

Moral Development and the March First Movement

Hope Elizabeth May

Central Michigan University/Kyung Hee University

Abstract

This paper offers a discussion of the March First Movement of 1919 (MFM) through the lens of moral development. Central to the discussion is the moral development of the most well-known personality associated with the MFM, Yu Kwan-sun (1902-1920). After discussing Yu's own moral development, I connect this discussion to another important but less well-known figure associated with the MFM, Lee Sünghun (1864-1930). As a chief organizer of the MFM, Lee Sünghun made it possible for Yu Kwan-sun to both display and further develop her virtues and moral energies during the MFM. A discussion of Lee Sünghun also enables us to appreciate the thread of moral energy that was spinning prior the MFM, and which blossomed into the MFM in large part due to his efforts. I close by briefly discussing another participant in the MFM, Louise Yim (Im Yöngsin) (1899-1977). Like Yu Kwan-sun, Yim was imprisoned and tortured for her participation in the MFM. Unlike Yu, however, Yim survived and dedicated her adult life to the independence of her country and the education of its citizens. A deeper consideration of the individuals involved in the MFM can connect us in the present to their virtues and moral energies. To know these individuals is to be inspired and moved by them. Thus the stories of the individual participants in the MFM remain an important resource for international ethics.

Keywords: Moral Development, Moral Exemplar, Genuine Encounter, Yu Kwan-sun, Louise Yim, Lee Sünghun, March First Movement

Received January 31, 2019; Revised version received February 22, 2019; Accepted March 1, 2019

“The world progresses, in the slow and halting manner in which it does progress, only in proportion to the moral energy of the men and women living in it.”

– Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907)

In what follows, I offer a narrative of the March First Movement of 1919 (MFM) that focuses less on the idea that the MFM was a “nationalist” and “anti-Japanese” uprising by “the people,” and more on how the MFM affected and can continue to affect the virtues, moral energies and the life-courses of individuals. In his 1969 essay, *Kicked by God*, Korean philosopher and democracy activist Ham Sökhön (함석헌) (1901-1989) noted that the MFM led to “the creation of newspapers, magazines, books, lectures and schools.” Importantly, however, it was the impact that the MFM had on individual persons which energized them to engage in actions of cultural and political creativity. Ham Sökhön was himself a participant in the MFM and acknowledges its profound effect on him personally. As Ham himself puts it, “I also was influenced greatly by this movement” because it created a “deep sense of self-awareness” (Ham 1969, 8-9). Ham’s insight that the MFM deepened his self-awareness invites the question of how the MFM is connected to the moral development of persons. An increase in the capacity of self-awareness and self-consciousness has been recognized as a component of moral development and moral maturity (Mezirow 1990; Damon and Colby 2018, 285). Thus insofar as the MFM made Ham more self-aware, it promoted his moral development. A more thorough discussion about the linkages between the MFM and the moral development of persons is addressed in what follows.

1. A Framework of Moral Development

Because I integrate vocabulary and ideas found in both philosophy and developmental psychology that may be unfamiliar, a preliminary clarification of terms is in order. Following the work of American philosopher and peace activist Jane Addams (1860-1935) (Addams 1907), I use the terms “virtues” and “moral energies” to denote those human forces that are responsible for moral behavior.

While these virtues and moral energies can exist in a primitive state (e.g., in children), they can (and should) develop and mature over time such as when they cooperate with more developed intellectual capacities (Aristotle 1998, 156-157).

Moral development is a prescriptive notion that denotes advance, progress, growth and maturity. Thus, the notion of moral development is not relativistic because “we have to define which changes count as advancements rather than [as] mere changes” (Damon and Colby 2018, 385). In their work *Some Do Care*, Anne Colby and William Damon focus on the moral development of individuals who have lived lives of extraordinary moral commitment. Colby and Damon refer to these individuals as “moral exemplars” (Colby and Damon 1992). A moral exemplar exemplifies widely shared ideas of what it means to be a highly moral person. Moral exemplars are not “morally perfect or ideal,” but “are highly dedicated persons who, through their sustained commitment and talents, labor to make the world a better place” (Colby and Damon 1992, 27).

While moral development can be promoted in a number of ways, my discussion focuses on the mechanism of “genuine encounter.” Associated primarily with philosopher Martin Buber (1878-1965), the term has been elaborated upon by psychologist Albert Bandura who acknowledges the importance of the “chance encounter” in one’s trajectory and life-course (Bandura 1982). Colby and Damon’s notion of “developmental crucible” which, as we will see, is related to the notion of “encounter,” gives us a way of describing encounters that do not merely change one’s life-course, but do so in a way that promotes moral development.

I also make use of a framework known in developmental psychology as the “life-course perspective.” The life-course perspective is a theoretical framework that arose out of a need to understand “how people lived their lives in changing times and across various contexts” (Elder 2003, 4). The turn towards longitudinal studies within the social sciences revealed that “lives are influenced by an ever-changing historical and biographical context” and that “unforeseen events had profound events on life trajectories” (Elder 2003). Accordingly, the life-course perspective considers the role of the environment in the complete trajectory of a human life. Importantly, the “environment” is understood as a specific social and historical context. The terms “environment” and “context” are not simply static

“containers” with which the person interfaces, but are rather regarded as a sequence of events, some foreseeable and some completely random. The environment is “a varied succession of life events that vary in their properties to affect the direction that lives take” (Bandura 1982, 748). This “succession of life events” includes foreseeable biological and social events (adolescence, marriage), as well as unpredictable surprise events that involve family, friends, career and society. As demonstrated by Albert Bandura, “chance encounters,” i.e., unintended meetings of persons unfamiliar with each other, are among the unpredictable events that play a prominent role in shaping a life-course (Bandura 1982, 748). Societal events that shape the life-course include both domestic occurrences and international happenings.

As an illustration, consider the impact that World War I had on Vera Brittain’s life-course. In her autobiographical work, *Testament of Youth*, Brittain tells the gripping story of how World War I put her on a journey towards pacifism. As a twenty-one year-old British woman in 1914, Brittain was far from being either politically awakened or civically engaged and even refers to the “romantic ignorance of 1914” (Brittain 2005, 578). Politically apathetic, she paid no attention to either domestic or international affairs. Losing her fiancé and brother to the war, however, made her understand the “influence of worldwide events on the personal destinies of men and women” (Brittain 2005, 12). Living through World War I awakened in Brittain a fervent desire to end war. This desire for international harmony sparked an interest in history and international relations and led to Brittain’s involvement in the League of Nations Union (Brittain 2005, 470-471).

The life-course perspective acknowledges Brittain’s insight that worldwide events can profoundly affect the personal destinies and trajectories of individual lives. To use the parlance of the life-course perspective, international events can lead to “turning points” in the lives of individuals and hence can substantially change the direction of these lives (Elder 2003, 8). World War I resulted in a turning point for Vera Brittain that consisted in her political awakening. In like manner, the MFM presented a similar turning point for many of those who participated in it, including the very young such as Yu Kwan-sun and others younger still (Korean Information Bureau 1919; Strawn 1988, 8). Indeed, it was

the end of World War I and Woodrow Wilson's vision expressed in the U.S. in 1918 and later at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 that impacted the personal destinies of young Koreans at home and abroad (Baldwin 1969, 37; Manela 2007, 128). International events occurring far from the Korean peninsula had a profound impact on the personal destinies of those living on the peninsula.

While academics may have an understanding of some the life-courses of Korean individuals such as Yō Unhyōng (여운형) (1886-1947) and Kim Kyusik (김규식) (1881-1950) who were impacted by worldwide events, their stories are dimly understood by the average person in Korea, and are completely unknown to most non-Koreans. This is unfortunate because these stories are compelling, and as we shall see, are valuable resources for international ethics. But the MFM is not appreciated in this way. Rather, it is typically understood through the lens of nationalism and as an “anti-Japanese” movement of the people (Lee 1963, 89-126). Curiously, however, there *is* one individual whose story dominates the popular understanding the MFM, the heroine and patriotic martyr, Yu Kwan-sun. It is towards her life-course to which we now turn in order to begin our discussion about the connection between the MFM and moral development.

2. Yu Kwan-sun: Virtues, Moral Energies and Life-Course

Yu Kwan-sun (유관순) (1902-1920) is, for all intents and purposes, the personification of the MFM in the Korean public consciousness. Her story is “passed down to every Korean from early childhood” (Hertig 2004, 225) and her example is used to teach the values of sacrifice and service for the Republic of Korea (Jang 2015, 181). Koreans began honoring Yu Kwan-sun as early as 1947, when the Yu Kwan-sun Memorial Foundation was established presumably by Pak Intōk (박인덕) (1896-1980) and Sin Pongcho (신봉조) (1900-1992) (Soo 2019; Academy, n.d.).¹⁾ These two women were obviously impressed with Yu's passion for her homeland which Park witnessed first-hand when she was in prison with

1) Importantly, the date of 1947 pre-dates the 1948 division of the Korean peninsula into two separate Korean states.

Yu following the MFM (Jang 2015, 154).

Shortly after participating in the MFM in Seoul as a sixteen year-old student, Yu Kwan-sun returned to her home of Cheonan with a copy of the Declaration of Independence that was read earlier in Seoul on March 1, 1919 (Jang 2015, 83). Inspired to continue the *Manse* (Independence) Movement in Cheonan, she organized the citizens of 24 of the local villages to peacefully demand independence as had been done in Seoul. The non-violent demonstration in Cheonan was organized on April 1, 1919—a symbolic day as it was March 1 of the lunar new year (Jang 2015, 94). In addition to being historically meaningful, April 1 was also “market day” in Cheonan and therefore presented an opportune time for the demonstration (Jang 2015, 94). During this so-called “*Aunae Manse Movement*” (named after the Aunae Marketplace in Cheonan, where the demonstration occurred), nineteen people were killed, including Yu’s parents (Jang 2015, 132-134). Yu was tried and sentenced in Gyeongsong and sent to Seodaemun Prison in Seoul to serve a sentence of three years (Jang 2015, 153). She died there on September 28, 1920 after being tortured by the Japanese—a mere seventeen year-old (Jang 2015, 173).

Raised as a Christian (Methodist), in 1916 (age fourteen) Yu began attending the Methodist girls’ school, Ewha Hakdang (에|화|학|당) (Jang 2015, 21). Ewha (which literally means “pear blossom”) was the first Korean mission school for girls (Yoo 2015, 91), and was established in 1886 by Mary Scranton (née Mary Fletcher Benton), the first American protestant female missionary in Korea. While at Ewha, it is said that Yu became inspired by the stories of Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale (Hertig 2004, 226), but on some accounts she seems to have been exposed to these stories prior to entering Ewha (Jang 2015, 10).

Yu is often referred to as the “Joan of Arc of Korea” (Hertig 2004, 225; Arirang TV 2014; Ban 2015). In a speech delivered in 2015, Former UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, followed the trend of likening Yu Kwan-sun to Joan of Arc:

I want to speak about a great young Korean woman who lost her own freedom so that others could be free. The patriot Ryu Gwansun was born at the beginning of the 1930s [*sic*]—and she only lived to be nineteen years [old]. You could say

she was like Jeanne d'Arc. She was subjected to such terrible torture in prison and she died from her injuries. But she never gave up her beliefs. Today, her name lives on. (Ban 2015)

The fact that Yu Kwan-sun was inspired by Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale is important for two reasons. The first concerns the irony of this trans-generational, transnational threesome. Indeed, given that Yu Kwan-sun is hailed as an exemplar of peace, it is ironic that Yu is consistently identified with Joan of Arc and never (at least to this author's knowledge) with Florence Nightingale.

Joan of Arc (1412-1431) died at the tender age of 19 following a trial in which she was convicted of witchcraft and heresy, and was subsequently burned at the stake by the English (Frank 1997, 53). Joan of Arc is associated with Yu Kwan-sun due to the tragic and unjust death that both suffered as teenagers. But there is an important difference between the two. Joan of Arc heard voices from various Saints exhorting her to go to Charles VII so that he could appoint her to lead his armies in battle (Frank 1997, 52). Eventually, Joan of Arc was appointed as a military leader who did in fact lead the French Army to victory against the British during the Hundred Years' War (Frank 1997, 52). Joan of Arc clearly did not practice non-violence. Florence Nightingale (1820-1910), on the other hand, was a healer and nurse, a force of nurture who accomplished remarkable feats of mercy during the Crimean War (1853-1856). In fact, Florence Nightingale inspired a number of peace advocates, including Henri Dunant, the driving force behind the first Geneva Convention of 1864 and the first winner of the Nobel Peace Prize (in 1901). Dunant explicitly claimed that he was "obsessed" with Nightingale's memory, and that she was a primary motivator in his drive to end war via the mechanism of humanitarian law (Durand 1986, 21).

Given that Yu Kwan-sun is hailed as an exemplar of non-violence (Jang 2015, 118), it is curious that she is repeatedly likened to the warrior Joan of Arc rather than to Florence Nightingale. Joan of Arc wielded a sword, whereas Florence Nightingale wielded a lamp. Florence Nightingale is known as "the lady with the lamp," a moniker given to her by the soldiers of the Crimean War. The soldiers

were comforted at night when they saw Nightingale carrying a lamp, as it signaled that someone was there to care for them (Florence Nightingale Museum n.d.). Again, it is doubtless the fact that Joan of Arc and Yu Kwan-sun died unjust deaths at such a young age which motivates the comparison between the two. But we should be careful about the comparison, especially if we wish to continue to recognize Yu as a symbol of non-violence. Further, the connection with Joan of Arc emphasizes the death of Yu Kwan-sun, rather than her life and the virtues of humanness, bravery, trust and love that she exhibited in organizing her fellow citizens to participate in a moment of moral advance. Perhaps we should consider more the affinities of Yu Kwan-sun and Florence Nightingale. Both were devoted to peace and the upward growth of a nation. Both women are associated with light and involve a story of a lamp. And in the case of Yu Kwan-sun, the torch with she is associated (and which she proudly holds in the monument in Jangchungdan Park, Seoul), is not one of destruction and conflict, but one of trust, solidarity and collective awakening.

It is not just how Yu died which is the important aspect of her story. Even more important is how she lived and how she used the precious energy of which she was steward. The focus on preparing one to die for one's country instead of preparing one on how to live for it, has been critiqued as a vestige of Japanese militarism (Yim 1951, 140). We will discuss this idea later. For now let us simply note that we should not be solely focused on the end of Yu's life-course, but should rather be focused on the development of her moral virtues and energies that occurred within her all-too-short life. To that end, let us return to the topic of Yu's moral development and of how the stories of Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale contributed thereto.

We have discussed the first reason as to why a consideration of Yu's role models is important. Again, the irony of the connection with Joan of Arc is striking, and the importance of highlighting the connection with Florence Nightingale is compelling, if Yu's peace-loving character is to be emphasized. The second reason why a consideration of Yu's role models is important concerns the moral power of the stories of these historic figures, and Yu's disposition to be moved by the moral energy inherent in these stories. In ordinary language, we might say that

Yu “was inspired by” Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale, and that both were “role models” to Yu. The insight that role models can be instrumental in developing the virtues was recognized by Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.) (Aristotle 1998, 142-143). Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius (180-121 A.D.) also recognized the power of role models in promoting moral development. In the opening pages of his *Meditations*, he enumerates numerous lessons from the persons he encountered:

From my mother: piety and bountifulness. To keep myself not only from doing evil but even from dwelling on evil thoughts, simplicity too in diet, and to be far removed from the way of the rich.

From Rusticus ... To be easily recalled to myself and easily reconciled with those who provoke and offend, as soon as they are willing to meet me. To read books accurately and not to be satisfied with superficial thinking about things or agree hurriedly with those who talk round a subject. To have made the acquaintance with the *Discourses* of Epictetus, of which he allowed me to share a copy of his own (Marcus Aurelius 2011, 18-19).

More recently, Colby and Damon note that encountering a “highly virtuous person” can impact moral development:

The sight of a highly virtuous person living a life dedicated to moral causes can have a powerfully influential effect on other people’s moral behavior. As a rule, people are more captivated by the example of a human life than by an ideational treatise. The extraordinary influence of moral exemplars is due in large part for this natural human preference for personal embodiments over abstract notions. When a human life comes to represent a virtuous quality, that quality gains an appeal that could never be realized through ideas alone. The quality becomes “personified.” (Colby and Damon 1992, 22)

Colby and Damon’s claim that “ideational treatises” tend to have less of an impact on moral development than do “personal embodiments,” should be noted.

Marcus Aurelius' praise of Rusticus above appears to challenge this idea. For in that passage, Rusticus is thanked for sharing his copy of Epictetus' *Discourses*. This suggests that in fact an "ideational treatise" captivated Marcus indeed. Perhaps "ideational treatises" can only be impactful after one is exposed to a sufficient number of "personal embodiments."

On the other hand, Yu Kwan-sun did not interact with the personal embodiments of either Joan of Arc or Florence Nightingale and was instead impacted by their *stories*, and specifically by the reading of specific books. Her encounter with Joan of Arc's story is described as follows:

...Gwansun was able to pick up children's books that were widely read in the Western world. Gwansun, especially, was moved by *The Story of a Patriotic Woman*. The book was a biography of Joan of Arc, a warrior woman, who fought for France. This book gave her much strength whenever she was faced with unexpected difficulties later on. (Jang 2005, 10)

According to the above account, Yu read about Joan of Arc prior to entering Ewha, and approximately at age five/six (Jang 2005, 10). But wherever she encountered this story, it is important to note that words and arguments only impact the moral development of individuals when the virtues and moral energies are sufficiently developed (Aristotle 1998, 270). Thus Yu, when very young, was already morally advanced because she was affected by the virtues and moral energies of the historic persons about whom she read.

a) Role Models and the Genuine Encounter

Let us understand the phenomenon of "role models" and the idea of "being inspired by a person" more precisely through the notion of *genuine encounter*. As mentioned earlier, this notion is most associated with Martin Buber, and specifically with his work *I and Thou* (Buber 1970). According to Buber, the wholeness of the self is realized only in a specific relationship and orientation to another (Buber 1970, 80). Importantly, to realize this wholeness and complete

actualization of self, I, as an “incomplete self,” must acknowledge “the other” in a very specific way. This “other” can be a person or even a tree. To become a complete self, I must acknowledge “the other” as a “thou.” That is, I must relate to “the other” not as an instrument to be used, or an “it,” but as a “thou” or a “you.” When I have such an encounter, I feel the presence of the Divine, and am thus made “whole” as a self (Buber 1970, 123-126).

When one has such an experience of “the other,” and is “confronted” by a “thou” or a “you” rather than by an “it” or a “thing,” one has a *genuine encounter*. These exalted experiences of “wholeness” in which one feels the Divine are not permanent—and the nature of human experience is somewhat tragic as the “thou” relation must give way to the “it” relation (Buber 1970, 68-69). The idea here is similar to the phenomenon that, however dear one’s beloved, inevitable moments arise in which the beloved is seen as an “it” and perhaps even as an obstacle to one’s goals. “Every You in the world is doomed by its nature to become a thing or at least enter into thinghood again and again” (Buber 1970, 69). But the You arises from the it and the thing, as the butterfly arises from the chrysalis (Buber 1970, 69). And in those precious moments of genuine encounter and completeness-of-self, one becomes enchanted, energized and inspired: “That which confronts me is fulfilled through the encounter through which it enters into the world of things in order to remain incessantly effective, incessantly *It*—but also infinitely able to become again a *You*, enchanting and inspiring” (Buber 1970, 65-66).

Buber’s notion of encounter presents a deeper analysis of what it means to be “inspired by” a person. Importantly, it is this specific notion of *confrontation* which has bearing on the question of role models and how they engender moral inspiration. Note how Buber understands the encounter as the fulfilling of “that which confronts me.” In the case of Yu Kwan-sun, she was “confronted” with stories, including those of Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale. Whereas Joan of Arc was a personal embodiment of a sort of courage and patriotism, Nightingale was an embodiment of nurture (among other values). Yu encountered each of these value-driven women as a “thou,” and hence felt a deeper presence in their examples because through the encounter, she felt a sense of completeness. Again, in ordinary

language, we would simply say that these women were “role models” for Yu and that she “was inspired by” Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale. But a deeper analysis of this phrase “was inspired by” reveals that there is in fact a confrontation, a being chosen and a choosing (Buber 1970, 124-5) that is a core component of this phenomenon. One experiences the being chosen and choosing of the embodied value as a feeling of wholeness and completeness of self—an exultation that moves one to act, to change, to say “o.k., I will” and to thereby implement and become the value. It is this moment that is of profound moral significance. Henceforth, we will refer to this aspect of encounter—where one is invited to choose and to move towards completeness of self by choosing to act in a way that denotes moral advancement—as a *developmental crucible*.

As defined by Anne Colby and William Damon in their work on moral development, *Some Do Care*, a developmental crucible is a meaningful encounter which can either be inspiring or challenging but in either case, presents an individual with opportunities to: 1) affirm one’s values and commitments; 2) re-examine one’s current beliefs; and 3) develop new goals and strategies aimed serving one’s values and commitments (Colby and Damon 1992, 175). Thus, the developmental crucible is a moment of multidimensional confrontation. In such moments, there is a conscious act involving a variety of intellectual operations concerning one’s values: recognizing and accepting, reflecting, and discovering new ways of implementing those values. Not included in Colby and Damon’s definition is an explicit statement that these intellectual operations ripen into an action. To be sure, intellectual operations such as moral deliberation and reflection are “actions” of a very important “inner” sort, but we also need to note that moral development involves not just inner deliberations and reflections, but also includes *acting* on those deliberations and reflections. So let us add that to our understanding. In a developmental crucible, one is invited, chosen, and asked to affirm, re-examine and refine of one’s values. Choosing to “accept” this invitation, evidenced by a decision to act in way that implements one or more values, completes the developmental crucible. The acceptance of the invitation through the action fortifies one’s moral energies, and one moves to a more complete moral self. This is not to say that moral deliberation and reflection do not also move

one to a more complete moral self, but bodily actions move one further still.

Applying these notions to the encounters that Yu Kwan-sun had with Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale, it is easy to see how both women would confront Yu in such a way that invited her to reflect on her own values and commitments, thereby further developing them. Further, the fact that Yu Kwan-sun was confronted by these value-driven women, demonstrates that developmental crucibles are not limited to actual physical encounters. Rather, developmental crucibles can occur with more “remote” encounters involving persons whom one *never* meets and who live in completely different places and eras. Russian physicist and anti-nuclear activist Andre Sakharov (1921-1989) claimed that his greatest personal debt was to Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968), whom he had never met (Colby and Damon 1992,15). And as mentioned above, Henri Dunant was obsessed with the memory of Florence Nightingale, whom he had never met. Consider also Louise Yim (Im Yŏngsin) (임영신) (1899-1977), a participant in the MFM who will be discussed later, and who became a driving force in linking the education of women to Korean independence. As she explains, she was deeply affected by the biblical story of Queen Esther, as whom she was cast in a school play. Of this experience she writes:

...just before Christmas I was cast as Queen Esther. As I walked on the stage and looked out at the audience of girls and parents, I was transformed. The words I had rehearsed so carefully took on new meaning. They seemed to fit the present as well as the past. When I pleaded with King Ahasuerus to save the Hebrews, the words became a plea for Korea. And the meaning of my lines, though I did not mention Korea, was clearly understood by the audience. (Yim 1951, 55-56)

As there is no evidence that Sakharov was cast as Martin Luther King in a school play, the encounter of these two “strangers” was, to be sure, more remote than that of Louise Yim and Queen Esther. Nonetheless, both examples illustrate that a “remote” encounter with a certain kind of “stranger” can be so inspiring as to be a developmental crucible. Again, this implies that one’s virtues and moral energies have already somewhat matured (Aristotle 1998, 270). Genuine encounters

with the virtues and moral energies of “strangers” through stories are specific kinds of “confrontations” in which one is invited to advance morally. One accepts this invitation by engaging in a value-driven action, and in so doing, one’s moral development is promoted.

b) Yu Kwan-sun, Kim Ransa and the *Iminhoe*

The “remote” encounters with Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale doubtless further developed Yu’s somewhat mature moral energies, so too did the stories which she read in the Bible which she apparently was able to memorize with ease (Jang 2015, 10). But Ewha Hakdang clearly presented Yu with more *direct* genuine encounters, as it exposed her to a number of awakened women and “personal embodiments” of virtue. As Yu Kwan-sun was coming of age at Ewha, a different path for Korean women was being forged, and Yu was learning at the very feet of those who were paving the new way. Amongst this group of “new women” was Kim Ransa (김란사) also known as Kim Ha-ransa (김하란사) (1872-1919). A force in her own right, Kim paid her own way to pursue the cultivation of her mind and her heart which took her all the way to the United States (Willing and Jones 1910, 69). Significantly, she did so only after demonstrating great fortitude in her attempt to be educated and hence to open deeper channels within. After applying to Ewha and being rejected because it was the school’s policy to deny admission to married women, Kim responded with the following plea: “My life is pitch-black like in the middle of the night. Would you give me a chance to find light?” Moved by her pluck, persistence and fierce determination, Ewha could not turn her away (Seoul Education Museum 2017). Thus Kim entered Ewha in 1895, and sometime after that left for further studies in Japan. Hungering for more, Kim departed for the United States in 1897, and thereafter became the first Korean woman to earn a college degree in the United States (Willing and Jones 1910, 69).

While at Ewha, Kim Ransa and Yu Kwan-sun had encounters through Ewha’s literary society known as the “*Imunhoe*” (이문회). Led by Kim Ransa, the *Imhunhoe* was in effect a consciousness raising student club in which national liberation was discussed (Seoul Education Museum 2017). Established with the

aim of promoting intellectual and social capacities, the *Imunhoe* consisted of weekly meetings in which current issues or political events were debated (Ewha Archives 2005, 43). Thus, the *Imunhoe* “fostered in the female students a sense of self-awareness and social consciousness” (Yoo 2015, 91). Pak Intök (박인덕) who was mentioned earlier as one of the founders of the Yu Kwan-sun Memorial Society, was also a member of the *Imunhoe* and is recognized as a “moral mentor” of Yu (Jang 2015, 40). By 1919, the leaders of the *Imunhoe*, which included Kim Ransa, formed a secret society aimed at fighting Japan’s colonialism of Korea. The *Imunhoe* therefore opened up new channels of moral energy for its participants, including a concern with political community. It is said that Kim Ransa invited Yu Kwan-sun to participate in the *Imunhoe* by saying “be a lamp to light up Joseon” (Seoul Education Museum 2017).

The direct encounters at Ewha and the *Imunhoe* with women such as Kim Ransa and Park In-deok doubtless functioned as developmental crucibles for Yu Kwan-sun. She was confronted not only with personal embodiments of strength, autonomy and numerous intellectual virtues, but also with conversations and dialogue which invited her to develop her opinions on the current issues and political events of the day. The *Imunhoe* introduced Yu to political community in connection with Korea’s independence. The discussion and debates surely caused Yu to affirm her values and commitments; to re-examine her current beliefs; and to develop new goals and strategies aimed serving those values and commitments. Thus by the time of the MFM, and despite her young age, Yu’s virtues and moral energies were well cultivated by both “remote encounters” through stories, and by “direct encounters” with the women whom she encountered at Ewha. The events of March First provided the opportunity to complete Yu’s developmental crucibles through concrete action.

With this deeper understanding of the encounters which led to the development of Yu’s virtues and moral energies, let us turn to an individual who was thirty-eight years her senior, and who was a driving force of the MFM, Lee Sünghun (이승훈) or Namgang (남강) (1864-1930). Namgang was a chief architect of the MFM. As such, he provided the moment and the “field” in which Yu Kwan-sun could act and complete her developmental crucibles. Presented with this field of meaningful

action, Yu chose to fortify the virtues and moral energies that resulted from her prior genuine encounters. Let us better understand this “field” by looking at the actions of one of its chief architects, Lee Sŭnghun.

3. The Virtues and Moral Energies of Lee Sŭnghun (Namgang)

To understand the virtues and moral energies of Namgang, it is important to remember that the MFM was an interfaith movement involving members of the Cheondogyo order (an indigenous Korean religion), Christians and Buddhists. Led by Son Pyŏnghŭi (손병희) (1861-1922), the Cheondogyo requested the participation of Christians in the *Manse* movement, and it was Namgang who was summoned to secure this involvement (Ham 1987).

Namgang was regarded as an important force in the nurture of his fellow citizens for independence. In fact the “independence” with which Namgang was primarily concerned was largely focused on the cultivation of inner resources through education—such as an independent mind and a properly cultivated heart—rather than on mere ‘physical’ independence. Electrified by a speech given in 1907 in Pyongyang by Dosan An Ch’angho (도산 안창호) (1876-1938), Namgang, at age forty-three, decided to abandon his profession as a businessman and devote his energies to educating the young. Dosan’s electric presence and rousing speech focused on the importance of education, and in particular on the need to create a new kind of person, which Dosan was doing through his “New People’s Association” or *Shinminhoe* (신민회). These notions resonated with Namgang, and his life was changed forever.

a) Genuine Encounter and Developmental Crucible: Dosan and Namgang

The encounter between Dosan in Namgang in 1907 was one in which Dosan’s virtues and moral energies helped to actualize Namgang’s. As reported by Ham Sŏkhŏn, after Dosan’s speech, Namgang approached him, shook his hand and said

“I learned a lot from what you said today. I shall follow your words” (Ham 1987). This is striking given Namgang’s age and the fact that Dosan was his junior by twelve years.

As a result of his encounter with Dosan, Namgang decided to alter his life-course and devote his energies to education. He did so by establishing Osan school in Pyongyang. Namgang committed himself entirely to his students and his school. Namgang’s encounter with Dosan was surely a genuine encounter and a developmental crucible which caused Namgang to advance morally. The encounter caused Namgang to affirm his values and commitments; to re-examine his current beliefs; and to develop new goals and strategies aimed serving his values and commitments. And, accepting this invitation of Dosan, Namgang acted.

Opening in 1907 with just seven students, Osan school cultivated a new kind of human being via transformational education which blended nationalism, humanism, Chinese philosophy, and eventually Christianity (Ham 1969, 9; Kim 2014, 62). By 1919, Namgang was a Christian elder, and was known as a protector of the Korean spirit. It was therefore natural to enlist his virtues and moral energies in the MFM. Poetically, a student of Osan’s first graduating class, Kim Tot’ae (김도태) (1891-1956) appealed to Namgang in an effort to seek his involvement in the MFM (Ham 1987). Like Aristotle’s example of the doctor who performs his art on himself (Aristotle 2018, 35), Namgang built the school which in turn created a person who in turn helped Namgang and the nation to further advance morally through the MFM. Indeed, without Namgang’s involvement, it is doubtful whether the MFM would have happened at all (Ham 1978).

Namgang’s path from his encounter with Dosan in 1907 to the MFM of 1919 was not easy. His exposure to Christianity in 1910—another developmental crucible—further intensified his educational activities which eventually resulted in imprisonment by the Japanese for nine years in various prisons throughout Korea (Kim 2014, 66-69). While in prison, Namgang’s faith deepened as he read the Bible repeatedly (Kim 2014, 68). In a very profound sense, prison was a developmental crucible for Namgang because of these remote encounters with persons distant in time and place. Namgang was finally able to return to Osan in 1915 (Kim 2014, 69). Thus by the time of the MFM in 1919, Namgang had

experienced a number of hardships and developmental crucibles which strengthened his resolve and commitment to his people.

When he was recruited to organize the Christians to participate in the MFM, Namgang displayed unusual zeal and intrepidity in his “grass roots” organizing. He went from “person to person” and back and forth between his home-town of Pyongyang to the center of operations in Seoul. Ham Sökhön describes Namgang’s moral energy of “going back and forth” between Pyongyang and Seoul as follows:

Namgang went up to Seoul to meet up, discuss, and took charge of this: Cheondogyo proposed to start it and fund it, but that would not be enough, so Christians somehow had to rise up. We Cheondogyo will rise too but Christians must rise up first. Namgang accepted that and came back. Once he returned, he could not sit still, and went back and forth. ... Indeed, it was the old days. These days, no matter if you are a friend, even if you only tell a friend, your words get leaked somehow. But back then, though people might have lacked in knowledge, they at least had trust. It was very surprising how the words never went out. When he was going back and forth, he apparently had in his pocket ten, twenty stamps from Christian ministers. By convincing “Please, please be a national representative.” That is a very difficult task. The March 1st Movement was accomplished thus. (Ham 1987)

It was Namgang’s moral energy and his dedication to individual appeal by which the MFM was “accomplished thus.”

Let us focus on Namgang’s effort of appealing to the individual person.” Ham says Namgang did not just appeal to elders, he appealed to *all* people, recognizing that they too could accept the invitation to advance morally and participate in nurturing the Korean spirit. Namgang’s democratic capacity of recognizing that all persons should have a political voice was demonstrated earlier as he allowed any student, regardless of class, to enroll in Osan School (Benedetto and McKim 2009, 262). Indeed, class and station simply did not concern Namgang. He regarded each person as a human being, capable of moral advance and contribution. As Namgang organized from person to person, he conveyed the message “you are

human too, and you can rise up and demand that you are treated as a human.” Ham Sökhön describes it as follows:

For what meaning shall we commemorate the March 1st Movement? That was the first movement in our nation, it could not have erupted without the thought of “I’m human too,” and who raised that thought? There were other people, but it could not have been done without Mr. Namgang Lee Süngun. Why? He is a man without any of those – “I will take the credit when things go well,” “I am great, etc.” I am not trying to praise him with words. He simply did not have that kind of ambition. Politicians these days are already concerned with who has the qualification to be the President, who is on my side and who is on your side, and that sort of thing, but Mr. Namgang had none of that when raising the March 1st Movement ... all the people rose up and worked during the March 1st Movement, and no one had hitherto treated them as human beings, but this man indeed treated them as such. I heard then too: “You are all masters of this nation, so do not rely on others. All of you must stand up and cry ‘Love Live Korea,’ then we shall be independent.” We heard that for the first time in our four-thousand-year history. ...Since the man treated others as human beings, he naturally became human himself. (Ham 1987)

This notion that in treating others as human beings, Namgang “naturally became human himself” is an expression of Martin Buber’s insight that “Man becomes an I through a You” (Buber 1970, 80) or using a different translation “Through the Thou Man becomes I” (Buber 1958, 28). Only in a specific “thou” relation to the other, does the self become complete. And only when the self becomes complete, does one become fully human. Again, “I require a You to become; becoming I say You” (Buber 1970, 62).

There was, in Namgang’s pain-staking grass-roots organizing, a recognition of the humanness or as we might say today, the human dignity, of each person. In his organizing for the MFM, Namgang had numerous genuine encounters. Namgang confronted people through these encounters not with an invitation to build a school, but to build the spirit of a nation and he did so by saying, “[y]ou are all masters of this nation, so do not rely on others. All of you must stand

up and cry ‘Love Live Korea,’ then we shall be independent.” (Ham 1987). He acted, and one by one, they acted in response. He asked. They said “o.k.” These encounters formed the foundation of the MFM and were the seedbed from which the MFM grew.

These encounters of “humanness” and “human dignity” provided the field for Yu Kwan-sun to act and reaffirm her values and commitments. The MFM was, in effect, a developmental crucible writ large, a turning point that affected so many individual lives. Arising from a seedbed of genuine encounters betokening human dignity, prepared in large part by Namgang, and then subsequently tilled by Yu Kwan-sun countless unnamed others, the MFM opened up new channels of moral energy. In addition to the seedbed of human dignity prepared by Namgang, The Declaration of Independence that was read called for a new international order neither based on revenge, resentment or destruction. Instead, the Declaration called for an order based on reconciliation, fellowship and construction of Self (McKenzie 1920, 247-250). The MFM opened up channels for a new kind of morality amongst Koreans with social and international implications.

Again, that the MFM happened at all, and that these emotional channels were opened, was in large part due to Namgang. Namgang “could not sit still” and went from person to person in gaining adherents for the MFM. He acted, and those whom he encountered acted in response. He asked. They said “o.k.” In this way, Namgang’s virtues and moral energies used to organize the MFM made it possible for Yu Kwan-sun to display and develop hers. Without Namgang’s fortitude, strength of love and his democratic and cosmopolitan attitude of “you’re human too,” there would be no MFM as we know it, and hence no Yu Kwan-sun as we know her. Having discussed Namgang’s role in organizing the MFM, and hence in providing Yu Kwan-sun with a field upon which to act, let us now return to Yu Kwan-sun’s actions during the MFM.

4. The Virtues and Moral Energies of Yu Kwan-sun Revisited

As described earlier, after participating in the MFM in Seoul, Yu returned to

her hometown of Cheonan where she too, engaged in pain-staking grass roots organizing, going from village to village, person to person, and educating each about the forthcoming Aunae *Manse* movement in Cheonan. Having borne witness to the democratic character of the MFM in Seoul, Yu carried this spirit with her to Cheonan. Like Namgang, she could not sit still. Like Namgang, she recruited individuals to participate, one by one. But because of Yu's gender and age, her organizing of the people did not just demonstrate her democratic capacity and "humanness," it was also an example of her bravery. For she went from place to place during the night:

It was surprising that she traveled around over 70li through six towns, but it was even harder to imagine that a woman passed the Deumusil Pass alone in the dead of the night. Being relieved at her safe return, the town people commented about her bravery. ...As the morning came, Gwansun left Jiryongri and went to a town nearby. Today she had to go to Jochiwon through Soksemal, Baleomi, Hanshin, and Sangnojeong. It meant that she had to travel over 80li to get through the five towns. ...The next day was Yeongigun. ...Without time to rest, Gwansun had to make a trip to Mosan, Bopyeong, Beongjae, Hwasan, Sapdari, Beolteo, Guemseongol, Munhansan and Jinchoenmyeon. (Jang 2015, 98-101)

Whereas Namgang received "ten, twenty stamps" or pledges to participate, Yu's courage and humaneness resulted in twenty four commitments to participate. Village leaders pledged to show Yu their commitment immediately prior to the demonstration by lighting beacons or Bonghwaje (봉화제) in response to Yu's signal torch which she promised she would wave atop Maebong mountain beforehand. She asked, and they said "o.k." The trust of which Ham Sökhön mentioned in connection with Namgang's organizing above was also operative in Cheonan. For the twenty-four beacons were lit upon seeing Yu's signal fire atop Maebong Mountain (Jang 2015, 101-102).

Through her genuine encounters, Yu was internally prepared to act on March 1 in Seoul. Her participation on that day was a turning point in her life-course, subsequently leading her to organize the villages in Cheonan in the weeks that

followed. When presented with the invitation act on her teachings, she did. When invited to participate in a larger political community, she accepted. That acceptance included journeying at night to invite others into this community, unthinkable because it was dangerous for a young girl. Yu's moral development was not just exhibited and strengthened in Cheonan, but also continued after she was arrested, tried and sentenced to Seodaemun prison for three years (Jang 2015, 153). While in prison, she would repeatedly shout *Manse* and was beaten as a result (Jang 2015, 154). On March 1st 1920, the first anniversary of the MFM, Yu secretly organized a demonstration in prison wherein numerous women shouted *Manse* in unison (Jang 2015, 157-162). Admitting her responsibility for this demonstration, Yu was severely beaten—something that she doubtless expected. She died in prison just six months later on September 28, 1920.

a) Courage and the Life-Course

Yu Kwan-sun's participation in the events in Seoul, Cheonan and Seodaemun illustrate the cumulative development of her virtues and moral energies. But Yu Kwan-sun did not live a complete life, and we should be mindful of how this bears on the assessment of Yu's courage and moral development. Some forms of courage demand a complete life of dedication. This point was recognized by peace activists in the United States who proposed that living a complete life of moral commitment requires more courage than that required to die for a noble cause:

So long the ideal of physical courage has been recognized in a willingness to meet death, and the highest ideal of moral courage has been associated with willingness to meet death for a good and noble cause, it has grown a difficult task to make people realize that it requires more physical courage to live three-score years and ten [70 years] than to die at an earlier date; and that it requires more moral courage to come up to four-score years [80 years] "by reason of strength," which has been devoted to the illustration as well as to the advocacy of high moral ideals, than to die for any, however noble, cause. What the world needs is not men who can meet death and women who can see their beloved die without terror and without

revolt. Such men and such women it has had from the earliest historic times. But it needs men and women who together can meet life, who can unite in the solution of its problems which, with the advancement of civilization, are constantly becoming more delicate, more intricate and more exacting. (Sewall 1895, 93)

The fact that Yu Kwan-sun did not live a complete life has some bearing on how we view her courage. To be sure, she displayed courage in organizing her citizens and journeying at night to do so, but without a complete life-course, we cannot say that she possessed the sort of courage described above. Understanding in more detail how other participants in the MFM led a full life of sustained moral commitment puts Yu Kwan-sun's life-course in greater perspective. There is of course no reason to suspect that Yu would not have lived a complete life of intense moral commitment to her people. But it is nonetheless important to consider her contribution in comparison to that of others who participated in the MFM who had longer life-courses, such as Namgang and Ham Sŏkhŏn. Interesting questions arise when we consider the virtues and moral energies of life-courses of different lengths. Albeit, Martin Luther King Jr., made the comment that "it isn't so important how long you live, the important thing is how well you live" (Belafonte and Shraneyerson 2012, 325). Nevertheless, the development of the virtues and moral energies can (and should) happen across all of life (Damon and Colby 2018, 388). One lives a maximally good life when one has a long life-course that contains a continuous stream of moral development.

In fact, the idea that one needs to cultivate the virtues and moral energies needed for the life-long pursuit of some moral objective, was recognized by another participant of the MFM, Louise Yim, who was mentioned earlier. Yim, who had a life-course of seventy-eight years, expressed alarm at the philosophy that taught that the important thing was knowing how to die, not knowing how to live. Yim encountered this idea in Japan, where she had gone to study after her participation in the MFM:

Japanese ethics and morals taught their people how to die, not how to live. Japanese sons were taught at any early age how to kill and how to die for the glory of

the emperor. The girls were taught to obey men. When I learned these features of Japanese life, I was more convinced than ever that our people must struggle against becoming their slaves. (Yim 1951, 140)

Yim is in agreement with the sentiments of her American colleague expressed above—ethics and morals should be focused more on life than on death. Yim sought to keep this idea alive so that her people would not become enslaved by a militaristic conception of virtue, and instead embraced an ethic in which moral energies were devoted to solving the intricate problems that arise in life. In fact, after participating in the MFM, Yim embodied this idea of courage by dedicating her life to the education of women. Let us then briefly turn to Louise Yim. Yim's life provides another way to understand the connection between the MFM and moral development, and allows us to contrast her longer life-course with that of Yu Kwan-sun's.

5. A Brief Look at Louise Yim (임영신)

Like Yu Kwan-sun, Yim was imprisoned and tortured for her participation in the MFM (Yim 1951, 120-124). Yim's autobiography, *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, describes in great detail some the incredible genuine encounters and developmental crucibles that led to her participation in the MFM, including secretly reading Korean history, thanks to books given to her by a Korean Pastor (Yim 1951, 60-62). Like Yu, Yim was inspired by the story of Joan of Arc, but also mentions Moses and Abraham Lincoln as sources of inspiration (Yim 1951, 65). A passion for education and a hunger for cultivating her mind was at Yim's core, and she writes that as a young girl, she wanted to learn how to read and write so badly that she was willing to die (Yim 1951, 14).

Yim was twenty years old when she participated in the MFM and did so as a member of the underground resistance movement which she had joined in 1918 (Yim 1951, 100-101). Just as Yu Kwan-sun had participated in two demonstrations (first on March 1 in Seoul, and then on April 1 in Cheonan), Louise Yim

participated in two demonstrations in connection with the MFM: one on March 1st in Yangde, and the second on March 12th in Chunju (Yim 1951, 105). It was the second, Chunju demonstration to which the Japanese responded forcefully. Yim was arrested along with twelve other female demonstrators—ranging from age sixteen to twenty-two—with whom she shared a prison cell (Yim 1951, 115-119).

Louise Yim made it out of prison alive after seven months. But upon her release was sentenced by another court in Taegu to a three and a half year sentence of house arrest (Yim 1951, 125-133). But Yim was too liberated and had a hunger for freedom that made it unbearable for her to serve the sentence, so she devised a scheme to get out. She describes her deliberations:

Though the Japanese police warned my parents that they would be arrested if I tried to run away, I could no longer remain inside the restraining walls of this house. Along with everything else, I was suffering from a universal malady, too much parental love—love that expressed itself in running a child's life as one would operate a treasured machine. I decided to go to China. I would dress like a man or a beggar. No—that would not work. I planned for days and days and then, at last, I had worked it out. I went to the police station. 'Please let me go to Japan to study during my sentence.' I pleaded. (Yim 1951, 137)

And with that, the police chief said "You are free to go to Japan, if you want to go to school" (Yim 1951, 137).

In November 1919, Yim arrived at Hiroshima Christian College (Yim 1951, 138) and after witnessing the subservience of women towards the militaristic culture that "taught people how to die, not how to live," became more emboldened in the fight for her people (Yim 1951, 140). Yim returned to Korea in 1921 and after various teaching posts, left for the United States in 1924. Shortly thereafter, her experience of the MFM had crystallized into the following insight:

The failure of 1919 did not discourage us in Korea and we are willing to fight on. But we have to know what to do. All the Koreans in exile can do is inspire us, but those who live inside Korea must do the actual fighting. I don't think we

will able to become militarily as strong as the Japanese, so we must find other ways to fight. I think education will give us one of our strongest weapons. (Yim 1951, 165)

The idea that education was a weapon was also recognized by Dosan and Namgang. The MFM strengthened this conviction in Yim. But unlike these men, Yim was focused on harnessing the virtues and moral energies of women in strengthening this weapon—an idea that had its seed in her childhood when she realized that other girls hungered for education and liberation (Yim 1951, 56). Yim recalls a moment when, after being caught both reading and transcribing a forbidden work of Korean history, she and her fellow female students buried the books under the West gate of the church at Chunju:

I have often wondered about the history book we buried. ...Someday I will forget about my duties just long enough to return to Chunju with a spade and I will dig until I will find what remains of that book. Even the bits of dust will be scooped up, if any is left. I will treasure it. It was my first weapon in my fight against the hated masters of my country. (Yim 1951, 62)

This idea of education as a weapon was a motif in Yim's life, and she continued to fortify that weapon by presiding over "Central Normal School," a training school for Kindergarten teachers that Yim took over when it was on the verge of collapse (Yim 1951, 182-183). The school eventually evolved into one of Korea's top universities in Seoul, Chung-Ang University, of which Yim served as the first and third President during the 5th through 7th decades of her life.

If Yu Kwan-sun's short life-course represented the values of courage, patriotism, humanism and nurture, Yim's longer life-course of seventy-eight years represented the values of courage, patriotism, autonomy and education. Indeed, Yim's virtues and moral energies continued to grow throughout her life as she labored to connect education with the political involvement of women. She formed the first women's political party, the Women's Nationalist Democratic Party, which included many of her former classmates (Yim 1951, 236). She also was present at the United

Nations when the Korean question was being debated, the only Korean woman so present.

6. Conclusion

The story of MFM, as well as the stories of its individual participants, are, for all and intents and purposes, unknown to English speaking audiences. Interestingly, the individual story that is being transmitted to American audiences—specifically in New York—is the story of Yu Kwan-sun. A 2018 *New York Times* article introduced Yu and the MFM to an American audience, repeating the connection between her and Joan of Arc (Kang 2018). Further, Assemblymen and Senators in the state of New York have successfully passed a resolution to establish March 1, 2019 as Yu Kwan-sun Day (Cho 2019). While the story of Yu Kwan-sun is an important, we need to caution against the militarized memory of her that connects her with Joan of Arc. If we wish to hail Yu Kwan-sun as a force of non-violence, it is more logical to connect her with other individuals such as Florence Nightingale or Namgang.

Further, we need to broaden our understanding of the personalities of the MFM beyond Yu Kwan-sun. Her story is undeniably important, but so too are those of the others of the MFM who were “moral exemplars” and who exhibited fortitude, justice, humanity and a dedication to education and political community. We have mentioned a few of them: Namgang, Ham Sökhön and Louise Yim. But there are countless who participated in the MFM and became moral exemplars, but who are not discussed in this paper for reasons of space. Pang Chöngghan (방정환) (1899-1931), Kim Maria (김마리아) (1891-1944), and Hwang Aetök (황애덕) (also known as Esther Hwang) (1892-1971), are among these others. These individuals should be better understood by both Koreans and non-Koreans.

The MFM also is a story life and of the virtues and moral energies of its individual participants. My hope is that in discussing the MFM in connection with the moral development of individuals, we will see that this story remains an important one not just for Koreans, but for all of us. As William James said “a

large acquaintance with particulars often makes us wiser than the possession of abstract formulas, however deep” (James 1939, xv). The stories of the individuals involved in the MFM are treasures because of their moral content, and hence their ability to provide us with moral lessons and the opportunities for genuine encounter, albeit remote. Just as Yu Kwan-sun was “confronted” by the stories of Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale, we can be similarly confronted by Yu and countless others who participated in the MFM. As a story of the virtues and moral energies of ordinary people who tilled the seedbed of human dignity, the story of the MFM is an important resource for moral education in a cosmopolitan era.

Ham Sökhön urged the importance of *thinking* rather than fighting. He said “put your sword down and think hard” (Ham 1985, 187). By “think hard” he meant think deeply (Ham 1985, 2). On this centenary year of the MFM, let us think more deeply about the MFM and about the virtues and moral energies of the individual men, women and children who participated in it. In so doing, perhaps we too can have a genuine encounter with one of these moral exemplars, and choose to accept the invitation to advance morally. To urge the point that the stories of the individuals who participated in the MFM remain treasures because of their power to move and advance us in the present, I can find no better way than to close with a quote from Soviet dissident Nathan Sharansky, who like Yu Kwan-sun, Namgang, Ham Sökhön and Louise Yim, was imprisoned and tortured in his fight against oppression:

Souls interact across time and space. The decisions people make in a difficult hour, the principles they either abide by or abandon in moments of truth, have consequences not just for their own lives, but well beyond.

– Nathan Sharansky, *Defending Identity* (2008)

References

- Academy of Korean Studies. n.d. "Yu Kwan-sun" Encyclopedia of Korean Culture. Accessed Jan. 12, 2019. http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0041268.
- Addams, Jane. 2007. *Newer Ideals of Peace*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Arirang TV. 2014. "Yu Kwan-sun: Korea's Joan of Arc." Arirang Prime (Episode 150). Accessed January 12, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j71pyx-Jg-w>.
- Aristotle. 1998. *Nicomachean Ethics*. Translated by W.D. Ross. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2018. *Physics*. Translated by C.D.C. Reeve. Indianapolis: Hackett.
- Ban, Ki Moon. 2015. "Secretary-General, at Korean Woman's University, Urges Students to Realize 'Compassionate Vision' for Change." *United Nations*. May 20. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sgsm16768.doc.htm>.
- Bandura, Albert. 1982. "The Psychology of Chance Encounters and Life Paths." *The American Psychologist* 37 (7): 747-755.
- Belafonte, Harry and Michael Shanyerson. 2012. *My Song*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Benedetto, Robert and Donald K. McKim. 2009. "Lee Seung Hoon" in *Historical Dictionary of the Reformed Churches*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.
- Brand, Myles and Marshall Swain. 1970. "On the Analysis of Causation." *Synthese* 21 (2): 222-227.
- Brittain, Vera. 2005. *Testament of Youth*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Buber, Martin. 1958. *I and Thou*. Translated by Ronald Gregor Smith. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Buber, Martin. 1970. *I and Thou*. Translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Carroll, Berenice and Clinton F. Fink. 2005. "Introduction to the Illinois Edition" in *Newer Ideals of Peace* by Jane Addams. pp. xxi-lxxvii. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Cho, Jin Woo. 2019. Proclamation Marking Korean Independence Movement Adopted in NYS Legislature. Translated by Heejeong Yu. *Voices of NY*. January 18. Accessed January 19, 2019. <https://voicesofny.org/2019/01/proclamation-marking-korean-independence-movement-adopted-in-nys-legislature/>.
- Colby, Anne and William Damon. 1992. *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment*. New York: The Free Press.

- Damon, William, Anne Colby and Pamela Ebsytne King. 2018. "They Do Care: An Interview with William Damon and Anne Colby on Moral Development." *Journal of Moral Education* 47 (4): 383-396.
- Durand, André. 1986. "The Development of the Idea of Peace in the Thinking of Henry Dunant." *International Review of the Red Cross* 26 (250): 16-51.
- Durkheim, Emile. 2008. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Translated by Joseph Ward Swain. New York: Dover Publications Inc.
- Elder, Glen. 1977. "Family History and the Life Course." *Journal of Family History* 2 (4): 279-304.
- Elder G.H., M.K. Johnson, and R.Crosnoe. 2003. "The Emergence and Development of Life Course Theory." In *Handbook of the Life Course*, edited by J.T Mortimer and M.J. Shanahan, 1-19. Boston: Springer.
- Ewha Womans University Archives. 2005. *Ewha Old and New: 110 Years of History 1886-1996*. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press.
- Florence Nightingale Musuem. n.d. "Florence Nightingale Biography." Accessed March 7, 2019. <https://www.florence-nightingale.co.uk/resources/biography/?v=38dd815e66db>.
- Frank, John P. "The Trial of Joan of Arc." *Litigation* 23, no. 2 (1997): 51-69.
- Gabriel, Shira, Jennifer Valenti, Kristin Naragon-Gainey, and Ariana F. Young. 2017. "The Psychological Importance of Collective Assembly: Development and Validation of the Tendency for Effervescent Assembly Measure (TEAM)." *Psychological Assessment* 29 (11): 1349-1362.
- Ham Sökhön. 1969. *Kicked by God*. Translated by David E. Ross. Baltimore: The Press of Harry S. Scott.
- . "My Participation in the 3.1 Movement." Accessed January 26, 2019. http://ssialsori.net/bbs/board.php?bo_table=0310&wr_id=40
- . 1985. *Queen of Suffering: A Spiritual History of Korea*. Translated by E. Sang Yu. London: Friends World Committee for Consultation.
- . 1987. "The March First Movement I Experienced." Accessed January 19, 2019. http://ssialsori.net/bbs/board.php?bo_table=0205&wr_id=177.
- Hertig, Young Lee. 2004. "Korean Women's Resistance: 'If I Perish, I Perish.'" In *Resistance and Theological Ethics*, edited by Ronald H. Stone et. al., 219-232. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Im Eun-byel. 2019. "Seoulites to take stage at 'Yu Kwan-sun Opera Cantata.'" *Korea Herald*. January 4. Accessed January 19, 2019. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=2019>

0104000412.

- James, William. 1936. *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*. New York: Random House.
- Jang, Jonghyun. 2015. *The Patriotic Story of Martyr Gwansun Yu*. Translated by Changkook Suh. Seoul: Woongjin Think Big Co., Ltd.
- Jung, Hae-myung. 2019. "New York to mark Korean independence fighter." *The Korea Times*. January 20. Accessed January 25, 2019. <http://m.koreatimes.co.kr/pages/article.asp?newsIdx=261528>.
- Jung, Jiseong. 2006. *Ham Sok Hon's Pacifism and the Reunification of Korea: A Quaker Theology of Peace*. Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press.
- Kang, Inyoung. 2018. "Overlooked No More: Yu Kwan-sun, a Korean Independence Activist Who Defied Japanese Rule." *New York Times*. March 28. Accessed January 19, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/28/obituaries/overlooked-yu-Kwan-sun.html>.
- Kim, Sung Soo. 1998. "An Examination of the Life and Legacy of A Korean Quaker, Ham Sokhon (1901-1989): Voice of the People and Pioneer of Religious Pluralism in Twentieth Century Korea." PhD diss., University of Sheffield.
- Kim, Do Il. 2014. "Reflection on Life and Educational Activity of Namgang Lee Seung Hoon with Christian Education Perspective." *A Journal of Christian Education in Korea* 38: 55-84.
- Korean Information Bureau. 1919. *Little Martyrs of Korea*. Philadelphia: PA.
- Lee, Chong Sik. 1963. *The Politics of Korean Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lee, Yanghee and Byungsoo Jung. 2015. "Bang Jung Whan: The Korean Pioneer of Children's Rights." *International Journal of Children's Rights* 23: 261-271.
- McKenzie, F.A. 1920. *Korea's Fight for Freedom*. New York: Fleming H. Revell.
- Manela, Erez. 2007. *The Wilsonian Moment*. New York: Oxford.
- Marcus Aurelius. 2011. *Meditations*. Translated by A.S.L. Farquharson. London: CRW Publishing Ltd.
- Marx, Karl. 1913. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Translated by Daniel De Leon. Chicago: Charles. H. Kerr & Co.
- Mezirow, Jack. 1990. *Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood: A Guide to Transformative and Emancipatory Learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sewall, May Wright. 1895. "Woman and Patriotism." *The Advocate of Peace* 57 (4): 83.

- Schott, Linda. 1993. "Jane Addams and William James on Alternatives to War." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54 (2): 241-254.
- Schopenhauer, Arthur. 1995. *On the Basis of Morality*. Translated by E.F.J. Payne. Indianapolis: Hackett.
- Seoul Education Museum. 2017. *Kim Ransa: A Great Story of a Woman Ahead of Her Time* (Guidebook for Special Exhibition at Seoul Education Museum, From Feb. 17, 2017 to Dec. 31, 2017).
- Sharansky, Nathan. 2008. *Defending Identity*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Soo, Park Sang. 2019. "'Eternal Sister' Yu Gwan-soon." *jnilbo.com*. January 8. Accessed January 19, 2019. <https://jnilbo.com/2019/01/08/2019010713193233945/>.
- Strawn, Sonia Reid. 1988. *Where There Is No Path*. Seoul: Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations.
- Willing, Jennie Fowler and Mrs. George Heber Jones (Margaret Josephine Bengel). ca. 1910. *The Lure of Korea*. Boston: Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Yim, Louise. 1951. *My Forty Year Fight for Korea*. New York: A.A. Wyn.
- Yoo, Jung Suk. 2015. "Kim Il-yeop and Christianity: The Influence of Christianity on the Life and Identity of Kim Il-yeop." *The Review of Korean Studies* 18 (2): 89-124.