went on for several days.<sup>63</sup>

From that point, revivals spread throughout the province, and one of the main leaders of the revival movement was Reverend Gil Seonju of the Jangdaehyeon Church. He also held revival meetings in Seoul, spreading them to other areas of the country.<sup>64</sup> The emotions of these revivals expressed the collective experience of a people who

began to emerge from the political marginalization and economic backwardness of the Joseon period only to suffer two wars on its soil fought by foreign powers and to have its livelihood threatened by Japanese imperialism.<sup>65</sup>

Christianity helped to bring about the changes that usually accompanied the transition to a capitalist society. First, one of its primary influences was the reorganization of the family structure of Joseon. In their effort to “elevate the status of women”<sup>66</sup> and liberate them from feudal forms of domination, it introduced new forms of regulation of family life and, particularly, of marital relations. Christianity was one of the earliest advocates of educating women. Although women were not allowed to become reverends or elders in the Presbyterian Church, they could become deacons (*jipsa*) and stewards (*gwonsa*) and had a voice in the affairs of the church. It is not surprising that there were a large number of women among early Christian converts. Churches also introduced new forms of gender interaction by having men and women worship in the same building, in contrast to the Confucian practice of segregating the sexes from youth. Initially, the sexes were segregated within church buildings. If the church was a traditional L-shaped Joseon house, men and women would sit in different wings, with the pulpit located in the “bend” of the “L.” If it was a Western-style building, a curtain would be placed between them.<sup>67</sup> Segregated seating was abolished after 1913. In addition, the church sought to regulate the institution of marriage. Presbyterian churches began issuing marriage certificates in 1911, and in 1914, the General Assembly passed a resolution against early marriage, setting the marriageable age at seventeen for men and fifteen for women.<sup>68</sup> The church also permitted the remarriage of women which was forbidden in Confucian ethics.

Second, a presbytery system was established in Joseon, and it served as a training ground for new forms of political action. From 1893, a Presbyterian Council (*gonguihoe*) had served as the deliberative and supervisory organ of the Presbyterian missions in Joseon. At first, only foreign missionaries were involved, but beginning in 1901, they allowed Joseon delegates to serve on the council.<sup>69</sup> With the imminent graduation of the first class of the Union Theological Seminary in Pyongyang, it became necessary to establish a presbytery since only a presbytery had the authority to ordain ministers. In September 1907, the first Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Joseon (Doknohoe; also known as the All-Korea Presbytery) was established in an assembly at the Jangdaehyeon Church. The location of the Presbytery was a sign of Pyongyang’s central position within the church. The Presbytery elected Moffett as its first moderator with the rest of the positions going to Joseon members.<sup>70</sup> The presbytery system was fully implemented in September 1912 with the establishment of the General Assembly (*Chonghoe*), also in Pyongyang. A presbytery was established in every province, with North Pyeongan and South Pyeongan provinces each having their own presbytery. Performing executive, legislative, and judiciary functions, the General Assembly functioned as a microcosmic quasi-government. Some Christians have claimed that the

General Assembly constituted the first nationwide representative assembly in Korean history.<sup>71</sup> It had a court that functioned as the supreme judicial power in the Presbyterian Church. Furthermore, the General Assembly was also an economic corporation that registered its property with the colonial authorities; thus, high-ranking church members got experience in operating a large-scale economic enterprise.<sup>72</sup>

What enabled such changes, at least in part, was the penetration of the church into the everyday lives of their members. To take the example of the Sanjeonghyeon Church in Pyongyang, Sunday service was an all-day family affair with Bible study in the morning (separate classes for men, women, and children), a sermon in the afternoon, and hymnals in the evening. An extra prayer session was held on Wednesday evenings. This weekly schedule provided a temporal structure for the lives of their members. In their organization, churches usually adopted a Presbyterian hierarchy of elders, unordained elders, stewards (*gwonsa*), and deacons (*jipsa*), but northwest churches added their own innovation. Pyongyang churches created the *gwonchal* system (“Leaders of Tens”), which the Sanjeonghyeon Church adopted in 1909.<sup>73</sup> This system was actually based on the existing guild system of policing communities.<sup>74</sup> Thus, Presbyterian churches did not replace but rather combined with existing types of communal organization, reinforcing and expanding existing forms of ethical regulation. Congregations were divided into groups of ten with men and women kept separate, and *gwonchal* were appointed to each group to supervise their “spiritual interests,” reporting to the elders and pastor of the church at monthly meetings. *Gwonchal* effectively acted as the “eyes of God” in their communities. As a result, churches in the northwest came to be known for the strictness of their ethical regulation and discipline.<sup>75</sup>

As mentioned above, the majority of the Sinminhoe’s members were Christian, and their paths to conversion were diverse and illustrate many aspects of the early history of Presbyterian Christianity. An Changho, one of the founders of the Sinminhoe, was an early convert; he was a refugee of the Sino-Japanese War who turned to Christianity. Through his contacts with missionaries, he was able to go to the United States in 1902, where he became active in organizing immigrant communities. On the opposite end of the spectrum, Yi Seunghun was a relatively late convert. He did not begin going to church until 1910 when he was 46 years old. Rather than going to a local church, he went to Pyongyang to listen to the sermons of Han Seokjin, who had become a reverend at the Sanjeonghyeon Church. He later decided to establish a church at Osan Academy and began attending the nearby Jeongju Church, which had been established in 1899.<sup>76</sup> However, he was not baptized until 1915 and became an elder in the Osan Church in the fall of 1916.<sup>77</sup> Yi Deokhwan was involved in the formation of the Sanjeonghyeon Church, serving as an “unordained Elder” (*yeongsu*). While he moved to the Jangdaehyeon Church in 1907, his elderly mother Yi Sinhaeng continued to work as a female steward (*gwonsa*) at Sanjeonghyeon—an illustration of how both merchant and family networks were reconstituted in church organizations.<sup>78</sup>

Many of the younger members of the Sinminhoe were the children of early converts. They grew up going to church, attended Christian schools, and later became educators or businessmen. For instance, Gim Dongwon (1884—?), who was a Sinminhoe leader in Pyongyang, was the son of a rich landlord who was one of the first elders in Pyongyang churches. The older brother of novelist Gim Dongin, he graduated from the Pyongyang Japanese Language School in 1903 and then went to Japan, enrolling in the law department at Meiji University. Dropping out after one year, he returned to Joseon and devoted himself to education, becoming a teacher at An Changho's Daeseong School among other activities.<sup>79</sup> He joined the Sanjeonghyeon Church, becoming an elder in 1910 and serving as principal of its Youth Bible School from 1918. After 1919, he became one of the largest industrialists in Joseon, forming Pyongyang Gomu (Pyongyang Rubber Company) in 1924 and Pyeongan Yangmal (Pyeongang Sock Company) in 1929.<sup>80</sup> Another example is Gil Jinhyeong, the son of Reverend Gil Seonju. He graduated from Sungsil Academy (Union College) in 1907, taught at Sungsil Middle School, and was a teacher at Sinseong Academy in Seoncheon at the time of his arrest in the "Incident of the 105."<sup>81</sup>

In sum, Christian churches in Pyeongan province performed key social functions in the transition to modernity. They contributed to the formation of a new elite and fostered unity among them. As the novelist Ju Yoseop (1902–1972), a native of Pyongyang, observed, "Christianity in Pyongyang was the sole possession of the middle and upper propertied classes."<sup>82</sup> Merchants were able both to widen and to strengthen their networks of personal relations through their church activities.<sup>83</sup> The older generation of Christian leaders such as Yi Seunghun and Han Seokjin was active in the presbytery of North Pyeongan province as well as in the General Assembly.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, many of the younger generation of businessmen gathered at the Sanjeonghyeon Church as demonstrated by the presence of the "Three Elders"<sup>85</sup>—Gim Dongwon, Jo Mansik (1883–?), and O Yunseon.<sup>86</sup> In addition to being leaders in the business community, all three were centrally involved in the founding of the Pyongyang YMCA in 1921 and in the establishment of the Joseon Native Products Promotion Society (Joseon mulsan jangnyeohoe) in 1920–1922.<sup>87</sup> Membership in a church even increased the chance of serendipitous associations. For example, Gim Dongwon's family happened to live next door to a reverend at the Jinnampo Church who was married to An Changho's sister; as a result, Gim Dongwon and his siblings got to know An from an early age.<sup>88</sup> These personal interactions were possible within the new social spaces emerging in the northwest. Imperialism often had the effect of reinforcing traditional communities and preventing their modernization. In the early twentieth century, however, the growth of Presbyterian Christianity enabled Joseon to overcome these obstacles partially and to begin the transition to a modern civil society.

## Education

During the Joseon period, the educational system focused on training in Chinese classics in order to cultivate scholar-officials. Formal education began around the age of six or seven when children entered a *seodang*. *Seodang* were village schools generally founded by local elites. After finishing *seodang* curriculum, students then entered a *seowon* at age fourteen or fifteen. Originally, government-run schools called *hyanggyo* had been in charge of secondary education, but from the mid Joseon period, privately founded *seowon* began to take over their functions. In the nineteenth century, the educational system began to decline.<sup>89</sup> Problems in the administration of *seowon* grew so severe that the Daewongun, the regent of the country from 1864–1873, ordered their abolition in 1871.<sup>90</sup> The number of *seowon* was reduced from approximately 1,700 to forty-seven government-approved schools. Another blow to the educational system was the abolition of the civil service examination in the Gabo Reforms of 1894–1895.

The growth of modern schools in Pyeongan province was as dramatic as that of Christianity, particularly after 1905. Not surprisingly, the province played a vanguard role in the spread of modern education in Joseon, being more active than the central and southern regions that had been the centre of education in the Joseon period.<sup>91</sup> As the *DaeHan maeil sinbo* noted, with some exaggeration, in 1908,

Those who talk about education in Korea today say that the northwest is the leader, and they also say that within the northwest, north Pyeongan province is the most active.... According to news about the educational world in north Pyeongan province, not only are schools continuously being established, but gradually [there] will be no places that have no schools....<sup>92</sup>

Initially, much of the initial initiative for building schools came from churches which saw education as a way to spread Christianity. However, modernizing efforts in the northwest also created tremendous demand for Western forms of knowledge. In conjunction with churches, schools became another major centre for the production of modern individuals. Many graduates of the school worked in modern businesses while others became ministers or teachers. Outside the direct control of the state, the modern educational system became a major institution within an emergent civil society.

This section examines the rise of modern education in Pyeongan province and the role of schools in forming a new elite. Schools contributed to the development of modern industries by emphasizing practical, technical education and disseminating the knowledge and skills necessary to work in a modern economy. Schools also were disciplinary institutions that socialized students into new forms of behaviour according to the norms of Christian ethics and Western hygiene. The forms of sociality and discipline promoted unity among the students, and thus schools, together with churches, could function as sites of mobilization, even mobilizing resistance against

the colonial state. Teachers and students of the new modern schools comprised a large proportion of Sinminhoe membership; of the 123 indicted in the “Incident of the 105,” fifty-one were involved in education, just barely outnumbering the number of merchants. During the 1910s, schools continued to develop the political consciousness of their students as demonstrated by the large number of students and teachers who participated in the March First Movement in 1919.

What distinguished Pyeongan province was not just the number of schools established but also the level of coordination and organization behind its educational efforts. While missionaries were the pioneers of modern education in many regions, there was also a significant degree of private initiative in the region. Regional educational societies (*hakhoe*) were established to coordinate efforts to build schools, and they also acted as informal boards of education. The first educational societies were founded in the northwest. Both the Seou Hakhoe and the Hanbuk Heunghakhoe were established in October 1906. Soon afterward, similar societies appeared in the Kiho (Gyeonggi and Chungcheong provinces) and Honam (Jeolla province) regions. Educational societies went beyond their stated purpose and became the central organizations in their provinces, but the ones in the northwest were the most active. Intellectuals hoped that regional educational societies would combine into a single nationwide organization, but the only region where a merger occurred was the northwest. In January 1908, the Seou Hakhoe and the Hanbuk Heunghakhoe combined to form the Seobuk Hakhoe.<sup>93</sup>

The growth of modern education in Pyeongan province was so rapid that a complete educational system was established before the Japanese occupation began in 1910. In general, missionaries played the leading role in promoting education, but the impetus came from the native Christians themselves. The educational system was built from the bottom up, beginning with primary schools and culminating in a college and theological seminary. The general pattern was that as missionaries turned their attention to a higher level of education, they turned the lower level over to Joseon converts.

Almost every church had its own primary school that taught converts the Korean language to enable them to read translations of the Bible and other Christian literature. While the missionaries’ original objective was to facilitate their evangelism, such efforts also contributed to the spread of literacy in the vernacular.<sup>94</sup> Paralleling the growth in churches, the number of Presbyterian primary schools in the entire country increased from 62 in 1902 to 589 in 1909.<sup>95</sup> Observing the principles of self-support and self-management, each church provided all the funds for its primary school and hired only Christians as teachers.<sup>96</sup>

The first middle school in Pyeongan province was Sungsil Academy which was established in Pyongyang in 1897. It grew out of the school of the Neoldari Church, and its founder was the missionary William Baird, who like Moffett was also a graduate

of McCormick Theological Seminary.<sup>97</sup> It began with only thirteen students, but just three years later, in 1900, it became a five-year middle school. When the first school building was built in 1901, the school chose a site that was near the grave of one of the Christians who had died during the “*General Sherman Incident*” of 1866. The school selected students through recommendations from missionaries and church leaders, effectively weeding out most non-believers. While early primary schools were, in a sense, just extensions of Sunday school, middle schools implemented a more fully Western curriculum.<sup>98</sup> Because of a lack of teachers, the curriculum was initially limited to Bible study, history, mathematics, geography, music, and classical Chinese. Despite the change in the content of education, this pedagogy was similar to that of Confucian education in its focus on explication of an authoritative set of texts and on memorization. By 1909, the expanded curriculum included courses in applied science, natural science, and Japanese. Once the focus of education, classical Chinese was now reduced to a single course added to an American curriculum. Textbooks were slightly revised versions of those used in US middle schools at the time that were translated by the missionaries themselves.<sup>99</sup> With this expansion of the curriculum, schools were now beginning a more systematic effort to introduce Western forms of knowledge.

Building on the growth of primary education, Pyongyang quickly became the centre of both secondary and higher education in the province. Though churches promoted gender integration, there were separate secondary schools for male and female students. Two secondary schools for girls were established in Pyongyang. Founded in 1902 by an American missionary, Velma Snook, Sungui Girls’ Academy was operated by the missionary board, and in 1912, it essentially became a higher normal school. Sunghyeon Girls’ Academy was founded in 1900 and was run, like Sungdeok and Sungin Academies, jointly by the churches in Pyongyang. It had a six-year normal school programme and a three-year high school programme, and roughly 2000 students enrolled during the first 25 years of its existence.<sup>100</sup> In 1907, the Presbyterian churches in Pyongyang combined their resources to form two more secondary institutions for boys, which were both located near the Jangdaehyeon Church. Sungdeok Academy was principally a normal school that produced primary school teachers, and Sungin Academy later was turned into a higher normal school, focusing on training middle school teachers.<sup>101</sup> In their early years, Sungdeok and Sungin shared the same teachers, and since missionaries such as Moffett and Baird were deeply involved in these schools, their curriculums were probably similar to that of Sungsil Academy.<sup>102</sup> The churches paid for whatever expenses could not be covered by tuition payments and donations. These two schools tended to have higher enrollments than Sungsil Academy in this period. Up to the early 1920s, while Sungsil had enrolled about 400 students and graduated 144, 827 students enrolled in Sungin with 201 graduating, and Sungdeok had about 2,500 enrolled students with

447 graduates. The unity and coordination among the city's schools was symbolized by the presence of the character "*sung*" (to respect, worship) in all their names, as if it were a brand name guaranteeing the quality and Christian emphasis of the education.

In addition to mission schools, there were two important private secondary schools in Pyeongan province, Osan Academy in Jeongju and Daeseong Academy in Pyongyang. Although neither was a mission school, both were closely connected with both Christian and merchant communities in Pyeongan province; in fact, both were founded by central figures in the Sinminhoe. Yi Seunghun founded Osan Academy in late 1907, and An Changho, one of the founders of the Sinminhoe, founded Daeseong Academy in 1908. Part of the appeal of these schools was their freedom from the control of the missionaries. At the mission schools, there occasionally were "student strikes" whose causes were "largely centered on the school curriculum...[which was] heavily weighted with Biblical subjects."<sup>103</sup> In addition to a more secular curriculum, such freedom allowed these schools to take more interest in politics. Despite these differences, these two schools, like the mission schools in the northwest, primarily focused on training teachers for the growing number of schools in the country. Several hundred students reportedly responded to advertisements in newspapers and took the entrance exam for Daeseong Academy.<sup>104</sup> It opened on September 26, 1908 with fifty first-year students and many more in the preparatory division—significantly larger than other schools at their inauguration.<sup>105</sup> Osan Academy initially had only seven students and, because of lack of funds, had to use an unused building in the local *hyanggyo*, but it soon grew large enough to move to its own site.<sup>106</sup>

The first institution of higher education, Union Theological Seminary (in Korean, Pyeongyang Sinhakgyo), was officially established in 1905.<sup>107</sup> In order to train Joseon ministers to run the growing number of churches, the mission at Pyongyang began training classes in 1901. The classes began with two elders from the Jangdaehyeon Church and met yearly during the three winter months, adding more students each year. L. George Paik noted that the seminary's curriculum "was almost entirely Biblical. The seminary was, in reality, a Bible training school for Christian workers. However, courses on church history, Biblical theology, practical theology, and general academic studies were added." The first class graduated in 1907, and the seven graduates included Gil Seonju, Han Seokjin, and Seo Gyeongjo, and it went on to produce virtually all of the ministers in the Presbyterian church in the northwest. Union Christian College (Sungsil Daehakgyo) was founded in 1908. The college originated in a two-year higher education programme that Sungsil Academy added in 1905, causing a sudden rise in enrollment. It was initially run jointly by the Presbyterian and Methodist missions.<sup>108</sup> Graduation from the college eventually became a requirement for admission to the theological seminary.

With the exception of the primary schools and the theological seminary, the

model for all Christian schools in the northwest was Park College which had been founded in Parkville, Missouri in 1875. Under this system, “students worked half of each day and received a small wage, sufficient to cover their board.” Schools had an “industrial department” with various shops where students made hats, straw ropes and sandals, worked at a printing press or at book-binding, and made maps and charts for classrooms; students also did janitorial and clerical work at the school and taught in primary and night schools.<sup>109</sup> In girls’ schools, students also learned household skills such as embroidery.<sup>110</sup> This system became further entrenched with the arrival in 1905 of George S. and Helen McAfee McCune, the son-in-law and daughter of Park College founder Howard Bailey McAfee, both of whom were graduates of that institution.<sup>111</sup> They also implemented the Park College system when they went to Seoncheon in 1909 to join the staff of Sinseong Academy, which had been founded in 1906.<sup>112</sup>

Each level of the educational system produced different segments of the emerging new elite. Normal schools trained teachers for primary and middle schools, and the theological seminary produced reverends for churches. Industrial departments produced a significant number of the small-scale merchants and shopkeepers in the Pyongyang area. These departments did not just offer poorer students an opportunity to work their way through school; they also introduced and trained students in new technologies, enabling them to start their own businesses after graduation. As Charles Allen Clark noted,

...In Pyenyang (*sic*), [in the schools,] they have had iron work of every kind, including the making of church bells, woodwork of every sort, including the making of office furniture, rattan furniture making, cement work, and more recently fruit culture and dairy work.

In practically all of these towns, some of the boys have graduated and gone out into regular businesses based upon the things which they had learned in school. In the Pyenyang district, there are a dozen such men running iron shops or carpenter shops as a business. The school work does not compete with these men. It gives them the field and takes up other lines. Several companies have started making cheap bells for churches, so the work department of the academy and college is now confining itself to the more expensive kind, leaving the cheaper field to the private companies....

The same school, through its chemical department, has developed a very good fountain pen ink, which is being sold on the market by a private company. Soap also, for laundry purposes, has been developed, and is being handled. Koreans have millions of cows which they use for draft animals and for carrying of loads on their backs, but they do not milk them... The Pyenyang school is making plans to start a dairy department, where all of the students will learn at least a little about the care of milch cows and of the milk itself and its companion products.<sup>113</sup>

Mission schools played a direct role in promoting entrepreneurship and further transforming the political economy of Pyeongan province.

Schools were also disciplinary institutions that introduced forms of bodily practice that socialized students into new norms of comportment. Since there were only a small number of secondary schools in the province, most students had to live in dormitories, sometimes with faculty as supervisors. An Changho lived at Daeseong Academy whenever he was in Pyongyang, and he would even make surprise visits to the homes of students and suggest ways to improve their households.<sup>114</sup> Graduates of Daeseong noted its Spartan discipline and military atmosphere. There would occasionally be emergency assemblies in the middle of the night, and students had to take turns patrolling the school grounds at night.<sup>115</sup> The private schools, Osan and Daeseong, even included military training in their physical education classes. In addition, mission schools introduced students to Western sports such as baseball and soccer. Along with new forms of discipline, hygiene was taught as a class in Sungsil Academy from 1900, and it was later incorporated into the science curriculum.<sup>116</sup> The consequence of such discipline was to transform the students into “modern” individuals in ways that were sometimes regarded as problematic. As a missionary teacher lamented in 1928,

We, therefore, have today the undesirable situation of the Korean people striving for everything Western because it is Western, and turning away from everything Korean just because it is Korean or Oriental or “old fashioned.”....

The general manner of living of students in some mission schools has the tendency to put these boys and girls out of touch with the culture and customs of their own people... By becoming accustomed to foreign ways of living they lose the feeling of vital relationship, and the ability to sympathize and share life with their people, which is necessary if these students are to carry on educational activities with their own people after they finish school.<sup>117</sup>

Part of the reason for the growth of modern education in Pyeongan province was how quickly it was incorporated into existing communities. Schools had close ties with the merchant and business communities. In particular, private schools relied on the support of local elites, particularly many of the same financiers who were behind the Sinminhoe’s business enterprises. For Daeseong Academy, An Changho raised large sums of money from local elites such as O Chieun, O Huiwon, and Gim Chinhu as well as Yi Chongho, who was the grandson of former Minister of Finance Yi Yong’ik and was also managing Poseong Academy (predecessor of today’s Korea University) in Seoul at the time.<sup>118</sup> Yi Seunghun used much of his own wealth for Osan Academy, and later, financiers such as O Chieun also contributed funds to the school.<sup>119</sup> Yi Seunghun also used his merchant networks to recruit students and teachers. The journalist Seo Chun was, just as Yi Seunghun had been, an errand boy in a Japanese merchant’s house in Cheongju when Yi discovered and brought him to Osan. The poet Gim Soweol was the grandson of an acquaintance of Yi Seunghun’s

who had failed in the gold mining business. Yu Yeongmo, who taught physics and astronomy, came to Osan through Yi Seunghun's friendship with his father, who was a leather merchant in Seoul.<sup>120</sup>

The private schools were also closely connected with the Christian community. At Daeseong Academy, reverends and missionaries came by to lead Bible study classes, and students were encouraged to attend church.<sup>121</sup> Osan Academy became a Christian school in late 1909, and a Presbyterian missionary, Stacy L. Roberts, became principal. The original purpose was to gain some protection from the Japanese authorities, but after Yi Seunghun converted to Christianity, the school became thoroughly Christianized. A church was built on school grounds in 1910 with the reverend coming from the Union Theological Seminary.<sup>122</sup>

The modern educational system reinforced and helped transform communities in Pyeongan province, and it also produced a significant portion of the colonial elite. For instance, some of the more famous students of Sungsil Academy included Cho Mansik; Gim Hyeongjik, the father of former North Korean leader Gim Il Sung; and Bae Minsu, a rural activist during the Syngman Rhee administration. Among the graduates of Osan were reverends Ju Gicheol and Han Gyeongjik, the poet Gim Eok (Gim Soweol's mentor), and the modernist painter Yi Jungseop. In addition to Yi Gwangsu, early faculty members at Osan included Ham Seokheon, Jo Mansik, and the novelist Hong Myeonghui. Gim Dongwon was a teacher at Daeseong Academy when he was arrested during the "Incident of the 105," and Gil Jinhyeong was a teacher at Sinseong Academy. Pyeongan province went on to produce many of the central figures of the South Korean educational world. In addition to Baek Nakjun, such figures include deans and presidents of universities such as Seoul National University (Jang Riuk), Koryo University (Hyeon Sangyun), Ewha Women's University (Gim Okgil), Severance Medical School (Yi Yongseol), and Sungsil University (Reverend Han Gyeongjik) as well as the founders of universities such as Gyeonghui, Danguk, Sangmyeong Women's, and Hallym (Hallim).<sup>123</sup>

Since the mission school system was basically in place by the time the Sinminhoe was formed, the organization does not seem to have been directly involved in the system's establishment. Nonetheless, the "Incident of the 105" had an impact on mission schools since many Sinminhoe members were teachers at these schools. Three teachers from Sungsil and a student were arrested. The school hardest hit by the incident was Sinseong Academy with ten teachers, including Gil Jinhyeong, and eighteen students arrested.<sup>124</sup> Except for Yi Seunghun, there was no one arrested at Osan Academy.<sup>125</sup> However, the only school that closed down as a result of the incident was Daeseong Academy, which closed its doors in 1913. During the 1910s, schools continued to mobilize resistance against the Japanese and played a central role in the organization of the March First Movement.

## Conclusion

The introduction of Christianity and modern education transformed merchant communities in a way that produced new forms of sociality different from the Neo-Confucian order. They functioned in many ways as a small-scale version of a civil society. These networks of merchant businesses, churches, and schools became centres for the production of modern individuals, some of whom became a new elite that was opposed to the rigid status hierarchy of Joseon and was not rooted in the yangban class. This “proto” civil society also enabled political resistance to be organized against a repressive state.

Its emergence was one of the reasons that the centre of political movements shifted to the northwest in the early twentieth century. The ability of the region to engage in political resistance became apparent in the so-called “Incident of the 105,” the first major political incident of the colonial period. In October 1911, Japanese authorities began arresting students and teachers at Sinseong Academy, a mission school in the town of Seoncheon, north Pyeongan province. Over the next six months, a total of nearly 400 people were arrested. The pretext for the arrests was that they had been involved in a plot to assassinate the Governor-General of Joseon, Terauchi Masatake, when he visited the northwest in late 1910. The incident revealed the existence of a secret organization, the Sinminhoe (New People’s Society), that had been formed in spring 1907. Of the 123 people who were brought to trial, all but seven were from Pyeongan province, and the far majority of them were members of the Sinminhoe. Though the colonial government’s strong-armed tactics led to the end of the Sinminhoe, they produced the unintended result of politicizing the region even further. This was most forcefully demonstrated in the March First Movement of 1919. Churches and modern schools played central roles in the organization of the movement, and the strength of resistance in the northwest was demonstrated by the fact that on the day of March 1, virtually all protests occurred in Pyeongan province. Though the movement failed, one of its legacies was to catalyze the growth of modern political forms of action and resistance throughout the country.

## Notes

- 1 Yi Junghwan, *Taengniji*, translated by Yi Minsu (Seoul: Pyeonghwa chulpansa, 2005), pp. 62–63.
- 2 Yi Gwangsu, “*Sin saenghwallon*,” (Theory of a new life), *Yi Gwangsu jeonjip*, vol. 17 (Seoul: Samjungdang, 1962), p. 545.
- 3 For others, see Gim Sangtae, “Pyeongando Gidokgyo seryeok gwa chinmi ellipse ui hyeongseong” (Pyeongang province Christian groups and the formation of a pro-American elite), *Yeoksa bipyeong*, no. 45 (Winter 1998), pp. 172–75.

- 4 The state-civil society paradigm is commonly found in scholarship on early modern Korean history. Sin Yongha, *Hanguk geundaesa wa sahoe pyeondong* (Early modern Korean history and social change) (Seoul: Munhak gwa jiseongsa, 1980), chapter one; Sin Yongha, *Hanguk geundae sahoesa yeongu* (Studies on the social history of early modern Korea) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1987), p. 144. For a more recent work, see Jang Kyusik, *Iljeha Hanguk Gidokgyo minjokjuui yeongu* (Studies in Christian nationalism in Korea under Japanese rule) (Seoul: Hyeon, 2001), conclusion.
- 5 O Suchang, *Joseon hugi Pyeongando sahoe baljeon yeongu* (Social Development in Pyeongan Province in the Late Joseon Period) (Seoul: Iljogak, 2002), p. 12.
- 6 Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyongnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007), pp. 35–42.
- 7 Jo Kijun, *Hanguk jabonjuui seongnip saron* (The history of the establishment of Korean capitalism), (Seoul: Goryeo daehakgyo Asea munje yeonguseo, 1973), p. 249.
- 8 Hong Huiyu, *Joseon sangeopsa: godae jungse* (The history of commerce in Korea: the ancient and medieval periods) (Seoul: Baeksan jaryowon, 1989), pp. 300–01. See also Yi Junghwan, *Taengniji*, p. 54.
- 9 Yi Junghwan, *Taengniji*, p. 196; Hong Huiyu, p. 302.
- 10 O Suchang, p. 141.
- 11 *Hanguksa10: chungse sahoe ui haeche* (Korean history: the breakdown of Middle Age society), vol. 10, (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1994), p. 72.
- 12 Yun Gyeongno, p. 110.
- 13 Soo-chang Oh (O Suchang), “Economic Growth in Pyongan Province and the Development of Pyongyang in the Late Choson Period,” *Korean Studies* 30 (2006), p. 6; Sin Yongha and Gwon Taehwan, “Joseon wangjo sidae ingu chujeong e gwanhan ilsiron“ (An attempt at population estimates of the Joseon Dynasty), *Donga munhwa*, no. 14 (1977).
- 14 O Suchang, *Joseon hugi Pyeongando sahoe baljeon yeongu*, p. 142.
- 15 Kang Mangil, *Gocho sseun Hanguk geundaesa* (A revised history of early modern Korea), (Seoul: Changjak gwa bipyeongsa 1994), p. 95. See also the chart on page 96, reprinted from Son Jeongmok, *Joseon sidae tosi sahoe yeongu*, (Seoul: Iljisa, 1977). Of cities with a population greater than 2,500, Pyeongan province contained 31 out of 137 cities, exceeding both Gyeongsang (30 cities) and Jeolla (20) provinces.
- 16 Hong Huiyu, pp. 311–13.
- 17 L. George Paik (Baek Nakjun), *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832–1910* (Pyongyang: Union Christian College Press, 1929), p. 261.
- 18 Baek Seungjong, *Hanguk ui yeeon munhwasa* (The cultural history of prophecy in Korea) (Seoul: Pureun yeoksa, 2006), pp. 79–84, 100–04; Sun Joo Kim, pp. 89–104.
- 19 O Suchang, op. cit., pp. 312–17; Hong Huiyu, p. 313; Sun Joo Kim, pp. 80–88.
- 20 Mokpo gaehang baeknyeonsa pyeonjip wiwonhoe, *Mokpo gaehang baeknyeonsa* (The one-hundred year history of the opening of Mokpo’s port) (Mokpo: Mokpo sadan beopin Mokpo baeknyeonthoe, 1997), pp. 119–28.

- 21 “Pyeongyang japgwang” (Various observations of Pyongyang), *Sinmin*, no. 6 (October 1925), p. 76.
- 22 Jo Gijun, *Hanguk gieopga sa* (History of Korean entrepreneurs), (Seoul: Bakyongsas, 1973), Chapter 13: “Minjok ui jidoja Yi Seunghun gwa Napcheong yugi.” A revised version of this chapter appears in Namgang munhwa chaedan, ed., *Namgang Yi Seunghun gwa minjok undong* (Yi Seunghun and the nationalist movement), (Seoul: Namgang munhwa jaedan chulpanbu, 1988). Jo Gijun mentions that he reviewed all the newspapers and other archival sources to revise the article but did not turn up anything significantly new. I should perhaps disclose that Yi Seunghun is my great-grandfather, my maternal grandmother being the youngest of his children.
- 23 O Miil, *Hanguk geundae jabonga yeongu* (Industrial capitalists in early modern Korea) (Seoul: Hanul akademi, 2002), p. 120.
- 24 Yun Gyeongno, p. 62.
- 25 For more on Bak Gijong and the Seoul-Uiju railway, see Jo Gijun, *Hanguk gieopga sa*, Chapter 5: “Hanguk cheoldoep ui seonguja Pak Kijong.”
- 26 Jo Gijun, *Hanguk gieopga sa*, p. 315. See also, Osan chilsip nyeonsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed., *Osan chilsip nyeonsa* (The 70-year history of Osan), (Seoul: Osan chilsip nyeonsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, 1978), 55; O Miil, p. 136.
- 27 Yun Gyeongno, p. 64.
- 28 Ibid., p. 103. See also Gim Hyeongseok, “Namgang Yi Seunghun yeongu” (A study of Yi Seunghun), *Dongbang hakji*, no. 46–47–48 (1985).
- 29 Yun Gyeongno, p. 98.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 98–109.
- 31 O Miil, pp. 122–23.
- 32 O Miil, pp. 123–24. A chart of the company’s finances is given in footnote 18 on page 124.
- 33 O Miil, pp. 125–26, 133, 135.
- 34 Ju Ikjong, “Iljeha Pyeongyang ui meriyasu gongeop e gwanhan yeongu” (A study of the textile industry in Pyongyang under Japanese rule) (Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 1994), pp. 48–50, 66–67, 76–77, 81–87.
- 35 O Miil, p. 150.
- 36 L. George Paik, p. 199.
- 37 See chart in Yi Manyeol, “Namgang Yi Seunghun ui sinang” (The belief of Yi Seunghun), *Namgang Yi Seunghun gwa minjok undong* (Yi Seunghun and the nationalist movement), pp. 293–95.
- 38 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, p. 242.
- 39 Gim Sangtae, p. 176.
- 40 L. George Paik, p. 261.
- 41 Yi Gwangsu, “Sin saenghwallon,” pp. 546–48. Originally serialized in the *Maeil sinbo*, Sept. 6–October 19, 1918. Though he was treating Christianity in general, he stated that his views here based on his “personal observations and experiences.”

- 42 Jang Gyusik, *Iljeha Hanguk Gidokgyo minjokjuui ui yeongu*, p. 266.
- 43 Yi Gwangsu, “*Sin saenghwallon*,” (Theory of a new life), *Yi Gwangsu jeonjip*, vol. 17 (Seoul: Samjungdang, 1962), p. 544. He does mention Cheondogyo and was planning on treating it in a later section of this article, but the serialization was discontinued before he reached that section.
- 44 On these early trips to the northwest, see L. George Paik (Baek Nakjun), *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832–1910* (Pyongyang: Union Christian College Press, 1929), pp. 130, 168–69. See also Hanguk gyohoe Baekjunyeon junbi wiwonhoe saryo bunkwa wiwonhoe, ed., *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa* (The 100-year history of Korean Presbyterian Christianity), (Seoul: Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe chonghoe, 1984), pp. 76–80 as well as memoirs such as Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea* (reprint) (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1983), 62–64 (originally published in 1918). In English-language sources from this period, Gaeseong is referred to by its alternative name Songdo, and Songcheon is usually called “Sorai” (from the Korean “Sollae”).
- 45 Charles Allen Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1930), pp. 33–34. See also L. George Paik, p. 151.
- 46 L. George Paik, p. 284.
- 47 L. George Paik, 171. Paik quotes a report by Moffett on the establishment of the Pyongyang mission on pp. 200–01.
- 48 On Moffett’s conception of Christianity and the theological standpoints of the early Protestant missionaries, see Albert L. Park, “Visions of the Nation: Religion and Ideology in 1920s and 1930s Rural Korea,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2007), pp. 76–85.
- 49 Again, see chart in Yi Manyeol, p. 293.
- 50 Gil Seonju, “Pyeongyang Sanjeonghyeon gyohoe sagi” (The history of the Sanjeonghyeon Church in Pyongyang), *Yeonggye Gil Seonju moksa yugo seonjip* Vol. 1 (Seoul: Gidokgyoseohoe, 1968), p. 189.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 189–90.
- 53 L. George Paik, p. 261.
- 54 Gim Gijeon and Cha Sangchan, “Joseon munhwa gibon josa (ki pal) Pyeongnam-do ho” (Basic survey of Joseon culture (no. 8)—south Pyeongan province), *Gaebyeok*, no. 51 (Sept. 1924), p. 62.
- 55 Gil Seonju, “*Cheonghoe sagi*” (Record of the history of General Assembly), *Yeonggye Gil Seonju moksa yugo seonjip* Vol. 1, pp. 193–95.
- 56 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, pp. 183–86, 241–42.
- 57 Chung-Shin Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. 23–25.
- 58 Gim Sangtae, p. 178. L. George Paik noted that a brief persecution of Christians in Pyongyang in 1894 also had the effect of dispersing converts into the countryside where new churches were formed in places such as Chaeryeong in Hwanghae Province. L. George Paik, p. 245.

- 59 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, p. 222.
- 60 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, p. 213.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 62 Reverend W.N. Blair quoted in L. George Paik, 356. Paik's account of the development of the revival movement is on pp. 354–57.
- 63 Lord William Cecil of England quoted in L. George Paik, pp. 357–58. A missionary, William Blair, wrote that the revival was a “meeting the like of which I had never seen before, nor wish to see again unless in God's sight it is absolutely necessary.” Quoted in Samuel Hugh Moffett, *The Christians of Korea*, (New York: Friendship Press, 1962). The author is the son of Samuel A. Moffett.
- 64 Born in Anju (South Pyeongan province), Gil Seonju (1869–1935) was another merchant who converted to Christianity, joining the Neoldari Church in 1897 and later elected as an elder. In 1907, he was one of the first graduates of the Union Theological Seminary in Pyongyang and was immediately assigned to the Jangdaehyeon Church.
- 65 In retrospect, it seems that what manifested itself in such a terrifying fashion during the revival meetings was none other than *han*. It could be said that Christianity provided a channel for the expression of *han* and a potential way of overcoming it—what is known as *hanpuri*. In this case, *han* served as a force both for the growth of a religion and for social reform. The connection between Christianity and *han* has been discussed most systematically within *minjung* theology. See Jae Hoon Lee, *The Exploration of the Inner Wounds—Han* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).
- 66 Yi Gwangsu, “Asogyo ui Joseon e jun eunhye” (The benefits that Christianity has given Joseon), *Cheongchun* No. 9 (July 1917), p. 15.
- 67 Clark, p. 153.
- 68 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, p. 144.
- 69 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, pp. 232–33. See also Clark, pp. 93–4, 123 and L. George Paik, pp. 374–75.
- 70 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, pp. 238–39. See also L. George Paik, pp. 375–76.
- 71 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, pp. 240, 251–52. See also Clark, pp. 156–57, 160. For more on the democratic influence of Protestantism, see Hong Iseop, “*Hanguk e isseo Peuroteseutantijeum eul maegyero han Amerika munhwa ui yeonghyang*” (The influence of American culture through the medium of Protestantism in Korea), *Hong Iseop jeonjip*, Vol. 3, (Seoul: Yeonse Daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1994), pp. 321–22.
- 72 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, p. 192. Churches played, intentionally or not, a significant role in the conversion of agricultural and commercial capital into industrial capital. To take the example of an individual church, elderly women members of the Sanjeonghyeon Church would sometimes donate some of their farmlands to the church. In 1913, one woman donated both dry and paddy fields to the Sanjeonghyeon Church, and the following year, another woman donated a parcel of dry field. The proceeds from the fields would then be used to maintain the church and to pay for school expenditures.

- 73 Gil Seonju, pp. 190–91.
- 74 Clark, p. 137. The phrase “Leaders of Tens” comes from his book.
- 75 *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, pp. 254–55.
- 76 *Osan chilsip nyeonsa*, p. 92. See also Yi Manyeol, pp. 296, 306–7.
- 77 Yi Seunghun enrolled in the Union Theological Seminary in Pyongyang in 1915 but withdrew after a year without finishing the programme.
- 78 Gil Seonju, pp. 189–90.
- 79 Gim Sangtae, “Gim Dongwon,” *Cheongsan haji mothan yeoksa* (History that has not been cleansed), (Seoul: Cheongnyeonsa, 1994), pp. 95–96.
- 80 Ju Ikjong, pp. 99, 108.
- 81 Sungsil Daehakgyo 100nyeonsa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, *Sungsil Daehakgyo 100 nyeonsa* (The 100-year history of Soongsil University), Vol. 1 (Seoul: Sungsil Daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1997), pp. 116, 124. See also, Yun Gyeongno, pp. 79, 81, 84.
- 82 Ju Yoseop, “Sacheonnyeonjeon godo Pyeongyang haengjngok jibang sogae (gi il), sipnyeon man e bon Pyeongyang” *Byeolgeongon*, no. 32 (Sept. 1930), p. 47.
- 83 This is what Yi Manyeol has argued in the case of Yi Seunghun, see Yi Manyeol, p. 319. See also, O Miil, p. 289.
- 84 *Ibid.*, pp. 320–21.
- 85 *Osan chilsip nyeonsa*, p. 137.
- 86 Jo Mansik was born in Pyongyang and learned the merchant business from his father in his youth. Influenced by what he saw during the Russo-Japanese War, he enrolled in Sungsil Hakgyo in 1905, a Christian school where he converted to Christianity. After graduating from Sungsil Academy, he went to study in Japan also at Meiji University, graduating in 1913 and becoming a teacher and later principal of the Osan School. He was active in the Sanjeonghyeon Church, becoming an elder in 1922. For a rather narrative account of Jo Mansik’s life, see Gim Kyosik, *Jo Mansik* (Seoul: Gyeseong chulpansa, 1984). See also Gil Seonju, p. 196.
- 87 O Miil, pp. 295–300 and Jang Gyusik, pp. 258–263.
- 88 Article by Gim Tong’in from *Samcheolli* quoted in Ju Yohan, p. 93.
- 89 “Seodang eseo hyanggyo, seowon ggaji” (From *seodang* to *hyanggyo* and *seowon*), *Joseon sidae saramdeul eun eoddoke sarassulga?* (revised edition) (Seoul: Cheongnyeonsa, 2005).
- 90 James B. Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991), pp. 110–31.
- 91 See the editorial in *Daehan maeil sinbo*, Aug. 16, 1908; Oct. 24, 1908.
- 92 Editorial, *Daehan maeil sinbo*, Oct. 3, 1908, p. 1.
- 93 See Yi Songhui, “Seou hakhoe ui aeguk kyemong undong gwa sasang” (The thought and patriotic enlightenment movement of the Seou hakhoe), *1900nyeondae ui aeguk kyemong undong yeongu* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1993).

- 94 Yi Gwangsu, “Asogyo ui Joseon e jun eunhye” (The benefits that Christianity has given Joseon), p. 17.
- 95 Missionary report quoted in L. George Paik, p. 390.
- 96 L. George Paik, pp. 313–14.
- 97 It is interesting that about half of the missionary teachers at Sungsil were graduates of the McCormick Theological Seminary. Originally located in Indiana, the theological seminary moved to Chicago in 1859 through the efforts of Cyrus McCormick, the inventor of the reaper, who sought to turn it into a bastion of conservative Old School Presbyterianism. As is well known, McCormick’s company later merged with other agricultural machinery companies to form International Harvester in 1902. Although the company would seem to have little interest in a rice-cultivating country like Joseon, it did eventually develop business in both Japan and Manchuria. The agricultural resources of Manchuria, which was a strong impetus for Japanese expansion, also seems to have attracted International Harvester to northeast Asia. Considering Joseon’s geographical location and importance in the regional economy, it is perhaps not so surprising that the McCormick family would be interested in Joseon. In fact, Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick, daughter-in-law of Cyrus, donated the funds to construct the first building of the Union Theological Seminary in Pyongyang in 1908. William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick, vol. 2: Harvest, 1856–1884*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. 16–23; Cyrus McCormick, *The Century of the Reaper*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), p. 245; L. George Paik, p. 388.
- 98 *Sungsil daehakgyo 100nyeonsa I: Pyeongyang Sungsil pyeon* (The 100 year history of Sungsil University 1: Pyongyang Sungsil), (Seoul: Sungsil daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1997), pp. 76–77, 100, 115. See also Yi Manyeol, *Hanguk Gidokgyo munhwa undongsa* (The history of the Christian culture movement in Korea), (Seoul: Daehan Gidokgyo chulpansa, 1987), p. 190.
- 99 See the chart in *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 90, 92, 94.
- 100 On Sungui and Sunghyeon Girls’ Academies, see Gil Seonju, pp. 178–79, 181–82.
- 101 On Sungdeok and Sungin Academies, see Gil Seonju, “*Chonghoe sagi*” (Record of the history of General Assembly), pp. 179–81. The date that this text was written is unclear, but since there is no date mentioned in it beyond 1923, it was probably written in 1924 or 1925. All enrollment statistics are taken from this article.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- 103 L. George Paik, p. 284.
- 104 Yi Gwangnin, p. 264.
- 105 Gim Hyeongsik, “*Pyeongyang Daeseong hakgyo wa An Changho*” (Daeseong Academy in Pyongyang and An Changho), *Samchholli*, January 1932, 15. Gim Hyeongsik was a member of the first graduating class of Daeseong Academy.
- 106 *Osan chilsip nyeonsa*, pp. 70–71, 88–89; See also Gim Dotae, *Namgang Yi Seunghun jeon* (The biography of Namgang Yi Seunghun), (Seoul: Mungyosa, 1950), pp. 170–71. Among the Christian schools in the northwest, only Sungsil and Osan managed to move to the south after liberation in 1945, and both still exist in Seoul today. Even after An Changho went into

exile in China in April 1910, Daeseong Academy was able to continue operating; however, it closed down in 1913 shortly after the “Incident of the 105,” having graduated only one class in 1912. See Yi Gwangnin, p. 282.

- 107 On Union Theological Seminary, see L. George Paik, pp. 291–91, 388. See also Gil Seonju, pp. 173–74.
- 108 L. George Paik, pp. 292, 311. See also Gil Seonju, p. 176.
- 109 Missionary report quoted in L. George Paik, 308. See also *Daehan Yesugyo Jangnohoe Baeknyeonsa*, pp. 130–31.
- 110 Gil Seonju, p. 178.
- 111 L. George Paik, pp. 308–09.
- 112 Yi Manyeol, *Hanguk Gidokgyo munhwa undongsa* (The history of the Christian culture movement in Korea), p. 192.
- 113 Clark, pp. 209–10.
- 114 Ju Yohan, p. 84.
- 115 Gim Hyeongsik, p. 15. Jeon Yeongtaek’s reminiscences in the journal *Saebyeok* reprinted in Ju Yohan, pp. 81–82, 85. See also Yi Gwangsung, *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 116 *Sungsil daehakgyo 100nyônsa I: Pyeongyang Sungsil pyôn* (The 100 year history of Sungsil University 1: Pyongyang Sungsil), pp. 81, 83, 90–92.
- 117 James Earnest Fisher, *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea*, (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928), pp. 126–129. Fisher was a professor of education in Chosen Christian College (Yeonhui jeonmun hakgyo), a Presbyterian school that was the predecessor to today’s Yonsei University.
- 118 Yi Gwangnin, “*GuHanmal Pyeongyang ui Daeseong hakgyo*” (Daeseong Academy of Pyongyang at the end of the Joseon period), *Gaehwapa wa gaehwa sasang yeongu*, (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1989), p. 262. See also Ju Yohan, *Ibid.*, and Yi Gwangsung, *Ibid.* Both Yi Gwangsung and Ju Yohan give Gim Jinhu as the main financial contributor while Yi Gwangnin states that it was Yi Chongho. Some of the references to the *Daehan maeil sinbo* are actually in the *Hwangseong sinmun*.
- 119 *Osan chilsip nyeonsa*, pp. 125–26.
- 120 *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 141, 148.
- 121 Ju Yohan, 86.
- 122 *Osan chilsip nyeonsa*, pp. 92–5.
- 123 Gim Sangtae, p. 173. Many professors at these and other schools were also originally from Pyeongan province.
- 124 Yun Gyeongno, 81. See the two charts on the breakdown by school of those arrested in the “Incident of the 105.”
- 125 Yun Gyeongno, p. 81.