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Ethics of Memory, Memorialization, and Forgetting in the context of post-colonial South Korea
-Wrestling with the contesting legacies of the beloved Protestant missionaries-

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B.A., Yonsei University, 2018

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Abstract

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This thesis makes the case for the need to cultivate fluidity in collective narrative identity as an ethical imperative for exercising memory and memorialization to initiate the process of forgiveness and reconciliation in post-colonial Korea. This thesis explores the question of how we should ethically exercise and exhibit memory in the process of reconciliation with the early Protestant missionaries who have complicated legacies in colonial Korea, by utilizing historical research and anthropological analysis on Yonsei University.

In the first chapter, I argue that although a communal narrative is a powerful moral source in developing a collective identity, memory politics renders such narratives vulnerable to abuse, by canonizing particular memories and disregarding the other narratives. By building upon Alasdair MacIntyre's narrative self and Paul Ricœur's abuse of memory, I argue that unity undergirded by memory abuse needs to be critically investigated in a post-colonial context where colonial residues are persisting culturally and structurally.

As a case study, chapter two shows how Yonsei University is constructing institutional identity by utilizing the colonial memories of the early protestant missionaries, embedded in the space, rituals, and performance of the institution. The exercising memory is not a value-neutral phenomenon, but an action that requires ethical reflection.

Chapter three features the Christian missionaries' cultural colonialism as a counter narrative. Based on the contextual analysis, I argue that the biased exercise of memory that depicts the missionaries only with a positive stroke silences memories of wrongs in the postcolonial context, since it obscures the needs for interrogating colonial residues and for reconciliation.

Finally, I draw from the Christian doctrines of sin and salvation to provide a framework to hold the complicated legacies of the missionaries, and re-orient communal pride from the once-constructed past to the process of growth. I argue that cultivating fluidity in collective self-understanding is an ethical imperative for exercising memory and moralization, in going forward with reconciliation in the context of Yonsei University. Return of suppressed counter memories will assist the once-colonized community with decolonization in the process of sanctification by liberating them from harmful ideologies originating from the colonial era.

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Introduction

> But take care and watch yourselves closely, so as neither to forget the things that your eyes have seen nor to let them slip from your mind all the days of your life; make them known to your children and your children's children— how you once stood before the LORD your God at Horeb, when the LORD said to me, "Assemble the people for me, and I will let them hear my words, so that they may learn to fear me as long as they live on the earth, and may teach their children so"; you approached and stood at the foot of the mountain while the mountain was blazing up to the very heavens, shrouded in dark clouds.
>
> Deuteronomy 4:9-11 (NRSV)

Memory impacts who we are individually and collectively; this understanding has been passed down from ancient times. Based on it, the Deuteronomist is pressing on the importance of remembrance and memorialization in Israelites' collective identity formation. They must not forget how they have experienced God at the holy mountain Horeb. Teaching is a method in preserving the memory at a collective level. To stay as God's chosen people was the primary way to maintain the sense of collective identity for the Israelites, especially when powerful nations—such as Egypt, Babylon, and Persia—constantly threatened them by invading their borders, destroying their political and cultural heritages, and taking people as hostages in the ancient near east. Preserving memory was a powerful tool for them to protect and construct their collective identity.

The Power and Pressing Issues of Memory

Ethicists and theologians have focused on the power of narrative, which is one form of remembering, for identity formation and moral development. Alasdair McIntyre argues humankind is essentially a storytelling being, and children develop their sense of identity through stories.[1] Christian theologians and pastoral care theologians have favored narrative approaches to the self in recent decades.[2] The stories that

[1] Alasdair C. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 3rd ed (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 216.

[2] Karen D. Scheib, *Pastoral Care: Telling the Stories of Our Lives* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016).

shape personhood include good memories from our childhood, folktales, stories about heroes and saints, sermons that we have listened to, and collective memories about national histories. Some of the stories provide foundations for virtue and morality. For example, by retelling and remembering the stories about Jesus, Christians develop their moral identity and motivation for doing virtuous deeds. Stanley Hauerwas delineates the ethical significance of the life of Jesus, depicted in a narrative form, as the primary moral source for acquiring virtues, identity formation, and growth.[3]

Memory, which is a powerful tool for collective moral identity formation, is not without ethical issues. Among many possible questions, I focus on two ethical challenges in this research. The first issue is about dealing with the memory of wrongs. There is a shared assumption among theologians that if victims actively remember the harm caused by wrongdoers, these memories of wrong will create another cycle of vengeance and violence. For example, Miroslav Volf argues, "Yet, if we must remember wrongdoings in order to be safe in an unsafe world, we must also let go of their memory in order to be finally redeemed, or so I want to argue here and suggest that only those who are willing to ultimately forget will be able to remember rightly."[4] This view, however, has been challenged by others, including Sunder John Boopalan in his book *Memory, Grief, and Agency: A Political Theological Account of Wrongs and Rites*.[5] Disagreeing with Volf's argument that memories of wrongs must be eschatologically forgiven, Boopalan raises two points. First of all, he points out that "despite acknowledging the reality of evil and malevolence as pressing earthly realities, structural wrongs are referred to, for the most part, in the past tense."[6] Because Volf's model of reconciliation imagines a future in which perpetrators are

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[3] Stanley Hauerwas, John Berkman, and Michael G. Cartwright, *The Hauerwas Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 116–41.

[4] Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 131–32.

[5] Sunder Boopalan, *Memory, Grief, and Agency* (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2017).

[6] Boopalan, 124.

absolved and forgiven, it does not pay sufficient attention to the present injustices and wrongs. Secondly, Boopalan emphasizes the impact that wrongs of the past have in the current society: "The creation of violent identities, the ways in which discriminatory logics inform bodily habits and frames of mind, and the manner in which structural wrongs hide behind seemingly ordinary actions and disposition do not fall under Volf's purview."[7] It would be more appropriate to press on the importance of 'remembering well' in order to reveal and deconstruct embodied harmful ideologies, which are residue of historical harms.

However, because the discussion between the three theologians presupposes two distinctive parties of wrongdoers and victims—their framework has limitations when engaging with the question of remembering and forgetting in a post-colonial context in which there is not a clear distinction between a villain and a hero. In many post-colonial contexts, people who held powers during the colonial past both consciously or subconsciously are now often celebrated as heroes and founding fathers. The harm they have done is put aside, and descents of formerly colonized groups tend to perceive them as heroes. In a context when ones who did wrongs are also the ones who made contributions, we need to consider the second ethical issue, the distortion of memory, before we analyze the dynamics between colonialism, narratives, and communal identity.

The second ethical issue is the distortion of memory. In postcolonial studies, scholars have emphasized the power dynamics embedded within historiography and memory construction. Colonial power manifests in different forms; not only as physical violence, but also as ongoing cultural and ideological construct. Moreover, social memory is mostly not something that is created in a vacuum but something that is artificially constructed. Homi Bhabha, for example, understands that a crucial task for postcolonial theory is to excavate counter memories against dominant memories, which have been

[7] Boopalan, 124–25.

canonized by colonial powers.[8] Admittedly, memory preservation has often been the exclusive property of those with authorities who have the power and resources to fund historians, construct monuments, and build museums. Winners of history have endeavored to glorify their victories at the cost of memories of those whom they have won over. Preserving memory has been a luxury—something that is not easily accessible for those who are silenced and oppressed, because historical records to prove their stories suffer from the risk of destruction and what happened in the past can be easily distorted by those in power.

Let me recapitulate the issues that I have so far explored. First, memory, which often exists in a narrative form, is an important matter for the individual and collective identity formation and morality. Secondly, whether to forget or not to forget the memories of wrongs has been a contested theo-ethical topic. Thirdly, memory is vulnerable to distortion and erasure because of the power dynamics between groups, and thus it is essential to excavate alternative memories against colonizers' memories in the post-colonial context.

How should we ethically exercise memories in order to decolonize our collective consciousness, while still honoring the past of the community? This ethical challenge of exercising memory for cultural decolonialization requires delicate attention that does not only stay faithful to the historical facts but also emotional and spiritual aspects of the community, because memories of the community's past shape how the contemporary members understand who they are and how they relate to their own legacies, the current community, and the future. What happens when an alternative narrative threatens the core stories undergirding one's morality? What if you cannot let go of the past stories because the community believes there is value to them? What does reconciliation look like when a dominant narrative prevents counter memories from entering the sphere because the dominant story is undergirding the current practices and

[8] Michael Rothberg, "Remembering Back: Cultural Memory, Colonial Legacies, and Postcolonial Studies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Graham Huggan (Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

the identity of the community? I intend to share my series of inquiries that have motivated this research in the following section.

Motivation and Context

Dr. Horace Underwood was my hero when I was studying theology at Yonsei University in South Korea. He was an early Protestant missionary in Korea during the late twentieth century, and he was called the founding father of Yonsei University. His contribution to Yonsei and his passion for Korean development and evangelism have earned him high regard among Korean theologians.[9] Whenever I passed by his statue, which was in the central garden of the campus, I thought, "I will continue your legacy as a theologian and serve people just like you." Furthermore, the story about Dr. Underwood was retold by faculties and students in Yonsei to cultivate servant leadership for society. In short, the story of Dr. Underwood has provided and shaped many students' virtue and morality.

However, as I came to engage with postcolonial theologians who reevaluated Christian missionaries as an extension of Western imperial forces, I found that this story has been fragmented by the alternative evaluation on the Western missionaries in Korea, including Underwood. The perspective of postcolonialism provides a new hermeneutic in reinterpreting the legacies of Dr. Underwood. Dung-Deuk Oak critiques Dr. Underwood for despising Korean traditional religious elements by translating Korean shamanism into mere *witchcraft*.[10] Kim Yong-bok, a minjung theologian, argues that for the western missionaries, "the process of transformation was from pagan to Christian, as it was understood in terms of missionary Christianity and from the immoral and superstitious life to the moral and puritan life."[11] Now, the story that has been a ground of morality and virtues of Yonsei University and the

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[9] Samuel Yunsang Pang, "The Legacy of Horace Grant Underwood," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39, no. 3 (July 2015): 150–53.

[10] Sung-Deuk Oak, "Healing and Exorcism: Christian Encounters with Shamanism in Early Modern Korea," *Asian Ethnology* 69, no. 1 (2010): 95–128.

students is being contested, so is what has been the dominant construction of their institutional moral identity and virtues.

I have wrestled with the complex legacies of the missionary due to my socioeconomic status and personal history. I was a theology student who studied at Yonsei University, which is one of the most prestigious research institutions in Korean society, and it has granted me many social privileges. However, I am also one of the Koreans who collectively suffered from forced and internalized colonial ideologies such as western supremacy, Christian supremacy, and the depreciation of Korean culture and heritage alongside endless violence and economic exploration. What does it look like for me to forgive and reconcile with the past and these founding fathers? What understanding should precede the discussion on forgiveness and reconciliation? Building upon the reflection, this research aims to explore the question of how we should ethically exercise memory and memorialization in the process of reconciliation with the early Protestant missionaries who have complicated legacies in colonial Korea, by utilizing historical research and performing anthropological analysis on Yonsei University.

Chapter Outline and Methods

My stream of inquiry about the ethics of memory and memorialization is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, I expound on the relationship between collective identity and narrative by synthesizing the works of Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue* (1981) and Paul Ricoeur's *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2000). By bringing in McIntyre's concept of unity in a narrative self in examining the phenomenology of collective memory, I show how a telos for a communal life perceived in a narrative form is subject to manipulation, and thereby justifies unexamined ideologies and practices as tradition' of the community. I argue that the unity of a narrative self on a collective level should be critically examined with

[11] Yong-bok Kim and Christian Conference of Asia, eds., *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (Singapore: Commission on Theological Concerns, Christian Conference of Asia, 1981), 112.

hermeneutics of suspicion. In order to support this argument, I will first provide a theoretical framework on collective narrative identity and its influence on institutional practices.

In chapter two, I analyze how Yonsei University constructs its collective identity based on the dominant narratives about the Christian missionaries, as a case study for this project. This chapter consists of two parts: Yonsei's contested history and ethnographic analysis of Yonsei's narrative performance in identity construction. In the first section, I provide a broad sketch of Yonsei University's history in the context of colonial Korea and an overview of controversies over the institution's self-historiography. I engage secondary resources on early Korean Church history and university websites of Yonsei University and by comparing how they narrate their past with counterarguments from Seoul National University. In the second section of this chapter, I conduct ethnographic research to examine how Yonsei University has exercised memory through its rituals to generate its institutional narrative identity. By drawing from anthropologists such as Akhil Gupta, James Ferguson, and Paul Connerton, I examine the memories preserved in a narrative form along with the spatial and performative memories of Yonsei University about the founding-fathers. My sources include the map of the university's central garden to show how the institution spatially embodies the memory of missionaries, student ambassadors' tour scripts as a form of performative memory, and presidential annual commemorative speeches as a written narrative memory.

In chapter three, I demonstrate that the stories of Underwood that Yonsei University has uncritically perpetuated do not acknowledge the realities of colonial ideologies present in his views. I show that Underwood, while his contribution to Korean society cannot be underestimated, was not free from Christian imperialism. My primary sources are Underwood's books, "The People: Their Religious Life" in *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious* (1908) and *The religions of eastern Asia* (1910), which I put into conversation with critical Korean theologians such as Kim Yong-bok— a Minjung theologian— who criticizes Western missionaries for having a limited understanding of Korean culture and religions and Park Soon Kyung, a Korean feminist theologian who critically examines colonial ideologies of Western missionaries.

In the fourth chapter, I argue that it is theologically and ethically necessary to acknowledge both positive and negative memories of the founding fathers for cultural decolonialization in the process of sanctification. The ground for this argument is trifold. In the first section of the chapter, I trace the current theo-ethical discussion about forgetting and remembrance in the field of reconciliation. I compare three theologians' arguments: Miroslav Volf, John De Gruchy, and Sunder John Boopalan, and explain the limitation of the current discussion to engage the post-colonial Korean context. In the second section, I explain why the one-sided narration of Underwood is ethically problematic for Yonsei University's institutional religious practices and for addressing religious conflicts in Korean society. In the last section, I will interpret the doctrine of sin and theology of eschatology in the context of this decolonialization project dealing with the colonial Christian fathers of Yonsei. By doing this, I aim to suggest a way to engage the complicated past constructively and to reorient communal pride for contemporary Korean Christian communities and institutions.

Chapter One: Collective Narrative Identity

Collective narrative identity refers to a group's identity such as a community, institution, and nation grounded in narratives. Among various types of narratives, I focus on the role that narratives of the past have, by which I mean memories as an interpretation of past events, for identity construction. In this first chapter, I expound on the concept of collective narrative identity by synthesizing Alasdair MacIntyre's concept of narrative self in *After Virtue* (1981) and Paul Ricoeur's concept of abuse of memory introduced in *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2000).

Toward Collectivity: Narrative Understanding of Self and Embeddedness

Let us begin with a simple question. What engages individuals with a community? If you think physical proximity –sharing the same space—as the key element to form a community, you can declare any forms of social group with a set geographical boundary as a community, such as school, company, family, religious group, city, and nation. However, physical proximity is not a necessary and appropriate condition for forming a community. There must be some values, practices, and identity shared by members of the community that link the individual self to the community. What I would like to explore here is the epistemology of a communal sense of self. What enables individuals to associate themselves with a community, and partake in communal identity?

Communal identity consists of various components. These include shared languages, cultures, customs, music, foods, shared spaces, physical proximity, rituals, rules, clothing styles, etc. Among the many features that mark a community, I focus on the power of narrative. Through narrative, we understand ourselves to be a part of a community, claiming narratives of a community as a part of our stories and ourselves. Ask yourself if you identify the story of your family as part of yours. How often do our young children learn to be proud of historical figures whose honorable stories are considered part of the national legacy? How hard is it not to harbor any uncomfortable feelings toward those who have historically been narrated as enemies of your community? Even though we may not have direct contact

with these people, we decide what kinds of relationships we want to have with them based on the narrative about them circulating within our community.

Even though it can appear as a natural part of our story, this phenomenon of understanding oneself through communal narratives deserves our moral attention. Understanding a collective identity in a narrative form is possible only if people challenge an extreme form of atomic view of themselves and develop a sense of community through narratives. Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue* provides a narrative understanding of self to challenge an individualistic understanding of a person in modern society and the philosophical strands that perceive human life in atomistic and individualistic ways.[12] In the late 20th century, when the book was published, MacIntyre encountered two challenges that prevented people from envisaging "a human life as a whole". One was modernity that differentiates and partitions one's life into an array of periods and segments.[13] Another challenge lied in the fact that analytical philosophy tends to "think atomistically about human action and analyze complex actions and transactions in terms of simple components," thereby making it difficult to understand how an action is part of a larger context.[14] In such a modern social and philosophical atmosphere, moral choices were vulnerable to be perceived as arbitrary decisions instead of something guided by moral laws. The "liquidation of the self into a set of demarcated areas of role-playing allows no scope for the exercise of dispositions which could genuinely be accounted virtues in any sense

[12] MacIntyre, *After Virtue*. This book was originally published in 1981 when the philosophy of modernism and modern science seemed to dominate the society and culture, there by restricting epistemology of human life with an individualistic and scientific framework.

[13] MacIntyre, 204.

[14] MacIntyre, 204.

remotely Aristotelian."[15] If a person's life cannot be imagined without any standard, one's moral life and thus morality become subjected to relativism.

In order to rescue moral life from relativism, the self must have a guiding framework which becomes visible only when the self is understood in relation to its contexts, such as circumstances of action, relationships, a community, and history. And narrative is the primary tool that enables us to comprehend the self within such contexts. MacIntyre argues that through narratives, people can reconnect to the larger context to which ones belongs. For example, let us say I purchased a yellow ribbon. This action itself does not have any specific context. However, if the detail that I purchased the ribbon in April and in South Korea is revealed, the purchase becomes a part of a narrative as I am commemorating the deaths of students of Sinking of MV Sewol on April 16, 2014 with other people by displaying the ribbon as a symbol of condolence.[16] Reading the contexts enables us to identify the moral principles and virtues of the people who are performing a collective ritual. They are honoring the life of the people, expressing righteous anger, and compassion for the family of the victims. In short, the narrative understanding of self is that it protects one's moral life from the trap of relativism by strengthening the link between individual self to the community—the context based on which one's morality and virtue become visible.

I want to bring our attention to the two major characteristics of narrative understanding of self-relevant to the concept of collective narrative identity: embeddedness and unity.[17] Embeddedness refers to

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[15] MacIntyre, 205.

[16] Sinking of MV Sewol refers to the disastrous deaths of innocent passengers of the ship Sewol. The ship was heading to Jeju island from Inchon with 476 passengers and the overloaded cargo carried to Jeju Naval Base. Because of the overloading of cargo, the ship sank. And the delayed response from the government and lack of leadership among the crews, 304 passengers died and 205 of them were high school students who were on their field trip to the island. South Korean people annual express their condolence with a yellow ribbon.

[17] MacIntyre, *"The Virtues, the Unity of a Human Life and the Concept of a Tradition,"* 204–25.

the fact that one's own narrative is always a part of stories of a larger context beyond oneself, such as other people's stories and a group's history. However small it may look, my action is part of my life story, and the story of my life involves other characters who play a part in my life stories as well as their own life narratives. Such relational ties include not only direct relationships such as those with friends and family but also relations with a community, a nation, and their traditions. Thus, embeddedness is an inescapable feature of a narrative self, or a life perceived in a narrative form that recovers the connection between a person with a context. Chronologically, the present is embedded in the past and the future through the passage of time.[18] What happened in the past does not remain in the past but impacts the present, which again shapes the future; what we hope in the future influences our decisions in the present.[19] Each one of us exists as a co-author of our own stories and stories of others, because our lives are constantly influenced by other people and entangled with stories of others.

This phenomenon of embeddedness also rings true to the concept of, what I call, collective narrative identity. Collective narrative identity is the communal identity of a group understood and explained in a narrative form. It refers to what a community thinks of themselves and often includes in their collection of stories –especially the stories of their origins, national heroes and heroines, wars, failures, and victories. This collective narrative identity is construed and constructed explicitly and inexplicitly through communal practices and customs that celebrate and educate these stories about their community. Even though there are differences in how much a person is willing to incorporate these stories as part of their own, these narratives

[18] MacIntyre writes, "We live out our lives, both individually and in our relationships with each other, in the light of certain conceptions of a possible shared future, a future in which certain possibilities beckon us forward and others repel us, some seem already foreclosed and others perhaps inevitable. There is no present which is not informed by some image of some future and an image of the future which always presents itself in the form of a telos — or a variety of ends or goals — towards which we are either moving or failing to move in the present." 251–56.

[19] MacIntyre, 251–56.

provide a broader context that helps individuals understand where they belong to and thus who they are. In other words, an individual's narrative self is embedded in, at least not independent from, a collective narrative identity.

Another essential feature of the narrative self is unity. Instead of perceiving life as a series of separate episodes, MacIntyre argues that we should see life as a whole, with a beginning and an open ending guided by telos. Unity here is not a singularity –but a life of wholeness guided by a purpose(telos), in which once demarcated episodes are reconnected and interwoven as a whole. It is telos that overcomes moral relativism because telos provides us with a standard based on how we order an array of goods in our life and moral priorities. Although one's moral choices can seem arbitrary in each situation, if a telos guides the person's life, they would be able to make decisions and compromises to achieve their goal. Thus, MacIntyre argues:

> Without an overriding conception of the telos of a whole human life, conceived as a unity, our conception of certain individual virtues has to remain partial and incomplete. […] Thus, it turns out that the content of the virtue of patience depends upon how we order various goods in a hierarchy and a fortiori on whether we can rationally so to order these particular goods. […] "I have suggested so far that unless there is a telos which transcends the limited goods of practices by constituting the good of a whole human life, the good of a human life conceived as a unity, it will both be the case that a certain subversive arbitrariness will invade the moral life and that we shall be unable to specify the context of certain virtues adequately. […][20]

MacIntyre's concept of unity, suggested here, is especially useful on an individual level. But it is equally important to note that this concept of unity does not hardly apply to a communal level. Although the unity in a narrative self bears moral significance because such a unity has the strength to absolve the burden of dealing with moral arbitrariness and has the the capacity to provide a context in which one's virtues become intelligible, this concept of unity becomes complicated when it is applied to a communal level. Because of a collective entity's intrinsic plurality, the question of what the ultimate purpose of a community is, is a contested subject. There can be plural purposes to be agreed or disagreed.

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[20] MacIntyre, 202–3.

Alternatively, perhaps, the search for the common good can be a telos for a community, even if there are people who refuse to pursue a common good.

His concept of unity has a merit in overcoming moral relativism in modern society. However, the process of searching for a common good is subject to power dynamic that makes the process less democratic. It is important to be reminded that power dynamics within and outside the community can influence and manipulate the process, for example by controlling what narratives should be distributed, distorted, or erased. Because of politics, telos can be decided and reinforced, forcing unity in a collective group. Since such politics can decide a group's telos, unity becomes something that should be critically questioned rather than blindly pursued. For example, extreme forms of nationalism such as Nazism or communism that forced individuals to compromise their freedom, has always presented their ideology as a desirable telos for the community to justify their violation of human rights.

I have discussed the epistemological importance of narratives in perceiving human life both on an individual and a communal level, by drawing from MacIntyre's concept of a narrative self. It is through embedded narratives that individuals reconnect their relations with the community. Collective narratives about a community or a collective entity play an important role in the identity construction of a community and the members. While my discussion on collective narrative identity finds its theoretical base on this aspect of embeddedness, I suggest that the concept of the unity of life is morally complicated when it comes to a community, because of the politics that force unity while disregarding plurality of purposes that each member harbors.

Power Dynamics, Suspicious Unity, and Selected Narratives

In the previous section, I challenged unity for a communal life, when the life is understood in a narrative form. It is time to investigate narratives themselves – the narratives that compose a communal narrative self. Since narratives are important for a collective identity and a moral life for the community; how and

which stories are chosen to be worthy of communal attention bears moral significance. Here, I borrow Paul Ricoeur's concept of abuse of memory to examine issues in the process of memory construction on a collective level I turn to Ricoeur's short essay, "Memory and Forgetting," from 1999, which became the basis for his later book, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, published in 2000. In the essay, Ricoeur delineates the phenomena of use and abuse of memory both on an individual and on a collective level, which bears 'ethical-political significance.'[21] The topic of concern here is the abuse of memory on a collective scale, impacting our socio-political practices.

Ricoeur points out that there is a discrepancy between what is remembered and what is not remembered.[22] Some memories are actively memorized and recollected occasionally collectively through rituals and commemorations, while some traces of memories are muffled to the extent that the memories are lost. Similar imbalance also applies to forgetting; "there is sometimes not enough forgetting, and at other times too much forgetting."[23] While the use of memory is not necessarily negative as it can remind people of a positive moral exemplar, it also bears the danger of being subjected to political power asymmetry.

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[21] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*, ed. Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (London ; New York: Routledge, 1999), 9. Memory is not a value-neutral phenomena. Instead, it must be subjected to ethical interrogation. The basis for regarding memory as a subject for ethical reflection is that memory is an action exercised through our mind, not necessarily through body—although to what extent mind can be differentiated from the body becomes more contested, and the distinction may not be that clear in the modern science. Simply puts it, memory involves human agents who exercise their minds to remember it. Meanwhile, Paul Connerton introduces the concept of *habit memory*, which does not require conscious endeavor to recollect something but habituated and embodied through practice such as kills for bicycled riding and running. See, Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Themes in the Social Sciences (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[22] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*, ed. Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (London ; New York: Routledge, 1999), 6.

[23] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," 6.

Abuse of memory is prevalent in a socio-political sphere in which a community constructs its collective identity by drawing only from certain narratives. [24] For example, stories of national heroes and heroines, victories, and defeats are chosen, interpreted, rewritten by historians to educate and pass on to the next generation. The problem is that a community's founding history, which is an essential source for communal narrative identity, is always rooted in violence:

> Let us recall that most events to do with the founding of any community are acts and events of violence. So, we could say that collective identity is rooted in founding events which are violent. In a sense, collective memory is a kind of storage of such violent blows, wounds, and scars. [25]

By selecting and interpreting those stories from the perspective of the dominant, narratives of others are forgotten, and perspectives of the others who are viewed as 'enemies' or as insignificant by the dominant group become vulnerable to suspicions and distortions. As Ricoeur points out, the best way of silencing memories and stories of others is to forge a narrative plot. [26] In other words, when constructing a narrative plot of personal or collective identity, people tend to exclude stories that are not 'relevant.' Because these plots become the foundation of the group's identity, these narrative plots get solidified every time the group enacts rituals to remind themselves of whom they have been and whom they are, to the extent that hearing the stories of others—that do not align with the dominant plot—can become a threat to their collective identity. Thus, memory that exists in a narrative form is the potential source for us to internalize and perpetuate ideologies and power dynamics in society as part of our collective identity. [27]

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[24] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," 7.

[25] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," 8.

[26] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," 9.

[27] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," 8.

Let me clarify the relationship between MacIntyre's concept of the unity of life and Ricoeur's concept of abuse of memory by raising a question: How do narratives that are selected by exercising abuse of memory impact the notion of telos in a communal life understood in a narrative form? Manipulated memories in narrative form can shape communal narrative identity with ideologies that impact people's communal and political decisions and practices. The phrase of Ricoeur that "the diseases of memory are basically diseases of identity" seems appropriate. In his book *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2000), Ricoeur argues that memories can be a powerful instrument that constrains our belief system, to reinforce ideologies that justify a form of domination.

> However, it is on the level where ideology operates as a discourse justifying power, domination that the resources of manipulation provided by narrative are mobilized. Domination, we have understood, is not limited to physical constraint. […] The narrative imposed in this way then becomes the privileged instrument of this twofold operation. Even the surplus value that ideology adds to the belief offered by the governed in responding to the claim of legitimacy made by the governing body presents a narrative texture: stories of founding events, of glory and humiliation, feed the discourse of flattery or of fear. […][28]

Such ideologies conveyed through narratives become the components of collective identity by providing a direction of practices and political decisions of communal life. In other words, these ideologies shape a goal—telos—of communal life. It is fair to say that the telos in a communal life perceived in a narrative form is vulnerable to abuse of memory, which manipulates narratives to convey ideologies. Because of this vulnerability of collective narrative identity, unity in a communal life should be critically examined rather than being blindly followed.

Narratives are powerful tool in collective identity construction in that memories are often intentionally recollected and celebrated by forging a standard for moral action for a community. By celebrating a person's story as a moral exemplar in a community, the community perpetuates the idea of what can be regarded as virtuous and what actions people should be ashamed of. These stories are taught

[28] Paul Ricœur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 85.

to the next generation as a part of the history of the community.[29] Even though individuals can always resist such ideologies and notions of virtues, it is an arduous task to change a belief system that has been established and continuously consolidated through education, which we call tradition. It is more difficult to challenge the notions of morality and virtues set by those narratives, because the moral standard has become a part of communal identity.

For example, there are countless monuments named "Yeol Nyeo Bi (烈女碑)" in South Korea erected during the Joseon dynasty(1392-1897). These monuments commemorate virtuous women, who would end their lives to either follow their dead husbands or *protect* their chastity when they were faced with sexual threats. These monuments celebrate women's decisiveness to protect their chastity and the willingness to sacrifice their life for their husbands as virtues, and these monuments have been the pride of women's families and the village in which the monuments were erected. The problem is that women who *lost* their virginity before marriage, with few exceptions, have been stigmatized. Women who were widowed felt that they should end their lives because their husbands died; some widows' fathers would nudge them towards suicide. Even though the Joseon dynasty has ended, these monuments still stand across South Korea. Although the emphasis on virginity and women's sacrifice has decreased, the monuments still shame women's sexuality and their remarriage.

The Need for Critical Reflection of Collective Narrative Identity

The narrative is one of the primary bases upon which individuals connect themselves to a collective entity because a life perceived in a narrative form is always embedded in a larger narrative of a group, to which one belongs. The narrative is also the primary source in constructing a collective identity—to explain

[29] He writes: "A trained memory is, in fact, on the institutional plane an instructed memory; forced memorization is thus enlisted in the service of the remembrance of those events belonging to the common history that is held to be remarkable even founding, concerning the common identity. This circumscription of the narrative is thus placed in the service of the circumscription of the identity-defining the community. A history taught, a history learned, but also a history celebrated. To this, forced memorization is added the customary commemorations. A formidable pact is concluded in this way between remembrance, memorization, and commemoration." Ricœur, 85.

what they are, who they have been, and who they ought to become in the future. Historical narratives are representative of such narratives of a community.

However, there is a major difference between an individual narrative self and a community's narrative identity. MacIntyre desires a narrative life united and guided by a telos to avoid the problem of moral arbitrariness and to retrieve moral order in one's life. However, a telos for a community in which life is perceived in a narrative form can be vulnerable to manipulation when the abuse of memory influences the ways in which communal narratives are constructed and told by silencing another perspective about the past. While consensual and democratic process may well protect collective consciousness from such risk, it is difficult especially when people have already grounded their identity in such one-sided narratives. It is difficult to recognize how narratives favoring those in power are problematic - for example, in a post-colonial context where once-colonized group internalized ideologies brought by colonizers, or where those in power are not completely villains, or where the once-colonized groups seem to favor those who fraternized with colonial power. I will expound this context more in the following chapter with a case study on Yonsei University—a leading institute fraternize e in South Korea that has positive relationship with early Protestant missionaries.

Dominant social narratives in such post-colonial contexts are communicated and reinforced through systems such as education, commemorative rituals, and media, without much critical reflection. These series of activities become customs that communicate ideologies persuasively, intentionally or unintentionally. These ideologies penetrate a community's moral and socio-political life. They are difficult to resist because they are not just a matter of political or moral preference, but about who they are as a community. Narratives become a powerful tool in shaping a collective identity and their communal goals by providing unity in collective life. Unity here on a collective level deserves moral suspicion and examination. Who has given a telos to a community and why? How is this goal perpetuating a power asymmetry, and whom is it silencing? What can be a different interpretation of the traces of history? The examination starts with investigating the stories constructing our collective identity

from others' perspectives and with a different hermeneutical lens. Only then, we can start to rethink what we have thought to be virtues and our moral particularities.

Chapter Two: Contested History and the Narrative identity of Yonsei University

History and legacies of the forgone are vital sources for one's self-understanding and identity development. From an early age, people often start to better understand who they are by listening to stories about their parents and grandparents. By learning their national history and foundational myths, citizens form civic identities to engage in political life, although there are always people who refuse to take their national history as part of their identity, based on individualism. Historical figures' history and legacies also shape practices and rituals of the present, such as commemoration, holidays, education, and political acts. Historical narratives, identities, and present practices shaped by the past mutually reinforce one another. Whether conscious or unconscious, the impact of historical narratives on the present society is undeniable. For example, think about how the narrative plot that incorrectly explains America's origin from the encounter with the New World has prevented the contemporary citizens from admitting the colonial legacies of their founding fathers.

This power of narratives of the past also applies to educational institutions that can shape not only the institutional identity but also students' identities. Historical narratives employed by an educational institution can shape the institutional rituals and practices, and thereby reinforce its identity construction. This chapter provides a case study of a particular aspect of institutional history and symbolism at Yonsei University. Yonsei University is one of what are called the "SKY" universities—Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University-which are regarded as the most prestigious universities in South Korea. As a leading private research institute, Yonsei University has 30,227 students enrolled, including 3978 international students and 3239 doctoral students, across18 colleges and 17 graduate schools on the main campus.[30] Yonsei is famous for its distinctive identity rooted in its foundation by Christian missionaries at the end of the late Joseon period. This case study of Yonsei's narrative practice for identity construction provides a good showcase for how the narratives of founding

[30] "About Yonsei | Yonsei at a Glance," University website, Yonsei University, 2000, https://www.yonsei.ac.kr/en_sc/intro/status1.jsp.

figures shape an institution's identity and practices in the postcolonial era. I will first provide a brief history of the institution. Then I will investigate how the institutional identity is constructed based on the early Christian missionaries' historical narratives through space, performances, and speech acts.

Contested History

Yonsei was named after two distinctive institutions—Yonhi college and Severance Medical School—merged in 1957. Before their merging, these two institutions had had separate histories in which Christian missionaries played central roles, according to Yonsei's narration. Yonsei University traces Severance Medical School's origin to Gwanghyewon, which was established on April 10th, 1885, as the first modern hospital with Western medicine. Gwanghyewon, meaning "House of Extended Grace," was established by King Kojong, who accepted a proposal of Dr. Horace Newton Allen (1858-1932) to found a modern medical institution instead of Korean traditional oriental medicine. Allen was a Protestant medical missionary who arrived in Korea in 1884.

At the end of the 19th century, the Joseon Dynasty experienced socio-political upheaval, including the breakdown of the feudal social order and cultural changes, as the country's exposure to Western civilization's influence increased. The political divide was severe between conservative politicians, who refused to contact Western civilization, and progressive politicians, who pursued modernization - including Kim Ok-Kun, Yon Chi-ho, and Seo-Jape-pill. [31] Yon Chi-ho saw Protestant Christianity as a way to facilitate modernization in the country. [32] He had a conviction that elitism and the strict hierarchy of Confucianism -which excludes most of the public - were primary factors that hindered the advance to

[31] Sebastian C. H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 63.

[32] Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 80.

the modern nation. Progressive politicians shared the belief that western Christianity could facilitate social reform and modernization in Korea. [33]

Allen's relationship with the royal family, which later contributed to Yonsei's establishment, bloomed during this political turbulence. In 1884, just three months after Allen's arrival in Korea, the Korean Reform party, founded by Kim Ok-Kyun, Park Young-Kyo, Park Young-Hyo, Seo Kwang-bum, staged the Gapsin Coup (interchangeably the Gapsin Revolution) in order to abolish the Korean yangban class system and to hasten modernization.[34] During the coup, Min Yeong Ik, who was Empress Myeongseong's nephew, was severely injured. Allen cured Min Yeong-it's injury by practicing western medicine. After earning trust from the royal family, Allen suggested to King Kojong that Korea should build a modern medical institution.

King Kojong (高宗, September 8th, 1852 ~ January 21st, 1919) established Gwanghyewon (廣惠院) in 1885.[35] The king soon gave it a new name, Chejungwon (or Jejungwon: 濟衆院) —meaning "Universal Helpfulness"—two weeks after its opening. Allen was appointed as the head of the hospital by the king.[36] On March 29th, 1886, Allen established the Medical and Scientific School to instruct Korean students with western medical skills as a part of the hospital.[37] Other Christian missionaries also joined

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[33] Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 81.

[34] Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 62–63.

[35] "History: History & Current Status, Severance Hospital, Yonsei University College of Medicine," Yonsei University Health System, accessed December 5th, 2020.

[36] "History: History & Current Status, Severance Hospital, Yonsei University College of Medicine."

[37] Jai Keun Choi, "Allen and Underwood's Roles at Jejungwon and their Works," *Yonsei Journal of Medical History* 2, no. 18 (2015): 7–48.

Allen's medical mission. Horace G. Underwood was commissioned by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to travel to Korea as a Presbyterian missionary on April 5th, 1885. While his mission work with Yonhi College was more connected to his evangelism, he also worked closely with the medical school by teaching mathematics, physics, and English. Other Christian missionaries who were trained in medicine taught varied subjects to raise students as doctors.[38] Chejungwon was significant for both Korean medical history and mission strategy; it is evaluated as the basis of modern medical education and the first modernized medical institution in Korea.[39] The institution established by Joseon's emperor was the gateway for Christian missionaries to Korea during the Joseon dynasty, a time in which the law banned any Christian mission work. Many Christian missionaries were able to enter Korea in the name of "Chejungwon doctor" or "teacher."[40]

Allen was involved with American diplomacy and left the hospital in 1887 to assist the diplomat Park Jung-yang with r the Korean legation in Washington D.C in .[41] After Allen was appointed as a secretary in the American legation in Korea in 1890, Dr. Charles C. Vinton and Dr. Oliver R. Avison took charge of the medical school.[42] Vinton is known to have left the medical school because the two missionaries had conflicting visions of their missions and the hospital's future. Avison was a Canadian doctor but was commissioned by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA).

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[38] Choi, 14.

[39] "About Yonsei | History | History of Yonsei," Yonsei University, accessed December 5th, 2020, https://www.yonsei.ac.kr/en_sc/intro/history1.jsp.

[40] Choi, "Allen and Underwood's Roles at Jejungwon and their Works," 15.

[41] Choi, 23.

[42] "Allen's visit to Korea and medical missionary work (알렌의 내한과 의료선교)," Severance Hospital, accessed December 5th, 2020, http://sns.iseverance.com/post/66.

Avison's relationship with PCUSA started from a mission conference he led in Canada. He was a medical professor at the University of Toronto, and he invited Underwood to the mission conference. Underwood shared his experiences in Korea and suggested that Avison become a missionary in Korea. Avison was commissioned by the Board of Foreign Missions of PCUSA on February 6th, 1893, and came to Korea that same year.[43] In 1889, Avison received permission from the Mission Board to do fundraising so that Chejungwon could be renovated with modern facilities, since the original building was designed in traditional Korean architecture. He presented a proposal, entitled "Comity in Medical Mission," to introduce the hospital renovation project with the goal of raising $10,000 at the 1990 Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York. [44]

Among the audience was Louis H. Severance (August 1st, 1838 – June 25th, 1913). He was an American philanthropist, investor, and the first treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, founded by John D. Rockefeller. He became interested in Allen's proposal. After reviewing the plan, Severance donated $10,000.[45] The hospital's construction was completed on September 3rd, 1904, and the new institution was named after the donor: Severance Memorial Hospital. In the following years, Severance increased his donations to expand the hospital facilities and support medical education. After his death, his children

[43] Hyung Woo Park, "The Life of Oliver Avison (1860-1956)," *Yonsei Journal of Medical History* 1, no. 13 (October 2010): 7.

[44] "Introduction," YONSEI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, accessed November 8th, 2020, https://medicine.yonsei.ac.kr/en/About_YUCM/Introduction/index.asp.

[45] "College of Medicine," YONSEI UNIVERSITY HEALTH SYSTEM, accessed December 5th, 2020, https://www.yuhs.or.kr/en/Edu_Research/Coll_Medicine/.

continued to make donations. [46] Yonsei University argues that Chejungwon was "renamed" as Severance Memorial Hospital, and Severance Hospital inherits the legacy of Chejungwon.[47]

However, it is worth noting that the history of Chejungwon, which is claimed as a root of Yonsei University, is a contested subject. Seoul National University and the university hospital disagree with Yonsei University over the question about who succeeded in Chejungwon and how to interpret the symbolic value of the hospital. Seoul National University agrees with Yonsei that Allen contributed to the establishment of Chejungwon. However, they claim that it is a historical fallacy that Severance Hospital succeeded Chejungwon because Chejungwon was returned to the Korean Empire after the establishment of Severance Hospital.[48] According to them, Chejungwon was owned by the Korean government and it was only entrusted to Avison as a political strategy to protect the hospital from being taken away by the colonial Japanese government, whose soldiers took over Gyeongbokgung Palace by military force in 1896.[49] Furthermore, Seoul National University argues that the Korean government was already introducing Western medicine as part of its modernization project by sending a team to Japan to learn Western medicine in 1881, even before Allen's proposal.[50] Thus, it was the Korean royal family who took the initiative to launch the hospital, while Allen merely contributed to the project through his proposal for the hospital and medical work. Although the medical staff, skills, and operating system were transferred

[46] "College of Medicine."

[47] "About Yonsei | History | History of Yonsei."

[48] Seoul National University Hospital, "Discovering the Truth of Chejungwon."

[49] Seoul National University Hospital, "Discovering the Truth of Chejungwon through a Short Question and Answer (짧은 문답식으로 풀어보는 제중원의 진실)," Hospital Website, Seoul National University Hospital, 2017.

[50] Seoul National University Hospital, "Discovering the Truth of Chejungwon."

to Severance Hospital, which was built by the Christian missionaries, they had ultimately left Chejungwon. Seoul National University Hospital argues that they continued the legacy of the first modernized hospital in Korea because both hospitals –Chejungwon and Seoul National University Hospital—were national hospitals that were developed to contribute to Korean medical advancement and society.[51] From the perspective of Seoul National University Hospital, Yonsei University and Severance Hospital are purposefully exaggerating the roles of Christian missionaries in the establishment of Chejungwon, in order to concoct an uninterrupted lineage of its hospitals. Considering the significance of Chejungwon, the very first modernized hospital in Korean history, it is understandable why the South Korean major medical institutions continue the endless fight over the heirship. Yonhi College, the other body of Yonsei University, started out as Joseon Christian College in 1915. With support from a mission committee consisting of various denominations such as the North Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, Underwood established Joseon Christian College in 1915 in the YMCA building at Jong-ro street in Seoul. Before they constructed a building for the college, they held classes at the YMCA.[52] Underwood became the first president of the college and had Oliver R. Avison as the vice president. Although it was a Christian college, non-Christian students were also admitted.[53] The college was accredited as Yonhi College in 1917 with a more advanced education system. Yonhi College offered courses in fields of literature, business, theology, agriculture, and science.[54]

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[51] Seoul National University Hospital, "Discovering the Truth of Chejungwon."

[52] Insoo Son, “Yonsei University(延世大學校),” in *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture* (Sungnam City: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1995).

[53] Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 87.

[54] Insoo Son, “Yonsei University(延世大學校),”

The establishment of Yonhi College should be understood as part of the continuous efforts of Western missionaries' evangelism in Korea. Protestant missionaries who arrived in Korea in the late 20th century mostly attended college and were associated with the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) or the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).[55] They mostly shared the evangelical emphasis on the Bible, conversion, and the saving work of souls from heathen religions. [56] Because many of them were college graduates, missionaries engaged with education work by teaching Korean students in the church or establishing independent education institutions such as Yonhi college. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), missionaries and churches were divided about whether to associate their works with politics. In fact, many church councils, such as the General Council of Evangelical Missions and the Joint Mission Council of the Presbyterian missions, avoided any political involvement in the Korean independence movement, fearing that their mission work would spark political insurrection during the colonial period. Meanwhile, Christianity became popular among the public as the religion provided messages and doctrines to support Korean nationalism and resist Japanese ownership of Korea.[57] Western-style education and modernization as learned at Yonhi emphasized self-reliance and independence, which sparked an independence movement and provided an alternative to Japanese culture. [58]

Yonhi College was also not free from Japanese colonialism. In 1942, the Japanese government elected a Japanese president for Yonhi College. The Japanese government confiscated its properties and

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[55] Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 63.

[56] Kim and Kim, 63.

[57] Kim and Kim, 93.

[58] Kim and Kim, 93.

ousted Korean staff along with faculty members from the college in 1944. As the colonial policy banned the Korean language and forced Japanese culture on Korea, the names of the college and the Severance Medical School were also changed to Japanese: Yonhi College was renamed as Gyeong Seong College of Administration, and Severance Medical School turned to Asahi Medical School.[59] When Korea became independent, the institutions reclaimed their original names, and Yoo Euk-gyeom became the president of Yonhi College in 1945. In the following year of 1946, Yonhi college was officially accredited as a university, and Baek Nak-Joon became the first president of Yonhi University.[60] During the Korean war (June 25th, 1950 – July 27th, 1953), Yonhi University moved its infrastructure to Busan city to avoid the aftermath of the war and came back to Seoul in 1953 after the war. Finally, Yonhi University and Severance Medical School merged into Yonsei University in 1957.[61]

Yonsei's Identity Construction

When it comes to a group's self-understanding and identity formation, the past does not merely stay in the past –it is summoned continuously in the present. The past is resurrected through different outlets like storytelling, historical narration, and rituals by those living in the present, who both intentionally and unintentionally seek to claim their foundation from which they find their origin and tradition. A university also tends to practice such strategy. Yonsei University likewise generates a story

[59] "About Yonsei | History | History of Yonsei."

[60] Note that both Yoo Euk-gyum and Baek Nak-Joon were later found to be pro-Japanese during the colonial period. For example, Back Nak-Joon presented himself as a Korean-independence activist after Korean independence, although he attended pro-Japanese meetings and encouraged Koreans to support Japanese invasion policy by publishing articles in a newspaper. Recently, Yonsei University students have investigated their pro-Japanese legacies and demanded the school to remove Back Nak-Joon's statue and change the titles of the buildings named of the presidents. See Tae Hyung Kim, "Prophet of the Nation or Pro-Japanese, Dr. Baek Nak-joon, (민족의 선지자 혹은 친일파, 백낙준 박사)," University Newspaper, The Yonsei Chunchu, 2007, http://chunchu.yonsei.ac.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=10503.

[61] "Yonsei University (延世大學校)."

about the institution's past, and in turn utilizes its formative story to direct the institutional mission and to cultivate certain virtues of students. Because the story undergirds institutional self-understanding, direction for the future, and the students' characters, the narrative becomes the identity of the group. This phenomenon of retrieval of the past is prevalent in Yonsei University, whose institutional identity is shaped in particular by the history of the Christian missionary founders. Yonsei uses narratives about Christian missionaries, especially stories of Underwood, to construct their identity as a Christian school. Here again, their stories, especially that of Underwood, do not stay in the past. They rather affect Yonsei's present institutional identity I will analyze Yonsei's space, performance, and speech acts to show how Underwood's narrative is summoned into the present to reinforce the institutional identity and their virtues.

Space: The Main Garden

Space plays a critical role in community formation. It has been assumed that space merely functions as a grid that distinguishes cultures, and thus was not given sufficient amount of attention as something that surpasses a mere category in anthropology.[62] However, more recently there has been more attention to space as a research subject, particularly in anthropological work. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson argue that space can attain an identity, especially when power dynamics influence the distribution of the space, especially during colonial power struggles:

> But by always foregrounding the spatial distribution of hierarchical power relations, we can better understand the processes whereby space achieves a distinctive identity as a place. Keeping in mind that notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space and clusters of interaction, we can see that the identity of a place emerges by the intersection of its specific

[62] Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds., *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1997), 33-34. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson point out that researchers in the social science fields have represented space to mark discontinuity among different cultures. They write, "The premise of discontinuity forms the starting point from which to theorize contact, conflict, and contradiction between cultures and societies […] But in all these cases, space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization are inscribed. In this way, space functions as a central organizing principle in the social sciences at the same time that it disappears from analytical purview."

> involvement in a system of hierarchically organized spaces with its cultural construction as a community or locality.[63]

Remember that Yonsei University's establishment cannot be explained without the history of colonization of Korea and the national power dynamics among the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and Japan. During the colonial period, the Japanese government enacted the Land Investigation Project (土地調査事業, 1910-1918) to increase tax collection from Korea. This project required Koreans who own their lands to report their lands to the Japanese Government of General of Korea within a certain period of time. The ownership of those lands that were not reported within the time or owned by the Korean government were transferred to the Japanese government. Since many Koreans refused to follow the policy and since the Japanese government did not publicize the policy, nearly 50 percent of Korean lands were owned by Japan. In 1917, during which the Japanese government was executing the project, Horace Underwood purchased the site of the main campus of Yonsei University with the donation from his brother, John. T. Underwood.

During the colonial period, the Western missionaries, regardless of their intentional political position, represented a counterpower to the Japanese government. The national conflict between America and Japan during the Pacific War (1941-1945) fueled the tension between Underwood and Japanese colonizers in Korea. In 1942, when Japan executed the ethnic extermination policy (民族抹殺政策) in order to enforce cultural and systematic assimilation of Korea to Japan and to annihilate the national and cultural national and cultural identity of Koreans, the Japanese government seized the operating right of Yonhi College. It replaced the statue of Underwood with a monument (興亞紀念塔) commemorating the attack on Pearl Harbor.[64] After Korean liberation, Yonsei erected another Underwood statue, which was

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[63] Gupta and Ferguson, *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, 36.

[64] Yonsei University keeps the war statue (興亞紀念塔) of Japan in their historical site called Gwang Hye Won. Although the monument is not placed in a visible location, the university preserves it as historical evidence.

soon taken down during the Korean war by Koreans who opposed Western power.[65] The current Underwood statue was made after the Korean war, while the podium underneath has not been changed and still shows bullet marks from the Korean war.

Through the turmoil, the main garden with the Underwood statue attained a symbolic value. They symbolized the struggles against Japan, by both Americans and Christians, during the colonial period. The statue itself also represented a group of Koreans who were willing to collaborate with the Western missionaries and Americans, unlike the anti-American Korean nationalists who brought the statue down during the Korean war. The history of this space came to form the essence of Yonsei's communal identity, placing the stories of the missionaries at the center of its history and identity.

In the center of the university stands the main garden, which is named after Underwood. The garden design resembles the England flag, with the statue of Horace Grant Underwood standing on the very middle. This design of the garden was to commemorate Underwood's home country since he was born in England in 1859 and migrated to the United States in 1872.[66]

Surrounding the statue and the garden are three buildings. Each building is respectively named Stimson Hall, Underwood Hall, and Appenzeller Hall. Except for Stimson Hall, which was designed after a donor Charles S. M. Stimson, the other two buildings are named after Protestant missionaries: Underwood himself and another early Christian missionary, Henry Appenzeller Methodist. The three buildings were designated as historical sites by Korean Cultural Heritage Administration in 1981.

This main garden with these three buildings represents and embodies the stories of missionaries, especially that of Underwood as the central part of Yonsei University. The spatial embodiment of the story enables interactions between the past and those living in the present. This is because the main

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[65] Yonse Student Ambassador InYon, "Yonsei Student Ambassador Korean Tour Script, 32nd version" (University Tour Script, Seoul South Korea, 2019).

[66] Gospel Serve(가스펠서브), "Horace Grant Underwood," in *Glossary of Christianity* (Seoul, South Korea: Lifebook, 2013).

garden functions beyond a historical site and has become the space where students meet up before and after classes and take pictures for graduation. It is also the famous tourist site where Yonsei student ambassadors bring to show guests, when they are introducing the history of Yonsei University. Whenever they visit the main garden, they run into the physical representation of Underwood's story and the founding missionaries. These sets of practices lead to a further discussion on performance and recollection in identity formation.

Performance, Rituals, and Recollection

Underwood's narrative has been passed down and preserved through rituals and performances at Yonsei University, so much so that it became an integral part of the institution's identity. In his book *How Societies Remember*, Paul Connerton analyzes habits and commemorative rituals as the primary ways for a community to preserve social memories. Each memory preservation is explained with the terms "habit memory" and "commemorative memories". Habit memory is preserved through customary behaviors and actions without intentional recollection of when or how one obtains the memory, such as handshakes, clothing styles, and bicycle riding.[67] And commemorative memories are memories are recollected through rituals and commemorative events.

Social memories, preserved through habit memories and commemorative memories, prevail in interactions within a social group that shares common notions, rules, and customs.[68] Maurice Halbwachs provides[69] For example, it is common for South Koreans to slightly bow down their heads when they greet someone older to be humble and polite. This bodily practice, which has been passed down at least from the Joseon dynasty, preserves the cultural agreement that older adults deserve respect from younger

[67] Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 102.

[68] Connerton, 36.

[69] Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory*, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

people, thereby symbolizing authority of elders. Moreover, the society provides a context that legitimizes and promotes the practice to preserve their culture which represents their identity.

Yonsei University as a social group provides a context for students to acquire knowledge of missionaries' stories, although the acquisition is not necessarily forced but often customary. Reminders for the story of Underwood range from the name of the dorm first-year students move into, to the landmark site where students take commemorative pictures on their graduation day. The same landmark site also serves as a gathering spot for students, as well as a symbolic site where many guests visit. Furthermore, there is also Underwood International College, which has three divisions and 16 majors. And students who belong to the department inscribe the Underwood's name in their college jackets.[70] In short, the story of Underwood is interwoven in students' everyday life, through space and practice.

Rituals are effective methods in recollecting the narratives of the past and representing them. Through rituals, recollected memories are renewed of their meanings and given the power to shape the community's identity and future. Connerton identifies the two major characters of rites as repetition and formalism and explains their impact on communal life:

> Rites are expressive acts only by virtue of their conspicuous regularity. They are formalized acts and tend to be stylized, stereotyped, and repetitive. Because they are deliberately stylized, they are not subject to spontaneous variation or are suspectable of variation only within strict limits. […]. They are held meaningful because rites have significance concerning a set of future non-ritual actions to the whole life. Rites have the capacity to give value and meaning to the life of those who perform them.[71]

Rites preserve social memories and pass them down to the next generations through formality and repetition.

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[70] It is common for South Korean college students to make their own college jackets with their college name, major, and the year of their class to represent their identity.

[71] Connerton, 44–45.

According to Connerton's analysis on characteristics of rituals that construct social memory, Yonsei University's student ambassadors' tour is a ritual because it also shares the two features—formalism and repetition. A university tour is not a religious ritual. However, it serves a commemorative function, thereby as an institutional ritual. Yonsei's student ambassadors are recruited every year and managed by the Office of External Affairs and Development, which oversees school promotion, brand management, and official press releases.[72] The ambassadors are trained to memorize tour scripts which outlines Yonsei's history and give tours to visitors and first-year students. From my experience of observing their tours and how the student ambassadors are trained, I found out that the tours and their narration of Yonsei University are formalized without much room for variation. The ambassadors repeat their shared tour script. Their body language and jokes that they make during the tours are also scripted, with little to no improvisation. They provide tours both in Korean and foreign languages such as Japanese, Chines, Russian, and English. The Korean tour consists of an indoor presentation and an outdoor tour. The regular indoor presentation starts with their narration of Yonsei's history - how Underwood established Yonhi College and how the other missionaries contributed to Severance Hospital. After the presentation, each ambassador leads a small group of guests to visit the outdoor landmarks of Yonsei. The most visited landmark is the main garden, and ambassadors narrate the Christian missionaries' history there.

It is worth noting how the ambassadors who work closely with the Office of External Affairs and Development have carefully crafted their tour script about their founding fathers. In their narration, they highlight Underwood and Allen's virtues and present them as modern saints without a discussion of the missionaries' political position, mission strategies, or their power as Western missionaries. The tour script simplifies the political dynamics surrounding the missionaries and their mission strategies.

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[72] Yonsei University, "Campus Life | Administrative Department/ Institution | Administrative Departments | Sinchon Campus," University website, Yonsei University, accessed March 24, 2021, https://www.yonsei.ac.kr/en_sc/campus/department.jsp.

> Queen Myeongseong had a nephew named Min Young. Min Young-Ik suffered a heart-breaking stab wound due to the incident during the Gabshin Coup. By the way, what medical science developed in Joseon Dynasty? Yes, there was a Chinese medicine that kept on spitting. Let me imagine. My chest is torn, and my blood is running, and I am doing heartbeats. What if I apply acupuncture to the wound and moxa on that wound? Yes. It would hurt so much that I feel like I am going to die. It was Dr. Allen who appeared like a comet in front of King Gojong, who was stamping his feet. Dr. Allen was a medical missionary in Joseon at the time, and a simple Western-style suture using silk thread and needles in Joseon will cleanse Min Young-Ik's wounds.[73]
>
> Here, the contrast between the descriptions of Allen and the king is interesting. While the king is depicted as a helpless figure who was "stamping his feet" due to ineffective Eastern medicine, Allen is presented as a capable problem solver. Besides, the narration emphasizes the virtues of the altruistic Christian missionaries who took pity on the Joseon people: King Gojong, who was so moved by this, said, 'Allen, Allen, tell me your wish.' What would you say if the king of a country would grant you his wish? I would have said, "Let me have a girlfriend," "Let me have a good time without studying," but Dr. Allen, who was so altruistic, said, "I feel so sorry for the people of Joseon who suffer from small diseases such as colds. Let me establish a medical institution and educational institution that can cure them, disseminate Western medical technology." So, here is the Gwanghyewon. It was renamed Jejungwon and was later reborn as Severance Hospital after being donated by Dr. Avison.[74]

The mission model that a Christian missionary from a wealthier country goes to an underdeveloped country to save the poor has been criticized because such framework undermines the agency of indigenous people and overlooks how evangelism has had destructive impacts on the culture and heritage in order to achieve "religious purity." It is interesting that the student ambassadors' narration reflects the traditional mission model, which presents a Christian missionary as a hero, reduces the personhood of the king into someone without much agency and mocks Eastern medicine.

The narration highlights Allen's contribution following the historical narrative of Yonsei University. In addition, the ambassadors stress the contribution of Underwood to the establishment of Yonhi College more than any other figures. According to their narration, Underwood loved Korea to the extent that he dedicated his entire life to the development of Korea and the university. They attribute the meaning of openness and altruism to the hand gesture of Underwood's statue.

> The root of Yon is Yonhi College, which was named by Dr. Underwood, the predecessor of Yonsei University. […] In fact, this statue was erected to honor Dr. Underwood's contribution. Nevertheless,

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[73] Yonse Student Ambassador InYon, "Yonsei Student Ambassador Korean Tour Script, 32nd version" (University Tour Script, Seoul South Korea, 2019).

[74] Yonse Student Ambassador InYon.

> you can see the unique pose of this statue. What does it mean when you hold out your hands forward? […] In fact, it has a profound and educational meaning of "Come to me, whoever seeks to learn." Also, Dr. Underwood loved Korea so much that he had the Korean name 'Won Du-woo' and devoted his life to Yonsei University's development and modern education in Korea. Yonsei University was founded in 1957 when Yonhi College and Severance Medical College, which had developed independently, merged. Yonsei University later established itself as a prestigious school through various social participation, including leading the democratization movement in the 1980s.[75]

When the ambassadors take tourists to the main garden, they also underline how much the missionaries, especially Allen and Underwood, contributed to Yonhi College and Jejungwon. Underwood's story is repeatedly emphasized as they explain that "the garden was modeled after the British flag to commemorate the achievements of Dr. Underwood" because "Dr. Underwood was a British American."[76] The ambassadors also associate the ecumenical theology of Yonsei University with how Christian missionaries from different denominations cooperated to advance education in Korea—Underwood, Appenzeller, Stimson, whose names were given to the three surrounding buildings.

Avoiding controversial details and intentionally selecting favorable stories, the tour claims the missionary stories as the foundation of Yonsei's self-identity and history. Because Yonsei is one of the popular universities among high school students, the formalized tour is repeated more often than most rituals: the ambassadors operate tours at least three times a day during the week in the regular semester except for the exam periods, and they run a monthly large-scaled tour with average four hundred tourists. In short, the student ambassadors of Yonsei University deliver stories that consist of not just facts but also a commemorative function, and the stories become an essential part of the institutional memory and self-identity, as witnessed by the people outside the institution.

Speech Acts, Promotion of Virtues

[75] Yonse Student Ambassador InYon.

[76] Yonse Student Ambassador InYon, "Yonsei Student Ambassador English Tour Script, 32nd version" (University Tour Script, Seoul South Korea, 2019).

I have demonstrated how Yonsei University's identity is intertwined with the story of the missionaries, which has been reinforced through practices and rituals mediated by space. Among the many other features and stories, the narrative that Yonsei was founded by Christian missionaries who were virtuous and loved Korea stands out in its identity construction. What is the moral significance of the narrative in one's identity, then? I argue that narratives about the past are morally significant because they provide a morally particular context and moral compass to decide one's actions, virtues, and future. Stories about our selected heroes and heroines are often interpreted as moral exemplars whose virtues we should emulate. Of course, there is a moral risk in the line of interpretation of a figure and promotion of virtues, which I will discuss in the next chapter. In this section, I will demonstrate how the story is employed to form the institution's moral identity and to promote specific virtues, by analyzing the university president's commemorative speeches from 2012 to 2020.

Presidential Commemorative Speeches

I have analyzed eight commemorative speeches made by Yonsei University presidents from 2012 to 2020. The speeches were to commemorate the establishment of Yonsei University.[77]Over the last 8 years, Yonsei has had two presidents. Kap Young Jeong is the 17th President (February 2012-January 2016) who wrote the commemorative speeches of the 127th, 129th, and 130th year of the university. The other speeches were delivered by Young Hak Kim, who became the 18th President (February 2016-January 2020).

The missionaries' stories have consistently appeared in the commemorative speeches over the nine years, although there have been differences between the two presidents' speech compositions to reflect new policies and plans of the university. For example, Kap Young Jeong mentions less of the missionaries but more of Korean activists and literary(people) as he highlights Christian values that the

[77] I did not include I included the speech from 2013 that commemorates the 128th history of Yonsei because this document was not accessible through the website.

university aims to cultivate. Except for their differences, however, missionaries' story has been evoked every year in their speeches except in 2019. Among the missionaries, Horace Underwood was the one who was the most frequently referred to.

In the speeches, the virtues of love and sacrifice are attributed to the missionaries, and these virtues are presented as a principle that governs the university's mission and the plan of the year. Following is the segment of the 129th commemorative speech from 2014.

> About 129 years before, the American missionaries planted the gospel's seeds and the western style of higher education in this land, thereby initiating our great history of the Yonsei University. We are beneficiaries of their sacrifice and love. We, Yonsei University, will no longer stay only as beneficiaries but will inherit the spirit of sacrifice and love to expand and carry them on. Put spurs to a step into the world, open the door to the world, as well as develop in the hall of learning to educate the public on the intelligence of the world. It is. [78]

By interpreting the stories of the missionaries with the virtues of sacrifice and love, the speech claims Yonsei University's identity as the inheritor of such values and the one who will continue the legacies. Based on these virtues, both presidents emphasize the importance of volunteer work and the expansion of educational opportunities for the underprivileged population. President Jeoung explains that "It is important to remember the spirit of Jejungwon, which raised a person who lived an isolated life under social restrictions as a surgeon, and the spirit of Underwood School, which educated orphans and raised patriots."[79] Furthermore, this leads to the plan for expanding educational opportunities for the under-privileged population: "We plan to gradually expand educational opportunities for the underprivileged to 10%, further expand the scholarship system for the bottom 30% of household income, and actively improve the social imbalance." President Kim likewise underscores the virtues of service and altruism in the stories of the founders: "This is the promise to inherit Yonsei's education and research the spirit of

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[78] Kap Young Jeong, "Yonsei University's 129th Commemorative Address (129 주년 창립기념사)," University Website, Yonsei University, July 28, 2015, http://www.yonsei.kr/sc/intro/speech.jsp?mode=view&article_no=974&board_wrapper=%2Fsc%2Fintro%2Fspeech.jsp&pager.offset=20&board_no=14.

[79] Kap Young Jeong, "Yonsei University's 130th Anniversary Speech," University Website, Yonsei University, May 9, 2015, /en_sc/intro/speech.jsp.

service, sharing, and consideration that our founders planted on this land many years ago. I sincerely hope that the year 2018, the 100th anniversary of our first building in Sinchon, will be the inaugural year to engage our old future and new past."[80]

These values are not religiously neutral. President Kim does not differentiate the goal to make a social contribution from the goals of Christian mission work. The missionaries' stories enhance the link between evangelism and social contribution:

> Christianity is the root of the age and will serve as a compass for us to move forward into an "old future." Like the missionaries who established old age a long time ago, we should expand the scope of social contribution activities that practice Christianity's spirit to the world. To this end, we will maximize synergy by integrating various missionary and volunteer functions that have been performed independently by various institutions in our university. The plan is to internationalize social contribution activities by establishing Yonsei Global Social Contribution Center, which integrates various missionary and volunteer activities of the main school, Wonju Campus, Medical Center, and International Campus. Through this, I will teach and practice the spirit of sharing and consideration, which is the basis of the 21st-century empathetic civilization era.[81]

Because of the strong Christian identity, the university is dedicated to teaching Christian values to the students. For example, regardless of their majors, all students are required to attend mandatory chapel for four semesters to graduate from college. If a student fails to attend a required number of chapel services, they are obliged to retake the chapel with one credit. In addition, the university's chaplain's office provides disproportionate supports for Christian clubs and activities. For example, the Yonsei Christian Students Union holds an annual Christian camp for first-year students in which new students are connected to various Christian senior students and clubs associated with the Union. The chaplain office works with the Union to operate the camp by providing spaces for activities and having a chaplain preaching at their worship services. More than a hundred first-year students attend the event annually. However, a large camp or event like this has not been organized for other religions. Similar trend could be

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[80] Young Hak Kim, "Yonsei University's 133rd Anniversary Speech," University Website, Yonsei University, May 14, 2018.

[81] Kim, "Yonsei University's 133rd Anniversary Speech."

found in disproportionate space allocation. While Yonsei University has prayer rooms in their main campuses in Seoul and Inchon, there is no prayer room for other religions, except for the Buddhist club room in the Seoul Campus. In the Inchon campus, in which all first-year students are required to participate in residential college education, students in other religions such as Islam and Hindu do not have a place for praying, in comparison to Christian students who have prayers room under each dormitory. Although the prayer rooms are named "multipurpose prayer rooms", the interior design is distinctively Christian with a large cross in the center and Christian Bibles placed in the room.

Except for President Kim's speech in 2019, in which he mentioned more Korean activists who contributed to Korean society's development and the Korean independence from Japan, the speeches implicitly portray Underwood and missionaries as heroes who saved Koreans, mentioning other Korean agents who helped the missionaries. Kim also narrates that Underwood, and his colleagues planted the seed for Korean modernization, not otherwise. The ambassadors' tour scripts share this feature.[82] The following is the excerpt from the 127th commemorative speech from President Jeong.

> For the past 127 years, Yonsei has been a place of promise that God's vision has been practiced. Our great teachers and seniors have lived and protected our age with sacrifices and dedication based on Christianity's spirit. Jejungwon, where Yonsei's history first began, was the first start of a medical tool the initiative, etc., established to cure diseases with God's love. The following year, the Underwood School was also a place of learning for poor orphans to gather poor orphans. Through this, our seniors planted the seeds of modernization in Korean society and made history that gave hope for national independence amid the Japanese colonial rule.[83]

I have provided Yonsei University's history and the contested historical claims in the first half of the chapter. The development of Yonsei cannot be explained without understanding the power of the missionaries from their finances and nationality as American or Europeans. In the second part, I have shown how certain stories of missionaries are selected and reinforced in Yonsei's identity construction

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[82] See my previous discussion in 'Performance, Rituals, and Recollection 'section.

[83] Kap Young Jeong, "Yonsei University's 127th Commemorative Address (창립 127 주년 기념사)," University Website, Yonsei Universisty, July 28, 2015.

through space, performative rituals, and speech acts. Surely, the stories are not just memories of the past. They shape the university's brand image to the outsiders and provide moral grounds for the university students and school policy. Virtues of sacrifice and love, which are grounded in Christian rhetoric, are Yonsei's distinctive characteristics that institutional leaders aim to promote among the students. As a result, the university pursues various plans, such as volunteer works, evangelism, and even disproportionally provides supports for Christian clubs more than student bodies of other religions.

Chapter Three: Excavating a Hidden Narrative

In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate that the ways that Christian imperialism shaped Underwood's vision of Korea by analyzing his own works, *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious (1908)* and *The Religions of Eastern Asia (1910)*. These two books provide the collection of Underwood's observations of the civilization of Korea and East Asia. He paid particular attention to religious practices and spirituality of Korea and the surrounding Asian countries, China and Japan. I argue that although Underwood conducted a thorough anthropological research of Korean religiosities, his mission work was not free from Western colonialism. The ways in which Underwood evaluated Korean religions reflect Christian exceptionalism and depreciation of Eastern religion which are examples of cultural colonialism.

Political Landscape

Let me begin by drawing a broader political landscape. Underwood's mission work, as well as other missionaries' evangelical endeavors, which led to the establishment of Yonsei University relied on—more precisely, could not have existed if it had not been for—Western colonial expansion to the East. Kim Yong-bok states that "American Protestantism followed the footsteps of its imperial power to East Asia"[84], and points out the United States-Korea Treaty of 1882 as one of the footsteps. This treaty legalized commercial trades between the two countries. However, it is agreed by the majority of Korean historians that this treaty reflected the power imbalance between Korea and the States. The U.S. government asked the Chinese government for help in pressuring Korean government to sign the treaty; The Chinese government, who was weary of political expansion of Japan into East Asia, encouraged the Korean government to sign the treaty with America. By many historians, the treaty is today evaluated as an unfair treaty because it includes a policy that designates America as the best-favored nation(最惠國待遇) in Korean diplomatic procedures, which means that America will receive the more benefits than any

[84] Kim and Christian Conference of Asia, *Minjung Theology*, 78.

other countries. For example, if Japan asked Korea for the right to mine, America will have the legal claim for the same or better benefit by the authority of the treaty. This treaty became a good precedent for other Western nations –such as England, Germany, France, and Russia –who soon made similar treaties with Korean government.[85]

In fact, the Protestant missionaries were not only beneficiaries of the Western expansion but also contributors. According to Soon-kyung Park, although the 19th century Christian evangelism cannot be equated with Western capitalism or imperialism, Protestant missionaries following the 19ch country expansion of the West, entered East and contributed to the expansion consciously and unconsciously.[86] For instance, they provided detailed information about their mission field to the Western capitalists.[87] Underwood provides detailed geographical and political descriptions of Joseon society in "The Country" in *The Call of Korea* (1908). The other chapters in the book are expositions of Korean religious and cultural customs. Protestant missionaries also facilitated subordination of Eastern cultures to the Western cultures[88], by sometimes showing off material wealth, which their countries and they possessed, as something that God has given to them. In contrast to the common Koreans who often suffered from severe poverty and hunger, most of the missionaries were college graduates. They took economic advantage from the political situation of Korea and tried to present to Koreans Christianity as the cause of the wealth of Western civilization.[89]

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[85] Kim and Christian Conference of Asia, 78.

[86] Soon-kyung Park, *National Unification and Christianity (민족통일과 기독교)* (Seoul, South Korea: Hangilsa Publishing, 1986), 29.

[87] Park, 29.

[88] Park, 29.

[89] God, mammon, and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean American relations, 1884-1905, p 61, 95. From Park, *National Unification and Christianity*,33.

Horace Allen, another founder of Yonsei University, was notorious for taking over business licenses in Korea, including water supply facilities, city development, mining, and modern public buildings.[90] He purchased the mining license of Pyeongbuk, which was the largest region in the Northeast Asia in 1895. American government owned exclusive right to mine for 25 years without having the duty to pay taxes to the Korean government, which was suffering from national debts. While Korean people operated a national donation campaign to pay for the government's foreign loans and raised 4500 won in 1910, American government paid Korean government 4900 won as the fee for the 18 years of gold mining, from 1897 to 1915.[91] Allen is known for boasting "all important businesses in Korea is mine"[92]. Although Christian God seemed to be the source of the material wealth of Protestant missionaries and western civilization to many Koreans, the richer the Westerners got, the poorer the Koreans became. This economic disparity between the missionaries and the common Korean people was one of the key factors that attracted many Koreans to the Christianity, because they believed that the Christian God provided the economic prosperity and political power for the missionaries, and they wished to be bestowed with wealth from God by becoming Christians.

American missionaries were keenly aware of the benefits that Western imperialism offered in their mission work. Arthur Tappan Pierson (1837-1911), who was an American Presbyterian pastor and missionary, wrote the introduction to Underwood's book, *The Call of Korea.* He wrote that it is a hypocrisy not to evangelize Korea through "the open door" granted by God: "There is an element of hypocrisy in the failure to discern our opportunity when put so clearly before us by God, and in failing to enter such open doors? […] He sweeps them away, we hesitate, tardily and inadequately coming up to

[90] Park, *National Unification and Christianity*, 34.

[91] Park, *National Unification and Christianity*, 34.

[92] Park, *National Unification and Christianity*, 34. Cited from Fred Harvey Harrington, *God, Mammon, and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884-1905* (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1944), 208.

His help, in the evangelizing the benighted millions to whom He has granted access!"[93] The gate opened by the colonial forces was perceived as something that God granted for evangelism by the missionaries.

And their task of evangelism was given an honorable goal: to save the souls of "benighted" people. Pierson quoted an anonymous source to argue that the common people of Korea are without moral order and characters: "A native Korean leader has said that the only hope of the country is in the churches; that his people [the common people such as servant and non-elites] lack moral character, and the churches are supplying it, and hence to convert and educate the common people is the only remedy for his land."[94] This statement is loaded. First of all, the Korean leader, who represents Korean elite culture, argued that the common people are without moral characters. The American missionary took the biased representation of the people as true, in order to justify their mission work. By citing the native Korean elite's opinion, Underwood cleverly justified American evangelism as something that native Koreans voluntarily wanted and needed. Now let us turn to Underwood's own thoughts and evaluation on Korean religions.

Christian Supremacy

Underwood disvalued religions other than Christianity based on his limited understanding of East Asian religions. He examines, Buddhism, Shamanism, and Confucianism in Korea and argued that they are not effective and superstitions:

> Shamanism being a sort of nature worship, aside from any moral consciousness of right and wrong and the necessity of doing right, can hardly be said to have inculcated any moral touching. Buddhism as found here, while it enforces a self-abnegation, a control of the natural passions and desires, does so from a selfish rather than from an altruistic motive. Its teachings have, in part, tend to foster

[93] Horace Grant Underwood, *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 12.

[94] Underwood, *The Call of Korea,* 12.

> compassion for animal and a care for life in general but do not seem to have affected largely the national conduct in the relation of man to man.[95]

In Underwood's understanding, Korean Shamanism was not equipped to provide any moral direction and meaning of life to the people, while Buddhists merely perfunctorily provided moral lessons based on selfish motivation. Confucianism was treated with a little more respect[96] but was not free from the missionary's bias toward religions outside Christianity. Underwood quotes a Korean Christian preacher to argue that Confucius teaching has negligible impact on the morality of Korean.

> An illustration given by a Korean preacher expressed well what Confucius has really done for Koreans. After holding the attention of his audience by his description of Confucius as an aged sage standing and pointing out the right way, and urging all to follow it, he pictured men falling into sin on every side in spite of all this, and on the other hand, he drew the contrast of Christ stepping down among those who had fallen, lifting them out of their degradation and giving them a new heart, which would make them desire what was good and setting them on the right road.[97]

Underwood thought that it is not any of Korean religions but Christianity that can provide moral direction to Korean people. All three religious practices were regarded either superstitions or philosophies of filial piety—nothing more. He mentions this point clearly: "It must be acknowledged that all three of the Korean faiths, or better, superstition or philosophies, have accomplished very little in giving any real moral tone to the nation to such extent has the filial piety of Confucius been dwelt upon that children are taught that they must not lie to their parents."[98] Such description not only diminishes the rich traditions

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[95] Horace Grant Underwood, *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908), 94.

[96] Underwood writes, "Confucianism, however, with its widely studied literature, has brought with I it its carefully elaborated system of morals and statement of relationships, and has consequently had considerable effect upon the life of the nation. Its admirable system of ethics, teaching the five virtues and allying stress upon the five social relationships has been studied throughout the country but […]" See Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 95

[97] Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 95.

[98] Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 95.

and meanings of each religion but also disregard how political circumstances of Korea impacted their rise and fall.[99]

Underwood's confidence in Christianity did not lie in his assumption that other religions such as Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism had less impact on the life of Koreans, but in that these other religions were essentially deficient. He does emphasize the superiority of Christian God by associating religious monotheism — "purity", borrowing his word — with holiness, while diminishing "Asiatic deities" as foolish, vulgar, and even disgusting.

> The God of the Bible is a pure and holy God, is one in whom is no evil; all His ways are righteous; all His acts are perfect. Holiness is His diadem! What a contrast to the mythological lives of Asiatic deities! Without this divine quality in the one God, what are all other attributes. In the Asiatic concepts these gods can talk and act toward each other after a fashion, not merely foolish and vulgar, but absolutely disgusting. Read the Nihongi or the Kojiki, talk with the Taoist in regard to the sort of conduct possible in his gods, and you will soon realize how holiness as a necessary attribute of the deity is unknown to them.[100]

Korean society has been religious pluralistic society, where people of different religion or those who followed multiple religious practices mutually coexisted. Even though there was political persecution of certain religions, like Joseon's persecution of Buddhism in the first 500 years since its establishment, it was rare for Koreans to despise people who practice other religions than themselves, because the notion of multiple gods was commonly shared. And by that reason people were more tolerant to religious diversity. However, the Christian missionary despised religious diversity as something unclean and

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[99] The reason for the relatively less popularity of Buddhism was from the policy of Joseon dynasty that promote Confucianism and discourages Buddhism rather than a problem of the religion. Because the precedent nation of Joseon dynasty, Korea, suffered from the corruption of the national religion, Buddhism, the first five hundred years of Joseon dynasty intentionally persecuted Buddhism. It also should be noted that by the end of Joseon Dynasty, traditional social order and political system undergirded by Neo-Confucianism, were threatened by other national forces that brought new cultures and products of western civilization. During this time, different social philosophies and religions emerged. Silhak was a branch of Korean Confucianism that emphasized practicality of learnings and cultivation of virtues.

[100] Horace Grant Underwood, *The Religions of Eastern Asia* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910), 251.

impure. And what was regarded impure was all other Asian religions practiced in Korea in Christian standards.[101]

Searching for Religious Purity

Meanwhile, Underwood persistently searched for the hint of monotheism in order to find a connection between Christianity and Korean religiosity. And he focused on 'Haneunim.' Haneunim generally refers to the ultimate divine being in the sky and the universe. Koreans have used to believe in its existence. 'Haneu' refers to sky, and 'nim' is a pronoun of respect. Although the notion of Haneunim is deeply rooted in Korean shamanism and folk religion, originating from the three kingdoms period (57 BC to 668 AD),[102] Underwood found the hope in monotheism in the concept. Later this term, Haneunim, was adapted by Protestant missionaries and changed into "Hananim" meaning the one and only being. *Hana* means one in Korean word, and *nim* is, again, a pronoun of respect. Refuting the evolutionary theory of religion that people of religion start with polytheism, henotheism, and then finally evolve into monotheism, Underwood argued that Koreans had started with monotheism and gradually *fall* into of polytheism:

> Thus, then, we see that Korea for herself had possessed originally in all probability a pure monotheism; and although in later times this developed into a nature religion, with its consequent polytheism, even to this day there survives a sort of henotheism which, to a large measure, has preserved the native concept of the deity from the degradations common to all pure polytheisms. Despite the influence of Buddhism, idols, as we understand them, are not common. Representations of deities in the forms of persons or animals outside of Buddhistic temples, except in the Myriok referred to above, are almost unknown. The nearest approach is in the pictures that are displayed in

[101] Underwood writes, "Holiness as an attribute of deity was hinted at in their own faith, but they fell far short of the scriptural idea. In their approaches to the temples, and especially to the worship of the Heavens, cleanliness was insisted on, but it was largely outward ceremonial cleanliness. It may be said that this implied the need of heart-cleanliness, but their statements of the actions of their gods show how far they had wandered from the pure holiness of the one God revealed in the Scripture." See Underwood, *The Religions of Eastern Asia* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910), 250.

[102] Tae-gon Kim and Dongsik Yoo, "Shamanism: 무속(巫俗)," Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, 1995.

> the Shinto or Shaman shrines. The anthropomorphic tendencies which developed the crudities of Taoism in China, also many of the myths of Japan's Shinto, have been thus guarded.[103]

Ironically this endeavor to secure religious monotheism resulted in Christian framework adapting some elements of Korean shamanism. Instead of nullifying the existence of other deities, Christian evangelism made its way through Korea based on henotheism. Sung-Deuk Oak explains that there was a syncretic fusion between Korean shamanism and Christianity.[104] For example, Koreans in their shamanistic world view believed that diseases and natural disasters were caused as a curse by deities' anger.[105] Shamans functioned as a mediator between humans and the deities, and their primary tasks were to assuage the angry gods in order to cure the diseases and prevent disasters. Oak explains, "When people saw that the missionaries' medicines could be effective against epidemics like cholera, some joined the church believing that the missionaries had alternate methods of fighting evil spirits unknown to the mudang [Korean female shaman]."[106] Although people changed their religion into Christianity, they still carried their shamanistic worldview by which they affirm the existence and the work of multiple gods. They just believed that Christian God was more powerful than other deities without denying existence of them. Underwood himself was keenly aware of this trend: "The news has gone widely abroad that the Jesus of the Christians drives out demons, and many are the cases reported from time to time, when in answer to believing prayers, men and women so said to be possessed, and whom to say the least, were not of sound mind have been restored."[107] This religious framework of Shamanism, which was regarded as

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[103] Underwood, *The Religions of Eastern Asia*, 131.

[104] Sung-Deuk Oak, "Healing and Exorcism," *Asian Ethnology* 69, no. 1 (April 2010): 96.

[105] Oak, "Healing and Exorcism," 97.

[106] Oak, "Healing and Exorcism," 97.

[107] Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 89.

superstition and impurity by Underwood and his fellow missionaries, was one of the primary factors that boosted the success of the Protestant evangelism.

Eraser of Rituals, Divorce from Collective Memory

Confucian rites in which Koreans commemorate their ancestors, their teachers, and sagas of Confucian philosophy were described by Underwood as idol worship with no purpose other than to express filial loyalty. This derision of Confucian rite was based on a subtle form of elitism. Underwood writes, "The educated will not hesitate to plainly announce that they have no belief in the utility of this worship [Confucian rites] and that it is simply and solely an expression of filial loyalty." [108] Underwood emphasized that such ancestor worship is not compatible with Christian belief:

> It has, however, all the form and semblance of worship, and without the missionary attempting to legislate in regard to the matter as a religion, those who profess a faith in Christ have realized that such sacrifices were not compatible with the worship of the one true God. The result at present is, that it has become commonly known that a belief in Christ means the cessation of ancestral worship, and as a consequence, no small proportion of the people often refuse to give any thought whatever to the truths of the Gospel or even listen to a word concerning them. [109]

This way, what had been an integral part of Korean culture was denigrated, to be something to be discarded by Korean Christians who used to practice the rites. Even if Underwood did not intend to contribute to the colonization of Korea politically, he aimed to spread Western Christian identity to Korean people by subordinating religious cultures of East Asia. His religious ideology represents cultural colonialism.

As I discussed in the first chapter, rites and commemorations are one of the primary tools by which people transmit social memory and construct collective narrative identity—whether it is based on abuse of memory or a good use of memory. Confucius ancestral memorial service is also the way to

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[108] Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 80.

[109] Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 80-81.

transmit Korean social memory and construct collective identity and virtues. Wook Lee, a researcher in the Academy of Korean Studies, says s that the ancestral memorial service, within a household, is the way to revive communal memory and exemplary virtues of their ancestors, and promote filial piety in Korea. It is the way to affirm the continuity of existence between the ancestors and those living in the present.[110] On a national level, only selected number of people or gods were chosen to be commemorated. According to the religious worldview of Confucianism, every creature is sacred and holy; and the notion of god is not a distinctively independent entity but is more about sacredness that each creature embodies.[111] However, not every god of every creature was the subject of rituals. Only those who contributed to the nation with exemplary virtues, and some parts of nature - such as mountains, rivers, and hills - from which people earn materials for their living were commemorated.[112] It was the way of reminding people of relations between themselves, their history, and the nature.

While Underwood had an evangelistic concern for Christian superiority, his actions went beyond his intention to threaten continuity between the past and the present, and eventually the collective identity of people. Within the narrative understanding of a person and community, tradition provides a context upon which we understand lives and morality both of individuals and community. Religion and rituals are important constituents of the tradition of a community. To divorce with the tradition is to cut oneself off from the moral source, which is a basis for collective moral formation and identity development. Since it was impossible for Christians to eliminate their tradition completely—that is, many Koreans both Christians and non-Christians were still under the influence of the religious traditions such as myths, beliefs, and practices— it created for many Korean Christians a tension between their tradition and their new religion. The ideology of religious purity and misinterpretation of Korean heritage shamed the

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[110] Wook Lee, "The Meaning of Ancestral Memorial Services and the Ritualization(儀禮化) of memory," *Korean Studies* null, no. 19 (December 2011): 482.

[111] Lee, "The Meaning of Ancestral Memorial Services and the Ritualization of memory," 480.

[112] Lee, "The Meaning of Ancestral Memorial Services and the Ritualization of memory," 481.

traditions as superstition and witchcraft, thereby negating the moral source for collective identity development and moral formation.

Christian Supremacy and Cultural Colonialism

Religion is an integral component of a culture that interacts with the worldview and practices of the members. Religious rituals of the Korean society have provided the basis for a collective identity which is undergirded in narratives by preserving and transmitting memories of a family, community, and a nation. Although each religion had had its ups and downs because of the government's policy on religion, many religions - including Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism - have been part of Korean traditions and the collective identity of Koreans. While constructive criticisms may well improve the religious system, a cultural colonialism depreciates the existence of other religions in order to unroot the rivals. It thereby devalues the parts of the collective identity of the colonized.

The missionary works of Underwood and his colleague missionaries were undergirded by the Western expansion to the Korea with political cooperation from China, which the missionaries interpreted as God's permission to evangelize Korea. The writings of Underwood show an assumption of the supremacy of Western Christian culture over Korean traditions, which are colonizing ideologies. As the Yonsei myth says, Underwood did contribute to Korean education and to Korean resistance to Japanese colonial power [113] However, the myth ignores the ways in which Underwood slighted religions of Asia as idol worship, superstitions, and mere filial piety, which provided few moral lessons to the common people. Thus, many Koreans still believed in the existence of multiple gods, but they were not free from the missionary's view that they should cut themselves off from their traditional customs. The religious ideology that Christianity was superior to and incompatible to religions of East was widely spread, and it is the dominant thought shared by Koreans today.

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[113] The presence of America, the Soviet Union, and Japan in Korea often functioned as a counter-political power against each other. For many Koreans, allying with American missionaries was a way to counterbalance Japanese colonizers.

Chapter Four: Communal Reconciliation with the Past

In the previous two chapters, I have examined how the dominant narrative about Underwood and his fellow missionaries looms so large in the collective identity of Yonsei University, and how the plot hampers other stories from being remembered. The dominant plot celebrates the missionaries as altruistic heroes who had heart-burning passions for Korea and for spreading gospels –so much so that they 'sacrificed' their lives. Since a form of remembering always accompanies a form of forgetting, the storyline of Yonsei is followed by a collective oblivion of how their founding fathers were intentionally and unintentionally part of the Western expansion that subordinated Korean culture to the Western Christianity. as well as the economic system.

So, how should we ethically deal with the chasm between the official story and the postcolonial story about the founding fathers of Yonsei University? Before we advance into this question, let me briefly recapitulate some of discussions around the issue of memory and reconciliation. The question of how to deal with the memory of wrongs has been a heated topic of discussion among theologians. Miroslav Volf argues for the necessity of forgetting for reconciliation between the oppressors and the oppressed in his book, *Exclusion and Embrace (1996)*. He argues that forgetting the memory of wrongs can be redemptive for the victim's self-understanding by saying,

> Memory of evil is a shield against evil, I said. Notice, however, the double function of the shield: it protects from violence by inserting itself between me and the enemy, it shelters by redoubling the boundary between the self and the other. The memory of wrongdoing superimposes on the image of the other a narrative of transgression; even a forgiven sinner is still a past sinner if her sins are not forgotten if the wrongdoing does not recur the narrative of transgression will recede into the background and allow the human face of the other to emerge, which will in turn cast the narrative of the past sin in a new light. […] In my memory of the other's transgression the other is locked in redemption and we are bound together in a relationship of no reconciliation.[114]

[114] Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, 132–33.

Volf assumes that victims in active remembrance of wrongs inflicted by the oppressors will not free themselves from hatred and vengeance, which easily lead to violence.[115] Alike Volf, John de De Gruchy explains that amnesty is a form of forgetting, which is different from amnesia - denying the wrongs done in the past - and agrees that active remembering of the wrongs in the past "might lead, in fact, to acts of violence and vengeance."[116] It should be noted that De Gruchy does not diminish the importance of the recognition of harms and repentant and he highlights the moral courage of victims in the process of forgiveness and reconciliation.[117] Volf's argument, however, has been criticized by Sunder John Boopalan. In *Memory, Grief, and Agency* (2017), Boopalan points out that Volf's assumption that remembering the wrongs will make victims vulnerable to reliance on violence underestimates the moral agency of victims and it also "vilifies victims and survivors of wrongs who cry out for justice and grieve over wrongs."[118] Boopalan stresses that remembrance of the past structural violence reveals the effect of the wrongs in the past remaining as structural injustices in the present society.[119]

Although their theological discussions provide useful framework to deal with memories of wrongs within the context in America, we need a new framework to discuss the post-colonial South Korea because the context is different from those in that of America or South Africa. Because those who did wrongs — the early protestant missionaries — are solely deemed as heroes, the history of wrongs is not remembered and sometimes even intentionally forgotten by the institution and the people in the post-

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[115] Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, 121.

[116] De Gruchy, *Reconciliation*, 178.

[117] De Gruchy, 172–74.

[118] Boopalan, *Memory, Grief, and Agency*, 122. This assumption about victims is also shared by Oliver O' Donovan. See Oliver O' Donovan, "Justice and Equality," in *Ways of Judgment*, 31-50 cited from Boopalan, "Theological Unease with Remembering Wrongs: Miroslav Volf and Oliver O'Donovan," in *Memory, Grief, and Agency,* 113-148. According to Boopalan, the problem of the assumption is it is "a categorical mistake by seamlessly equating cries for redress and thirst for vengeance (120)."

[119] Boopalan, *Memory, Grief, and Agency*, 124.

colonial context of Yonsei, in contrast to the American context, where people can easily identify different parties to be reconciled based on their race and ethnic heritages. Because of the memories of wrongs have been neglected, it becomes unclear what kinds of colonial residues still impact the present community and whom should be reconciled with whom. The cost of forgotten memories of this post-colonial context is that harm is present within the institutional practices, but the harm is not recognized as something to be fixed but instead it is legitimized by the dominant narrative. The ideologies of Christian supremacy and western superiority are not bluntly outspoken but implicitly present within the space, practices, and rituals of the university. And they all together shape the institutional narrative identity and moral formation of students. Historical harms go unnoticed because the dominant narrative about the missionaries has become the foundation for the vision of Yonsei university.[120]In such a context, it can be difficult to initiate the conversation about forgiveness and reconciliation, because of the lost memories and the seemingly present peace. Thus, the urgent task in the post-colonial context is to retrieve the lost memories of harms, in order to diagnose historical harms penetrated that made their way into the present culture and system, which is an integral step for reconciliation and peacebuilding.

In this chapter, I delineate the theo-ethical necessity of holding both positive and critical narratives about founding fathers, especially for Christian community, in the process of sanctification awaiting in Christian eschatological hope. In the first section, I visit each problem of dual understandings of the founding fathers of Yonsei university that either protect them as saints or discard them as villains. In the later half section, I will draw from doctrines of sin and eschatology for the contemporary community to constructively engage the complicated past and to reorient community pride.

[120] See the mission statement: “Yonsei University serves as the "alma mater" of all arts and sciences to nurture leaders who will contribute to the Korean and international society, in the ecumenical spirit of Christian teaching epitomized in its motto of “truth and freedom.” “Yonsei University Profile,” University Website, Yonsei University, accessed June 17, 2021, http://about.yonsei.ac.kr.

Saints or Villains?

The original narrative plot that honors the legacies of the missionaries can no longer exist intact since the post-colonial perspective of Korean history has revealed how missionaries contributed to political, economic, and cultural submission of Korea to the Western imperial power. But should then the stories of the honorable legacies of Underwood should be completely discarded? I expect not. On a practical level, , any attempt to discard the whole story will easily face institutional rejection. This is because this story has been given authority by the institution and the power to shape the institutional practices, ranging from fundraising, advertisement, and evangelism of the school. On an ethical lever, the original story line bears ethical significance as it has provided the basis for the collective identity of the institution. They have cherished the story and taken it as part of their identity. Should the story be taken away without any alternative, the community will lose their ground to start with, which would also fracture moral particularities and virtues of the institution. In addition, it would be reductionistic to neglect the positive legacies of the missionaries –such as contribution to educational and medical advancement—because of their negative legacies, akin to not paying attention to their colonial ties in order to highlight their contribution to Korea.

Promoting only positive aspects of missionaries who were in mutual relationship with the Western colonialization is a way of being complicit with the imperialism by helping them covering up colonial residues of the missionaries. I would like to expand what Ricoeur has called "disease of identity."[121] He argues that a community's identity based abusing memories is a disease. [122] The identity is rooted in a misconception of who the community was, has been, and should be. If the community tenaciously holds onto the original story that glorifies stories such as violence and subjugation of other

[121] Paul Ricoeur, "Imagination, Testimony, and Trust: A Dialogue with Paul Ricoeur," in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*, ed. Richard Kearney and Mark Dooley (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 7–8.

[122] Paul Ricoeur, "Imagination, Testimony, and Trust," 7–8.

communities, the community's self-consciousness is paralyzed by the ideology justifying the violence. A chance for critical self-reflection is at lost. They continue to have a misunderstanding of their moral particularities and responsibility.

One-sided narrating of Underwood is ethically problematic for Yonsei University's institution because it has the power to justify lack of religious equity and diversity on the campus and it fails to recognize the Christian supremacy at the root of the current religious conflicts in South Korea. Yonsei University, to a certain degree, follow the footsteps of Christian imperialism of their founding fathers in a passive sense. It does not overtly try to convert students into Christians, but it prioritizes Christianity over other religions through its use of financial resources and its requirements. Christian chapel services are mandatory 1-credit course for every student for two years as their graduation requirement. While various Christian student organizations receive exclusive financial and spiritual supports from the Chaplain's office for their annual Christian camps, prayers room, and Christian festivals on the campus while Muslim students do not have a prayer's room

Yonsei has interpreted the work of missionaries as the virtue of charity, which they themselves must reproduce. However, the counter narrative of the missionaries' complicity in colonialism reveals that Yonsei University benefited from the missionaries' political and economic power that subjugated other Koreans during the early 20th century Korea. The current positive narrative about the missionaries only presents the virtue of charity as something to be cultivated in Yonsei University students, while neglecting the responsibility to dismantle the cultural legacies from the colonial period. cultural colonial residues that should be undo. On the other hand, the counter narrative about the cultural and religious colonialism done by the missionaries will reveal that it is Yonsei's collective responsibility to address and dismantle these leftover colonialisms. In other words, Students and the institution educated about the counter narrative will feel a stronger obligation to face and resolve the issues associated with Christian supremacy and Western imperialism, in addition to the virtue of charity.

The abuse of memory found in Yonsei's story is a representation of numerous Christian institutions established by Christian missionaries, where the phenomenon of honoring positive contributions of the early Protestant missionaries is not uncommon. The socio-cultural consequence is there is no opportunity to critically examine internalized cultural colonialism, as well as the root of external and internal religious conflicts within the current South Korean society.

Underwood's religious exclusivism and deprecation of other religions has been largely shared by his contemporary missionaries and many Korean Christians today. Kukjin An and Yohan Yoo write that the religious exclusivism in Christian mission strategy in Korea has fueled interreligious conflicts to the extent that interreligious conflicts have emerged a major social problem, which often lead to social division and violent conflicts.[123] Believing that Buddhism or any kinds of other religions are a form of idol worship, Christians have often stormed Buddhist temples to destroy statues of Buddha, commit arson, and destroy other various cultural symbols and monuments.[124] They also often form an interest group to protest against events and festivals that were designed to promote traditional Korean culture such as Dano(端午) Festival, arguing that Dando is a superstition because the festival involves ancestral memorial services.[125] Dano festival, as a cultural heritage of South Korea and as a national holiday of North Korea, was registered as Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO and Heritage in 2005.[126] It is

[123] Kukjin An and Yohan Yoo, "A Suggestion for Overcorning Religious Conflicts and Religious Discriminations in Korea," *Center for Religious Studies at Seoul National University*, Religion and Culture, 19 (2010): 181–85.

[124] For example, Christians with the belief that Buddhism is a form of idolatry destroyed 750 Buddha statues of the Wonmyeong Temple in the Jeju Island in 1999. Christians cut off the traditional gradian posts which were erected at the gate of colleges and universities with a power say in 1980s. See Vandalism of other religious cults, the result of narrow-minded faith,

[125] An and Yoo, "A Suggestion for Overcoming Religious Conflicts and Religious Discriminations in Korea," 187.

[126] UNESCO, "Gangneung Danoje Festival," Intangible Cultural Heritage, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2008.

important to note that many of Korean customs and traditions are both cultural and religious heritages at the same time. While public discussion about the meaning of such a tradition is a symbol of a healthy society, Christian extremists have deployed violent means to communicate their objections to "idol worship".[127] Interreligious conflicts arise not only in the public sphere but also within a household. Converted Christians often wrestle with the tension between their traditional religious practice of ancestral commemoration rituals and the dominant teaching of the church that these rituals are idolatry. They experience religious conflicts within their household with other family members and relatives who like to practice their tradition.

Uncritical memorialization of Western missionaries has discouraged Korean churches from examining their exclusive attitudes toward other religions, as well as their internalized Christian imperialistic thought –that Korean indigenous religious practices are idol-worship incompatible with Christianity. By commemorating their colonial missionaries, Korean church has allowed the colonial ideology to erase their commemoration of their Korean families and their legacies.

Because of the ethical consequences to both two choices — either to completely disregard the narratives of the founding fathers, or to hold on to the dominant narrative by exercising abuse of memory — a third option is ought to be sought after. The two narratives ought to be held together in the process of institutional self-understanding and discernment of ethical practices.

Seeking for the Vessel toward Sanctification of a Community and Faith in Eschatological Hope

A new narrative plot should develop, in order to hold counter narratives together with the narratives honoring the legacies of the founding fathers in the process of self-understanding. This goal will necessitate two tasks at least. First of all, I will revisit the founding fathers with a different ontological

[127] An and Yoo, "A Suggestion for Overcoming Religious Conflicts and Religious Discriminations in Korea."

perception by drawing from the doctrine of sin. Secondly, I suggest a new ground for community pride in order to deal with the collective shame which the counternarratives about the community's past evoke.

The community can lose its sense of pride grounded in the legacies of the founding figures. If people had strong attachment to the honorable legacies of their precedents and have understood the positive stories about the precedents as part of their personal and collective identity, they can feel discomfort with counternarratives that threatens the original plot. They may well resist the counternarrative, in order to protect their original ideas about who they are in relation to their precedents and the past. If the emotional aspect is not dealt with properly, the people are likely to refuse listening to the unconformable counter memories, to protect their sense of pride. Although humility is a traditional Christian virtue, I do not attempt to diminish the importance of community pride. Surely, for a community whose past has been shaped by colonialism and whose identity is not free from internalized cultural colonialism, a healthier sense of community pride and self-esteem must be cultivated. But how can a community, while dealing with uncomfortable truths, develop a community pride in a theo-ethical way? I attempt to find an answer by drawing the Christian doctrines of sin and hope in eschatology.

Traditionally, founding figures of a community have been celebrated as heroes and saints, as it is exemplified in the dominant narratives about Underwood and his fellow missionaries for Yonsei University. However, the counter narratives suggest that the line between heroes and villains is ambiguous. This double nature of the founding figures represented by the competing narratives actually follows the traditional doctrine of sin. Martin Luther explains that human beings are *simul justus et peccator*—simultaneously justified and sinners. Luther emphasizes the radicality of human sin that necessitates God's forgiving grace that justifies humanity despite of the ontological condition entangled with sin.[128] This ontological analysis of human condition is a helpful lens when dealing with the

[128] Sibylle Rolf, "Atonement and Reconciliation," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

complicated legacies of the founding fathers and competing interpretations of them. The missionaries, however much their contributions were, are not independent from their ontological sin, and thus the tangible consequences of this condition. The theology that humans are both the righteous and the sinned should not be used to underestimate the gravity of sin and evil by normalizing them. The doctrine of sin should instead point to prevalence of sin , so much so that we can confront the impacts that sin of our saints and heroes have, although they are the ones whom we often identify self with, and whom we often ground our communal pride on.

Affirming the counternarratives and the revealed sin opens up the new opportunity for growth and self-reorientation in the process of sanctification. Sanctification is "the process of growth" in faith and love in Christian life.[129] John Wesley rightly explains that the sanctification is the gift of God and that sanctifying grace accompanies humans to participate in sanctified life, in which people practice agapeic love toward one another and the whole creation.[130] Thus, in the process of sanctification, we are, guided by the sanctifying grace and the Holy Spirit, invited to act in response to the love of God in this world. This process should not be confused with moralism and a mere human endeavor, but it is the response from humans who are willing to exercise their free will in accordance with God's will and renewal of individuals, society, and the creation against sin—not only the sin of the past, but also sin collectively shared by us, because of the aftermath of wrongs in the past.

Embracing the counternarratives as the founding narratives of a community, they come to be able to realize how they share the complex legacies of the precedents. This expansion of founding narratives of a community will reorient a community's moral particularities and responsibility in the society. Yonsei University, by embracing both dimensions of the missionaries, will come to realize how their establishment is entangled with cultural and religious colonization in Korea, and also with the promotion

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[129] Daniel L Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Theology, Third Ed.* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2014), 250.

[130] Migliore, 251.

of Western and Christian exceptionalism. This recognition invites the institution and Christian communities within Yonsei to critically examine their religious framework and practices in relation to other religions. Then a set of new questions will arise: Is Yonsei following the footsteps of the Christian missionaries' religious stance? How well are the religious freedom and practices of students with other religion supported by the institution? What kinds of colonial ideologies about ethnicity, religion, and nation have been internalized by individual students and the institution? What is the responsibility of Yonsei University to the larger Korean society, which was economically exploited by the Western colonialist during the 19th and the 20th centuries?

To respond to the sanctifying grace of God and the call for transformation, in relation to the collective identity and complicated moral legacies of the past, a Christian community should foster fluidity in self-understanding. Although we often find pride as a collective identity undergirded by positive historical interpretations of the legacies from the past, this pride and self-esteem is fragile because of its moral ambiguity and suspicions surrounding the legacies of the founding fathers, who were ontologically sinful. Although the idea of fluidity may at first appear weak and brittle, this fluidity in collective identity is what enables the community to engage constructively with the past and grow. Thus, the fluidity in self-understanding is what actually makes the community stronger. Ricoeur rightly talks about the fragility of *idem* identity that refuses any change over the time and insists on the sameness of one's identity:

> Idem identity connotes sameness; sameness is a claim not to change in spite of the course of time and in spite of the change of events around me and within me. What I call my 'character' is a possible example of this type of identity or this level of sameness. But in the course of personal life, I need a kind of flexibility, or a kind of dual identity, the model of which would be for me the promise, i.e. the capacity to keep one's own word. This is not the same as remaining inflexible or unchanged through time.[131]

[131] Ricoeur, "Imagination, Testimony, and Trust: A Dialogue with Paul Ricoeur," 8.

A collective identity that is built by one-sided interpretation is essentially fragile, because new streams of consciousness will always bring another historiography of the past. If understood in a rigid form, a collective identity will be always "threatened" by the counter narrative thereby the community perceiving the uncomfortable stories as enemy to destroy. Fluidity in self-understanding can be a communal virtue which enables a community to expand and examine self-understanding, of which process is essential for the process of sanctification.

Communal Pride

What can become the ethical basis for communal pride? Communal pride built upon the abuse of memory hampers people from admitting moral responsibilities arising from the silenced past, and motivates people to practice memory abuse. In addition, communal pride and dignity once established upon the biased narrative plot is also fragile, as long as there is counternarrative that can fracture the original plot. Because communal pride is vulnerable to memory abuse, we need to find a new foundation upon which our community can find the basis of self-esteem, which is particularly important for a once-colonized group.

I suggest that a communal pride should lie in their current process of working with the past to imagine a better future. It is to find the basis of dignity and pride not in the stuffed past but in the present efforts to improve the life of the community in the expectation of the better future. The process of *working with the past to proceed to a better future* is yet to be accomplished. It will always be. Thus, the process may seem to vulnerable and weak to be the basis for communal pride. However, finitude is not equal to strength and infinitude is not identical to weakness; often we find the opposite. I find it true when it comes to a communal life. The process of working with the past to imagine a better future requires collective virtues of bravery to relinquish old pride attached in heroes, and the willingness to overcome extreme individualism to embrace the history of the community as part of their own, collective responsibility of owning wrongs inherited from the past, wisdom to deconstruct residues of violent ideologies, collaborative creativity to change practices and customs, and compassion to listen to those

whose stories have been erased by the abuse of memory, and a sense of humbleness to admit that the community's vulnerability to politics of narrative and the importance of self-examination. This stream of virtues is not finalized but will continue to flow and expand. This process for a Christian community is a tangible outcome of the process of sanctification guided by the Holy Spirit and the sanctifying grace of God. In the faith in God who will guide us and empower us to cultivate a better future not only for us in the present day but for the next generations, we can dare to take seek pride in the process of deconstructing our misbelief in the past and recreate, and continue to re-create, the new meaning between the past, present, and the future.

Conclusion: How Do We Move Forward?
-Retrieval of Memories for Collective Reconciliation-

How should we ethically exercise memory and memorialization in the process of forgiving and reconciliating with the early Protestant missionaries, who have complicated legacies in post-colonial Korea? In order to answer this question, I have situated my question in the context of the narrative identity construction of Yonsei University, whose institutional narratives are grounded in the positive sides of the early Christian missionaries.

A significant challenge for the work of reconciliation is the absence of memory of wrongs. In Yonsei University, Horace Grant Underwood, Horace Newton Allen, and other Christian missionaries are celebrated as founding fathers who dedicated their lives to saving Korea and establishing the university. The institution attribute virtues such as love, sacrifice, and servant leadership to these missionaries. This positive narrative plot about the founding fathers underpins the narrative identity of the institution. Moreover, the positive memories are not only somethings that are naturally remembered but are intentionally preserved through space, recollected during rituals, and developed by practices. The main garden of Yonsei University, located at the center of the campus, is designed after the British flag to commemorate Underwood's home country. The three buildings surrounding the garden are named after the missionaries; and many other buildings and programs of the campus are given the missionaries' names as well. Presidential commemorative speeches recall how Yonsei University inherits the virtuous legacies of the founding figures. Furthermore, student ambassadors participate in the narrative construction, and deliver the message to people within and outside the campus through their campus tour. The positive memories are intentionally developed, preserved, and practiced, thereby dominate the institutional narrative identity.

This one-sided exercise of memory and memorialization comes with at least three costs. First of all, the dominant narrative fails to present a complete picture about the missionaries by not attending to colonial ties of the missionaries and disregarding Koreans' agency during colonial Korea. In the process

of claiming Jejungwon–the first modernized hospital in Korean history–as the root of Severance Hospital, Yonsei University highlight the positive roles of the Protestant missionaries such as Allen and Underwood. In contrast to Seoul National Hospital that stresses the Korean government's role in the establishment, Yonsei spotlights the missionaries' contributions; student ambassadors even make light of the Korean government and Eastern medicine during their tours. The biased exercise of memory also overlooks the negative economic and cultural impacts of colonialism of which the missionaries were part. What is silenced by the dominant narrative is how much many of the missionaries, including Allen, took advantage of the Korean colonial context to accumulate wealth and political power. The institution's dominant narrative plot prevents the members from realizing the cultural colonialism brought by and perpetuated by the missionaries. For many American missionaries, the Western imperialism presence in Korea was something that God provided for their evangelism work to save "*blighted"* Koreans. Underwood also carried cultural colonialism with him. For example, Christian supremacy was underpinning the ideology of his mission work. Underwood misunderstood Asian religions and thought that they were vulgar and foolish. He degraded the Korean ancestral memorial service within a household undergirded in Confusion tradition into idol worship — something to be abandoned, although such memorial service is an important cultural tradition to revive communal memory about their ancestors, their legacies, and communal virtues. In short, the current exercise of memory silences the counter memories.

The second issue is that the dominant narrative justifies the lack of religious equity within the campus. The positive memories about missionaries do not just remain in the past but shape the university's brand and practices. Because the university has a strong identity as a Christian school, it develops various programs and spaces featuring Christian identity and messages, such as mandatory chapel services, Christian prayer rooms, and events for Christian clubs. As a result, there is an institutional lack of support for students' diverse religious and spiritual needs. The positive memory of the missionaries has been the powerful tool in defining the institution as a Christian school. It has been also

used to legitimize the preferential favoring Christian and justify the lack of religious equity within their practices.

The third problem is on the conscious level. That is, the current exercise of memory prevents people from recognizing these two problems mentioned above, thereby obscuring the need for truth-telling and reconciliation. Those who did wrong are only celebrated as heroes. Moreover, the institutional Christian identity justifies the current lack of religious equity within the campus; thus, problems go unrecognized. Glossy portraits of the missionaries and heart-warming stories about them create uplifting feelings and a sense of peace among the audiences so much so that there appears to be no problem. The lack of memories of wrongs obscures the needs to interrogate colonial residues and to work toward reconciliation. As a result, cultural residues of colonialization is still present in the institutional practices and is even internalized by the institution's identity in this post-colonial context.

This politics of memory and the resulting issues are related to the issue of memory and the concept of collective narrative identity. The narrative is a powerful moral source and tool to connect individuals to the community. Through narrative, people realize how they are embedded in the flow of history, their community, and in the past and the future. Thus, the question about where they are at the present moment and whom they ought to be in the future is always in constant discussion with communal narratives; as the famous maxim says, there is no future without the past. However, the lack of memory about the missionaries' negative legacies and the overflowing positive memory demonstrates that narratives existing in the form of collective memory are subject to abuse. This observation complicates MacIntyre's concept of unity in a narrative self. According to MacIntyre, the narrative provides a telos for a narrative self, which prevents the self from falling into moral relativism. The telos functions as a compass that guides the self through different choices and life constituencies that accompany different moral options, thereby giving unity to a narrative self. When it comes to the Yonsei's post-colonial context, communal narratives and memories were subject to abuse. That is, there were so many positive memories about the missionaries and Christianity that they caused a lack of memories about the

missionaries' colonial legacies.[132] The one-sided exercise of memory constructed a telos for the university; the university presses that they are inheritors of the missionaries and thus have the mission for cultivating Christian virtues among the students. The telos justified institutional practices for Christian mission work. Therefore, I argue that a telos undergirded by abuse of memory and narratives is something to be critically investigated in such a post-colonial context.

To cultivate fluidity in collective self-understanding is an ethical imperative for exercising memory and moralization in the process of forgiveness and reconciliation in the context of Yonsei University. This idea will also help other institutions that undergird their identity on the early Protestant missionaries in post-colonial Korea. Truth-telling is indeed the primary step for initiating any reconciliation work. The fluidity will enable each community to retrieve forgotten narratives as part of their history and hold the disruptive narratives together. The necessity of the disruptive narrative is that it can assist us in diagnosing the cultural harms that are present in our community and how they are embedded in our consciousness and practices.

This critical self-reflection will enable us to facilitate the process of growth and sanctification with humility and a better sense of communal pride. Deconstructing the dominant narrative does not come without a challenge. The task of deconstructing the dominant narrative involves deconstructing whom we have thought of ourselves concerning the fathers. Dominant one-sided narrative — about who our 'heroes' were, and what we have inherited — have underpinned communal identity practices and pride. The Christian doctrine of sin and sanctification will provide a helpful framework to deal with the difficulty. First of all, the doctrine of sin developed by Martin Luther normalizes that everyone, even including the heroes, is not free from the ontological sin and the impacts of said sin. The glorified founding fathers and the inheritors are no exception. The theology of *simul Justus et peccator* extends further. It points to the prevailing impacts of sin and evil, and challenges the believers to take sin seriously, so that we can

[132] I draw this concept of abuse of memory from Paul Ricoeur, as I demonstrated in the first chapter.

address the results of the sin of humanity, including those of ourselves and our beloved heroes, instead of evading them.

Secondly, the process of truth-telling and dealing with harms from sin, is to participate in the process of sanctification, in other words to grow in faith and love in Christian life. In the journey of sanctification, people grow to love and be awed toward one another, their community, and the creation. Retrieval of counter memories involved in the process of sanctification will help the once-colonized community be liberated from harmful ideologies and colonial residues. The theology of sanctification can provide an ethical basis for communal pride, which is essential for the once-colonized community. Here, I suggest that the basis for communal pride should be the process of growth and sanctification, instead of consolidated positive narratives about the past. The pride must be undergirded by the fact that the community is working toward a better future by dealing honestly with complicated legacies from the past. Although some may accuse that cultivating fluidity renders the collective identity vulnerable, in fact, fluid identity buttresses the collective identity because it opens up the room for an improvement and a more ethical future. It thus enables the community to transform themselves and constructively develop communal virtues. This sense of pride is only possible if the community cultivates the virtues of open-mindedness, humbleness, and bravery to challenge the communal self-understanding and face how the dominant narrative about the colonial heroes has shaped the collective consciousness and collective creativity to develop new practices at the emergence of counternarratives.

Furthermore, the retrieval of counternarrative in the excise of collective memory will help the community recover communal love and pride in their own culture and heritage. This is because the counternarrative will reveal how the colonial cultural ideologies have attempted to divorce Korean Christians from their own religious and cultural heritages, as well as fostering a sense of shame for their own culture. The deconstructing of the dominant narrative and the contemporary collective identity will help Korean Christians reconcile with their heritage, once was shamed, and disparaged by the colonial mindset.

The chance to recover communal esteem about cultural and religious heritage lies in the process of sanctification and the reconciliation with the past. The reason is that it is impossible to fully reconcile the community with their culture and heritage before finally looking back and scrutinizing the less-than-proud stories of the colonial heroes. This recovery of appreciation and pride in the endemic cultures and heritages is a powerful resource in reconstructing communal narrative and identity freed from internalized colonizers' ideologies.

In post-colonial Korea, it is not only Yonsei University that has grounded its narrative identity in positive memories about early Christian missionaries. Across regional boundaries, many institutions – including those in higher education – exercise their memories of founding fathers in a strictly positive light. I suggest that cultivating fluidity in a community's self-understanding and the hermeneutics of suspicion to interrogate the dominant narrative, so that they can hold postcolonial history in their exercise of memory. In such process of sanctification, the community will be able to design better practices, as well as the future. A better form of pride will develop – undergirded in growth and the new meaning between the past, present, and the future.

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