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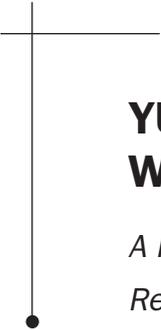
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# YUN CH'I-HO'S ALIENATION BY WAY OF INCLUSION

*A Korean International Student and Christian  
Reform in the "New" South, 1888–1893*

andrew **urban**

## **"AN EMPHASIS TO THE PREJUDICE OF THE PEOPLE"**

ON JUNE 11, 1893, THE PHI GAMMA Society and Ignatius Alphonso Few Society met for the championship debate of the spring semester at Emory College in Oxford, Georgia. The debate's motion was whether restrictions on the immigration of Chinese laborers, which Congress had renewed a year earlier with the Geary Act, represented a policy that benefitted U.S. interests. A month earlier, in *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, the Supreme Court had ruled that the 1892 act's new requirement that Chinese individuals register for and retain certificates of residence was constitutional and in line with Congress's sovereign power to enforce immigration restrictions it had passed previously—despite the protests of the Chinese Six Companies that the Chinese community was the only group compelled to comply with this "Dog Tag Law" in order to demonstrate their legal status.<sup>1</sup> Yun Ch'i-ho, a twenty-eight-year-old Korean international student, regularly attended the meetings of the two rival debating and literary societies, which doubled as Emory's oldest and most prestigious social clubs. In November 1892, Yun was appointed to a month-long term as president of the Few Society, an honorary position that he had accepted with trepidation. Initially, he tried to decline the offer, after learning that some of the Fews had "manifested dissatisfaction" at the election of an Asian student.<sup>2</sup> In what was a frequent occurrence during

his time at Emory, Yun's status among his white classmates proved to be a divisive issue. Whereas evangelical Methodist classmates and the church leadership responsible for sponsoring Yun's education praised his religious devotion and studiousness, tying this to what they believed was the larger promise of missionary work in Asia, Emory also included students whose commitment to white supremacy meant that they opposed any gesture that treated him as an equal.

The topic of race relations and U.S. religious and political obligations to Asian subjects were inescapable features of southern academic and missionary culture at the turn of the century. In Methodist and secular classrooms, churches, and newspapers, white speakers and authors intellectually examined Asians as both migrants seeking to enter the nation and, in their native countries, the designated recipients of Christian missionary programs and American capital investment. At the well-attended championship debate, held before faculty members and a public audience, the argument defending the exclusion of Chinese laborers, advanced by the Phi Gammas, prevailed. The victors' rhetorical strategy, Yun noted sarcastically in his diary, was to invoke repeatedly the need to defend "American civilization," which they did eighteen times according to his count. Yun was frustrated with the fact that the foundation of this particular argument—that Chinese immigrants were unassimilable and, as a small minority, could somehow be responsible for corrupting American values—eluded real scrutiny. The Few Society's losing argument, which appealed to "sentiment" and the obligation that American Christians had to try and uplift a heathen, inferior race that was purportedly incapable of improving themselves, Yun observed, was equally condescending.<sup>3</sup> The losing position had failed to defend the liberal agenda that informed missionary work, and the ability of Christianity to empower and dignify any individual who converted, regardless of his or her race.

Although he longed to be a third-party observer on the issue of exclusion, much to Yun's outrage, white Americans unknowingly grouped him with the Chinese laborers and laundry owners who had arrived in the South in the late nineteenth century, or purposely mocked him with this unwanted comparison. When a classmate at Vanderbilt, where Yun studied before coming to Emory, told him that with school out for the

summer he would have to socialize with his “brethren” working in Nashville’s Chinese laundries, for instance, the comment made him “perfectly wretched all the morning.”<sup>4</sup> Yun’s time in the United States saw both his attempts to distinguish himself on ethnic, class, and religious grounds as an educated, elite Korean Christian, and his gradual recognition that most Americans, in their acts of interpellation, did not care to accept the identity that he was working so assiduously to produce and present. Like many Asian students whose class backgrounds and social circles differed greatly from Chinese laborers, Yun actually supported immigration restrictions, although not because he thought that racially Asians could not attain the civilized traits that white Americans claimed as their own. Yun believed that restrictions were warranted as a means of controlling the caliber of Asians whom Americans encountered. Continued restrictions would “save China from her name being daily soiled,” Yun explained in an 1890 letter to Young John Allen, the white founder and president of the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai and an Emory alumnus, from “the contempt and disgust the miserable coolies excite here.” While in the United States, Yun frequently lashed out at China for its policies that allowed the nation’s “ignorant rabble” to emigrate.<sup>5</sup>

Yun was especially conscious of the thoughtless ways in which white Americans referenced, without pause, the U.S. exceptional commitment to honoring fundamental liberal principles. Shortly after arriving at Vanderbilt, Yun commented that the history of African slavery and the treatment of native peoples illustrated beyond a doubt that “[i]f you want to enjoy the so-called inalienable right of man in this ‘*Land of Freedom*’ you must be white,” a basic observation that his white peers glided over, since they simply took for granted the unarticulated racial exclusivity of full citizenship.<sup>6</sup> At the championship debate, outside the safe space of his diary, Yun remained stoic despite his dismay at what he felt was its low intellectual bar. Since the winning argument “gave an emphasis to the prejudice of the people,” he feared encountering “unpleasant and galling treatment in looks or in works or in acts” in its aftermath, and took care to hide his emotions.<sup>7</sup>

### INVESTMENT IN A “NATIVE” MISSIONARY

Yun Ch'i-ho was born on January 23, 1865, into a prominent Korean family. His father, Yun Ungnyŏl, served as minister of war to King Kojong, and was an influential *yangban* and member of the Chosŏn dynasty's Confucian bureaucratic aristocracy.<sup>8</sup> In 1881, at the age of sixteen, Yun was sent to Japan with a group of Korean students assigned to report on the social, economic, and political transformations that had taken place there since the Meiji Restoration. Shortly after he returned to Korea in December 1884, a group of civil servants seeking to introduce reforms, with support from Japan, overthrew the conservative faction of the king's court, ruling briefly until they were ousted three days later by Chinese troops stationed in Seoul. Although there is no evidence that he directly participated in what became known as the Gapsin Coup, Yun's ties to many of the students involved and his father's internal banishment—punishment for supporting liberal reforms—pushed him into exile.

In January 1885, Yun departed for Nagasaki with Lucius Foote, the first American minister to Korea, whom Yun had worked for as a translator while the two men were both stationed in Japan. With Foote's assistance, Yun traveled to Shanghai in order to continue his studies at the Anglo-Chinese College, which Allen had opened that year with the backing of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS).<sup>9</sup> At Allen's urging, Yun agreed to further his education in the United States. Arriving in the fall of 1888, Yun spent three years as a student in the Theology Department at Vanderbilt before moving to Oxford, Georgia, where he enrolled at Emory in the fall of 1891 to pursue a general education degree in the social sciences and the humanities.<sup>10</sup> Although he had sporadically kept a diary in literary Chinese since 1883, in November 1887 Yun would switch first to vernacular Korean, before transitioning again two years later to English, which he would continue to use until his diary ends in 1943, shortly before his death in 1945. East Asian studies scholar Henry Em argues that “[v]ernacular Korean in the late 1880s, as a written language, did not have the kind of literary conventions that English developed after the eighteenth century, that could interpellate Yun as author and narrator of a self-narrative. Central to his diary keeping was the figure of the sovereign subject . . . informed by notions of self-interest, self-consciousness, and

self-knowledge.”<sup>11</sup> This emphasis on self would manifest in Yun’s attempts to use his diary, and its private spaces, as a site where he could imagine alternative subject positions that he might claim as a Korean Christian, even when such positions proved untenable in practice.

The missionaries who recruited Yun to attend college in the United States downplayed the more chauvinistic variants of white racial nationalism, in favor of promoting the universal appeal and applicability of their values, ideals, and cultural practices. They linked the rise of the U.S. to prominence and global power as a nation to the cultivation of its Christian conscience. In Yun’s baptismal confession, which he submitted to church leaders while still a student in Shanghai in March 1887, he explained that in the immediate moment before the truth of Christianity was revealed to him he had sought guidance in the leading Confucian texts, “[b]ut since no one is bound to obey them, and since they—the maxims—cannot satisfy the demands of the soul, I failed to find what I sought for.”<sup>12</sup> Beginning in the 1880s, liberal Korean reformers such as Yun would embrace Protestantism as both a faith and a code of discipline that could be used to evaluate individual integrity. Abstention from smoking, alcohol, gambling, prostitution, and concubinage allowed Christian politicians to reject the privileges that Korean elites had traditionally enjoyed, and represented a personal commitment to establishing a new set of values that would provide the basis for the just rule of an independent Korea, and the guidance of its economic and social development.<sup>13</sup>

At the Anglo-Chinese College, Allen immediately recognized Yun’s dedication and intellectual talent. He would later confide that he believed Yun was destined to “play no insignificant part in the salvation of his people.”<sup>14</sup> In the United States, however, Yun quickly discovered that the rationales behind his recruitment were multifaceted. Symbolically, his physical inclusion and presence provided tangible evidence to MECS students and churchgoers that missionary work abroad was a worthwhile pursuit. He was the “proof” that Christianity could transform the “heathen.” Warren Candler, the president of Emory from 1888 to 1898 and later an influential bishop in the MECS, urged Yun to “identify . . . with the class of 1893 for their sake. Their interest in you will make them broader men.”<sup>15</sup> Candler, attuned to the power of legends, routinely publicized how Yun, upon first arriving at Emory, donated his entire savings of two

hundred dollars to “lead the way” for the church into Korea, a sacrifice that white churchgoers were encouraged to emulate.<sup>16</sup> During the five summers that Yun spent in the American South, his academic recesses were spent traveling around Georgia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee, rooming with local Methodist families in an effort to further supplement this fund.

Despite his expertise at maintaining an unflappable exterior, and his steadfast commitment to bringing Christianity to his people, Yun’s diaries show that he was by no means naïve when it came to the significance attached to his performances. His understanding of the tensions and contradictions that accompanied his position emerges clearly in the private space of his diaries. While studying at Vanderbilt, a theology examination that Yun scored high marks on was published in the *Christian Advocate*, the main organ of the MECS, accompanied by the rhetorical (and, in this instance, affirmative) question “Is a heathen worth educating?” From Yun’s perspective, the issue was not whether the heathen was worth educating—having his test results publicized in this context was simply “condescending,” he wrote—but whether Asians’ willingness to accept Christianity would ultimately result in their political empowerment. Yun’s need to prove his credentials as a devout Christian and cultural and social equal to whites resonates with what other scholars have argued was one of the central paradoxes of both Christian and secular liberalism. White liberals continually emphasized the cultural distance that nonwhite groups had to traverse in order to successfully assimilate and prove their eligibility for self-rule, which in turn reinforced popular perceptions of immutable racial difference.<sup>17</sup>

Yun’s writings illustrate the global and imperial agendas that American institutions such as Vanderbilt and Emory had become enmeshed in by the end of the nineteenth century, and how the recruitment of Asian students created complicated social experiences that historians have only begun to recover.<sup>18</sup> Upon his return to Shanghai and then Korea, Yun’s experiences abroad, and the comparisons he was able to draw on, made him highly attuned to what historians Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds have described as the late nineteenth-century “spread of ‘whiteness’ as a transnational form of racial identification . . . at once global in its power and personal in its meaning.”<sup>19</sup> Ironically, Yun’s incorporation into the social and intellectual life of Vanderbilt and Emory’s southern Method-

ist communities provided him with the privileged vantage point from which he would witness and document firsthand the logic and practices of exclusion. This perspective would travel with him back to Asia, where his position as an intermediary and “native agent” to Koreans, whose daily affairs required him to interact with white Americans working in Asia, forced him to reckon constantly with how institutional allies and personal friends truly felt about his “people.”

### **LOCATING YUN'S PERSPECTIVE IN ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES**

Yun's anxieties concerning his racial and social status as an Asian student were symptomatic of the larger ambiguities built into the policies and human exchanges that dictated how Americans incorporated Asian subjects into, or excluded them from, the various national and international projects that the government and missionaries promoted. Asian students, along with merchants, visitors, and government officials, were exempt from restrictions applying to immigrant laborers. As the historian Paul Kramer argues, since the late nineteenth century international students have enjoyed relatively free mobility and been the beneficiaries of “imperial openings,” an arrangement that has persisted to the present.<sup>20</sup> International students have regularly been the targets of strategic inclusions seemingly at odds with nativist and racial policies in other arenas.

Yun's time in the United States preceded the establishment of more coordinated forms of diasporic nationalism among Korean students abroad, and makes his set of experiences unique among the many twentieth-century Korean politicians who attended American colleges and universities as exiles. Between 1880 and 1902, approximately fifty Koreans migrated to the United States. The only Korean peer Yun mentions in his diary entries during his time at Emory and Vanderbilt is Philip Jaisohn (Sō Chaep'il).<sup>21</sup> It was not until the mass migration of laborers to Hawaii commenced in 1903 that a recognizable identity and set of shared social experiences for Koreans in the United States began to coalesce. Historian Richard Kim's assertion that “homeland politics among Korean immigrants prompted them to establish a politico-legal presence within U.S. state structures and institutions” occurred after Japan's establishment of a protectorate over Korea in 1905, and even more actively with its colonial annexation in 1910.<sup>22</sup>

The intellectual identifications that Yun made while studying in the United States would have been far less tenable to subsequent generations of Korean nationalists, who understood Japan after 1905 as the immediate oppressor. The political targets of Yun's critiques during his time in the United States were China, whose influence over Korea as a tributary state stunted modernization—as it did China's own development, according to Yun—and the unjust dynamics of imperial and racial privilege more broadly conceived. Yun's experiences were global and cosmopolitan, and the most salient features of his identity were his status as an educated, Christianized, and Westernized Asian, his nationality notwithstanding. During his student days, Japan was a model for Korea, an opinion that was shared widely among Korean dissenters who had come of age during the 1880s.<sup>23</sup> In more optimistic moments, Yun imagined his own career trajectory as most closely following the path of Joseph Hardy Neesima (Niijima Jō). Neesima was among the first Japanese students to receive a degree from an American university, graduating from Amherst College in 1870. He founded the Doshisha English School in Kyoto in 1875, in affiliation with the Congregationalist Church in Japan. On October 6, 1888, the day before he left Japan for San Francisco, Yun called on Neesima personally to discuss his education, and was given this advice: "You will find many evils in America even worse than in the East. But learn the good things and let alone the bad."<sup>24</sup>

In his nationalist politics, Yun never advocated outright popular democracy and cast the Korean people—as a body politic—as unfit and unready to rule themselves.<sup>25</sup> While Yun demonstrated an elitist emphasis on uplift, and was often guilty of stereotyping Korean peasants and the urban working classes as indolent, superstitious, and unsanitary, this view was nonetheless tempered by a personal understanding of the arbitrary and cruel ways in which racism affected the lives of individuals collectively deemed inferior. Living in the American South during the late 1880s and early 1890s, Yun's time in the region coincided with an increase in lynching, ramped up efforts to disenfranchise black voters, and the culmination of white "Redemption." Commenting on the impassioned hatred that one of his Emory classmates had for "nigger rule," Yun noted that "it seems to me strange that one should fear the domination of 8,000,000 negroes over 60 million whites—[when] the white has all the wealth, power, intel-

ligence and education at that.”<sup>26</sup> Yun’s elite condescension toward ordinary Koreans did not stop him from recognizing that evaluation of fitness for self-rule was only one of the ways in which white supremacy discursively operated. The mandate of white southerners to defend an unbending racial hierarchy often proceeded as a social imperative without any justification at all, a critique Yun would later apply repeatedly to the actions of white missionaries working in Asia.

Yun was a keen observer of the rituals of discrimination that preserved the boundaries of whiteness on a global scale, and in turn made full social membership always out of the reach of even the most “civilized” Korean individuals. This duality of perspective, which allowed Yun to combine lived experience with scholarly analysis, certainly did not belong to Alexis de Tocqueville or James Bryce, or to any of the other white foreigners whose commentaries on the aspirations and failed realizations of American liberalism now serve as standard texts in this genre. Yun’s writings on American liberalism, sheltered by the privacy of his diaries, provide the types of perceptive observations that are largely missing in the writings of other Korean nationalists, especially after 1900, who did not know the United States intimately, or who blithely praised the nation’s commitment to democracy with the hope that this would ultimately convince Americans to lend assistance to the Korean independence movement. Since Koreans were barred from naturalizing as American citizens, their diasporic nationalism was directed at winning sovereignty from Japan, and less concerned with the politics of racial nativism that posed a barrier to their social incorporation.<sup>27</sup> Commenting on the legacy of the American Civil War, Syngman Rhee, in his 1910 publication *Tongnip chǒngsin* (The spirit of independence), could write without satirical intent, “We need to reflect deeply how arduous it was for Americans to protect their rights, then to go on to restore others’ rights as well—a splendid historical accomplishment. For the sake of the rights of the barbarous black people who hardly look human in appearance, they fought a war with their own fellow citizens in their own country. . . . They may even look insane in the eyes of nations that remain ignorant about the rights of freedom. It is unbelievable that human love and morality can be so sincere!”<sup>28</sup> While Yun was not devoid of his own racial prejudices against black Americans, he was fiercely attentive to the mythic qualities of American liberalism,

and how whites determined eligibility for rights in practice.<sup>29</sup> His diaries capture firsthand the insincerity that marked many white Americans' commitment to the uplift of nonwhite racial groups, and how Jim Crow policies—to the indifference of most whites nationally—had eroded the “rights of freedom” that “love and morality” had allegedly won.

As vivid and insightful interpretations of how Asians factored into American race relations, Yun's diary entries are most akin to the semi-autobiographical novels of Younghill Kang, in particular his 1937 book *East Goes West*.<sup>30</sup> Set in the 1920s, the novel traces the journeys of Chungpa Han, Kang's narrator and fictionalized version of himself, as he moves about the northeastern United States and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, taking on odd jobs to fund his studies. Chungpa comes from a yangban family and is a classically trained calligrapher and literary scholar, whose Western education at the hands of missionaries in Korea makes him equally adept at quoting Shakespeare as he is the famed Chinese poets. His arrival in the United States, shortly before the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, generates discord between Chungpa's educated, elite status and his poverty as an exile abroad, where he is without money or prospects—circumstances that Yun, who was constantly scrounging for money as an international student despite his father's wealth, knew all too well.

One of the most striking similarities between *East Goes West* and Yun's diary accounts is the way that the respective narrators come to terms with the inconsistent agendas that whites have for them. At the beginning of *East Goes West*, Chungpa calls on the Harlem YMCA to apply for a vacant position, only to learn that the white director there refuses to hire “a Negro or an Oriental . . . precisely because his branch *was* up in Harlem” (20), and a white missionary is considered to be the only appropriate assimilative role model for the racial work at hand.<sup>31</sup> As Chungpa will learn, the deployment of his Korean (or Asian) identity must be done strategically. At the Korean Institute in Chelsea, George Jum—Chungpa's bohemian friend—mocks the highly educated Reverend J. P. Ok for having one speech on the “Book of Books,” which he endlessly repeats to white audiences in his attempts to solicit funds (52). Yun could commiserate; in his diaries he expressed frustration at the unspoken rule that he would address Korea's spiritual needs only when speaking to white congregations.

Chungpa's struggles with who possesses the power to define acceptable racial behavior comes to a head when he meets Wagstaff, a black classmate who is training for a degree in law, but has been relegated in order to pay for his studies to the position of elevator man, a job that reinforces his servile status even as he tries to escape it through education and "self-improvement." Confiding to Chungpa, Wagstaff confesses that even worse than the cruelty he regularly experiences at the hands of white antagonists—something that Chungpa witnesses in person when the two men are denied service at a Boston diner—were the moral and intellectual arguments that whites peddled in justifying his treatment. Lashing out at these hypocrisies, Wagstaff states that he wishes whites could "[c]onfess honestly that right isn't might, but might is right, always since the world began. That's the perspective that only a Negro gets" (298). Despite Wagstaff's insistence that "might is right" is "a perspective that only the Negro gets," by relaying this very point to a Korean confidant he gestures to the possibility of a mutual understanding between nonwhite subjects that is rooted in the shared experience of navigating impossible to meet and forever shifting standards of "racial progress."

The appearance of the phrase "might is right" in *East Goes West* also provides a direct link to Yun's own philosophical inquiries into the basis of racial exclusion and extermination, and his inability to take American and Christian liberalism—and the political and religious forms of individual salvation that they preached—at face value. "Might is right," or "might makes right," was commonly employed by late nineteenth-century authors to explain how social Darwinism and Herbert Spencer's concept of the "survival of the fittest" applied to nations and "races" competition for land, resources, and political sovereignty. The catchphrase appeared frequently in texts challenging whether there needed to be a moral philosophy of governance.<sup>32</sup> In Yun's course at Emory on physical geography, for instance, a week in November 1891 was dedicated to lectures on "the characteristics of races and their distributions," and Europeans and Americans' displacement and violent conquest of the continent's indigenous populations. Yun noted, "In speaking about the Indians, Professor Bradley said that it is sad to see them step by step driven out of their possessions," but added that "their race being run, their race is to be justly extinguished to make

room for a superior people.” Reluctantly, Yun concluded, “For a nation no crime is greater than weakness; and among nations might is right.”<sup>33</sup> Yun struggled with this lesson’s potentially contradictory meaning for someone in his position, who in other contexts was simultaneously being taught to believe that the embrace of Christianity would help Korea achieve equal standing as an independent nation.

Chungpa, in contrast to many of his Korean peers living in the United States, eschews what he describes as the “narrow nationalism” of Korean diasporic politics in favor of asserting his identity as a “rebellious individualist” (73). Ensnared by Korean and missionary politics throughout his adult life, Yun’s ability to claim individual autonomy over his identity was far more constricted, since too much weighed on his performances, and the audiences for his actions were too invested. However, this did not stop Yun from trying to fashion in his diaries a character—at times quite unlike the subject who existed in public—whose commentaries on race, romance, and social equality were uncensored. Reading Yun’s diaries with a critical eye to the literary construction of self that takes place in them provides an opportunity to devote close scrutiny to the complications that surrounded his assigned racial performances, and his individualistic attempts to rewrite how he conceived of his role and his audiences.

### **PERSONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL AFFILIATIONS IN THE “NEW SOUTH”**

When he first arrived in the United States, Yun was actually shocked by the disjuncture between the spiteful racist acts and statements that he witnessed among white individuals, and the collective identification of the nation as Christian. As Ann Laura Stoler argues, cross-cultural intimacies, whether sexual or sentimental, challenged imperial social orders by transgressing the categorical distinctions that governed the unequal distribution of resources, rights, and social privileges to groups defined and segregated by racial difference.<sup>34</sup> Yet Yun’s personal history demonstrates that intimate encounters could also reveal the inescapable primacy of racial divisions, even during moments when classificatory systems, and what they allowed or did not allow to individual subjects, seemed unstable.

Though the practice was rarely noted, Emory and other southern universities and colleges were willing to strategically admit and train Asian

students in integrated settings long before they enrolled black students, and on a voluntary rather than a legally compelled basis. Yun's observations help to refocus an understanding of how "new South" colleges engaged in race work following the end of the slavery.<sup>35</sup> Rather than viewing the nineteenth-century American South as an economically and culturally isolated hinterland, recent scholarship has emphasized instead the region's integration into global networks of intellectual, political, and cultural exchange, especially around issues relating to race and labor.<sup>36</sup> Paradoxically, it was Yun's legal status as an Asian barred from naturalizing that granted him exemptions to the policies of Jim Crow, and in turn allowed him to produce such a nuanced and multidimensional view of southern race relations. As the legal scholar Devon Carbado argues, racial segregation in the South, upheld in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, did not formally extend to Asians in the United States because they were seen as permanent aliens and not subject to a distinctly domestic racial caste system that denoted what citizenship meant for blacks and whites respectively. There were no codified practices governing where Asian immigrants fit into the segregated South because they were seen as "unalterably different" and foreign, and therefore did not warrant this consideration.<sup>37</sup>

Yun, it should be emphasized, never expressed anything that approached outright racial solidarity with blacks. He quite consciously sought to distinguish how Koreans and others Asians possessed qualities that showed they were more advanced than members of the "African" race, and therefore required a different type of treatment. Despite this, to Yun, the black experience in the United States provided a valuable case study in how a previously degraded people, to use his evolutionary language, were adjusting to the responsibilities that followed their social elevation. While in Nashville, for instance, Yun attended a sermon delivered by J. C. Price, the president of the National Afro-American League, on "The Future of the Negro." Price's message, which emphasized that "the prejudice against the Negro is not due to the color but to the condition," greatly impressed Yun and caused him to theorize in his diary that there was no fundamental barrier to black "mental powers," but rather blacks had not yet fully evolved culturally.<sup>38</sup> Yun constantly worried that Korea lagged in developing its resources and educating its population. In this context, the

success that individuals such as Price had demonstrated in overcoming such “deficits” was inspirational.

Yun’s inquiries into the topic of racial improvement led him toward the more practical question of whether blacks in the United States, and, in comparison, independent Koreans, would be allowed to develop the capacities and attributes of their race unmolested by those who possessed power. He was dismayed by the ferocity with which white privilege was defended, and the absolute manner in which it was invoked. One of Yun’s earliest diary entries from his time in the United States reflected on Jordan, a white classmate at Vanderbilt, who stated that his parents would “disinherit” him if he chose to teach in a black school after finishing his coursework. Another Vanderbilt classmate told Yun that “he would sooner pull down his church than to admit a colored member to the congregation.”<sup>39</sup> When a white Emory student was caught in bed in nearby Covington with a black woman, Yun wrote that “I don’t think he is any worse than many other dandies whose immaculate shirts and patent leather shoes make them *look* like gentlemen while their corruption out-heathens a heathen.”<sup>40</sup> During a trip to Fayetteville, North Carolina, in July 1893, Yun expressed disgust at the removal of the black postmaster in favor of a white replacement, even though the white residents of the town openly acknowledged that the dismissed employee had done the job well.<sup>41</sup>

In aggregate, these observations troubled Yun’s desire to make race into a type of social science. By this logic, certain interventions could lead to the improvement of racial groups whose retarded development, whether as a result of outright oppression or failed initiative, had left them behind. As Yun became more engaged with the topic, however, he realized that the barriers to racial “uplift” had little to do with establishing the right forms of tutelage.

### **GEORGE BELL: REFLECTIONS OF SELF**

The arrival of George Bell, a Chinese international student who came to Emory in 1891 from the Anglo-Chinese College, forced Yun to contend with the terms of his own racial inclusion more directly, and in less abstract ways.<sup>42</sup> Whereas Yun constantly fretted about how his actions and behavior might be interpreted racially by his white peers, Bell appears to have been



Figure 1. Bell is wearing a Confederate Army cap and jacket, a style that was fashionable among white Southern students. Yun criticized Bell for trying to imitate the trends that were popular among their white classmates, on the grounds that such behavior was frivolous and unbecoming of a missionary student. George H. Bell, 1895, Young John Allen papers, MARBL, Emory University.

less self-conscious about what his actions signified. Like Yun, Bell seems to have readily understood the symbolic role that he was called upon to play in order to bolster support for missionary work in Asia. Unlike Yun, Bell narrated his performances with a strong dose of theatricality. In a letter to Allen, for example, Bell claimed the speech he had given at a YMCA prayer meeting in Oxford on the need for more missionaries in China was so heartfelt that it had moved the audience to tears of religious fervor—a powerful image—but one at odds with the typically staid culture of the MECS at the end of the century, far removed from its days of tent revivals.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 2. Yun Ch'i-ho, dressed in a Western suit, posing for his senior class photo. When speaking before white MECS churches, Yun typically wore what he called his Korean outfit, so as to better communicate Asians' cultural difference and need for modernizing influences. T.H. Yun, 1893 Senior Class, Class and Faculty Photos, 1860–1911, MARBL, Emory University.

Yun's favored status with Allen and Candler does appear to have made Bell envious of the esteem that the MECS leadership held Yun in, and he aimed to bring his peer down a peg. For instance, Yun complained in his diary that Bell had been spreading rumors "that I was as dark skinned as he before I came to America!" Rather than brushing off the comment, Yun retorted, "Fair complexioned I do not claim to be. But if what he says be true I must have been very dark indeed!"<sup>44</sup>

While white Americans contributed to Yun's racial anxiety, Bell's confrontations with whites occasionally resulted in violence. In February

1893, when Bell tried to enter the Phi Gamma Hall to attend a meeting of the debate society, he was called a “dirty Chinaman” and attacked by a student named Oglesby.<sup>45</sup> In another incident, Bell got into a dispute with a white student named Zed, who thought that he had heard “Uncle Zick,” a black hired laborer, make “saucy remarks” to the white boarding house keeper, Ellen Berry, and threatened to beat Zick, “an old nigger though he be.” (According to Yun—who was present at both these fights, but did not come to Bell’s defense in either—Zick’s banter was actually intended for the house’s black cook.) When Bell intervened and scolded Zed for his “unchristian” threat against an old man, Zed told Bell, “anybody who would take side with a nigger insulting a lady was no better than the old nigger.” Bell responded by telling Zed that since he had attacked a man who was innocent, he was “no better than an old nigger too,” which led to a brief physical scuffle.<sup>46</sup> Bell and Zed’s verbal altercation, which centered on their attempts to label the other a “nigger” as proxy for the greater honor of their position in the dispute, obviously fascinated Yun, who was able to recall the clash with minute detail.

Bell existed as a foil for Yun in his attempts to articulate his own racial pride in private, and in his efforts to assert a dignity of self that he hoped would be taken for the promise of Korea as a nation. Yun felt that Bell ought to be ashamed of his obsequious ways with their white classmates, and contrasted Bell’s excessive familiarity against his reserved decorum. Yun noted satisfactorily that a white classmate had commented to him that “Bell goes after girls too much.” Unlike Bell, Yun boasted—wishly, as other diary entries indicate—he was “too proud to court the friendship of anybody, male and female, rich or poor, white or black, who may be ashamed of mine.”<sup>47</sup> At the same time, Bell was also insufficiently upset by statements concerning the collective inferiority of Asians. After a lecture at Emory by D. L. Anderson, a missionary stationed in China, Yun expressed disgust at the fact that “Dr. Anderson’s insulting remarks on China seem to have no effect on Bell.” Anderson had compared the Chinese and Japanese subjects whom he had ministered to abroad to African Americans, which had prompted Yun to fake an illness in order to boycott attendance at that evening’s dinner.<sup>48</sup>

Yun was perhaps most upset over an incident involving Bell that took place at a party hosted by the Callaway family. Morgan Callaway was a

professor of English at Emory and his wife headed Oxford's Methodist Women's Missionary Society. At the party, Yun described how Bell had been enlisted as part of the "entertainment":

Bell dressed as an Indian chief and [was] begging for nickels and dimes. True, this was done for the benefit of the Missionary Society to whom the proceeds of the night were to go to; but Bell—in Indian dress—talking about poverty and about selling the dress—begging and singing for dimes—all this offended my taste, and shocked my sensibility. Nobody else seemed to enjoy this part of the program. The wonder is not that Mrs. Callaway should have asked Bell to take this part; not that Bell should have consented to it, being ignorant of such things; but that he seemed, nay, actually did enjoy this disgraceful performance.<sup>49</sup>

It is not clear how much of Yun's resentment was directed at Bell's redface performance, and Bell's caricature of Indian behavior, or whether his anger was directed at what this act suggested by association. Subconsciously, Yun may have seen in Bell's "disgraceful performance" an unflattering reflection of the performances that he had consented to while traveling the Methodist circuit and soliciting funds for missionary work in Korea. Yun lamented the fact that Korea was the only topic he was expected to address in his guest sermons. He was critical of having to wear traditional Korean outfits during his talks, despite the fact that while living in Japan nearly a decade earlier Yun had removed his *sangtu* or "topknot" and in Shanghai had begun wearing Western suits. Perhaps Yun was angered by what he took to be Bell's eagerness when asked to perform by the Callaways, in sharp contrast to his own agonizing over the significance of the duties assigned to him.

In his more confident moments, Yun confronted his personal anxieties about race and status by constructing an identity for himself in which his Christian piety exceeded that of his white counterparts. In these diary passages, his commitment to spreading the faith was superior because he was unhindered by white snobbery and bigotry. In February 1892, for instance, Yun wrote that he had overcome his sense of shame and would visit the Chinese laundrymen of Atlanta, but that his motive for doing so would be to "associate with them for their good." This statement was coupled with a critique of local white Methodists who belonged to the "high steepled churches" of Atlanta, and felt that this type of missionary work was beneath them.<sup>50</sup> On another occasion, Yun spent the better part

of a day at the Newton County poor farm, outside of Oxford, interviewing two former slaves and listening to “stories of hardship” that “sounded like ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin’ repeated.”<sup>51</sup> Yun’s passion for what he understood as fieldwork, seen also in his visits to black churches, reveals both his inclination to pursue social spaces where he might escape white scrutiny of his status and his aim to outdo white Christians in their devotion.

### **ROMANCE ACROSS THE COLOR LINE**

At first glance, Yun’s statement in his diary on October 7, 1893, that “[b]eautiful women are to me a greater attraction of America than almost anything else,” seems anomalous among more political and theological reflections.<sup>52</sup> Yet his romantic yearnings and liaisons, perhaps more than any other social behavior that Yun engaged in, were race-making situations, which delineated the boundaries that he had to conform to and the expectations that he had to meet. Yun interpreted white, Anglo-Saxon American women as the national products of Christian domesticity, a racial interpretation of their sexuality and femininity that was especially prevalent among white southerners. He contrasted what he felt were the more enlightened attitudes that Americans had about the role of women in missionary work and in public life, to the primitive social lives of Korean women, although he drew the line at supporting women’s suffrage.<sup>53</sup> White women occupied an exalted place in his racial hierarchy of beauty. “A white child with blue eyes, golden ringlets, and rosy cheeks irresistibly suggests the idea of an angel,” Yun asserted, while “it goes beyond the utmost stretch of my fancy to imagine an angel out of a negro child or a negress.”<sup>54</sup>

In his diaries, Yun demonstrated that he was most emotionally vulnerable when warned by those who claimed to view him as an equal not to court white women. In the turn of the century United States, interracial romances between Asian men and white women were not uncommon, and the popular response among white Americans to such relationships ranged from fascination to violent condemnation. In 1883 in Waynesboro, Georgia, a town outside of Augusta, a white gang ransacked and looted the dry goods store of Willie Loo Chang, a Chinese merchant who had married a local white woman, and forced him to abandon his property.<sup>55</sup> White missionary women who worked closely with Asian men were often

portrayed as the naïve and vulnerable targets of “students” who feigned an interest in the teachings of Christianity in order to seduce them.<sup>56</sup>

The one courtship that Yun formally pursued in the United States was with “Miss Tommie.” Tommie was the sister of Ellen Berry, who ran the boarding house where Yun roomed while at Emory. He described being “enslaved” to Tommie, and, in the early days of their relationship, fretted over whether the attraction was mutual. It is “sheerest folly to enthral [*sic*] myself to a passion that can never be satisfied,” Yun wrote, “or to subject myself to anybody who may by a word or an act plunge me into the hell of wounded pride and rejected love.” Read in the context of earlier encounters that he had with white women at MECS-sponsored events, Yun was perhaps nervous that Tommie was interested in him only as an object of curiosity. Along with his concerns about the integrity of her romantic interest, Yun was also anxious over the “impassable gulf from our racial differences.” “If I were to live in this country, I think I could marry her,” he noted. “But I cannot afford, for her sake and mine, to take her to a place like Corea.”<sup>57</sup> He expressed concern that a white wife would ostracize him from the Korean ruling class, which he still hoped would accept him and his reform initiatives, and that Tommie would be ill equipped to adjust to the less civilized life he felt characterized Korea.

Ultimately, Tommie and Yun’s relationship did not endure. Nettie Candler, the wife of Warren, Emory’s president, made it clear that she felt Tommie and her sister Ellen belonged to a lower social class and that the romance was an unneeded distraction from Yun’s missionary training, a view he eventually accepted. Nettie Candler was an important woman in Oxford and the MECS who frequently hosted Yun at the family’s dinners. She closely monitored Yun’s activities, and understood what the church had invested in his symbolic presence. When Ellen was ill and let Yun and her other Emory boarders visit while she was convalescing in her bedroom, Nettie commented that “she is so common that she does not know any better,” adding that “I do not think you can learn much of the home life of our civilization in her house.”<sup>58</sup> On another occasion, Yun observed that at a town picnic in Oxford, it was evident that the Candlers and other prominent MECS families shunned the Berrys socially.<sup>59</sup> Earlier in his time at Emory, before his relationship with Tommie, Yun wrote about being humiliated when Nettie made an offhand remark that he had no business

pursuing a white “sweet-heart” after Yun innocently admitted that he had enjoyed chatting with the female delegates at a YMCA convention. As Yun noted in his diary, “To my torturingly sensitive soul—ever uneasy as sitting on a needle cushion—her words sounded something like this: ‘Even if you had stayed long, who would have you for a sweet-heart—*you* a Korean!’”<sup>60</sup>

The good graces with which Nettie usually received Yun as a guest at the family’s dinners and as a companion on her evening walks were contingent on the propriety with which he conducted himself as a missionary student. When his courtship of Tommie fizzled, rather than confront his deference to Nettie Candler’s racial attitudes—and his own fears about the risks that an interracial marriage might pose to his envisioned career—Yun instead feigned disinterest. On September 13, 1893, his last day in Oxford, Yun wrote in his diary, offhandedly and perhaps disingenuously, that, as for Tommie, “I was surprised at my own indifference to the girl. I couldn’t possibly persuade myself to love her.”<sup>61</sup> By asserting his “indifference” Yun may have been trying to salvage the belief that he had called off the romance on his own accord, rather than yielding to the racial expectations imposed on him.

### AMERICA IN KOREA

In Korea, white American missionaries continued to structure the daily rhythms of Yun’s social and professional life. Their institutional efforts continued to define Yun’s inclusive position in relationship to the West, as the person responsible for overseeing various MECS endeavors in his native country. While living in Shanghai in 1894 and teaching at the Anglo-Chinese College, before Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War enabled his return to Korea, Yun visited the American consulate there to inquire about naturalizing as a U.S. citizen. Yun did not offer a motive for this move, but it was likely a reaction to his exile and statelessness, which at that point was entering its second decade. Nonetheless, he was told this was not possible, and his diaries include no further mention of pursuing this.<sup>62</sup> Yun continued to articulate feelings of exclusion that emerged from the intimate interactions that missionary work generated. Guiltily stating that he ought to feel “grateful” to the United States, Yun noted instead that his familiarity made it “harder to digest, the pills of American arrogance.”<sup>63</sup>

Both an observer of and a participant in Korean and American exchanges in Korea, Yun produced commentaries on etiquette, social rituals, and questions of loyalty that challenged the allegiances that had informed the construction of his professional and social identity.

Following his return to Korea in 1895, Yun would hold a variety of government offices before being forced to vacate his position as acting minister of foreign affairs in 1905, when Japan assumed control over Korea as a protectorate. In his diary, although Yun blamed Koreans for failing to have evolved morally, economically, and politically to the point where the nation would have been able to stave off foreign control, he also felt betrayed by the United States—and, more immediately, his American brethren—for their acquiescence to Japanese imperial rule in Korea, an interpretation of events that would later be confirmed by the unveiling of the secret Taft-Katsura Agreement.<sup>64</sup> Relieved of his government post, Yun turned full-time to missionary work, his anger at American political inaction notwithstanding. In October 1906, the MECS-affiliated Anglo-Korean School opened in Songdo, the traditional name used by Yun and his contemporaries for Kaesŏng. Yun, after much prodding from Candler, agreed to serve as the first principal.<sup>65</sup>

The MECS tried to organize the school in Songdo around the same principles of industrial and vocational schooling that white southerners promoted—if willing to provide support at all—as the most appropriate type of training for blacks. At the start, Yun accepted the MECS view that Koreans, like black Americans, allegedly had no use for a more liberal education.<sup>66</sup> During the Anglo-Korean School's early days, Candler sent Yun a sampling of cotton seeds culled from the Georgia countryside surrounding Emory. By 1913, under the direction of an MECS missionary who had previously managed cotton mills in North Carolina, the school introduced nine power looms and began selling textiles, milled with student labor, at a profit.<sup>67</sup> Traveling through Alabama on his way to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland, which he attended in 1910, Yun visited Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, which the MECS leadership had encouraged him to do.<sup>68</sup> What stuck with him from the trip, however, was an interaction that he had with a white Methodist elder, who, as he recalled in his diary in 1919, told him nonchalantly that "Negroes will someday have to be exterminated." That same day a white

missionary returning from Africa had organized a public lecture on the importance of the MECS's work there. "What a strange beast man is!" Yun exclaimed. "To send missionaries to preach the Gospel of Love to the Negroes in Africa; yet to hate the Negroes in their midst so much as to wish to exterminate them!"<sup>69</sup>

As much as Yun's befuddlement was aimed at the conflicting intentions that white Americans had for the "Negro" race, at home and abroad, the comparative question that such comments inevitably raised was whether the white missionaries working in Korea could transcend the racist, chauvinistic culture that they came from. Along these lines, Yun's support for the Anglo-Korean school dissipated with time. In July 1918, for instance, he would vent frustration at how the white missionaries ran the school at Songdo with "too much interference and rude treatment," and refused to grant Korean missionaries greater autonomy in its operation. Even as many Korean missionary students turned their attention to the Wilsonian promise of national self-determination that accompanied the end of the First World War, and appealed to the United States as the new global power that would force Japan to recognize Korea's independence and sovereignty, Yun remained fixated on the more intimate conflicts that revolved around race within the Korean missionary community. "There will be a great revolt some day in near future on the part of the Koreans," he promised, "unless the missionaries change their attitude."<sup>70</sup>

There is a gap in Yun's diaries that overlaps with his arrest and imprisonment by Japanese agents on February 9, 1912, on the specious charges that he had aided a plot to assassinate Terauchi Masatake, the Japanese governor-general of Korea, by allowing a group of Korean missionary students to use a house he owned to meet and conspire. During the Korean Conspiracy Case, as it became known, the degree of loyalty that informed the professional and social alliances he had cultivated was called into sharp relief, although the absence of diaries requires speculation on what he felt specifically. After a lengthy series of trials and appeals through the Japanese colonial judicial system in Korea, Yun was convicted as one of only six alleged plotters out of 105 originally arrested. The majority of charges were dropped in response to Western uproar over the Japanese police's use of torture in eliciting "confessions" from interrogations with those arrested. Yun was likely targeted for special punishment due to his

role as a former leader of the Independence Club, which he led after Philip Jaisohn was forced to return to the United States in 1898, and for his more recent refusal to take an office as a member of the Japanese colonial government in Korea.<sup>71</sup>

American and European missionaries in Korea reacted to the crack-down on missionary students advocating independence with a variety of emotions and tactical responses, although the official stance of the Protestant churches operating there ultimately emphasized pragmatism. Convened in New York City, representatives of the different Protestant denominations working in Korea issued a report that urged the Japanese government to pursue a more benevolent approach toward its Korean subjects, while explicitly acknowledging Japan's right to exercise sovereignty over its colony.<sup>72</sup> Western missionaries took seriously Japanese threats to expel or defund their churches for their alleged role in inciting Korean resistance to Japanese rule.<sup>73</sup> Although Candler mobilized the MECS behind the scenes to try to secure Yun's release—one of his classmates from Emory, Senator Nathan P. Bryan, a Florida Democrat, met with the Japanese ambassador in Washington—these efforts were unsuccessful.<sup>74</sup>

Yun returned to keeping a diary on January 1, 1916, after his sentence was commuted in February 1915. He does not write about the horrors of his torture and jailing and how these experiences, which resulted in part from the ways that American missionary work and Korean independence had become imbricated, affected him. There is a cryptic entry on January 25, 1916, referring to how the Japanese chief justice of the Supreme Court in Korea, "the nothing" Noboru Watanabe, had failed to send Yun a card wishing him a happy New Year, which was customary among Christians living in Korea, followed by Yun's note, "No pleasing and tortioners!" Watanabe's complicated role in Yun's life was emblematic of how Americans had incorporated Japanese Christians into their mission in Korea, in order to be able to continue to evangelize and operate schools without appearing oppositional. Watanabe was both the judge who had denied the last of Yun's appeals, upholding his conviction—a complicit "tortioner" in Yun's estimation?—but also the former president of the Seoul YMCA. In April 1916, Watanabe attended the ceremony marking Yun's confirmation as the general secretary of the Korean YMCA, along with a group of non-

Christian Japanese officials. Drily, Yun observed their presence signaled the YMCA's move toward "a pro-Japanese policy."<sup>75</sup>

When Korean independence activists organized as part of the Samil Undong (the March First Movement) in March 1919, in order to capture the attention of the nations gathered at the Paris Peace Conference, Yun refused to take part. He chastised the participants as dangerously quixotic for thinking that they could challenge Japanese colonial rule, even though he empathized with their pursuit of patriotic martyrdom.<sup>76</sup> In Yun's case, the generational divide had a sharp, personal resonance. His son (Allen) Yun Young-sun, who was studying agriculture at Ohio State University, was one of the three founders of the revitalized Korean Student Federation of North America.<sup>77</sup> By the 1920s, as historian Mark Caprio notes, "Yun often challenged Japan to accept a role as Korea's mentor" in order to facilitate a gradual transition toward Korean independence, and, in the 1930s, he publicly promoted the participation of Koreans in the colonial settlement of Manchuria, and for the need of Koreans to accept Japanese political authority as well as its culture and language.<sup>78</sup> After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Yun prayed—presumably in Methodist fashion—that Japan "may succeed in not only puncturing the balloon of Anglo-Saxon racial prejudices and injustice and arrogance but in tearing that balloon to shreds."<sup>79</sup>

### RECOVERING A CRITICAL VOICE

When I began research on this project as a postdoctoral fellow at Emory University in 2009, I found that the institutional memory of Yun, when present at all, celebrated his enrollment as an early example of how an international student had thrived and contributed to the school's multiculturalism and global reach, even in its early years. What I heard most often about Yun was that he wrote South Korea's national anthem. The lyrics to *Aegukga*, used in both North Korea's and South Korea's national anthems, come from a poem that Yun apparently wrote and publicly recited in 1896 at the dedication of Seoul's Independence Gate, commemorating Korean independence from China. This is an accomplishment that safely portrays him as a proud Korean patriot whose character Emory helped to build alongside that of its own white native sons. Like many things involv-

ing Yun, the truth is more ambiguous. In 1971 Yun's son petitioned the South Korean government to recognize his father's authorship, but was refused, due to the state's view that Yun was a collaborator with Japanese colonial rule.<sup>80</sup>

Yun's naturalization as an honored alumnus is problematic not just because this move evades the more complicated and wrenching realities of his social experiences in the American South, but also because it constitutes yet another form of symbolism imposed on him. Yun's historic legacy should not be narrated in such a way where his character, in contrast to the more nuanced identity he constructed in his diaries, is required to perform a racialized and political role within a larger myth-making process. In the present, the power dynamics behind why certain international students are recruited, and for what purposes, remain largely obscured. If nothing else, Yun's personal narratives offer a unique set of resources that are ready-made for educational use, in that many of the episodes he recounts in his diary entries are set in college classrooms, residential spaces, and lecture halls, and show how a Korean student confronted, struggled with, and strived to reshape the expectations that were attached to his education.

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## Notes

1. Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 291–335.
2. Yun Ch'i-ho, *Yun Ch'ihŏ ilgi* (Seoul, Korea: National History Compilation Committee, 1974), November 26 and December 3, 1892, 2:424–29 (hereafter cited as Yun, *Diary*). The National History Compilation Committee, which plays a role in South Korea similar to that of the National Archives in the United States, published Yun's diary in eleven volumes, from 1970 to 1989. When writing in English, Yun anglicized his name as T. H. Yun. In this article, I have used the McCune-Reischauer romanization system when referring to Korean words and names.
3. Yun, *Diary*, June 12, 1893, 3:95–96.
4. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1890, 2:52.
5. Yun to Young John Allen, April 1, 1890, in *Letters in Exile: The Life and Times of Yun Ch'i-ho*, ed. Hyung-chan Kim (Oxford, Ga.: Oxford Historical Shrine Society, 1983), 97.
6. Yun, *Diary*, February 14, 1890, 2:18–19.
7. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1893, 3:95–96.
8. Yun's father, despite his rank, was considered an illegitimate child due to his mother's status as a concubine. This in turn limited the offices that Yun could hold, at least before 1895.
9. Warren Candler, *Young John Allen: "The Man Who Seeded China"* (Nashville, Tenn.: Cokesbury Press, 1931). In 1845, white Methodists in the United States split into southern and northern factions over the issue of slavery, and remained separate until 1939.
10. For an overview of the courses Yun took while in the United States, focusing on his course of studies and his theological education, see Hyung-Chan Kim, "Yun Ch'i-ho in America: The Training of a Korean Patriot in the South, 1883–1893," *Korea Journal* 18 (June 1978): 15–24. Emory College was founded in Oxford, Georgia, in 1836, and relocated to Atlanta as Emory University in 1914.
11. Henry Em, *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013), 63. In addition to Korean and English, Yun spoke Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Russian, and French.
12. Warren A. Candler, *T. H. Yun, of Korea, and the School at Songdo* (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1907), 9.
13. On Yun's and other Korean reformers' attraction to Christianity as a tool for Korean nation building, see Kenneth M. Wells, "Yun Ch'i-ho and the Quest for National Integrity: The Formation of a Christian Approach to Korean Nationalism at the End of the Choson Dynasty," *Korea Journal* 22, no. 1 (1982): 42–59; see also Chung Shin-Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 117–38 and Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896–1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991).

14. Young John Allen to Warren Candler, June 3, 1895, Warren A. Candler Papers, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University (hereafter cited as MARBL, Emory).
15. Yun, *Diary*, November 8, 1892, 2:407. Warren's influence was also derived from the stature of his brother, Asa Griggs Candler, the founder of the Coca-Cola Company.
16. Candler, "The Man of Corea Calls Us," *Christian Advocate*, May 23, 1895.
17. Yun, *Diary*, February 6, 1890, 2:15. On the racial ideology of liberal Christians, see Derek Chang, *Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Jennifer Snow, *Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants, and Ideologies of Race in America, 1850–1924* (New York: Routledge, 2007); and, for more secular liberal attitudes about race, Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
18. According to Kenneth Pomeranz, social histories of empire are especially valuable when they assess how imperialism modified cultural behavior, outside of formal laws. Pomeranz, "Social History and World History: From Daily Life to Patterns of Change," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (March 2007): 87.
19. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.
20. See Paul Kramer, "Empire Against Exclusion in Early 20th Century Trans-Pacific History," *Nanzan Review of American Studies* 33 (2011): 13–32, and "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33 (November 2009): 775–806. I am also grateful to Madeline Hsu for sharing her work in progress on this topic.
21. Richard S. Kim, *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15. Jaisohn and Yun would work together in the late 1890s as leaders of the Tongnip Hyeophoe (the Independence Club) and as editors of its bilingual newspaper, *Tongnip Sinmun* (the Independent).
22. Kim, *Quest for Statehood*, 6.
23. Under the Chosŏn dynasty, established in 1392, Korea was a tributary state of China. Japan's defeat of China in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 resulted in the end of China's suzerainty over Korea. On Korea's sovereign status and competing Chinese, Japanese, and Russian interests, see Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) and Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
24. Yun, *Diary*, December 3, 1891, 2:242–43. A sense of a shared mission with Neesima was further solidified when Allen sent him a biography of the missionary's life in December 1891. Although Yun does not mention the title of

- the biography by name, in all likelihood it was Jerome Dean Davis's *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Hardy Neesima*, which was published in Shanghai in 1890. Chinese and Japanese migrants received similar advice on how they could use their experiences to benefit the nations that had sent them abroad. See Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 17–34, and K. Scott Wong, "The Transformation of Culture: Three Chinese Views of America," *American Quarterly* 48 (June 1996): 201–32.
25. Em, *Great Enterprise*, 53–84.
  26. Yun, *Diary*, April 18, 1892, 2:309.
  27. Kim, *Quest for Statehood*, 11–2.
  28. Syngman Rhee, *The Spirit of Independence: A Primer of Korean Modernization and Reform*, trans. Han Kyo-Kim (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 106. Rhee wrote the book in 1904, while he was imprisoned, but it did not appear in print until 1910.
  29. On Rhee's and Yun's shared disdain for Korean commoners, see Em, *Great Enterprise*, 72–74.
  30. For close readings of *East Goes West* that examine more deeply the meanings behind Chungpa's racial naturalization and interracial encounters, respectively, see Stephen Knadler, "Unacquiring Negrophobia: Younghill Kang and the Cosmopolitan Resistance to the Black and White Logic of Naturalization," *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 4, no. 3 (2000), and Julia Lee, *Interracial Encounters: Reciprocal Representations in African and Asian American Literatures, 1896–1937* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 138–68.
  31. Younghill Kang, *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937). Further citations to this source appear in parentheses in text.
  32. Vladimir Tikhonov emphasizes how Yun's embrace of social Darwinism was derived from Japanese, British, and American influences, befitting the globalization of this ideology. Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea: The Beginnings (1880s–1910s): "Survival" as an Ideology of Korean Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 21–56. See also Dong-hyun Huh, "Forms of Acceptance of Social Darwinism by the Korean Progressives of the 1880–1890s: On the Materials of Yu Giljun and Yun Ch'ih'o," *International Journal of Korean History* 2 (December 2001): 41–63.
  33. Yun, *Diary*, November 27, 1891, 2:238–39.
  34. See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), and Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005). See also Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Stoler (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 23–70.

35. On the idea of the “New South,” where white supremacy would be maintained through paternalism and not violence, see Paul M. Gaston, *New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Knopf, 1970).
36. See, for example, Erin Clune, “From Light Copper to the Blackest and Lowest Type: Daniel Tompkins and the Racial Order of the Global New South,” *Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 2 (2010): 275–314; Matthew Guterl, *American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008); Moon Ho-Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); and Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).
37. Devon Carbado, “Racial Naturalization,” *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 648. On the confusion that surrounded how to treat Asians in the South, see also Leslie Bow, “Racial Interstitiality and the Anxieties of the ‘Partly Covered’: Representations of Asians under Jim Crow,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 10, no. 1 (2007): 1–30.
38. Yun, *Diary*, January 16, 1891, 2:145. On racial uplift as a discourse embraced by the black elite, see Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
39. Yun, *Diary*, 9th (17th) [1889], n.p.
40. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1892, 2:307.
41. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1893, 3:115.
42. Biographical information on Bell, also referred to as Tsoong Kia Tsing, is limited. Bell entered the Anglo-Chinese College in 1884, and was the grandson of Wong Pin San, the first Chinese Baptist preacher in Shanghai. In the spring of 1891, prior to leaving for the United States, Bell converted to Methodism. Bell to the “Members of the Shanghai Baptist Church,” March 14, 1891 and Bell to Allen, April 3, 1891, Young John Allen Papers, MARBL, Emory. See also L. S. Foster, *Fifty Years in China: An Eventful Memoir of Tarleton Perry Crawford* (Nashville, Tenn.: Bayless-Pullen, 1909), 216.
43. Bell to Allen, January 6, 1892, Young John Allen Papers, MARBL, Emory.
44. Yun, *Diary*, November 24, 1892, 2:421–22.
45. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1893, 3:30–31.
46. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1893, 3:71–72.
47. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1892, 2:310.
48. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1893, 3:3.
49. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1892, 2:272–73.
50. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1892, 2:279.
51. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1893, 3:60–61.
52. *Ibid.*, October 7, 1893, 3:181.
53. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1893, 3:80–81.
54. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1892, 2:298.

55. Bess Beatty, "The Loo Chang Case in Waynesboro: A Case Study of Sinophobia in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67 (Spring 1983): 35–48.
56. Mary Ting Yi Lui, *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 111–42. See also Henry Yu, "Mixing Bodies and Cultures: The Meaning of America's Fascination with Sex between 'Orientals' and Whites," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 444–63.
57. Yun, *Diary*, May 2 and 3, 1893, 3:68–70.
58. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1892, 2:417.
59. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1893, 3:82.
60. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1892, 2:296.
61. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1893, 3:166.
62. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1894, 3:301.
63. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1903, 6:4–6.
64. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1906, 6:231–32.
65. For an overview of the history of the Songdo school, see Yun, "Thirty Years Ago," in *Southern Methodism in Korea: Thirtieth Anniversary*, ed. J. S. Ryang (Seoul: Board of Missions, Korea Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, [1929?]), 100. Upon his father's death in 1911, Yun inherited his estate and lands, which provided him with financial independence.
66. On the MECS's controversial efforts to support black education in Candler's native state of Georgia, through its sponsorship of Paine College in Augusta, see Glenn T. Eskew, "Black Elitism and the Failure of Paternalism in Postbellum Georgia: The Case of Bishop Lucius Henry Holsey," *Journal of Southern History* 58 (November 1992): 637–66.
67. Yun to Candler, July 28, 1907, in Kim, *Letters in Exile*, 156; on the textile department at the Songdo school, see D. W. Lim, "Songdo Higher Common School," in Ryang, *Southern Methodism in Korea*, 110–11.
68. "Korean Prince Visits State," *Montgomery Advertiser*, March 22, 1910. (The reporter for the *Advertiser* mistook Yun for a member of the Korean royal family.)
69. Despite the fact that this exchange took place nine years earlier, Yun referred to this episode twice in his diary. Yun, *Diary*, July 18 and November 24, 1919, 7:344, 420.
70. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1918, 7:185–86. For a more detailed account of the role that Jim Crow racism played in dampening Yun's belief in the promise of Wilsonian democracy during this period, see Chris Suh, "What Yun Ch'i-ho Knew: Inter-imperial Politics, Jim Crow Racism, and the Impossibility of a Wilsonian World in the Year of the Paris Peace Conference" (chapter in forthcoming PhD diss., Stanford University).
71. The charges against Yun were not dropped since it was claimed that he confessed to his involvement in the plot not under torture but to strike a

- bargain in exchange for lesser punishment. See “Korean Conspiracy Trial: Full Reports of the Proceedings, from Japan, Chronicle, 1912—1913,” MRL 8: Korea Conspiracy Case, box 2, folder 4, Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries) at Union Theological Seminary, New York.
72. See “Korean Conspiracy Case by Arthur Judson Brown, New York, 1912; Situation in Korea, Printed Report, 1912,” MRL 8: Korea Conspiracy Case, box 2, folder 3. On missionaries’ interactions with the Japanese government, see also Akifumi Nagata, “American Missionaries in Korea and U.S.-Japan Relations 1910–1920,” *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 16 (November 2005): 159–79; and Wi Jo Kang, “Relations between the Japanese Colonial Government and the American Missionary Community in Korea, 1905–1945,” in *Korean-American Relations, 1866–1997*, ed. Yur-Bok Lee and Wayne Patterson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 53–66.
  73. The Japanese government, for instance, insisted on interviewing P. L. Gillette and J. L. Gerdine, missionaries with the YMCA in Seoul, who had sent a letter to the Board of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh describing the Japanese police’s use of torture, which was subsequently leaked to the *London Daily Times*. Gerdine and Gillette were eventually allowed to remain in Korea, but were forced to step down from their official positions. See “Interview Notes of J.L. Gerdine, P.L. Gillett [sic] and M. Komatsu, Seoul, 1913,” MRL 8: Korea Conspiracy Case, box 1, folder 7.
  74. “Georgia Senators Work to Save Graduate of Emory from Death,” *Atlanta Constitution*, May 26, 1912. (Despite the sensational headline, Yun was not charged with a capital crime.)
  75. Yun, *Diary*, January 25 and April 8, 1916, 7:5, 20.
  76. Mark Caprio, “Loyal Patriot? Traitorous Collaborator? The Yun Chiho Diaries and the Question of National Loyalty,” *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 7, no. 3 (2006): n.p. See also Hyung-Chan Kim, “Portrait of a Troubled Korean Patriot: Yun Ch’i-ho’s Views of the March First Independence Movement and World War II,” *Korean Studies* 13 (1989): 76–91.
  77. Anne Soon Choi, “‘To Determine Our Own Course’: The Wilsonian Moment, Protestant Christianity, and the Korean Students in the United States,” *Acta Koreana* 11, no. 3 (2008): 33.
  78. Caprio, “Loyal Patriot?,” para. 16. In 1940, Yun assumed the Japanese name T. H. Ito. Yun, *Diary*, June 17, 1940, 11:311.
  79. Yun, *Diary*, December 9, 1941, 11:408.
  80. Kim, “Portrait of a Troubled Korean Patriot,” 78.