[page 87]

**Koreans in Transition: Americanization at the University of Dubuque, 1911-1935**

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Introduction: An Untold Story

The history of Korean Americans is one that continues to unfold as memoirs and family histories are published, and materials hidden away for many years in widely scattered archives are brought to light. As one reads through this material, names of places and institutions begin to reappear with an unfailing regularity, and occasionally one comes upon a name that intersects with one’s own life and experience.

Such was the case with the University of Dubuque, located in the city of Dubuque on the banks of the Mississippi River in the central U.S. state of Iowa. While a graduate student there in the 1960s and early 1970s, the author came to know a number of Korean graduate students, many of whom returned to Korea to take up leadership positions in business and academia. It was obvious that this small church related university had a long historic relationship with Korea, but just how long and how significant remained somewhat of a mystery until the fall semester of 1991 when the author served as a visiting professor at the University of Dubuque. Research carried out in the university archives clearly showed that for a period of over two decades this school was at the very center of the Korean American student experience.1 This initial research was augmented by a reading of materials available in Korea and by interviews with missionaries and the sons and daughters of former missionaries. The result is a fascinating story of diplomatic intrigue, dogged determination, unfailing generosity, and a somewhat naive but well-intentioned belief in [page 88] the superiority of “the American way of life.” It is a story that has, up until now, remained untold.

How did a relatively small university in a largely rural state end up with more international students than any other university in the United States with the exception of Columbia University in New York City? And how did this university have more Korean students enrolled than any other college or university in the United States? What role did one of Korea’s first Protestant missionaries, Horace Allen, have to play in this story? How and why did this American university come to observe March 1st as Korean Independence Day? The answers to these and other questions form the subject of this essay. This story is one more chapter in the saga of the Korean American experience, a saga which is still very much in the process of being written.

The Historical Context: Early Korean Immigration to the U.S.

Historians have identified three periods of immigration of Koreans to the U.S. The first was from 1900 to 1944 and was largely associated with the need for Korean laborers in the sugarcane fields of Hawaii. The second was from 1945 to 1964 and resulted from the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule and from the devastation brought about by the Korean War. The third, which began in 1965 and is continuing until the present, came about due to the abolition of racial quotas which limited the number of Korean immigrants to the U.S. to a mere 100 per year. From 1965 onward Koreans were free to immigrate on an equal basis with other nationalities, and by 1974 there were approximately 25,000 Korean immigrants to the U.S. each year.2

From 1900 to 1944, during the period of the earliest Korean immigration to the U.S., there were three distinct groups who came. The first were laborers who were recruited to work in the sugarcane fields in Hawaii. Between 1903 and 1905, 7,226 persons arrived in Hawaii. Of these 6,048 were men, 637 were women, and 541 were children. Approximately 2,000 of these later moved to the U.S. mainland, mostly to work in railroad construction.3

A second group came between 1910 to 1924，the so-called “picture brides who were to marry the Korean men who were already here. Their photos were sent to the U.S. and men who wished to marry them sent[page 89] money to Korea for their passage. 1,066 women came, of whom 951 landed in Hawaii and 115 on the mainland, mostly in San Francisco.4

The third group which came in this earliest wave of immigration numbered approximately 900. These were students and intellectuals who left Korea following the Japanese annexation in 1910.5 Many of these traveled from China on passports issued by the Korean Provisional Government or on Chinese passports, since the Japanese officially prohibited immigration from Korea. Korean immigrants from China continued to arrive in the U.S. up through the end of the 1920s. From the mid-1930s until 1944 very few Koreans were able to immigrate to the U.S., although there were some who managed to come on Japanese passports prior to 1941.

This first period of Korean immigration to the U.S. involved 9,192 persons, most of whom came between 1903 and 1930. Many saw their time in Hawaii as temporary and they soon managed to move on to the mainland, usually to San Francisco, where wages were higher and better educational opportunities were available. There were some who immigrated to Hawaii, returned to Korea to work in the independence movement, then moved on to China and eventually returned to the U.S.6

The statistical aspects of this early period of Korean immigration are well known, but there is another aspect of this early period that is largely unknown—that of the role of some of the early missionaries to Korea. Several of these missionaries, such as the Presbyterian Horace N. Allen and the Methodist Homer B. Hulbert, were also diplomats, and they were not averse to using their diplomatic skills to enhance Korean American relations as they understood them. Both were personal friends of King Kojong, the last emperor of the Choson Dynasty, and both argued passionately in the halls of Western diplomacy and jurisprudence on behalf of the Korean cause. Both also played significant “benind the scenes” roles in the early immigration of Koreans to the U.S.

Horace Allen originally came to Korea as a medical doctor assigned to the diplomatic community since missionaries then were technically not allowed into the country. This enabled him to establish close ties with government officials, both Western and Korean. When he provided medical aid to Prince Min Yong-Ik, who was wounded in a coup attempt, he immediately curried favor with King Kojong and was allowed to open a clinic which in turn became associated with Protestant mission work.8[page 90]

Two characteristics of Allen’s personality immediately became evident. The first was the ability to work within the structures of the royal court. He asked the king to provide the name of his newly opened medical clinic and he offered to place it under royal administration. He showed proper deference to the king and was liberally rewarded with the royal title “Champan Mandarin” which in turn gave him free access to enter the royal palace without an official summons. Allen used every available opportunity to strengthen the relationships between the royal court and the Western community. In short, he showed that he was not only a medical doctor and a missionary, but also a man who exercised exceptional diplomatic skills.

The second characteristic would seem at least superficially to work against the first, for while Allen was most diplomatic with the royal court, he was anything but that with his missionary colleagues. In the words of one historian, “The ‘progress’ of the Presbyterian pioneers, however, was undermined early by difficult interpersonal relations. Most, if not all, of these difficulties centered around Horace Allen and his strange personality”9 Allen was a man of strong beliefs and commitments, and he had little tolerance with those who did not share them. He was convinced that Protestant mission work in Korea must proceed slowly and build upon already established foundations—the medical work, good relations with the royal court, and recognition that the Presbyterians were the senior missionaries on the scene (and of course, he was the senior missionary of the Presbyterians!). Allen had specific goals in mind for the medical work and he soon entered into conflict with his colleagues. He had little tolerance for those who wished to immediately begin evangelistic work, especially when those missionaries were Methodists. Intellectually he knew that the Presbyterians and the Methodists were committed to working together, but practically he had difficulty in putting this into effect. At one point the tensions became so great that Allen requested a transfer to Pusan. This request was denied, however, and Allen remained in Seoul until he resigned from the Presbyterian mission in September 1887 to accompany the first Korean legation to Washington, D.C. He returned to Korea in September 1889 under reappointment as a Presbyterian missionary, only to resign again in July 1890 when he became secretary of the U.S. legation in Seoul.10[page 91]

As a full-time diplomat these two characteristics of Allen’s personality served him well. His diplomatic skills enabled him to convince the royal court in Seoul and the U.S. government in Washington that anything that would enhance Korean-American relations was good and should therefore be carried out. His strong goal-oriented personality enabled him to carry out various projects to enhance Korean-American relations, even when dubious methods were employed or when critics raised their voices. Allen had a vast network of friends in high places upon whom he could call when in need, and he did not hesitate to do this when he believed it to be necessary.11

Perhaps the most significant of Allen’s diplomatic efforts was the opening up of immigration for Koreans to come to Hawaii to work on the sugarcane plantations.12 Allen, in cooperation with David Deshler, the stepson of the governor of Ohio, worked with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association to change the immigration laws. The annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898 meant that U.S. law now applied in Hawaii and the Japanese workers were free to move to the mainland where the wages were higher and the working conditions better. Because of the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in 1882, it was impossible for Chinese workers to come to work in Hawaii, especially since Hawaii was now a U.S. territory. This provided an opportunity for Koreans to fill the employment vacuum left by the departing Japanese. The problem was that U.S. law clearly prohibited contract labor. Allen put his diplomatic skills and his strong personality to work and convinced both Seoul and Washington that allowing the immigration of Korean workers into Hawaii would be good for Korean-American relations. He and Deshler also managed to provide a ruse that effectively covered up the fact that the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association was engaging in contract labor when it hired Korean workers. When the ruse was discovered in 1903 and the entire project seemed to be in jeopardy, there was a flurry of diplomatic and legal activity that even involved the bribing of a federal judge.13 The flow of Korean immigrants was allowed to continue, however, and it did not end until November 1905 when Japan placed a protectorate over Korea and effectively stopped any further direct immigration of Koreans to the United States for the purposes of employment.

It has been noted that a majority of these early immigrants were either [page 92] converts to Christianity or had close ties with the missionaries in Korea. There were two reasons for this. First, many of these early immigrants were originally from rural areas where life was hard and crop failure common. They were people who lived on the margins of society and were thus attracted to the missionaries and their message. Second, the missionaries had a profound influence upon education in Korea. Homer B. Hulbert, who served in Korea from 1886 to 1905, was an educational advisor to the king. This not only gave him considerable influence in educational matters, but also placed him in a position to argue in favor of Korean immigration to Hawaii. In addition, Hulbert wrote a geography textbook that was widely used in the mission schools.14 This textbook had an influence upon at least one immigrant by providing him with his first knowledge of the world beyond Korea.15 Through close personal contact with the lives of ordinary Koreans and through mission schools, many Koreans came to be more open to Western ways and, indeed, some believed that the United States was “a land of milk and honey” or “the golden mountain” where one’s dreams for success could be realized. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that the missionaries were among the prime recruiters of immigrant laborers to Hawaii.

One of these was the Rev. George Heber Jones, a Methodist missionary based in Seoul who was in charge of the West Korean District of the Methodist Church. Many of the earliest immigrants to Hawaii were sent under his guidance and he even arranged for a woman evangelist to accompany them. A significant number were from a single church in Chemulp’o (Inchon).16 Thus Jones wrote in his mission report for 1904 that “A large number have gone to Hawaii, and some of its [Chemulp’o Church] strongest members are engaged in the Hawaiian enterprise, giving their strength and time to it rather than to the interest of the Church.”17

Among the Presbyterian missionaries, Mrs. William A. [Sallie] Swallen wrote of the immigrants to Hawaii, “We can’t blame them for wanting to go to America.”18 Swallen was also instrumental in recruiting Korean students for the University of Dubuque, and made a number of special visits to the campus over the years. We find, therefore, that the immigration of Koreans to Hawaii and to the mainland of the United States formed a unique historical context which set the stage for the next chapter in this story—the university setting. [page 93]

The University Setting: Immigrants and the Founding of the University of Dubuque

The University of Dubuque is unique in that it was a school originally founded by immigrants for the education of immigrants. The mid-nineteenth century was a time of considerable turmoil in Europe brought on by the aftermath of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the Industrial Revolution, and overpopulation.19 Life was difficult, especially for many farmers and merchants who lived in largely rural areas. As a result many immigrated to the middle states of the U.S.: Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota. Here land was cheap and opportunities to begin a new life seemed unlimited. As these immigrants settled in their newly adopted land, they brought their European customs and languages with them. A glance at a map of the states of Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin is revealing in the names given to many villages, towns, and cities. In Minnesota one finds Ostrander, Arendahl, Potsdam, Le Sueur, New Sweden, New Ulm, New Prague, and Warsaw. In Wisconsin there is Genoa, New Lisbon, New Glarus, La Crosse, Prairie du Chien, De Soto, and Cazenovia. In Iowa, where the University of Dubuque is located, there is Dorchester, New Hampton, Luxemburg, Guttenberg, and New Vienna, the latter three being in the immediate vicinity of Dubuque.

The antecedents to the University of Dubuque are to be found firstly, in a couple, both of whom were immigrants—the Rev. Peter Flury from Switzerland and his wife Sophie, a Briton whom Flury met while visiting his brother, a businessman in Rome. The Flurys arrived in Dubuque in 1846 and started an English school for Swiss immigrants. Rev. Flury visited a number of German settlements in the area and eventually started a German-speaking church. He also founded a German school for the children of immigrants. Following the death of his wife he returned to his native Switzerland.

He was followed by the Rev. Jean Baptiste Madouler, an immigrant from Germany. Madouler spoke four languages and took young men into his home where he taught them theology in preparation for ordination. One of these was a Swiss immigrant by the name of John Bantly who lived in nearby Galena, Illinois. He decided to enter the ministry after hearing a sermon by a Dutchman named Adrian Van Vliet, and it was Van Vliet [page 94] who is generally credited with founding in 1852 the institution that would eventually become the University of Dubuque.

It was in 1852 that the Rev. Adrian Van Vliet formally began theological instruction in his home for two students, both of whom were of German descent. The number of students grew, however all instruction was carried out in German until 1870 when courses in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography, and mathematics were added. At that time bilingual instruction became the norm.20 As the school continued to develop it was named the German Theological School of the Northwest.21 As the number of immigrants began to increase, the curriculum was broadened, and as so often happened in American higher education, a school founded for the education of the clergy soon became a college with a broad range of majors.

When it became apparent that many of the students who wished to enter the theological school were poorly prepared in linguistic skills and in a basic knowledge of the liberal arts, a two-year academy was opened which was roughly equivalent to the last year of high school and the first year of undergraduate college. The school printed its first catalog in 1873 but no copies are now in existence. By 1903-04 a second edition of the catalog was published. It was printed in German and showed that there were now three distinct departments—the two-year preparatory academy, a four-year college of liberal arts, and a three-year graduate school of theology. The first catalog printed in English appeared for the 1905-06 academic year. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which had direct oversight of the school, recommended that it “train ministers also for other minority groups” and the chief financial officer of the school, Dr. Cornelius M. Steffens who was to become president in 1907, “embarked on an ambitious program of Americanization of the various immigrant peoples in America through the education of young men of these peoples. In the course of time this led to the school becoming one of the most cosmopolitan educational institutions in America.”22

During the 1905-06 academic year a number of students from Bohemia (now the Czech Republic) arrived on the campus, and also during this year the school was recognized by the state with the authority to grant the B.A. degree. An undated pamphlet, probably published in 1903 or early 1904, focused on the following ethnic groups: Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians [page 95] and Slovaks, and Germans. Although the training of clergy remained a major focus—”We must have at least one school whose object shall be the training of men for this particular missionary work”23—the faculty also realized that ‘The need of special training is recognized in every other department of scientific, industrial, sociological and technical education.”24

In 1911 the school was completely reorganized and renamed Dubuque German College and Seminary, and during World War I that name was changed to the University of Dubuque, consisting of an undergraduate College of Liberal Arts and a Graduate Theological Seminary. Significantly, it remains to this very day the only U.S. Presbyterian theological seminary that is an integral graduate school of a university, this undoubtedly due to the German origins of the school where theology has always been considered a university discipline.

The 1911-12 catalog states that “besides German and Bohemian students，there were also in attendance Mexicans, Moravians, Slavonians, Croatians, Russians, Magyars, Danes, Jews, Swiss, Japanese, Hollanders, Seroians, Canadians, and Americans.”25 Also in 1912 the university admitted women, thus ending over fifty years of being an all-male institution.26 The university setting was now complete. A university founded by immigrants and with a large immigrant student population was ready to embark on one of the most unique ventures in American higher education—the Americanization of immigrants.

A Unique Program of Studies: The Americanization of Immigrants

The origins of the Americanization program began in the theological school with an effort to train clergy of different ethnic groups so that they could do evangelistic work among the various immigrant groups from Europe that were entering the country in large numbers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The church saw this as an opportunity for mission work, but increasingly the university, and the public at large, saw this as an opportunity for hastening the assimilation of an ever-increasing immigrant population. The following words are ample testimony to the idealism that accompanied this program:

The nation’s big business at this hour is racial fusing. Democracy will weaken if assimilation of the alien be not hastened. Dubuque Seminary stands in the forefront of fusing forces, strong of heart and wide of[page 96] vision, ready for this urgent task of Americanizing. The institution touches my patriotism as quickly as it does my religion. I feel my nation’s need and rejoice in the response to that need that this school is making. Dubuque Seminary is one of our national assets.

The linguistic jargon of Iroquois, Choctaw and Sioux, our elder Americans, has been intensified by the polyglot invasion of the land during our generation. We talk the languages of all earth, wear in our hearts the slow-dying feelings of innumerable allegiances and huddle as strangers into unrelated bunches, while our flag floats over all, an emblem of a unity not yet achieved. Men and schools must stand forth to speak in voices that thrill, of the patriotic duty and privilege of national reunification through education and brotherhood.27

The writer goes on to point out that of the ninety students enrolled at the time only one was American. He writes, “But the assimilation is going forward so rapidly that these sons of aliens are brothers of the republic and shouting patriots before they have sat through their first semester.”28

Not all of this patriotic fervor was altruistic, however, and this same writer nints at a somewhat darker side when he writes, “This school is rightly placed and rightly dispositioned, There is a large future before this work of Americanization of our foreign speaking people. There will always be ignorant and unsaved aliens within our borders whose presence is our peril True religion and sound patriotism alike invoke our deep interest in the work of this institution.”29 As we shall see, a fear of the so-called “yellow peril” eventually led to restrictive immigration laws for Asians and equally restrictive laws for legal Asian immigrants which prevented many from gaining full citizenship.

In spite of this, there was a genuine concern for the education of immigrants as evidenced by these words taken from the 1919-20 catalog of the University of Dubuque: “Education gives power to life. Our foreign-speaking people have been neglected in the generous provisions which have been made for higher education. This School seeks to remedy this defect in the educational system, so that the blessings of Christian culture may be given to the people of foreign communities.”30 The catalog went on to state that “Americanization is the distinct aim, and it has been successfully attained in the large number of students who have come under the spell of the Dubuque method and spirit.”31

The Americanization program at the University of Dubuque was the[page 97] brainchild of Cornelius M. Steffens, president from 1907 to 1924, and was further refined by Karl Frederick Wettstone, who served as president from 1924 to 1927. Both men were firmly committed to the integration of immigrants into American society. The motivations behind the Ameri-canization program were mixed, but three seem to have emerged as primary.

The first was the goal of evangelization and mission, which harkened back to the school’s origins as a theological seminary. There was the strong belief that the best way to Americanize immigrants was to train leadership that represented all of the various immigrant groups. The university adopted a new motto and logo which featured a toga-clad young man superimposed upon the circular earth with the words “The University of Dubuque Serves the Whole Church and the World.” Many of the advertisements which appeared in local newspapers and national religious magazines featured this motto and logo and appeals for funds often stressed the religious mission of the university. One such advertisement, which appeared in 1924, reads as follows:

The KEY to the Americanization Problem

1—Imagine yourself in the same position as a foreigner within our shores.

2—Then ask yourself, “Who am I most willing to listen to in this country?” (The answer, “Those of my own blood.”)

3—And, do all that you can as a Christian and as American citizen to see that those “who will be listened to” are given Christian training and high ideals that will enable them to lead “those others” into a full realization of Christian Americanism.

We believe that this is the real key to the Americanization problem and upon this platform we have been training Christian leaders for the foreign-born within our shores, and for those abroad, for the last seventy-two years. The records of such graduates prove that we are right.32

It was firmly believed that the churches occupied a key position in the Americanization of immigrant groups and there was a tendency to equate Christianization with Americanization.

The second motivation behind the Americanization program was a sincere desire to deal with what was then referred to as “That Immigrant Problem.” As weekly news reports spoke of the tens of thousands of[page 98] immigrants pouring into the U.S. through Ellis Island in New York, and in much fewer numbers through the port of San Francisco, an anti-immigration xenophobia set in. Indeed, even among the university faculty there were those who opposed the Americanization program and who complained about how much extra time it took to work with foreign students. Most left the university after a year or two when their opposition was not heeded by the administration.33 Perhaps the most daring expression of this opposition to immigration came in a request by the Ku Klux Klan to use the university’s athletic field for a demonstration, a request that was politely but firmly denied by President Wettstone.34

In response to this rising xenophobia the university immediately joined in the national debate surrounding immigration. It presented itself as a “solution” to the immigration problem and leaders in Americanization were invited to the campus to observe the Americanization program at work. Special courses on immigration were added to the curriculum and it was suggested that all theological students should become bilingual. Perhaps one of the most ambitious projects was the establishment of a “National Christian Americanization Center” in Kansas City where seminars on the issue of immigration were held and where clergy, social workers, politicians, and university administrators could come together to discuss issues related to immigration.35

The Americanization program brought immigrants to the campus to study English, American history and political science, and American literature in addition to their chosen major field of study. There was a 40% foreign to 60% American-born student ratio on the campus. Immigrants and native-born Americans often were roommates in campus dormitories and there was an intentional effort to fully integrate the foreign students into all aspects of university life. It was believed that such a program would result in assimilating the immigrants into the so-called American “melting pot.”

A third motivation for the establishment of the Americanization program was to educate the general population concerning the cultures and lifestyles of the new immigrants. The university sponsored numerous programs for local civic organizations which featured foreign students. Cultural presentations were emphasized and a vigorous public relations campaign targeted many regional newspapers. Even advertisements that[page 99] were primarily for the purpose of fund raising tended to be educational, with such eye-catching bylines as “Where Are the Letts?” “In the Heart of Africa,” “A ‘World Wide’ Program,” “Not Imitators, But Leaders,” “A Mexican Student’s Story,” and “Friend of Foreigners.”36 Often the stories of the immigrants were told either by themselves or by the university president.

One such story of a Korean immigrant became the subject of an advertisement entitled “Feed My Sheep.” It began with this lengthy sentence: “Born in Kangsir, Korea, twenty-two years ago, the youngest of four boys, he saw two of his brothers given sentences for participation in the Korean revolution against Japanese rule, one to fifteen years’ imprisonment, and the other to death with a later escape as an exile to Siberia.”37 The four-paragraph advertisement went on to give further details of the suffering of the Korean people following the Independence Movement of March 1, 1919. Advertisements such as this not only made an appeal for funds for the university but they also served to educate the reading public about world affairs.

As the Americanization program developed, the university published a two-volume set of booklets entitled The Plan: An Americanization Program Commended to Your Interest and The Plant: An Americanization Program at Work.38 By 1928 it was apparent that the melting pot idea was being misunderstood, and in volume 1, The Plan, an excerpt from an editorial in Collier’s entitled “Americans All” was reprinted. It read in part:

Almost every nationality which has found a refuge on these shores is endeavoring to have American history rewritten to enhance its own reputation. The melting pot for the time being seems not to be fusing the various elements but rather to be emphasizing our difference in the crucible of which heat....

We can’t benefit our country by despising or hating our fellow countrymen, however they may differ from us.

America has been the promised land to so many races, not because we were a bit of the Old World transplanted, but because we were unique in opportunity and in freedom of achievement.

We are not bound by class or hereditary distinctions. Our government makes possible tolerance of the widest divergencies. Let’s make use of the freedom we have inherited to build a greater nation on co-operation, good-will and mutual understanding. Thus only can we truly progress.39 [page 100]

One can detect a subtle but significant shift from earlier concerns with bringing about a “fusing of the races” to a new concern for goodwill and mutual understanding between the races.

It is interesting to note that The Plan featured a two-page photo gallery of the foreign students at the University of Dubuque. Of the thirty-six students pictured, seven were from Korea, the largest number from any one nation. Among them was Evelyn Kim (Kim Nien-wha), a nursing student, who later became the wife of Easurk Emsen Charr, the author of The Golden Mountain.40 The couple and their three children fully embodied the ideals of the Americanization program, as both gained American citizenship (although not without considerable difficulty) and settled permanently in the United States.

Another person who fully embodied the ideals of the program was Karl Frederick Wettstone, born with the family name of Wettstein of Swiss parentage in 1893 in Nervi, Italy, a suburb of Genoa. His ancestors came from Basel and included a leading statesman and a well-known theologian. His father was a Lutheran pastor who served not only in Switzerland but also in Italy, Germany, and Monaco. His mother was Moravian and a distinguished author in her day. Due to political changes in Europe, including rising Prussian militarism, Karl and his brother immigrated to the U.S. in 1907. After learning English, Karl entered the University of Dubuque and graduated from both the College of Liberal Arts and the Theological Seminary, He also changed his name to Wettstone, obtained U.S. citizenship, and began a distinguished career as a Presbyterian pastor. In 1924, at age 32, he was appointed president of the University of Dubuque and became at that time the youngest university president in the United States. Why was he chosen?

Dr. Wettstone was elected to head up the institution because he is an outstanding example of the Christian educational work that this particular Presbyterian university is doing in Americanizing, Christianizing and training the foreigners within our shores for Christian leadership among their own people here at home and abroad. He was chosen also because he has such a deep understanding of this class of students and, though of foreign birth, had become a fine American type of alert, energetic leader.41[page 101]

Wettstone was firmly committed to the Americanization program and he made it a point to personally interview every entering student, giving special attention to foreign students. He also used rather dramatic means to educate his constituency concerning the problems faced by immigrants. In a sermon at a local church on the problems of immigrants in the U.S., Wettstone gave significant portions of his text in Italian, French, and German “in order to show his hearers how lonely they would feel if they were away in some foreign country, making their living among people whose language they did not understand.”42

Whenever he spoke to groups, either in churches or to civic organizations, Wettstone presented the personal stories of some of the immigrants enrolled at the university. One of his favorite stories concerned Daniel Choy, a Korean who took a Chinese name in order to escape from China and come to the U.S. A newspaper report summarized the story as follows:

Daniel Choy, a Korean, had been two years in prison and suffered flogging and torture, but he persisted in his plan to come to America, finally hiding in the hold of a Pacific Ocean steamer. He was discovered after several days, unconscious and fainting from lack of food. Having been helped on his way, this student is now in Dubuque’s theological seminary, and next year he will go back to Korea as a missionary.43

From the standpoint of fundraising, this story had drama, showed the dogged determination of the student, portrayed the generosity of those Americans who helped him make his way to Dubuque, and demonstrated one of the goals of the Americanization program: the training of Christian leaders to serve their own people. Educationally, it made the hearers aware of the Japanese occupation of Korea and of the suffering of those Koreans who dared to resist the Japanese. Undoubtedly for many this was their first exposure to the unfortunate plight of the Korean people during this period. As a result there was a great sympathy among the churches and members of the university community, so that each year the university marked March 1st as Korean Independence Day. It was obvious that among the foreign students at the University of Dubuque the Koreans were significant not only by their numbers, but also by their political commitment to an independent homeland, which in turn meshed very well with the American ideals of democracy and freedom.

[page 102]

The Korean Connection: The Making of Korean Americans

In the 1920s the University of Dubuque had more foreign students than any other university in the country with the exception of Columbia University.44 This is rather amazing when one considers that Columbia was located in cosmopolitan New York City and the University of Dubuque in a small city in a rural state far from the major centers of culture and influence- There were, however, several factors that attracted newly arrived immigrants to Dubuque, First, the cost of a university education was much lower in the central U.S. than on either coast, and because of strong church connections, colleges and universities such as the University of Dubuque were able to offer generous scholarship aid. Second, this was an area of the U.S. that was (and to some extent still is) strongly religious, and the ties with missionary communities around the world were both deep and long-lasting. Missionaries, both Methodist and Presbyterian, were especially active in channeling students to their denominational colleges and universities, many of which were located in the central U.S. Third, cities such as New York and San Francisco were already home to thousands of immigrants. Opportunities for newly arrived immigrants were often limited and in some cases an anti-immigrant backlash was beginning to develop. The central states offered opportunities, for the immigrants were widely scattered, and for many native-born Americans people of other lands were still somewhat of a curiosity. It was only natural, therefore, that many Koreans would seek their education in this region. The west coast was already home to Chinese and Japanese immigrants, and the east coast to European immigrants, but the central U.S. was still open and largely unsettled by the immigrant community.

When these factors were combined with the University of Dubuque’s own immigrant history and its aggressive Americanization program, one should not be surprised that it was not long until there were more Koreans among the foreign students at the university than any other nationality. Indeed, for much of the 1920s there were more Korean foreign students at the University of Dubuque than any other college or university in the entire United States.45 The numbers, of course, were not large by today’s standards, usually hovering around seven or eight. However, in the 1920s there were also very few foreign students in the U.S., for most first generation immigrants were primarily seeking employment and economic[page 103] opportunities rather than a higher education.

In the case of Koreans it was often the children of the first generation of immigrants to Hawaii who entered American colleges and universities.46 Also in the case of Koreans at the University of Dubuque, a large number were immigrants from China who entered the U.S. to escape the Japanese occupation of Korea. Many came from families where education was highly valued and their parents—especially the fathers—were leaders in the Korean independence movement or associated with the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai. Others were from families that had suffered financial reverses so that plans for higher education could not be realized. Unlike those who planned to remain in the U.S. as permanent immigrants, those in these groups planned to return to their homeland and participate in its reconstruction following the Japanese occupation.

This fit in quite well with the Americanization program as it, in the words of a 1928 university publication, “affords to the young men and women of American stock the priceless privilege of fellowship with the future leaders of the foreign world, the breaking down of race and class prejudice, the broadening vision of a challenging world whose representatives are not unfamiliar to them.”47

One person who can be said to epitomize the Korean students at the University of Dubuque was Lee Wook Chang48 He was born in P’yongyang in 1896 and received his education in Korean grammar schools and at the P’yongyang Missionary Academy. Desiring to obtain a university education, he went to Japan hoping to enter Waseda University, but the failure of the family business forced him to return to Korea and work for two years to help support the family. He was finally able to immigrate to the U.S. in 1917 and began an intensive study of English in California. He was accepted by a college in Ohio, but due to lack of funds was unable to enroll as the college would not grant him scholarship aid. Through a friend he learned of the University of Dubuque, which offered him a scholarship, and he studied there from 1918 through 1920. Then his younger brother arrived in the U.S. and Lee returned to California to work for two years so that his brother could attend school. In 1922 the younger brother went to work to help Lee Wook Chang fund his final two years of study at Dubuque. He graduated in 1925 with a B.A., studied at Columbia University for an M.A., and then returned to Korea where he became the [page 104] principal of the Syn Chun Boy’s Academy.49

Twenty years passed and then the University of Dubuque heard from Lee Wook Chang through a letter which he wrote while on a train traveling from San Francisco to Washington, D.C.50 He was in the U.S. as part of an official delegation of the Korean Educational Commission to the U.S. State Department, He wrote about the organization of a Dubuque Club in Korea which had twelve members at its first meeting in Seoul. He mentioned that there were now nineteen University of Dubuque alumni in Seoul and listed their names and occupations as follows:

Lee Wook Chang, ‘25, Head of Seoul Normal College, Seoul; Sang Wood Chang, ‘30, In business; Nuenchin Daniel Choy, ‘x29, Sectional Head of Police Bureau N.G.A.; Chong Whan Kim, ‘34, Manager of Wha Shin Department Store; L. H. Kim, ‘x26, Leader, People’s Party; Paulina Kim, Married; Sang Don Kim, ‘x33, Secretary, Relief Association; Tai Chin Kim, Police Bureau; Lloyd C. Kimm, ‘x39, U.S. Army officer; Eung Young Lee, ‘x33, Bureau of Commerce; You Kyung Lee, ‘x36; John M. Moon, ‘29, Officer under M.G.A.; Eu Whan Pai, ‘x32, Bureau of Finance; Grace Park, ‘35, Principal Kyungki Girl’s Middle School，Seoul, Korea; Pil Young Park, ‘x24, In business; Julia Shyn, Married; Paul Shyn, ‘x47, Bureau of the Interior; Y. K. Shinn, Leader of Democratic Party; Virginia Sone, ‘29, Married; Harry Hahn, ‘x31, Manager, business firm.51

As can be seen from this list, Lee Wook Chang was now the president of a college in Seoul and most of the alumni were involved in education, government service, or business. Although not all received their degrees from the University of Dubuque, all who attended the university considered themselves to be alumni of the school.

What is perhaps even more revealing is that Chang’s 1946 trip to the U.S. was to promote cooperation between Korea and the U.S. in the area of education. This effort has borne fruit through the eventual establishment of the Korean-American Educational Commission, more commonly known as the Fulbright Program, which continues to promote exchanges between academics of the two countries. Lee Wook Chang’s early life and later career served in every way to demonstrate the success of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque.52

The Korean students at the university were active on the campus and[page 105] formed their own student club known as the Korean Society. The stated purposes of the group were as follows:

To promote fellowship and sociability among its members; to exchange viewpoints and interpretations of American ideals and institutions; to inform its members of the marching events of the homeland, that they may be up with the times when they return to Korea to serve their fellow countrymen as Christian leaders and educators; and finally to do away with the problems, such as homesickness and the like which confront them.53

In addition, the Korean Society subscribed to representative newspapers and magazines from Korea “in order that they might keep posted with every bit of work for enlightenment and progress in their native country.”54 They also met in the university chapel on Sundays for a prayer meeting conducted in Korean. In 1924 the president of the Korean Society at the University of Dubuque was L. W. Chang.

Korean students from the university also attended numerous conferences held in other cities and on other university campuses. In 1927 Virginia Sone (identified as Stone in a newspaper report) represented the University of Dubuque at a women’s conference in Milwaukee.55 From December 28, 1935 through January 1, 1936, seven Dubuque students attended a convention of the Student Volunteer Movement in Indianapolis, among them Indu Park.56 Each year during the vacation period, Korean students from colleges and universities all over the U.S. would gather at a central campus for an annual meeting. It was at such a meeting at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1927 that Easurk Emsen Charr met his University of Dubuque bride, Evelyn Kim.

Most of the Korean students at the University of Dubuque were also very much concerned about the political situation in their homeland. They traveled to nearby cities and campuses to hear such leaders as the Rev. Soon Hyun of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai. Numerous leaders of the Korean reconstruction movement traveled across the U.S. soliciting funds and support for the Korean cause. Perhaps there was none of these who were as famous and well known as Ann Chang Ho. The members of the Korean Society at the University of Dubuque were elated when Ahn came to the university in the spring of 1925 to give a [page 106] public address and confer with the Korean students. The local newspaper featured a four-column story on Ahn complete with a photo. The story included a biography of Ahn as well as a clear presentation of the Korean cause.58 Ahn’s coming to Dubuque was not only an affirmation of the importance of the university because of the presence of Korean students, but also an opportunity to make this segment of the American community aware of what was happening in Korea and the role that Japan was playing in Korean affairs. Through Ahn’s presence the faculty and students of the university deepened their awareness and understanding of the Korean independence movement.

The golden years of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque appear to have been in the 1920s, at least as far as the Korean students were concerned. The first decade of the program focused mainly on immigrants from Europe. By the second decade of the program the children of the first wave of Korean immigrants to Hawaii were ready to enroll in colleges and universities, and also those who were seeking to escape the harsh Japanese occupation of Korea were arriving on U.S. shores. However, the Immigration Act of 1924 effectively stopped the flow of new immigrants from both Korea and Japan and limited the number to only one hundred per year.59 This meant that by the beginning of the 1930s the number of Korean foreign students began to decrease sharply. As the threat of war began to dominate Europe and the authoritarian regimes of Nazism and Communism curtailed immigration, the flow of immigrants from Europe also decreased. It was not long until the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque came to an end.

Officially the end came in 1935 when the university changed its basis and focused on “full fledged college work for American young people, fitting them for life and for the altruistic callings.”60 In the words of the president of the university, “The purpose of the University of Dubuque is best stated as the enlargement of the visions and ideals of its founders who sought to build an institution for the training of intelligent Christian citizenship and enlightened Christian leadership.”61 Thus “with the passing of the intense immigration period and governmental restrictions of immigrants, the problem of the assimilation of these large groups began to resolve itself through the natural processes of educational and institutional services in the communities in which these people had settled.”62 Those[page 107] Koreans who were part of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque had either become permanent residents of the U.S. and were seeking to obtain citizenship, or had returned home to participate in the Christianization and reconstruction of their country.

Conclusion: From Americanization to Globalization

The end of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque did not end the recruitment of Korean students. Following Korea’s liberation in 1945 and the end of the Korean War in 1953 there was a resurgence in the number of Korean immigrants to the U.S., many of whom obtained their higher education in American colleges and universities, including the University of Dubuque. Once again missionaries were often the main recruiters of students from Korea, although by this time there were scores of U.S. colleges and universities actively seeking Korean students. For the most part, however, the assumption was that these students would return home following graduation. The goal of Americanization had been replaced by the goal of training international leaders.

Although the number of Korean students declined after 1935, students at the University of Dubuque remained interested in Korean affairs, and in 1949 participated in a World Student Service Fund drive to raise money for the purchase of textbooks, educational equipment, and medical care for students at “the University of Seoul.”63 Following the outbreak of the Korean War many Koreans who were forced to flee their homes came to the U.S. to seek temporary refuge. One of these was Grace Pak Chang who graduated from the University of Dubuque in 1935 (as Grace Park) and returned to Korea to become the principal of Kyungki Girl’s Middle School in Seoul. She arrived on the Dubuque campus in February 1951 as part of a Korean government delegation to study American school administration. Her husband, Chang Duk-Soo, had been assassinated by the Communists in 1947, and following the outbreak of the Korean War she fled across the Han River to Suwon with her children and then took a train to Pusan. In her absence her home was looted and she lost all her possessions. When the Communists were driven north and victory seemed assured, she joined the delegation to the U.S. only to discover during her visit that the tide of the war had turned and the Communists had reinvaded Seoul. She found herself both homeless and, for the moment at least, a [page 108] refugee, unable to return to Korea. She told a newspaper reporter that “Talking to Korean students in this country has reassured her that they have no wish to live the lives of exiles. They feel there is something to go back to if they have their land.”64 A news photo of Mrs. Grace Pak Chang shows her holding “a precious gift from an American friend—a picture of herself, her children and her late husband in happier days. All her own possessions have been destroyed.”65

A similar story was told concerning University of Dubuque Theological Seminary student the Rev. Greenfield Chinkyong Kiel. He was imprisoned in North Korea for thirteen months, and was secretly freed by his Communist guard when the guard discovered that his brother, who was a Christian, had been a member of Kiel’s church. When Kiel finally returned to his home he discovered that his family and friends had presumed him dead and had already held a funeral service. In April 1950 he came to the U.S. to study theology and, after the war broke out, served as a Korean language teacher for the U.S. Army. Kiel eventually came to Dubuque where he earned a masters degree and then returned to Korea in 1953 to serve in reconstruction in the rural areas.66

Clearly in the 1950s the majority of Korean students at the University of Dubuque planned to return home to take leadership positions in the reconstruction of the country following years of Japanese occupation and war. By 1955 the number of foreign students had increased to the point that it was reported that they were responsible for a dramatic increase in enrollment in both undergraduate and graduate schools, and Koreans were represented in both.67 According to a listing of foreign students in the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary in the 1961-62 academic year, three of the eleven enrolled were Koreans. In 1984-85 there was a total of five Koreans studying in the university, although in the previous two years there was only one Korean on campus.68

By the mid-1980s the focus had shifted once again from training international leaders to the globalization of education, especially on the graduate level. In 1987 an agreement was signed between the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary and the Presbyterian Theological Seminary (Changshin) in Seoul for student exchanges. Usually one student from Korea came to the U.S. and one student from the U.S. went to Korea each year. To my knowledge this program is still in effect, although there[page 109] are more Koreans coming to study in Dubuque than there are Americans going to study in Seoul.69 Also in the 1990s an agreement was signed between the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary and Hyupsung University, School of Theology for the purpose of offering a joint Doctor of Ministry program. Again, it seemed that more Koreans came to study at Dubuque and virtually no Americans went to study at Hyupsung, and after a number of years the exchange agreement was not renewed. It would appear that at least so far as the University of Dubuque is concerned Koreans are more interested in the globalization of education than are their American counterparts.70 This may be partially explained by the desire of many Asians, including Koreans, to obtain a degree from an American university.

The Americanization program at the University of Dubuque from 1911 to 1935 marked both a high point in the number of Koreans studying at the university and the beginning of an ongoing flow of Korean students to the university which is still continuing. Undoubtedly stories concerning Korean foreign students at other U.S. colleges and universities remain to be told, but Dubuque’s program of Americanization, and the participation of Korean students in it, is unique both in the annals of American education and in the Korean immigrant experience.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. Joel Samuels, librarian at the University of Dubuque, now retired, and to Dr. James R. Rohrer, who was a graduate student at the University of Dubuque at that time. Both rendered invaluable assistance in providing access to the archives and in the photocopying of research materials.

2. See Joseph H. Ryu, “Korean Immigrant Churches and the PC(USA),” Korean American Ministry: A Resource Book, expanded English edition, ed. Sang Hyun Lee and John V. Moore (Louisville, KY: General Assembly Council, Presbyterian Church (USA), 1987), 25-27.

3. Ibid., 26.

4. Ibid. Not all of the brides were honest, however, and there were instances of some keeping the money for their passage and remaining in Korea.

5. Ibid., 26.

6. See Peter Hyun, Man Sei! The Making of a Korean American (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Hyun’s father was an immigrant to [page 110] Hawaii and Peter was born there in 1906. However, the family returned to Korea to serve in the independence movement and was eventually forced into exile in China. Peter Hyun returned as an immigrant to Hawaii 1924 at the age of 17.

7. See Wayne Patterson, The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii 1896-1910 (1988, rpt. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

8. This story is well-known and is recounted in Harry A. Rhodes, ed., History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., vol 1: 1884-1934 (1934, rpt. Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education, 1984), 13-17 and 23-24. See also Everett N. Hunt, Jr., Protestant Pioneers in Korea (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980), 35-38.

9. Hunt, 37.

10. Rhodes, 23-24.

11. See Fred Harvey Harrington, God, Mammon and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884-1905 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

12. See Wayne Patterson, “Sugar-Coated Diplomacy: Horace Allen and Korean Immigration to Hawaii, 1902-1905,” Diplomatic History 3, no. 1 (Winter 1979):19-38. Patterson also summarizes this “Sugar-Coated Diplomacy in his “Introduction” to Easurk Emsen Charr, The Golden Mountain: The Autobiography of a Korean Immigrant, 1895-1960, 2nd ed., ed. Wayne Patterson (1961, rpt. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), xiv-xxiv.

13. Patterson, Korean Frontier, 86-90.

14. Allen D. Clark, Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1893-1983 (Seoul: Chris- tian Literature Society of Korea, 1987), 79, and Charr, 98.

15. Charr, 98 and 101-02.

16. Jinhung Kim, ed., A Pictorial History of the Methodist Church in Korea (Seoul: Archives of the Korean Methodist Church, 1995), 55. An entire page is devoted to “The Mission for Koreans in Hawaii” and includes a photo of “the first ship to carry Koreans immigrating to Hawaii.”

17. Cited in Lak-Geoon George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910, 3rd ed. (1927, rpt. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1980), 282.

18. Cited by Patterson in “Introduction” to Charr, xviii and xxxvi-xxxvii.

19. See Joseph L. Mihelic, “A Historical Sketch of the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary, unpublished typed manuscript in the archives of the University of Dubuque, 1-2.

20. Joseph L. Mihelic, “A Historical Perspective of the Growth of the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary.” unpublished typed manuscript in the archives of the University of Dubuque, 1.

21. In the late nineteenth century the middle states of the U.S. were known as the Northwest. This was in reference, of course, to the East—New York, [page 111] Philadelphia, and Boston. The author, who is from Seattle in the Pacific Northwest (which borders on Canada to the north and the Pacific Ocean to the west), did graduate study at the University of Dubuque, and it was said that he was going to study “back East.” Today these middle states are often referred to as the Midwest.

22. Mihelic, “Historical Perspective,” 2. It should be noted that Mihelic was himself an immigrant from Ljubljana, Slovenia who arrived as a student on the campus in 1924. He joined the faculty in 1944 and enjoyed a distinguished career as Professor of Old Testament until his retirement in the 1980s.

23. Foreign Evangelization (Dubuque, IA: German Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest, n.d.), 9.

24. Ibid., 9.

25. Cited in Mihelic, “Historical Perspective,” 4. It is not clear whether the Japanese students were actually Japanese or Koreans who were mistakenly considered Japanese due to the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910. While a graduate student at the University of Dubuque from 1965-69 the author encountered several references to early Korean students who were mistakenly identified as Japanese.

26. “William Otis Ruston, 1852-1922,” typed obituary of the first president of the Dubuque German College and Seminary, in the archives of the University of Dubuque, 3.

27. William Chalmers Covert, “Thanksgiving Pilgrimage to a Polyglot School— Dubuque Seminary: A Melting Pot of Church and Nation—Racial Fusing and National Unity Through Religion and Culture,” The Interior 39, no. 39 (Nov. 26, 1908), 1591.

28. Ibid., 1592.

29. Ibid., 1593.

30. Catalog of the University of Dubuque, 1919-20, 16.

31. Ibid., 17.

32. Undated and with no information concerning in what paper or journal it was published; archives of the University of Dubuque. Other similar advertisements were dated 1924. See also a typewritten “Annual Report to the Board of Directors of the University of Dubuque” dated May 26，1925，which reads: “The avowed purpose of the University shall be to specialize increasingly in the training of Christian leaders for all forms of full-time service in the Church, especially in training leaders for Christian Americanization work among the foreign-speaking population of this country.” (Archives of the University of Dubuque, 3-4.)

33. Mihelic, “Historical Sketch,” 3-4.

34. Letter from Karl Frederick Wettstone to the Headquarters of Ku Klux Klan, Dubuque, Iowa, Sept. 17, 1924, archives of the University of Dubuque.

35. Handwritten untitled manuscript on “Karl F. Wettstone and Americanization [page 112] at the University of Dubuque,” archives of the University of Dubuque, 2.

36. Most of these advertisements appeared between 1924 and 1925 in the journal Continent which apparently had a national distribution.

37. “Feed My Sheep,” Continent, July 24, 1924, 2. President Wettstone repeated this story in considerably more detail and it was reprinted in the (Dubuque) Times-Journal, May 4, 1924.

38. Both were published at the same time: The Plan: An Americanization Plan Commended to Your Interest and The Plant: An Americanization Program at Work (Dubuque, IA: University of Dubuque, 1928).

39. The Plan, 12.

40. See Charr, 229-41.

41. Untitled typewritten manuscript, archives of the University of Dubuque, 1. The last word in the last sentence of this quote should probably read “char- acter.” There are several typewritten manuscripts concerning Dr. Wettstone in the archives, including an abbreviated four-page biography entitled “Karl Frederick Wettstone” and a 34-page autobiographical letter to Joseph Mihelic dated May 2, 1973.

42. “Sermon Texts Given in Three Languages by Rev. K. F. Wettstone,” Daily State Democrat, Feb. 16, 1925.

43. Ibid.

44. The Plant, 13.

45. “Tops List of Korean Students,” (Dubuque) Telegraph-Herald, Mar. 19, 1924, and “Koreans Have Unique Club at University,” Times-Journal, Mar. 19, 1924. The subtitle of the former article is “Second Largest Number Enrolled at University of Chicago” and the subtitle of the latter article is “More Koreans at Dubuque Than Any Other In United States.” In any given year the number of Korean students at the University of Dubuque numbered fewer than ten. In the years for which statistics are available the numbers were as follows: 1917-18, four; 1919-20, nine; and 1928, seven. This means that there were actually very few Korean students in the U.S. during the 1920s and 1930s and that they were widely scattered among many colleges and universities. The University of Dubuque 1987 Alumni Directory lists only twelve Korean alumni for the years 1911-35 and all of these are from the College of Liberal Arts. Only twelve graduates from Korea are listed in the total from that country and three of those are missionaries with the others graduating between 1953-87, Accurate statistics concerning Korean students, especially in the early years, are obviously hard to come by.

46. One well-known example is Peter Hyun who was born in Hawaii but came to the U.S. for an education in 1924. See Hyun, 186.

47. The Plant, 13.

48. The information concerning Lee Wook Chang’s life is taken from an article entitled “A Poor Korean Boy’s Climb to a Position of Usefulness,” which in [page 113] turn was taken from an unnamed and undated periodical. It was sent to the University of Dubuque archives by Walter Irving Clarke, publicity manager for the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in Philadelphia.

49. In the 1920s there was no standard system of romanization for written Korean. The more common romanization of Syn Chun was Syenchun. The history of this academy and the return of Mr. L. W. Chang from America to take up the position of principal are described in Rhodes, 212-15. Dr. George S. McCune, one of the originators of the McCune-Reischauer system for the romanization of Korean, was associated with the Syenchun Boys’ Academy for twelve years. Among the well-known graduates of the school were the Rev. Dr. L. George Paik, who served on the faculty and as president of Chosen Christian College, which later became Yonsei University.

50. Information from Chang’s letter is taken from “Report from Korea—Dubuque Club Organized,” University of Dubuque Bulletin 9, no. 3 (June 1946), n.p. See also “Korean People Thank the People of United States,” The Voice of Korea, June 6, 1946, describing Chang’s meeting with President Truman on May 21. A front page photo shows Chang presenting the President with a Koryo vase excavated in 1912 from a royal tomb in Ky6nggi Province. The gift was made “to express the gratitude of the people of Korea for their liberation” from the Japanese. Chang’s “visit marked the first time in more than forty years that a Korean representative has made an official White House call.”

51. Ibid.

52. There were of course instances where the program failed, and some corre-spondence in the University of Dubuque archives makes reference to these failures, both academic and personal. These were, however, a very small minority out of all the Korean foreign students who studied from 1911-35 .

53. Telegraph-Herald, Mar. 19, 1924.

54. Ibid.

55. “Hailed From Many Ports,” Chicago Evening American, Jan. 3, 1927.

56. “University Students Present Reports on National Convention,” Telegraph- Herald, Jan. 16, 1936. It should be noted that John R. Mott was greatly impressed with the number of delegates to the various conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement who came from Iowa, and he made special note of the large number of Koreans included. See John R. Mott, Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott, volume 1: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission (New York: Association Press, 1946), 31-32, 175, 186, 210, and 274-75

57. See Hyun, 156-57, and Kenneth M. Wells, God, New Nation Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 89-97.

58. “World-Famous Statesman From Korea Is Expected At University of[page 114] Dubuque,” (Dubuque) Times Journal, April 13, 1925.

59. A similar immigration law known as the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted in 1882 which effectively cut off the flow of immigrants from China.

60. “University Changes Basis,” Telegraph-Herald, April 23, 1935.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. “U of D Lends a Hand To University in Korea,” Telegraph-Herald, Jan. 30, 1949.

64. “War’s Meaning—a Story Of Korean Mother of 4,” Telegraph-Herald, Feb. 1, 1951.

65. Ibid.

66. “Red Whose Brother Was Christian Freed Korean Minister, Now Here,” Telegraph-Herald, Mar. 9, 1952. Kiel’s 124-page master’s research project, “The Reconstruction of the Rural Church in Korea,” (University of Dubuque archives) was marked “This is an excellent study” by the dean, Dr. Calvin Schnucker.

67. “Many Foreign Students Hike UD Enrollment,” Telegraph-Herald, Oct. 4, 1955.

68. These figures are taken from the Walter F. Peterson Collection in the University of Dubuque archives. Apparently accurate figures on the number of Korean students were either not kept for each year, or are not available in the materials in the archives.

69. While a visiting professor at the University of Dubuque in the fall semester of 1991, the writer came into contact with two such Korean students, one of whom was his student in a class. While an adjunct professor at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Seoul during the 1990-91 academic year, a student from Dubuque was in the author’s class.

70. In the 1980s and ‘90s the University of Dubuque had a globalized nursing program including students from Taiwan, and in the 2000s a joint M.B.A. program with a university in Singapore was opened. The globalization of education is still a major goal of the university, but it would appear that most American students prefer to obtain their degrees from a U.S. school, with overseas study being limited to semesters abroad, intensive courses in locations of cultural and historical interest, and short term study tours.