Ch’oe Nam-sŏn’s Youth Magazines and Message of a Global Korea in the Early Twentieth Century

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ABSTRACT
This paper examines the early years of Ch’oe Nam-sŏn (1890-1957), a leading intellectual in twentieth-century Korea, and the publication of his pioneering magazines, Sonyŏn (1908-1911) and Ch’ŏngch’un (1914-1918), with a special emphasis on his message of nationalism expressed in a global framework. Raised in a prosperous and progressive chungin family with exposure to new knowledge of the world through domestic and foreign publications, Ch’oe pioneered modern Korean magazines in vernacular Korean to help equip Korean youth with both global knowledge and patriotism. While much of the magazines’ information originated from Japanese print media, his writings on Korean and Western subjects posed a silent challenge to Japanese dominance. Despite Korea’s fall into colonial status in 1910 and the prevalence of Social Darwinism, which viewed the world as a battlefield for survival, he regarded the world as a network of interconnected countries, where Korea was to play a prominent role.1

Keywords: Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, colonial Korea, globalism, nationalism, youth magazines

Introduction
Ch’oe Nam-sŏn (1890-1957) was a leading Korean intellectual in the first half of the twentieth century, when modern Korean identity was being formed under the weight of foreign encroachment and subsequent Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). Early in his career, he founded a printing house and published a series of modern magazines, beginning with the youth magazine Sonyŏn (Youth, 1908-1911) and ending with the general-audience magazine Ch’ŏngch’un (Young, 1914-1918). As a primary writer in these magazines, he authored numerous articles, essays, poems, and travelogues in vernacular Korean, leading Korea’s modern literature movement. After a decade of activities as a publisher and writer, he expressed his nationalist zeal by drafting the declaration of independence for the 1919 March First Independence Movement, which resulted in his incarceration for two years and eight months. Following his release from prison, he shifted his focus from journalism to historical studies. Beginning in the 1920s, he published numerous historical articles, especially on ancient Korea and its mythological founder Tan’gun.

In Korean academic circles following the liberation from Japan (1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), Ch’oe’s achievements gathered attention only slowly, in part due to his collaboration with the Japanese, which intensified in the last
years of colonial rule. In the 1960s, scholars of literature acknowledged him as a pioneer of modern Korean literature, especially in vernacular poetry. Following the publication of his biographies and fifteen volumes of complete works in the 1970s, his ground-breaking work in Korea’s print media was recognized in the 1980s. Beginning in the 1990s, a new generation of scholars assessed his academic contributions to Korean studies, particularly in anthropology and history. An increasing number of scholars today study Ch’oe’s writings, which pioneered not only journalism and literature but a broad spectrum of humanities and social sciences, such as archaeology, anthropology, folklore, history, and mythology.

As part of the efforts to illuminate Ch’oe’s contributions in modern Korea, this paper sheds light on his early career as a magazine publisher and writer between 1908 and 1918, when Korea went from a protectorate to an outright colony of Japan. What motivated and enabled him to launch his publication ventures? What were the notable features of his magazines? How did he view the surrounding world and his country when it faced foreign aggression? How unique was his work in comparison with that of other Korean intellectuals at the time? To answer these questions, this paper examines his background and formative years as well as many of his writings in the aforementioned magazines.

Although Ch’oe did not receive a formal modern education, except for very brief periods in Japan, he absorbed new knowledge of the modern world through a variety of Korean and foreign publications when Korea’s Patriotic Enlightenment Movement (Aeguk kyemong undong) was at its peak. Convinced of the power of modern print media, he pioneered modern magazines as a medium to reach out to literate young Koreans and enlighten them with knowledge of Western civilization. His view of the world, however, was not limited to the Social Darwinist notions of competition and hierarchical order expressed by his contemporaries in Korea. Despite the forces of imperialism penetrating Korea, he was aware of the interconnectedness of the modern world and saw Korea as an integral part of it. Under harsh Japanese colonial rule, he continued to uphold his global perspective and faith in Korea as a key player in the world.

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1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the international interdisciplinary conference “Tapestry of Modernity: Urban Cultural Landscapes of Colonial Korea, 1920s-1930s” at the Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, February 16, 2012.

2 See Song Kôn-ho (1984) for a representative critique of Ch’oe’s collaboration with the Japanese, and Allen (2005) for underlying factors for his collaboration. The collaboration question is still addressed in recent years, as seen in Mun Sŏng-han (2009).

3 Cho Yong-man’s informative biography of Ch’oe was published in 1964, and his literary contributions were discussed by Peter H. Lee (1965; 2003), Chŏng Han-mo (1974), and Hong Il-sik (1976). For Ch’oe’s achievements as a publisher, see Chŏng Chin-sŏk (1985). In recent decades, in-depth studies of Ch’oe’s academic contributions have emerged. For his contributions in the field of anthropology, see Im and Janelli (1989 and 1995), and, in the field of history, see Allen (1990) and Yi Yŏng-hwa (2003). As for Ch’oe as a cultural theorist, see Kang Haeng-su (2003), Chŏn Sŏng-gon (2005 and 2008), and Mun Sŏng-han (2009). Kyung Moon Hwang’s 2004 book discussed Ch’oe’s chungin origins. Ch’oe’s grandson Ch’oe Hak-chu’s biographical monograph (2011) is informative and insightful. Finally, almost all of Ch’oe’s writings are found in his complete works, Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, Yuktang Ch’oe Nam-son chŏnjip (1973-1975). The 14 volumes of the complete works were reprinted by Yŏngnak in 2003.
Early Years

Ch’oe Nam-sŏn was born in 1890 to Ch’oe Hŏn-gyu, a geographer working at the national observatory in Seoul. Both Hŏn-gyu and his wife’s ancestors belonged to the chungin (“middle people”), the class placed between the ruling class yangban and commoners in the social hierarchy of Chosŏn Korea. The chungin class had traditionally produced men of technical occupations such as accountants, interpreters, physicians, and surveyors, but enjoyed much less privilege and prestige than scholar-officials, yangban. From the late nineteenth to twentieth centuries, when Korea’s traditional, highly stratified, social system crumbled, a number of men from the chungin class played prominent roles in the government and society, and Ch’oe Nam-sŏn is considered their prime example (Hwang 2004, 147-51).

The Ch’oe family’s rise began with Hŏn-gyu, who amassed a fortune thanks to business connections built through his government duty trips to China. His successful Chinese medicine business in the thriving Chongno district of Seoul and investments in real estate generated wealth sufficient to support his children’s education and second son Nam-sŏn’s publications. Although never an active reformer, Ch’oe Hŏn-gyu admired progressive chungin, such as O Kyo˘ng-so˘k (1839-1879), a translator who had contributed to the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty in 1876, and Yu Tae-ch'i (1831-1884), a participant in the Kapsin Coup of 1884. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn grew up hearing his father speak of Korea’s need for reform and the chungin’s recent contributions to that end (Cho Yong-man 1964, 43-47; Ch’oe Hak-chu 2011, 41-43).

Although Ch’oe’s education began in a traditional Confucian school, his mastery of classical Chinese and competence in the Korean vernacular script han’gŭl acquired at home allowed him to access publications of the new era. Before turning ten years old, he read the Bible and John Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, the first Western books translated into han’gŭl, as well as Chinese-language books on contemporary Western politics, such as Shi shi xin lun (New discussion of current affairs, 1894) and Tai xi xin shi (1895 translation of The 19th Century: A History, The Times of Queen Victoria & etc., 1887) published in Shanghai. According to his own account, these books from China opened his eyes to the intricate diversity of the outside world (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1918, 479-81; Cho Yong-man 1964, 51). Soon, he became a faithful reader of the modern Korean newspapers emerging rapidly in Seoul around the turn of the century. After the brief publication of government-sponsored newspapers, the Hansŏng sunbo (Seoul thrice-monthly, 1883-1884) and the Hansŏng chubo (Seoul weekly, 1886-1888), the first modern private newspaper Tongnip sinmun (The Independent, 1896-1899), launched by Sŏ Chae-p’il (1866-1951) in han’gŭl and English, captured the hearts of reform-minded Koreans, followed by the Cheguk sinmun (Imperial Post, 1898-1910), the Hwangso˘ng sinmun (Capital Gazette, 1898-1910), and the Taehan maeil sinbo (Korea Daily News, 1904-

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4 Ch’oe Hŏn-gyu passed the government examination to become a “geographer” like his father. The work of Chosŏn geographers included the study of meteorology at observatories (Cho Yong-man 1964, 42-43, Yi Yong-hwa 2003, 18-20).
1910), published in han'gul or mixed writing with Chinese characters under the leadership of intellectuals such as Chang Chi-yoon (1864-1921), Pak Un-sik (1859-1926), and Sin Ch'ae-ho (1880-1936). These newspapers served as the nexus of the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement and promoted both patriotism and modernizing measures to strengthen the country, now threatened by Japanese and Russian encroachments (Ch'ong Chin-sok 1985, 105-06; Schmid 2002). Aspiring to contribute to the newspapers, Ch'oe sent an essay to the Hwangsang sinmun for publication as early as in 1901, though without success (Ch'oe Nam-soon 1908-1910b, 133; Cho Yong-man 1964, 51-53; Hong Il-sik 1976, 73).

At the age of twelve, Ch'oe made the critical decision to leave the traditional school that he was attending and enroll in Kyongsong Haktang, a Japanese-owned educational institute in Seoul, as he realized that proficiency in Japanese would facilitate access to further knowledge of the modern world. After learning the basics at the institute, he continued to improve his language skills by reading the daily newspaper Osaka Asahi shinbun, then imported from Japan (Ch'oe Nam-soon 1908-1910b, 133; Cho Yong-man 1964, 55-56). His advanced Japanese skills were recognized and put to use in 1904 when the Korean government selected him as the youngest of the fifty Korean students to study in a Japanese high school in Tokyo. His study abroad under government auspices lasted only for three months, however, as he could not bear the burden of serving as an interpreter for older students. Two years later he returned to Tokyo to enroll as an independent student in the department of geography and history in the college of education at Waseda University after successfully completing preparatory English classes. Yet, he soon left the university along with other Korean students due to a conflict with the university authorities over the issue of the Korean king Kojong's official visit to Japan. He never sought to receive formal education following this incident, but continued to study independently in the fields of anthropology, geography, and history, primarily through Japanese publications (Cho Yong-man 1964, 55-56; Hong Il-sik 1976, 75-76).

Ch'oe lingered in Tokyo and observed Japan's prosperity and "transformation into a new civilization" subsequent to its victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) (Ch'oe Nam-soon 1908-1910b, 134). What struck him most about Japan's growth as a modern state was not its political or military prowess, but its modern cultural achievements, particularly the thriving print media, as he later recollected:

When I first visited Japan at the age of fifteen [by Korean counting], I was astounded by the flourishing Japanese publications, far beyond our counterparts in Korea. As soon as I entered a bookstore, I was overwhelmed by their abundant, diverse shining, and fragrant books and magazines, all unfamiliar to me. I had no knowledge for evaluating their contents or appearance. (Ibid.)

The Japanese publication industry expanded particularly in the 1880s with the appearance of general-audience magazines. Soon, specialized magazines were developed, and youth magazines such as Shonen en (Boys' garden, 1888-1895) and Shokokumin (Young citizens, 1889-1895) emerged to present educational
content for middle school and elementary school children, following the example of Western magazines such as *Harper’s Young People* (1879-1899), an American children’s magazine. By the time of Ch’oe’s visit, large publishers printed commercially successful youth magazines, such as *Shōnen sekai* (Boys’ world, 1895-1933), its new rival magazine *Nihon shōnen* (Japanese boys, 1906-1938), *Yōnen zasshi* (Juvenile magazine, 1891-1894) for an even younger audience, and *Shōjo sekai* (Girls’ world, 1906-1931) for school girls, with both informative and entertaining content (Tsuzukihashi 1972; Ueda 2001). Ch’oe’s fascination with Japanese publications took him to bookstores and libraries daily; he later called himself a “maniac for newspapers and magazines” (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1908-1910b, 133).

When Japan forced the Protectorate Treaty on Korea in November 1905, Ch’oe expressed his opposition by sending an essay to the *Hwangso˘ng sinmun*. Although the essay was never published, its content became known to the government, and he was consequently thrown in jail early in 1906. His withdrawal from Waseda University was also motivated by his objection to the Japanese policy surrounding King Kojong. But, as he immersed himself in Japanese print media away from home, his desire for political action subsided and his enthusiasm for engaging in publication ventures swelled. From late 1906 he worked with fellow Korean students to launch a monthly Korean-language journal, *T’aegu˘k hakpo* (*T’aegu˘k student news*), for Korean students in Japan, modelled after organization journals published in Korea at this time. While working as an editor, he wrote essays on a variety of subjects from natural sciences to world history. Although *T’aegu˘k hakpo* ended after three issues, it served as an important precursor to his future magazines (Paek Sun-jae 1966, 393; Kim Yun-sik 1972, 31; Chŏng Chin-sŏk 1985, 116-17).

Ch’oe’s resolve to kindle Korea’s publication industry grew as he worked with An Ch’ang-ho (1878-1938), a prominent Korean reformer and educator who had spent years in the United States. On his way back to Korea from the United States early in 1907, An met Ch’oe and a small group of Korean students in Tokyo and spoke of Korea’s current predicament under foreign aggression (Cho Yong-man 1964, 91-94; Ch’oe Hak-chu 2011, 140-41). For Korea to achieve full independence, An did not recommend political or military action, but instead advocated economic, moral, and organizational self-strengthening measures in emulation of Western civilization:

> The Korean people are fundamentally superior people with fine characteristics, nurtured in beautiful nature and trained through remarkable historical lessons. The reason why we are temporarily in an unfortunate situation today is because we imported Western culture later than others… If our people had imported Western culture when Japan and China did, our situation would have been much better than that of the Japanese or the Chinese people.5

Back in Korea between 1907 and 1910, An asked Ch’oe to help launch a youth

5 An’s extant writings are sparse. This quote is from Yi Kwang-su’s account of An’s words in 1924. See Chu Yo-han 1963, 469-72.
association, the Ch'ŏngnyŏn Haguhoe (Young Students' Association) under the umbrella of the Sinminhoe (New People's Association), An's clandestine organization that sought to foster national strength for independence. Ch'oe responded by accompanying An on lecture tours and writing the statement of purpose for the association (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 1908-1910b, 116; Cho Yong-man 1964, 90, Hong Il-sik 1976, 79; Ch'oe Hak-chu 2011, 140). An's efforts to prepare for Korean independence through educational means made a lasting impact on young Ch'oe's mind.

A Magazine for Young Koreans
Securing his father's full financial support and his older brother Ch'ang-sŏn's administrative aid by the fall of 1907, Ch'oe brought home two Japanese printing technicians and the latest-model printing equipment purchased in Tokyo in preparation for establishing Sinmun'gwan (House of new culture), a publishing house based at his residence in Seoul. In November 1908, after printing small experimental monographs, Sinmun'gwan launched its first monthly magazine, Sonyŏn, with Ch'oe as the editor and primary writer and Ch'ang-sŏn as the publisher in charge of management (Ch'oòng Chin-sŏk 1985, 120). Ch'oe's decision to create a magazine, instead of a newspaper or a book series, suggests his insight into the strengths of magazines. Magazines not only cost less than books but offered up-to-date information regularly. In addition, unlike newspapers, magazines could be bundled together to take a book-like form to be easily passed on to multiple readers. Before the advent of movies and television, the visual effect of magazines with drawings and photos had special appeal to young people (Sumner 2010). Ch'oe indeed made sure that Sonyŏn appeared attractive with the use of colors, drawings, and photos. The inaugural issue contained a variety of black and white photos and drawings while its cover used red letters for the table of contents and black letters for the title surrounded by a green wreath (Pak Am-jong 2003).

The magazine title declared Ch'oe's intent to address young people as the magazine's primary readers. The word sonyŏn, comprised of two Chinese characters, so (少 few) and nyŏn (年 age or year), usually means children and often elementary school boys in today's Korea. In the early twentieth century, however, the term generally meant young people before maturity, encompassing preteens and teens, as opposed to adults or sŏngin (Cho Yong-man 1964, 72; Kim Sung Yeon 2003, 29). While the Japanese counterpart word shōnen had been used in Japanese magazine titles from the 1880s, the Korean word sonyŏn made its first appearance in a publication title in Sonyŏn Hanbando (Korean peninsula youth), a monthly youth magazine published between November 1906 and May 1907, with serialized modern novels written by Yi Hae-jo (1869-1927) and essays encouraging modern education (Kim Yun-sik 1973, 38; Kim Chŏng-ŭi 1992, 37). Although Ch'oe never mentioned Sonyŏn Hanbando in his writings, it is possible that his knowledge of this magazine confirmed his determination to publish his own. In sum, Sonyŏn was not the very first Korean periodical to be dedicated to youth, or to use the word sonyŏn in its title. Nevertheless, Korean scholars often regard it as the first successful modern magazine due to its popularity, tenacity, and overall impact,
and thus the Republic of Korea annually celebrates the Day of Magazines (Chapchi ŭi nal) on November 1, the day when Sonyŏn was first published in 1908 (Chŏng Chin-sŏk 1985, 161).

Sonyŏn’s inaugural message articulated its intent to help young Koreans become educated leaders of the nation:

> We should make our Great Han (Tae Han) a country of youth, and we must guide and help our young people so they can bear their responsibility. (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1908d)

The ensuing pages carried Ch’oe’s poem “Hae eges o˘n ege” (From the sea to youth), which literary historians regard as the first free-style Korean poem with free flowing verses in han’gŭl, making a clear departure from the era dominated by classical Chinese poems:

> The sea – a soaring mountain –  
> Lashes and crushes mighty cliffs of rock  
> Those flimsy things, what are they to me?  
> “Know ye my power?” The sea lashes  
> Threateningly, it breaks, it crushes  
> …  
> Perches on a small hill or possessed  
> Of an islet or a patch of land  
> Thinking that you alone reign supreme  
> In that kingdom small as a grain,  
> Approach me coward, gaze on me  
> …  
> I scorn the world’s madness  
> The overweaning men who seek to use me  
> My love, brave children, that is given  
> Only to those who come to me with love  
> Come, children, let me kiss you and embrace you. (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1908b)

The topic of the sea and children, which had seldom appeared in traditional literature, was just as revolutionary as the format (Peter H. Lee 2003, 340-41). The anthropomorphic sea’s embrace of the young and rejection of the old foretold Korea’s new age in which its young people would take the lead in diametric opposition to the traditional Korean social order that had demanded the young to submit to the old. The idea that young people held the key for the nation’s future grew slowly as Korea entered the modern era. Scholars argue that the Sirhak (“practical learning”) scholars of eighteenth-century Chosŏn dynasty demonstrated a nascent understanding of children as individuals, and the Tonghak movement and the Independence Club of the late nineteenth century discussed the need

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6 This translation is that of Peter H. Lee (1965, 101-02). The original poem as translated by Lee is comprised of six stanzas.
for better treatment of children (Kim Chŏng-ŭi 1992, 23-31). At the turn of the twentieth century, the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement promoted education of youth to foster future leaders, and the number of modern schools swelled (Eckert et al. 1990, 247-49). Now, Ch’oe, a young man with no credentials, declared through his poem that the age of youth had arrived in Korea.

Sonyŏn introduced the best in Western civilization from its history, geography, literature, natural sciences, and technology, in a mixed script using han’gul and Chinese characters, targeting students and literate youth. Its narratives included general information on Western countries and their prominent historical figures, such as Russia and Peter the Great in the inaugural issue, as well as Italy and Garibaldi, France and Napoleon, and the United States and Benjamin Franklin in succeeding issues. Excerpts of popular literature from the West, such as Aesop’s Fables, as well as information on modern natural sciences and social sciences were presented through numerous short stories and essays. At the same time, the magazine emphasized Korean history, geography, and literature to help instill national pride in the minds of young readers. The inaugural issue, for instance, printed Ch’oe’s historical account “Salsu chŏn’gi” (The battle of Salsu) concerning the ancient kingdom Koguryŏ’s total victory over Sui China in 612 (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1908c; Han’guk chapchi ch’ongso 1971).

Ch’oe initially was responsible for almost all content for Sonyŏn, although contributing writers, led by Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950), joined later. Writing numerous articles on diverse topics was possible because Ch’oe had Japanese publications to consult. It is said that the Simmun’gwan office subscribed to over thirty Japanese periodicals for his perusal. Avoiding the challenge of turning to original sources, he relied on accessible Japanese ones that readily supplied information regarding world cultures and natural sciences as well as Japanese translations of Western literature (Cho Yong-man 1964, 86-87; Kim Yun-sik 1973, 59). It is possible that seeing the world through a Japanese filter restricted his knowledge and contributed to his pro-Japanese propensity in the long run. Nevertheless, Sonyŏn was not a replica of contemporaneous Japanese youth magazines, which had become commercialized commodities featuring entertaining stories of adventure and travel with circulation figures of nearly a hundred thousand. Sonyŏn’s educational contents were reminiscent of Shō kokumin and Shonen en, the earlier Japanese youth magazines edited by young Japanese intellectuals with a sense of mission (Tsuzukihashi 1972, 29-33).

At the price of fourteen chŏn a copy, Sonyŏn sold merely thirty to forty copies at its inception and about two hundred a year later. Its circulation was small when compared with Korean newspapers, each of which sold approximately three thousand copies at this time (Schmid 2002, 51). Within two years, however, Sonyŏn’s circulation expanded to about a thousand copies, of which 150 remained in Seoul, 845 were sent to Korean provinces, and four to Japan, China, and the United States. This was no small feat for a pioneering Korean magazine in 1911. Sonyŏn’s

7 This essay was possibly inspired by Sin Ch’ae-ho’s article concerning the Koguryŏ general Ulchi Mundŏk, as mentioned below (Schmid 2002, 63).
popularity could not be measured by the number of issues sold alone, as the copies were shared by families, friends, and neighbors (Ch'ong Chin-sŏk 1985, 122-24).

Korea’s Place in the World
Ch'oe's poem “Hae eges o˘sonyŏn ege” was only the first of numerous poems and narratives on the topic of seas and oceans presented by Sonyŏn. The inaugural issue printed an excerpt from Gulliver's Travels, and the first part of Ch'oe’s serialized historical writing “Haesang Taehan sa” (Great Han maritime history). Following issues included an excerpt from Robinson Crusoe, another English novel involving voyages, and a number of Ch'oe's poems and narratives on the ocean, such as “Chŏnman kil k'ip'ŭn pada” (Ocean ten thousand fathoms deep), “Kyonam hongjo” (Essay on Kyonam), “Sammyŏn hwanaeguk” (Country surrounded by the sea on three sides), “Pada rŭl pora” (Look at the sea), and “Pada wi ŭi yongsonyŏn” (The brave youth on the sea). His literary pieces strongly urged young Koreans to turn their eyes to the ocean:

Who can be a great person without getting in touch with the ocean? The youth of Great Korea, surrounded by seas and oceans on three sides, must be active around them in the future. They should play at and learn from seas and oceans... (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1909c)

His obsession with seas and oceans reflected his own awakening to the world. Having no prior experience outside of Seoul, he first saw the sea when he boarded a 650-ton steamship bound to Japan at Inch’ŏn Harbor in 1904. He was struck by the beauty and power of the sea that took him out of Korea and all the way to unknown lands. The waves hitting the shores reminded him of the strength of Western civilization reaching the world, and the vast ocean represented the whole new world lying ahead of him. He sought to explore the ocean that symbolized the world, and pleaded for his readers to do the same (Hong Il-sik 1976, 98).

How did Koreans see the world in the early twentieth century? In the second half of the nineteenth century, Chosŏn Korea was exposed to the world outside of the China-centered East Asian order, at the prodding of the Western empires expanding their power to the far corners of the world. Knowledge of the contemporary world dominated by Western culture and technology reached Korean shores through foreign diplomats, merchants, missionaries, and a handful of young Korean officials who returned from tours in Japan, the United States, and Europe. Korean intellectuals realized that their country was part of a world comprised of numerous nation-states, as expressed in the first primary school textbook edited by the newly established Ministry of Education in 1895:

Our country is one of the kingdoms in Asia... There exist many independent nations, and Tae Han (Great Han) is one of them... We live in this country in the present age when we can engage in peaceful exchange and trade to build wealth and strength. (quoted in Yi Chong-guk 2001, 87)

But the modern world that Koreans uncovered was not a world of equality, but
a hierarchical order dominated by expansionist Western powers that competed for economic and political power (Robinson 2007, 20-21). The participants in the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement advocated emulation of the West as a way to strengthen Korea, knowing that modern knowledge and technology were indispensable to building a strong nation capable of surviving in the competitive world. Japan was already successfully adopting Western institutions and technology to strengthen itself, and Korea was to follow suit. It was only natural that Korean intellectuals embraced Western civilization for the purpose of achieving their nationalist goals (Shin and Choi 2009, 256).

When the Japanese took over Korea, first as a protectorate and soon after as a colony, with their self-claimed mission of “civilizing” their neighbors, the slogan of “civilization and enlightenment” lost its validity to bolster Korean nationalism. At this point, the Social Darwinist concepts of competition, struggle for existence, survival of the fittest, and a hierarchical world increasingly attracted the interest of many Korean intellectuals and students, as they provided a framework to grasp the reality of the world and Korea’s predicament. As early as 1887, the pioneering reformer Yu Kil-chun (1856-1914) had already demonstrated his exposure to Social Darwinism through his discussions of the world comprised of the civilized and the uncivilized and Korea’s place between the two (Schmid 2002, 33-37). Social Darwinism spread in Korea particularly by way of the writings of Chinese intellectual Liang Qi-chao (1873-1928), who argued that the world consisted of winning and losing peoples, who had either succeeded or failed in shaping the world through cultural achievements and territorial expansion. Between 1905 and 1910, Liang’s writings were translated by Chang Chi-yon and Sin Chae-ho and published as newspaper articles, which, in turn, were used to teach students at An Ch’ang-ho’s school (Lee, Kwang-Rin 1978, 37-41).

The prominent nationalist writer and historian Sin Ch’ae-ho clearly conveyed Social Darwinist notions in his writings on early Korean history. His 1908 treatise “Toksa sillon” (A new reading of history), serially published in the Taehan maeil sinbo, delineated the evolution of the Korean nation through constant struggles against neighboring peoples, such as the Chinese, the Jurchens, the Malgal, and the Xianbi. According to him, the greatest moment in early Korean history came when Koguryo general Úlchi Mundok destroyed Sui China’s enormous invading army in the early seventh century. Equally praiseworthy were two Korean generals from later periods, Ch’oe Yong (1316-1388) of the Koryo dynasty and Yi Sun-sin (1545-1598) of the Choson dynasty, who both warded off Japanese invaders (Robinson 1984; Schmid 202, 183). A passionate nationalist and believer in the principles of competition and survival, Sin viewed the world as an assailant seeking to conquer and victimize the weak whenever possible. Thus, in his attempt to establish Korea’s self-identity, he not only separated Korea from its threatening neighbors but treated it as a heroic but lone fighter constantly fending off the surrounding world for survival.

Ch’oe received considerable influence from Social Darwinist writings,
including Sin's.\(^8\) The concepts of competition, hierarchy, and survival of the fittest are easily found in Ch'oe's writings:

> The modern age is the age of power. The powerful survive while the weak perish. For what purpose does this severe competition continue to the death? This competition to be a victor and survivor is to the last. By what means? It is a competition by means of intelligence, physical fitness, material power, economic power, organizational power, and the power of vision and conviction. Daily competition is going on everywhere. (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 1917b, 186)

As early as in 1906, he expressed his hope to raise Korea to the top of the world hierarchy currently occupied by the Western powers.

> How long will it take us to accomplish the goal of having our sacred national flag flown above all areas and peoples of five continents kneeling down before it. Exert yourself, our youth! (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 1906)

Nevertheless, his view of the world soon broadened beyond the notions of competition and hierarchy, as demonstrated in his essay “Segyejŏk chisik ŭi p'iryo” (Necessity of knowledge of the world) printed in Sonyŏn in May 1909:

> The whole world is unfolding in front of our eyes. The waves reaching Inch'ŏn Harbor contain salt from the Mediterranean Sea, and the echoes of railroad whistles beyond Mt. Paektu convey the air reaching from Siberia. The streets of Chongno receive the sand of the Sahara carried by the soles of a black man's shoes, and the trees of Mt. Namsan absorb the carbon dioxide exhaled by a white man from Europe. Oh, our peninsula no longer stands alone to be the heaven and earth of the Korean people. Take a look. The newspapers reporting the rise of industries on the Yalu River and the establishment of schools below Mt. Taebaek do not spare pages to record revolutions in Turkey and strikes in Rome. All these affairs in every country not only influence the international balance of power but affect our people's livelihood. When Poland falls short of its yearly production of zinc, our households are unable to procure brassware at the year's end. If Manchester textile factories shut down, our gentlemen wearing woolen winter coats diminish in numbers… When Russia limits its use of Vladivostok, our Wŏnsan harbor attracts fewer cattle. As our people have migrated to Hawaii, we now export more rice via Inch'ŏn harbor. Although the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle seems too distant to have an effect on us, its display of ordinary Korean products that we take for granted is drawing much attention from foreigners. Hence, it is our urgent task to acquire knowledge of the world. (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 1909e)

The world that Ch'oe imagined was not a battlefield full of the strong and the weak struggling to dominate others or save themselves, but a network of interconnected nations and peoples affecting one another in intricate ways. Korea was already part of this network, as the lives of the Korean people were influenced by events from

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\(^8\) Sonyŏn reprinted “Toksa sillon” in 1910, demonstrating Ch'oe's respect for Sin's historical work (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 1910b; Chŏn Sŏng-gon 2005, 61).
distant lands, regardless of their knowledge. Furthermore, Korea was not a passive victim because it had the power to affect and attract others, as seen in the example of Korean products drawing crowds in the international exposition in Seattle. The outside world was not an enemy but a potential partner that Korea could use for its growth and development. In this sense, Ch’oe rejected the dichotomous view of Korea and the world despite the ongoing imperialist aggression threatening Korea.

It was Ch’oe’s vision for Korea that took him beyond defensive nationalism. His lengthy Korean history article, “Haesang Taehan sa” (Great Han maritime history), serially published in Sonyŏn until 1911, emphasized Korea’s inherent advantage stemming from its strategic location on the peninsula at the eastern end of the Eurasian continent. According to him, peninsular nations had played special roles in world history thanks to their natural connections to both the sea and the continent. The Greek and Italian peninsulas served as prime examples of important peninsulas, developing their classic cultures comprised of both continental and maritime elements and producing prominent unifiers, such as Alexander the Great, Julius Cesar, and Napoleon Bonaparte. The Iberian peninsula, with its link to both the Atlantic Ocean and the European continent, played a significant role in the age of exploration.

...most civilizations rose on peninsulas, and the roles of transmitter, harmonizer, amalgamator, and pioneer of cultures were always played by peninsulas. Peninsulas have been the lighthouse for humanity since ancient times, and this solemn historical fact speaks loudly. I am deeply moved by this blessing from heaven, which in turn places a heavy but glorious responsibility upon our peninsula. (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1908-1910a, 402)

The fact that Korea was surrounded by empires such as China and Japan did not intimidate Ch’oe. China had lost its cultural superiority in the new era dominated by the West, and Japan’s recent success as a rising power was not a threat but an example that Korea should emulate and surpass. Korea’s location on the peninsula, surrounded by seas along its long coastlines and yet land-linked to the Asian continent, predestined its special place and role in world civilization (393-94).

To bolster his argument, Ch’oe contended that Korea had since ancient times combined continental and maritime cultural elements to create its own culture and successfully transmitted that creation to Japan. Ancient Koreans were pioneers in the fields of religion, politics, and commerce, and their achievements included the practice of monotheism centered on Tan’gun, preceding Israel’s monotheism, and early republicanism initiated by the Paekche kingdom (18 BC-AD 660) which prospered in the southwest of the Korean peninsula. Chin-Han, a forerunner of the Silla kingdom (57 BC-AD 935) in the southeast, engaged in long-distance trade in the Yellow Sea, even before the Phoenicians rose as famed Mediterranean traders (398-402). Ch’oe’s application of the concepts such as monotheism, republicanism, and long-distance international trade to early Korean attainments was not always historically accurate and may not stand the rigor of academic inquiries today. Nevertheless, by recognizing the remarkable accomplishments of the Korean people from the viewpoint of world history, he solidified his confidence in the
nation, which in turn allowed him to see the world as a stage where Korea could shine its light.

**Keeping the Window Open to the World**

Korea’s annexation by the Japanese empire in August 1910 and its subsequent colonial status meant that the Korean people were placed at the bottom of the world hierarchy in Social Darwinist terms. The goal of Korea’s full independence sought by the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement became a distant dream. Although An Ch’ang-ho, Sin Ch’ae-ho, and other activists fled to continue their independence movement abroad, Ch’oe did not leave Korea, nor did he bow down to the Japanese authorities. Instead, he remained in Korea and continued his work to enlighten Korean youth for future independence.

The Japanese officials in the Government-General of Korea banned all public assemblies and newspapers, and Sonyŏn was suspended immediately. Sinmun’gwan, however, managed to recover its permit and resumed printing Sonyŏn in December 1910. During the decade between 1910 and 1919, when publication permits were seldom granted, Sonyŏn and subsequent magazines served as virtually the only Korean periodicals, with the exception of academic and religious organization journals and newsletters (Paek Sun-jae 1966, 396; Robinson 1988, 53-54; Han 2009, 106). The colonial government officials censored all Korean publications and seized freshly printed copies of Sonyŏn whenever any hint of opposition to Japanese rule was detected. In May 1911, they issued a termination order for Sonyŏn and did not allow Sinmun’gwan to print any magazines for over a year (Cho Yong-man 1964, 64). The publication permits that Sinmun’gwan subsequently obtained were for juvenile magazines: Pulgün chŏgory (Red jacket, August 1912-June 1913), a bimonthly tabloid-size publication for young children, Aidul p’oi (Showing children, September 1913-August 1914), a monthly bound magazine in plain language with contents just as diverse as Sonyŏn, and Sae pyŏl (Morning star, September 1913 to January 1915) in a similar format with a focus on children’s literature. They were important experiments as the first Korean magazines for young children, featuring brief biographies, poems, quizzes, and short stories, exclusively in han’gul. While Ch’oe was responsible for most of the writing and editing, Yi Kwang-su contributed articles and assisted in editorial work (Ch’ong Chin-sok 1985, 129-38).

In reaction to Japanese rule, Ch’oe increased his efforts to identify Korea’s indigenous culture. In 1910, he and several older intellectuals, including Pak ŭn-sik and Chang Chi-yŏn, formed the Chosŏn Kwangmunhoe (Association for Korea’s Glorious Literature), which collected valuable classical writings to highlight Korea’s indigenous cultural heritage. Over the next several years, this purely private organization successfully published eighteen volumes of works from the Chosŏn period, encompassing the subjects of economics, history, geography, linguistics, literature, and military science (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1910a; Chin Hak-mun 1960). It was also at this time when Ch’oe embarked on his literary quest for the spirit of Korea. Days before the Japanese annexation of Korea, he published in Sonyŏn his poem titled “Tae Chosŏn ch’ŏngsin” (The spirit of Great Korea):
Between the blue sky and the blue sea the sun pushes itself for the day.
Twelve thousand hills and mountains converge and diverge
See the spirit of Great Korea lying in their midst. (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1910c)

As pointed out by scholars of literature, Ch’oe’s writing shifted in form and content after 1910. In contrast to his earlier free-style verses that portrayed the ocean, he began writing sijo, Korea’s traditional poetry, to depict lofty Korean mountains representing the height of spiritual and historical heritage (Hong Il-sik 1976, 74, 101). His preoccupation with the nation’s historical origins continued to grow in the 1920s, when Yi Kwang-su coined the word Chosŏn chuu˘i (“Korea-ism”), referring to Ch’oe’s emphatic love of Korea’s land and distinct culture (Yi Kwang-su 1925). His “Korea-ism” clearly had its roots in his activities in the 1910s, but he was not alone nor the first to emphasize Korea’s spiritual and indigenous heritage. Pak Ên-sik, for instance, was already writing on the national character and spirit beginning in 1905 (Schmid 2002, 142).

Ch’oe was determined to keep his magazines alive. In October 1914, Sinmun’gwan was able to launch a new magazine, Ch’ŏngch’ŭn (Young), targeting young adults but also meeting the need for a general interest magazine for literate Koreans. His determination to help educate young Koreans, despite the confines of Japanese rule, was articulated in his opening statement:

We must study at any cost. We must learn more. More than anything else, we should focus on studying. If we do not succeed in learning, we would not succeed in anything at all… Let us not say empty words. Let us just study. Let us not worry. Let us just learn. (Han’guk chapchi ch’ŏngsŏ 1971)

After six monthly issues, the Government-General suspended Ch’ŏngch’ŭn indefinitely. Two years later, when Sinmun’gwan was finally allowed to print Ch’ŏngch’ŭn again, it sold out its four thousand copies within four days (Kim Kûn-ju 1973, 118-19). In the dearth of Korean magazines at the time, Ch’ŏngch’ŭn’s fame became known to Frederick Starr, a professor of anthropology from the University of Chicago and researcher of Japan and Korea. When he met Ch’oe in Seoul in 1917, Ch’ŏngch’ŭn only had a permit to print less than two thousand copies, a number too low for him to ever turn a profit (Oppenheim 2005, 687).

Ch’ŏngch’ŭn served as a beacon of hope for young literate Koreans searching for their identity in Korean literature. Ch’oe’s presentation of Chosŏn-dynasty sijo and his own sijo pieces demonstrated the validity of Korea’s classical literature in contemporary Korea, while Yi Kwang-su’s many novels and short stories stimulated readers to send in their own free-style poems and essays. The magazine was instrumental in standardizing written Korean language and opening the floodgate of a modern Korean literature movement in colonial Korea (Paek Sun-jae 1966, 398; Kim Kûn-ju 1973, 119).

Ch’oe’s essays published in Ch’ŏngch’ŭn reveal his deep frustrations and struggles in the 1910s. His “Noryŏk non” (On effort), for instance, discussed Korea’s lack of cultural achievements in recent centuries:
Although it is true that we have some private schools and meager publications, can we say that these educational facilities are adequate for a country with five thousand years of history? Our conscience is not numb enough to claim that the Sŏnggyungwan is equivalent to the universities of Harvard, Berlin, Paris, and Cambridge. We are not bold enough to assert that Chunghyangjon and Simch'ongjon are as great as Faust, Hamlet, Les Misérables, and The Divine Comedy. We should know that we have no place in the intellectual world… We have not made any contribution to world civilization or to the development of humanity. (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1917b, 187)

Ch’oe was keenly aware that Social Darwinists would place Korea near the bottom of the world hierarchy due to its lack of cultural accomplishments in addition to its current colonial status. Then, who was to be blamed for this failure? He could not help criticizing Korea’s traditional social stratification that had led to corruption and incompetence of the ruling yangban class:

The yangban are not engaged in constructive work. They busily engage themselves in empty words and rituals. They feel ashamed if they receive earnings through legitimate work…. Because there was no need for effort, no progress was made, and we consequently fell far behind the Westerners. (Ch’oe 1915b, 167)

Ch’oe’s indignation against Korea’s negative historical legacy was amplified by Yi Kwang-su, whose iconoclastic essays advocated liberation of young men and women from traditional family and gender hierarchies. Ch’ongch’un thus served as a forum for a new generation of educated Koreans and prepared them for further discourses in the 1920s (Robinson 1988, 54).

Nevertheless, what Ch’ongch’un most prominently offered was information concerning the world and knowledge from the West. Just as Sonyŏn sought to enlighten young Koreans with scientific knowledge, Ch’ongch’un’s inaugural issue carried writings concerning modern natural sciences, such as brain science, mathematics, zoology, and a debate between creationists and evolutionists concerning the beginning of the universe. Many of its essays introduced peoples and civilizations of the world, including Islam and its founder Mohammed, the Turkish people, popular jokes from the West, and the early scientists Diogenes, Archimedes, and Galileo as the “three extraordinary men of the West.” The inaugural volume printed a page full of black-and-white photos of Niagara Falls and other great waterfalls of the world and another page dedicated to photos of scenery from Paris, France. Masterpieces of Western literature held an important place in the magazine. An abridged translation of Victor Hugo’s Les Misérables occupied approximately a hundred pages of a special attachment to the inaugural issue, and Milton’s Paradise Lost, Cervantes’ Don Quixote, Chaucer’s The Canterbury Tales, and Tolstoy’s Rebirth appeared in later issues in easily readable vernacular Korean.

Ch’ongch’un further displayed its global orientation through Ch’oe’s “Segye ilchu ka” (Song of circumnavigation of the world), taking up sixty-five pages of the inaugural attachment. The song came in a hundred and thirty-three stanzas, accompanied by a musical score, numerous notes of geographic and historical
information, and many black-and-white scenery photos. In the era before the advent of movies, Ch’oe’s superbly crafted verses helped the readers visualize a grand journey via ships and railroads beginning and ending in Seoul, Korea, and encompassing numerous cities of the world, such as Beijing and Tianjin in China, Moscow and St. Petersburg in Russia, Berlin and Hamburg in Germany, Rome, Pompeii, Florence, and Milan in Italy, Paris and Versailles in France, London, Sheffield, and Liverpool in England, New York, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., and San Francisco in the United States, Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands, and Tokyo and Kyoto in Japan. Although he chose to show the northern hemisphere filled with advanced nations, he mentioned his intent to write another song about the rest of the world (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1914; Han’guk chapchi ch’ongsŏ 1971).

What made Ch’oe place such emphasis on discussions of the world? Providing the readers with a window to view the world far beyond East Asia could diminish the Japanese empire and pose a quiet resistance to its rule. The song of circumnavigation indeed magnified the glory of Western civilization in Europe and North America, dwarfing the significance of the Japanese empire appearing at the very end. At the same time, his introductory statement revealed his genuine fascination with the world and desire to see Korea in relation to it:

I created this piece so you can enjoy and learn world geography and at the same time realize that Korea occupies a key position in world transportation… (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1914, 353)

His primary objective was to enlighten the readers on Korea’s uniquely strategic position in the contemporary world.

Ch’oe continued to assert Korea’s place in the history of world cultures. In May 1915, Ch’ŏngch’ŭn printed his article titled “Ko-Chosŏn-in t’ı China yŏnhae singminji” (Old Chosŏn colonies along the Chinese shores) that discussed the spread of ancient Korean ancestors in China’s coastal regions well beyond the Korean peninsula and the original land of Ancient Chosŏn (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1915a). Two years later, another historical article of his, “Adŭng ŭn segye ŭ kapppu” (Our riches of the world), expounded Korea’s historical heritage, as demonstrated in mural paintings from Koguryŏ, Tripitaka from Koryŏ, movable-type printing techniques from late Koryŏ, and a number of inventions including han’gŭl from the Chosŏn dynasty. These were examples of Korea’s “true riches” representing academic depth, creativity, moral strength, and will power. At the end, he called out:

Let us manifest our unique creativity in the mainstream of world civilization! (Ch’oe Nam-sŏn 1917a)

Korea was destined to make contributions to the world far beyond the confines of the Japanese empire.

Concluding Remarks
Born into a prosperous and progressive chungin family in Seoul at the turn of the century, Ch’oe Nam-sŏn absorbed knowledge of the modern world from a variety
of Korean and foreign publications from a very young age. Learning about Western civilization as well as Korea’s plight under Western and Japanese encroachments, he came to embrace the goals of modern civilization and enlightenment advocated by a new generation of Korean intellectuals in the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement. Despite his initial leaning toward political action, his encounter with Japan’s thriving publication industry and the gradualist reformer An Ch’ang-ho solidified his resolve to devote himself to developing educational magazines for young Koreans.

Published monthly between 1908 and 1911, Ch’oe’s first magazine Sonyŏn firmly established itself as a prototype magazine serving as a viable medium of communication in Korea. Its use of vernacular Korean, accessible format, and attractive appearance set the standard for many Korean magazines to follow when Japanese control over Korean publications loosened in the 1920s. Sonyŏn and Ch’ŏngch’ŏn primarily addressed literate young people in mixed script of han’gul and Chinese characters while the three magazines in the interim addressed younger children in plain han’gul. Serving as a showcase for vernacular poetry and prose, the magazines helped ignite Korea’s new literature movement, fostering new writers for the succeeding decades. As a young man undaunted by conventions, he rejected the traditional age-based hierarchy and declared the arrival of a new age when the young would lead the nation on the path to civilization and progress. Ch’oe’s emphasis on youth was passed on to Korean writers in the 1920s; the magazines Kaebyŏk (Creation, 1920-1949), for instance, published articles asserting the need to give respect to young people and children (Kim Sung Yeon 2003, 15-16).

When the Japanese expanded their dominance and assumed the role of “civilizer” in Korea between 1905 and 1910, the leaders of the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement took to their hearts the Social Darwinist concepts of competition, survival of the fittest, and a world of hierarchy based on power. Sin Ch’ae-ho, in particular, applied these notions to ancient history and identified the formation of the Korean nation in its continuous fight against its belligerent neighbors. The dichotomy of Korea and the outside world presented through historical battles was effective in fortifying national identity and instilling patriotism in the Korean people when the country was faced with imperialist aggression.

Although Ch’oe sympathized with Social Darwinism and dreamed of Korea’s rise in the world, he soon recognized the mechanism of reciprocity at work in the contemporary world. He thus regarded the world as a network of interconnected nations and peoples engaged in never-ending exchanges in all aspects of life and considered Korea as an integral part of that network. This view of Korea and the world compelled him to continue discussing Western civilization and world cultures in his magazines and urge young Koreans to further explore the outside world. After Korea’s status fell to that of a Japanese colony, he remained in Korea and began highlighting its indigenous cultural heritage through composition of sijo pieces as well as publication of classical writings from the Chosŏn-dynasty era. Nevertheless, his emphasis on Western civilization and exploration of the world remained strong throughout the 1910s.
As Ch'oe's steady series of publications posed a silent challenge to the colonial government, Japanese officials attempted to control his magazines through censorship and suspension. Ironically, much of his publication technology and content information had originated from Japanese print media. Nevertheless, his numerous narratives conveying global information served as a window to the world and had the effect of dwarfing the Japanese empire that had only recently joined the ranks of the powers and that possessed less impressive accomplishments than the West. Then, was he simply using knowledge of the West to counter the force of Japanese imperialism? His fascination with world civilizations appeared genuine, and his wish for young Koreans to explore the world beyond Korea and Japan seemed sincere. He earnestly believed in Korea's potential to play a critical role in the contemporary world, on the basis of its geographic location and historical achievements. His genuine embrace of the world as a stage for Korea's future activities did constitute a form of resistance to Japanese colonial rule.

Ch'oe's global orientation was passed on to Korean magazines in the 1920s, as seen in Kaebyŏk's inaugural essay “Segye růl arara” (Know the world):

What cultures does the world offer? What development, improvement, and evolution does the world undergo, and what kinds of relations, interests, and values exist between the nations and the world, our people and the world, and you and the world? (Han'guk chapchi ch'ongsŏ 1971)

Korea's place in the global context continued to preoccupy Ch'oe after 1918. In drafting the Declaration of Independence for the 1919 March First Movement, he asserted that Korea's independence movement was part of the worldwide movement for self-determination and its independence would benefit Asia as a whole (Baldwin 1969, 224). In the 1920s, he published numerous articles that discussed the mythological national progenitor Tan'gun as well as the ancient northeast Asian "Purham" culture centered on Korea, combining his faith in Korea's unique position with the universal cultural diffusion theory advanced by Western anthropologists (Allen 1990). His nationalism was intrinsically intertwined with his trust in universal global forces from the very beginning to the end.9

Ch'oe's search for Korea's role in the interconnected world was remarkably ahead of his time, particularly in view of colonial confines and his limited experience outside of Korea. A century after his writings, many Koreans today seek to find their place in the age of globalization, and the goal of “global Korea” has been upheld by the government and many organizations in South Korea (Republic of Korea Global Communication Centers Division 2008). We may find in Ch'oe's uniquely balanced embrace of both globalism and nationalism an important precedent on which to reflect.

9 Yi Yong-hwa argues that Ch'oe's “cultural universalism” (munhwapop'yŏn ch'ui), or his quest for Korea's universal significance in world cultures, was a weakness that led to his recognition of Korea's close cultural ties to Japan (Yi Yong-hwa 2003, 8-9). His global framework was therefore not a cause of, but a precondition for his association with the Japanese later in the colonial period.
# GLOSSARY

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<td>爱国啓蒙運動</td>
<td>Ch’oe Nam-sŏn’s Youth Magazines and Message of a Global Korea in the Early Twentieth Century</td>
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