The New Religions of Korea
Edited, with an Introduction by Spencer J. Palmer
(Second Edition)
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OF KOREA

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Spencer J. Palmer

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Introduction

Prior to 1945 the Koreans suffered through a long period of foreign domination, during which religious groups were regimented and occasionally suppressed. But with the liberation of the country at the end of World War II freedom of religion was officially guaranteed. At this time a multitude of religious sects sprang up "like mushrooms after the rain."

Many of the most prominent of these newly risen faiths, such as Ch'ondogyo 天道教 (The Religion of the Heavenly Way) and certain of the Jingsan-gyo 騎山敎 (The Religion of Jingsan) sects, were revitalized survivals of a bygone age. Others, such as T'ong-il kyohoe 統一敎會 (The Unification Church) and Chondogwan 傳道館 (The Proselytising Hall—popularly known as "The Olive Tree Church") were novel and dynamic Korean-originated quasi-Christian movements.

As the studies of this volume indicate, these New Religions represent a vigorous force in Korean society today. While membership figures released by these groups are no doubt exaggerated, their popular following is significantly large. In their energetic effort to fulfill the needs of Korea's changing social and intellectual world, and to address themselves to the anxieties and aspirations of the people, they already pose a challenge to the established, conventional faiths.

The term "New Religions" is widely accepted by journalists in Japan, America, and Europe, and even by the academicians of those areas. But this term is imprecise and troublesome in Korea, where these religions are not all of the same parcel. They differ decidedly on many points. There is at least a half a century of distance between the sects of the remote Kyeryongsan 鷲龍山 basin centered at Sindonae 新都內 in South Ch'ungch'ong province and the internationally-minded T'ongil church, with its headquarters in downtown Seoul. Nevertheless, all of these New Religions have emerged from a common
socio-ideological tradition; and they have been generated and shaped by the sudden impingement of the same kinds of outside forces. Thus their well-springs of action, and their problems, are much the same. And certain hallmarks are common to them all.

First, the New Religions of Korea are prominently syncretistic in nature. Like much else in the cultural life of this peninsula, the various sects and patterns of religion are a mixture of things. Ancestor worship and Buddhism, Taoism, Confucian ethics, magic, divination, geomancy, astrology, fetishism, and the doctrines of Christianity are joined together in strange and varying degrees of emphasis and harmony.

Ch’ondogyo (as an example) is obviously an agglomeration of things of disparate origin, originally known as Tonghak 東學(Eastern Learning). Founder Ch’oe Che-u 崔濟愚 allegedly received heavenly manifestations in 1860 commissioning him to establish a spiritual way of life. In part the Tonghak teachings were a reaction against Sohak 西學(Western Learning), a euphemism for Western philosophy, particularly Catholic Christianity, which was making strong incursions in Korea at the time. As Benjamin Weems explains in his book on Ch’ondogyo, Ch’oe Che-u combined basic principles of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity and Shamanism. From Confucianism, he took the concept of the five social relationships; from Buddhism, the concept of heart cleansing; and from Taoism the law of cleansing the body from natural and moral filth. He also drew upon organizational and ritualistic elements in Roman Catholicism; and he was influenced by what is called Ch’am-wisol 譡緯說(The Theory of Interpretations of Omens). This theory, a combination of spirit worship and shamanism on the one hand and the pseudo-scientific practices of geomancy on the other, had come to exert an appreciable influence on the Korean mind. Also, the Tonghak use of talismans and incantations has survived in present-day Ch’ondogyo, and has influenced the ritual practices of the Jingsan-gyo faiths.

Although Ch’ondogyo doctrines on deity have been reputedly influenced by Catholicism, the idea of the incarnation of God in men and of discovering the divine within human be-
ings through self-cultivation and prayer is decidedly neo-Confucian and Buddhist in origin.

Another example is Sangjegyo 上帝教, or the Jingsangyo system, where there are the five ethical principles of Confucianism; spiritual enlightenment and cause and effect from Buddhism; positive and negative theories from Chinese philosophy; and ideas of Sunday worship from Christianity.

The prophecy of a new capital in Sindonae derives from a variety of influences, but particularly from the geographical features of Feng shui (in Korea, p’ungsu 風水), a component of Taoism—an idea strongly rooted among the Korean people.

Kwansonggyo 關聖教 reputedly worships the ancient Chinese general Kwan-u 關羽, a man whose reputation is kept bright in Korea through the widespread popularity of the Chinese novel Samgukji 三國誌 in which he is a principal hero. In company with Professor Lee Kang-o, I visited the shrine center of this sect in Kyeryongsan. First we entered a building containing a giant Bunyan-like statue of the general with outstretched arms. Then we were shown the second story of an adjacent shrine building, in which five large portraits were prominently displayed. The center painting, much larger than rest, the portrayed the god Hananim. Flanking him on the right were the Buddha and Jesus (wearing rubber komusins), and on the left, Confucius and Laotzu. All the bases were covered. A representation of every known god was somewhere to be found.

And this in not an isolated case. It is a matter of course in the Kyeryongsan area and in Kimje county 金堤郡 of north Cholla province for the various temples to contain groups of statues and portraits situated side by side, ranging from Tan’gun 檀君, the mythical founder of Korea (who is an object of worship of religious groups throughout Korea), the Maitreya Buddha (known in Korea as Miruk) to An Chung-kun 安重根, the Korean nationalist who was put to death by the Japanese for having assassinated Ito Horibumi at Harbin in 1909.

A graphic illustration of religious syncretism is Ilsimgyo 一心敎. This curious sect, which was founded by Kang Tae-song 姜大成, was once discredited by the government and has changed its name since Choi Jai-sok conducted his survey of Sindonae.
It is known today as Yudo 儒道. Its headquarters are at Namwon 南原, in north Cholla province, a town much better known as the setting for Korea's favorite romantic Yi dynasty story, Ch'unhyang chon 春香傳.

In May of 1967 I was invited to attend a national convention of this Yudo faith, the only foreigner ever so permitted. The program started at 2:00 a.m. in a simple courtyard situated near a remote canyon. About one hundred and fifty members were assembled in seated positions upon the ground. The men wore topknots and horschair hats, the boys under 21 years of age wore long queues reaching down to their waists, as did all the females. The congregation chanted songs in unison, sometimes reaching a fervent emotional pitch, calling upon heaven (ch'on, 天) and earth (chi, 地), the mountain god (san sin, 山神), and the dragon spirit (yong sin, 龍神). They sought for the blessing of the spirits of all mountains in every province of Korea, as well as the Mountain Spirits of China, England, America, Russia, India, France, and the Western countries, and every land under heaven. They rededicated themselves to morality and virtue; to the practice of the way of heaven (haeng do ch'on 行道天), the practice of the way of man (haeng do in 行道人), the practice of the way of the spirits (haeng do yong 行道靈) and to the practice of the way of god (haeng do sin 行道神). They reaffirmed their belief in the ethics of Confucianism, with much bowing and prayer before the portrait of Kang Taesong. After a silent procession to the founder's grave, and a moment of devotion there, we returned to the courtyard. Then came the big surprise. The presiding officer asked me if I believed in the second coming of Christ, and if I would like to meet Jesus before the sun came up. When I replied that this would prove to be a very invigorating experience, I was ushered into the presence of a young Korean gentleman who acknowledged himself as a reincarnation of the historical Nazarene.

One last observation on the subject of syncretism. Shamanism is the primitive ethos of the Korean people. It is the basic instinct of the masses, especially in the countryside. All Korean religious ideas and ceremonies are influenced by it, and at some point coalesce with it. All successful religious movements in Korean history have drawn upon strong shamanistic
underpinnings. And such is certainly true of the New Religions.

A basic feature of shamanism (which has assimilated much from Buddhism, and vice-versa) is the medium, the Mudang or Paksu. By means of incantations, secret formulas and trances, this person performs miraculous feats and insures good fortune. He (or she) is capable of influencing the spirits and assimilating their powers and personality. He is infused with supernatural enlightenment. Thus shamanism can join with Buddhism (in the Miruk and Yongwhagyosects) and transform Kang Jingsan into the Maitreya Buddha of the Kumsan temple, where he is now an object of worship. Or in the Zen (called Son, in Korea) influenced sects of Bochongyo, Samdoggyo, and Bohwagyo, Jingsan can become the Lord of the Nine Heavens. And more to the point, his three wives could commune with him after his decease, and themselves become instruments of divine power.

The Tong-il church and Chondogwan obviously contain the trappings and doctrines of Christianity, but their life blood is the spirit of Shamanism. Mun Son-myong, founder of Tong-il, has taken Jesus’ place in the Holy Trinity, and his bride is the holy spirit. He is the great mediator between the people and the awesome powers of the spirit world. He assimilates the divine. And in the Tong-il sect, witches and fortune-tellers are much respected because they testify of who Mun really is.

Similarly, Pak T’ae-son is filled with magic and holy fire. He is an immortal Olive Tree, endowed with special insight from God. He has power to cure all sickness. The faithful may be healed even by drinking the water from his bath.

A second feature of the New Religions is their appeal to national consciousness. Jingsan-gyo and Ch’ondogyo, as lineal descendants of the Tonghak, have inherited a tradition of socio-political concern. Among the former it is now mainly a matter of slogans, wistful references to history, and the hope of fulfillment of the ancient prophecy that the Kyeryongsan basin will one day become a great national capital. But in Ch’ondo-
gyo, under the new leadership of Ch’oe Dok-sin 崔徳新, a forward-looking “New People’s Movement” has been launched with political overtones. Ch’oe (he spells it Choi) who resigned as Korean Ambassador to West Germany in September of 1967 in order to become the supreme leader of Ch’ondogyo, is an urbane, personable, and highly educated man (he speaks Chinese, English, French and German), who is now attempting to attract young people into the movement and to generate a spiritual force pertinent to the needs of a new Korea.

Ch’oe’s favorite mentor is Son Pyong-hi 孫秉熙, the third president, who took leadership in 1894 at the time of the abortion of the Tonghak Rebellion, and who is known throughout Korea as the first signer of the famous 1919 Declaration of Independence.

These are promising days for the Ch’ondogyo leadership. Their group is now realizing one of its most cherished goals: the government and the people are beginning to recognize their socio-political contributions to the national development of the country. In 1962 the people of south Cholla province built and dedicated a statue of Chon Pong-jun 全琫準 at Kobu 古阜 in recognition of his leadership in the Tonghak movement; on the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the religion in 1964 a statue of Ch’oe Che-u was erected at Talsong park in Tae gu; and in 1966 the government erected a statue of Son Pyong-hi in Pagoda park in Seoul, saying for the first time that the Tonghak were not rebels but leaders of a people’s revolution.

The most effusive, ethnocentric nationalism preached in the name of religion in Korea today does not surround a logical choice like Tan’gun, but centers upon Park T’ae-son. In the Olive Tree movement Korea is the most highly honored country of the world because it has produced the Lord of the Second Advent (there is something in this that reminds me of the prophet Nichiren’s trenchant declaration: “I am the pillar of Japan!”) The faithful are called upon to view Korea as the promised land, for as Jesus was sacrificed on the altar of the Jewish nation, so the Lord of the Second Advent (Elder Park)
will be a cosmic sacrifice, and Korea the universal altar. Korea, once forlorn and insignificant, will now become the ideal fatherland of mankind.

Physical utopia is the ultimate aim of all of Korea’s New Religions, with the possible exception of Ch’ondogyo, where there is relatively little interest in programs of economic betterment. From one point of view, these religious groups can be regarded as indigenous sources undergoing sudden socio-economic change due to the imposition of a variety of outside influences. Thus Felix Moos has characterized them, and from this vantage point they will no doubt provide challenging and useful insights into the process of culture change, as he has suggested.

The numerous sects seek to transform this uneasy world of the present into an ideal world. The government’s impressive strides in economic change have tended to strengthen the desire and expectation of change among the members of these faiths. But even before the present government came to power, there was much imaginative interest in what that ideal world might embrace. It was already projected that ultimately the sun and moon will be changed so that the extremes of heat and cold will become moderate. Eventually gods and men will communicate with each other freely, while men will live in health to an average span of 800 years without disease. All cultural phenomenon will be renewed. No poverty or social classes will exist, and the thoughts of all men will be uniform. All the world will become one true family. People will be governed by God and men will be able to fly upon the clouds. They will be able to see the past, present, and future without moving.

The only thoroughly organized and conscious effort to build paradise on earth has been conceived by Pak T’aeson, although T’ong-il and others are also busily engaged. Pak’s Christian Towns, with their multiplicity of Zion-brand products, and their great variety of industrial, manufacturing and educational activities, have produced a plethora of market goods known and used throughout Korea today. Few believe that Pak
will eradicate hardship and poverty, or bring millennial peace, even within the limits of his own communities, but his socio-economic experiments have made impressive gains, and their impact upon the country’s life is visibly felt.

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The five studies appearing in this journal were prepared by recognized Korean and foreign specialists. They have all had opportunity to do work in the field. Thanks to their combined efforts, this pilot English language survey of Korea’s New Religions has been made possible. As editor, my work has been confined primarily to getting the two studies on Jingsan-gyo and Sindonae, written originally in Korean, into acceptable English language form. The other studies appear as submitted by their authors. Choi Syn-duk’s article was originally presented as a lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society in Seoul.

Felix Moos is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and the Associate Chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Professor Moos was born in Germany, where he received his primary education. He studied for a short time in Luzon, Switzerland, after the Second World War; came to America in 1949, and was sent to Korea (including P’yongyang) as a GI during the war. He later received his B.A. at the University of Cincinatti in Ohio, then went to the University of Washington in Seattle, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees specializing in Social Anthropology. Between 1958 and 1960 he studied at the University of Tokyo as a Fulbright Scholar. He has been a consultant to the Agency for International Development, USOM Korea, each summer since 1964.

Lee Kang-o (李康五) is an Assistant Professor in the College of Letters and Science at Chonbuk University in Chonju. He was educated in Korea, where he graduated from Chonbuk University with a B.A. in philosophy in 1955, and received his M.A. in the same field in 1957. Professor Lee has spent many years of research in the field of Korean folklore and native religion.
His copious notes, photographs, drawings, and manuscripts constitute the most comprehensive collection of materials on Korean indigenous religion now in existence. His article, in slightly revised form, originally appeared in Korean in Non-
munjip (Commemoration Theses), Volume II, Chonpuk National University, Chonju, pages 113–162.

Choi Jai-sok (Ch’oe Chae-sok 崔在錫) received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Seoul National University in 1935 and 1956 respectively. He has taught at Ewha, Chung’ang, and Korea Universities, at the last of which he was an Associate Professor of Sociology in 1966. During 1967 he studied at Harvard University as a visiting scholar, and also presented a paper before the 27th International Congress of Orientalists at Ann Arbor entitled “The Patrilineal Descent Group in Korea and its Function.” Professor Choi has written two books, Korean Social Character, and A Study of the Korean Family, and more than a score of his scholarly articles have appeared in the academic journals. His study of Sindonae originally appeared in Korean in Asia Tongu (亞細亞研究), The Journal of Asiatic Studies, Korea University, Number I, June 1950, pages 143–178).

Benjamin B. Weems was born in Kaesong, Korea, of American-born missionary parents. He has had many years of experience in Korea and is best known for his monographic work on Ch’ondogyo, Reform, Rebellion and the Heavenly Way, published in 1964 by the Association for Asian Studies. Mr. Weems received his B.A from Duke University in 1935 and an M.A. in Education in 1939 from the same institution. He received his M.A. from Georgetown in International Relations in 1955. Mr. Weems has a very productive background in government work as an analyst and writer, and is at present Assistant Program Officer-Economist, Agency for International Development, USOM, Korea.

Choi Syn-cuk (Ch’oe Sin-dok, 崔信德) is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Ewha Women’s University in Seoul. She received her undergraduate education in Korea at Ewha and did graduate work in social science at the University of Chicago where she received an M.A. degree in 1957. After her return
she served as Advisor in the Education Division of USOM, and in 1961 accepted an assistant professorship at Tonguk University. In 1963 she joined the faculty of Ewha University. Professor Choi has written books and reports on Korean-American subjects and on the dating attitudes of Korean college students. She is now engaged in anthropological study of Korean village life. She was once an active member of the Tong-il church and was closely associated with Mun Son-myong.
LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION
IN THE OLIVE TREE MOVEMENT

by Felix Moos

The existence and activities of "New Religions" are matters that no treatment of present day Korea or Japan can ignore. These "New Religions" include in some aspects some of the most vital forces in modern Korean life. Their vitality has been especially evident in the postwar period during which many socio-religious movements have arisen, temporarily flourished, achieved considerable influence and power, and some quickly died.

The Korean terms Shinhung Jonggyo (신흥종교) and Sin Jonggyo (신종교) "Newly Risen Religions" and "New Religions" are terms often used to describe these movements, and although their meaning and significance is quite generally understood, exact delimitation is not very frequently made clear.

The problem perhaps centers primarily around two fundamental concepts relating to the meaning of "new" which in itself is a relative term. At what point does the new become old, traditional or established as an institution? In terms of content, at what point does a body of doctrine of an organization become a "new religion" rather than another sect or faction within a larger religious tradition?

In the West, we have faced and are still facing a similar problem of terminology in regard to "cults," "sects," etc. In what precise classification do Shakers, Mennonites, or Unitarians belong?

For present analytical purposes the term Shinhung Jonggyo denotes movements having come into prominence after World War II. Whenever a culture faces periods of accelerated change, uncertainty and discontent, members of that culture are looking more intensely for a belief which will provide answers to their physical, mental, and spiritual aspirations. At such times of
often intense stress, i.e., war, foreign occupation, conditions become fertile for the emergence of new expressions of religious, economic and political feeling and aspirations.

Thus, under conditions of stress, for many the formal, established, traditional religions, for example, failed to provide answers to the problem of a modified more “modern” existence. New aspirations had to be satisfied, new answers were sought. In addition, in the case of Korea, religious freedom was granted to the Koreans, really for the first time at the close of World War II. Until 1945 religious activities other than those serving the interests of Japan during her 36-year occupation of Korea were discouraged, to say the least.

Although in recent years the term Shinheng Jonggoyo has often tended to be an expression of contempt or scorn referring to “low-class” or eccentric religious groupings or movements led and organized by charlatans seeking to deceive the ignorant, increasingly the New Religions of Korea are making their influence felt and are becoming as well an economic and political factor to be reckoned with. Presentday membership in “New Religions” in Korea may exceed ten percent of the total population of the Republic of Korea.

Although the “New Religions” of Korea, unlike those of Japan (e.g., Soka Gakkai) have not yet exerted their strength politically, the existence of such strength in certain areas, at least, is undeniable. Economically also, the New Religions are able to make their presence felt. In some areas, the religious affiliation of a shop owner can mean the difference between prosperity and adversity and poverty.

Increasing power, undeniable vitality and continued expansion of the “New Religions” is causing a new appraisal of them.

It holds true in Korea that the characteristic of the New Religions is to consider their particular teaching, ceremonies, emphases, and sacred writings to have been divinely revealed to the founder. This was true for Tonghak (Ch’ondogyo), and is
true for Tobg-il gyo and Park Chang-mogyo. Rather than being the creation of a teacher, sage, or man, there is considered to be a divine source of inspiration. It may be that some god possessed the founder and spoke or wrote through him, or that a dream or vision was given, indicating the divine will, or merely that the mind of the founder was divinely inspired to perceive and enunciate the divine truth. In any case, the truth of the religion is considered to have come by divine revelation, which ensures validity.

The typical founder of the New Religions is a person of great self-confidence. He often spent an unhappy youth in poverty and disease. At times he may show symptoms of paranoia with its concomitant megalomania, delusions and hallucinations. Then a divine being or beings are said to have taken possession of him and entrusted him with a saving mission. In addition, the founders of the “New Religions” do not seem to excel in humility. Some refer to themselves as Saviors of the present time or equate themselves with Christ, Buddha or Confucius.

Their deportment is folksy, their speech is direct and even perhaps uncouth. At all times they keep close to the common man whose ailments they transfer upon themselves, whose hidden aspirations they voice, whose yearnings for security, spiritual as well as economic, they incarnate. They travel much, they preach relentlessly, they often live luxuriously. They bask in adulation. Some are more, some are less modest. Mystical experiences are common with them, for they commune with gods, and often ancestral spirits. Their incantations remind one of a shaman or a mudang and the purposeful touch of their hand of an Indian medicine man. Many of them claim miraculous powers of healing. They can transmit those powers to the sick whether it be by having devotees drink carefully bottled water of their bath or by writing a character on a piece of paer.

These men and women are masters of human psychology and often possess remarkable talents of suggestion, reinforced by auto-suggestion on the part of the masses. The ordinary man, in turn, down-trodden by the unremitting struggle for life, is
fascinated by the often primitive and occult power which they exude. He feels secure in an atmosphere of community worship near a god tailored to his size and his culture.

The candidness and earthy manners of these founders never stand in the way of a sound business sense and more than ordinary organizational talent. It should be noted by the Christian leaders in this country that they are quick to learn from one another and keep an ear to the popular mood so as to remain in tune with the latest religious fads. They are convinced that poverty is an evil which it behooves them to eradicate from their own lives. They know that in many instances their poor followers demand from them such a vicarious display of wealth and power as from a model of perfection which is now within everybody's reach.

The majority of the "New Religions" here, as in Japan, are syncretistic to a greater or lesser degree. Teachings and practices from various other religions or philosphical systems are freely incorporated into their scheme. Doctrinally and ceremonially the "New Religions" tend to be quite simple, almost superficial, at times. Related to doctrinal simplicity is the primary emphasis upon "this worldly" benefits. The New Religions are often more concerned with meeting man's physical, material needs in the present than giving hope for the future or engaging in speculative reasoning about the nature of another world. Physical healing plays an important and almost indispensable part. They are for the most part truly DIESSEITSRELIGIONEN; religions of this world and in this world and for this world.

The enthusiasm and individualism of the New Religions, in contrast with the established faiths, may also be considered characteristic. Upon individual faith, rather than upon a family or geographical basis, one enters the "New Religion." Having become a believer, it is normal for one to become an enthusiastic proponent of his faith.

And lastly, for introductory purposes one could mention that along with a tendency towards shamanism and super-
stitution, there are other elements in the "New Religions" which evidence a more modern outlook. An obviously new respect for women is seen both in the number of women founders (this is particularly true in Japan and less so in Korea), and the large proportion of women preachers, teachers, and believers.

An attempt to analyze a localized, specific phenomenon often suffers from a lack of perspective. This malaise is not confined to present-day Korea where chronic economic instability is coupled with a high degree of social unrest. Some nations, especially those which had relatively advanced traditional social structures and value systems, find that cataclysmic changes have taken place in their societies in the wake of developments and independence after World War II. Nascent industrialism, urbanization, alteration in family patterns, in short, a to-be-expected reformulation of ethos and worldview is in process throughout much of the world and especially in Asia. In such a situation, for example, the traditional values of the "old" Asian society are constantly, and often in seemingly contradictory ways, being modified by the new values coming primarily from the complex, industrially more advanced Western societies. Until the newly introduced values do in fact become a functional part of the fabric (in this case, Korean society), one may anticipate not only evidences of turbulence, friction, and socio-political disorders, but also an often surprising degree of cultural revitalization. This process may well be viewed as one in which hitherto untapped human resources, unproductive in the face of drastic social change, may be channeled into both productive and personally still rewarding avenues of activity.

In the descriptive paragraphs which follow, in which one of the most widespread socio-religious movements of post-1945 Korea will be discussed despite what, to the Western scholar, may often seem to be unusual and even amusing manifestations, one should keep in mind that the over-riding premise of this discussion is that such movements have shown a unique and significant capacity for arousing sincere public enthusiasm and consequent civic action in a period when both traditional values
are discredited and new values have not yet been functionally assimilated.

While postwar Korea has not given rise to as variegated a spectrum of "New Religions" as has postwar Japan (Shinko shu kyo), nevertheless there is clear evidence of a parallel emergence in Korea of vital, dynamic and popularly appealing religious movements.¹ These new religious cults in Korea have not only helped to fill the psychological vacuum resulting from the end of the Japanese occupation and the subsequent liberation of Korea in 1945, but also have succeeded in providing a seemingly hopeful and more secure psycho-economic future to many hitherto economically depressed and hopeless individuals.

Achieving a satisfactory understanding of these movements is not an easy task. There still exists a definite lack of adequate field work-based source material. This is not only true in the sense that we lack data for a comprehensive study of Asian New Religions but also, and perhaps even more important, we lack data for any cross-cultural studies involving Korea. Certainly it could be said that among East Asian cultures Korea is and has been the stepchild of ethnologists interested in that particular area of the world.

The somewhat stormy movement of the "Olive Tree," as Park Changno-kyo is also sometimes known, has built a boom town (Christian Town I) at Sosa for more than 20,000 of its followers, and has established a heavy industrial complex some ten miles from Seoul in a relatively short time.² On July 20, 1952, a second "Christian Town" was begun on a 100-acre territory at Tokso by the Zion Foundation, a name which

¹ On January 15, 1964, the Korean Ministry of Education assailed Soka Gakkai, one of the most powerful and widespread Japanese "New Regions" as illegal under South Korea's domestic laws. Soka Gakkai advanced to Korea in 1963 and had by the end of the same year established at least eight branches in major cities throughout South Korea. In Taegu, South Korea's third largest city, Soka Gakkai claimed a membership of some 1,000.

² For example, the military government approved on May 24, 1962 an additional housing project on some 100 acres acquired by the movement for this purpose.
the movement adopted for its “external” relations. This founda-
tion with its far-reaching implications is organized as follows:

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<th>ZION EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION</th>
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<td>Evangelical Association</td>
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<td>International Christian</td>
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<td>News Division</td>
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<td>Village (Ri) Office</td>
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<td>The “Altar” (Temple)</td>
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<td>Zion Elementary School</td>
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<td>Zion Junior-high &amp; High School</td>
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<td>Zion University, not yet operational</td>
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This foundation and its organizational network is the core of the movement begun by Park Tae-son which, amid great political movement, now claims an estimated membership of over 1,800,000 throughout the Republic of Korea.

Without foreign aid or government subsidy, a practice not usual to present-day Korea, the movement was able to build the first town in some eight months beginning in November 1957 when the first housing project comprising some 70 units was completed.

Government reaction under former President Rhee was swift and severe almost from the beginning of the movement. Park was jailed repeatedly on diverse charges, from “murder”
to "communism". The second Republic under Chang Myun also looked with great disfavor on any expansion of the movement because of increased power of National Assemblymen associated with it. Park Chung Hee, leader of the May 1961 military revolution and the current Third Republic President, on the other hand has given the movement a rather free reign in the development of "Olive Treeism".

"Christian Town I" in Pumbak-ni some ten miles from Seoul was built soon after the local Presbyterian authorities had expelled Park Tae-sun as a heretic. It was at that time that Presbyterian Park became Elder Park around whom devout followers started gathering from all part of South Korea.

By 1962, the "Olive Tree" was blossoming in Christian Town I to the extent of some 50 large (by Korean standards) factories, six modern apartment house complexes, schools ranging from Kindergarten to High School, and over two thousand modern housing units. The movement also provided its believers with a post office, a police station, a motor pool and a fire station, all manned by government personnel who were at the same time members of the "Olive Tree". Each of the six apartment buildings houses 120 families which rent space on a money deposit basis (key money).

The factories managed by the Zion Foundation produced by 1962 some 50 items ranging from a special brand of "Christian" caramels and cake to pianos and engines. Other products include fluorescent lamps, soft drinks, artificial flowers, underwear, toys, soy sauce, cosmetics and soap, all marketed under the brand name "Zion" and often sold by saleswomen who live in the town. Daily output amounted in 1962 to some 500,000 won ($1 = 130 won) worth of underwear and 700,000 won worth of confectionary goods. It is interesting to note that a considerable amount of underwear and soy sauce required by the Korean Armed Forces was or still is supplied by "Zion" factories. "Zion" brand underwear has long since made its debut in Southeast Asia, and the artificial flowers manufactured by the believers are now reaching the United States in increasing quantities. The economic future for the movement
looks even brighter. Industry is becoming more diversified and large-scale developments are nearing completion in the new industrial complex which the Foundation is constructing on the bank of the Han River some fifteen miles east of Seoul at Tokso. While light industrial plants have become operational there, the Foundation continues to build factories for the production of cement, glass and steel. An 85-foot steel boat was completed at one of the plants to facilitate “Zion”-sponsored transport of passengers and cargo between the industrial complex and the mother town. A railway siding is also now becoming operational. This particular 30-acre site was chosen by Elder Park personally while he was flying over the area on his way to Pusan on a missionary trip.

Unskilled workers at the “Zion” plants were paid 1,200 won per month in 1962 for a twelve-hour day six days a week, and though skilled labor is paid somewhat more, these figures were far less than standard wages on the Korean labor market. The believer-workers explain that the extra four hours, above the standard eight-hour day, represent purely voluntary service. A woman worker remarked: “We built this town, and thus we are employees and employers at the same time. We are happy to work overtime for ourselves.”

Apparently such devotion stems from an unquestioning faith in the foresight and leadership of Elder Park. His followers claim that he has worked more miracles than all the saints of Christendom together.

Park Tae-sun was born in Yop nam ri, Dok Chon, Pyon An Buk Province, North Korea. Not much is known about his early life except what he himself tells in an Horatio Alger-like autobiographical sketch: “My home life was anything but blessed from the very beginning of my life. From the time of my birth my father did not return home except when he needed money. My mother died when I was 9, and I had no one left. I then decided to turn to the Presbyterian church, and I started to attend the Dok Chon Sunday School. I graduated from Elementary School. However, due to the lack of money I had to wait to attend High School. I thereupon made up
my mind to go to Tokyo and to continue my studies in Japan. While in Japan, I worked as a milkman and newsboy, was treated very badly but did manage to graduate from Technical High School after attending it at night. I was often hungry and repeatedly contemplated suicide. However, adversity made me wise, helped my future, and was most profitable for me. After graduation I was even able to operate a small precision tool company at Kurata.” It is perhaps interesting to note some of his more personal anti-Japanese sentiments which are quite obviously very much in tune with the post-1945 emotional nationalism of his Korean compatriots.

He says, for example: “I never committed adultery, even in that obscene city of Tokyo, though I was single and all alone. Japanese women are generally ladies of easy virtue, and furthermore in the year of Showa 19 (1944) there were abundant young ladies in Tokyo since most of the young men had been drafted. Once when I was taking a bath by myself at a hot spring, a young Japanese girl joined me. Being very afraid of her and shocked by her boldness, I ran away. It was easy to commit sin in Japan but I never did.”

The shock of this experience apparently remained with him for some time, as witness his own account of the over-abundance of modesty with which he faced his bride-to-be for the first time: “My character was such that I could not talk to women. When I had an interview with a prospective bride (who is now my wife), I was too shy to speak to her at all.”

Park Tae-Son returned to Korea in 1944, became a regular attendant of the Namade Mun Presbyterian Church, and started the “Korea Precision Machine Company” at Su Saek (Seoul), employing at one time some 340 workers, which apparently prepared him more than adequately for his later managerial responsibilities in the “Olive Tree” movement. In 1954 Park became an elder in the Chang-Dong Presbyterian Church in Seoul. About the same time he began to be seen

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3 This stereotype of the “easy virtuous” Japanese female in contrast to the high-moraled and well-disciplined Korean is still quite widely accepted by Koreans today.
frequently in the retinue of a Korean woman evangelist in her fifties who was known for her faith healing of the insane, blind, and mute.Apparently pressed by these more important activities he transferred title to his company to his elder brother.

He states of this period: “After having been a faithful church-goer for over twenty years I began to feel that the sermons which I was hearing were not fit to God’s will. I asked many questions, but none of the ministers could give me a satisfactory answer. I thus came to believe that I should receive God’s power from him directly.”

In April 1955, a big revival meeting was held for ten days at Namsan Park in Seoul under the auspices of the Korean Revival Association, Park being one of the main speakers. It was an eventful meeting attended by some 20,000. During this meeting, Park claims he received a vision of what he terms the “holy fire” and the “fresh water” both coming directly from heaven. One individual who attended, Yim Young Shin or Louise Yim, a former Minister of Commerce and Industry and President of Chungang University, is cited in an article by Kim Kyung Rai4 to have actually smelled a strange “sin-burning odor” during one of Park’s revival sermons.

Kim Kyung Rai describes one of the meetings as follows: “The meeting began at 4:00 a.m., the crowds having come from far and near and having spent the whole night sitting on the ground waiting. After Parks’ arrival, the crowd sang hymns for an hour while clapping their hands violently. When Park descended from the platform in shirtsleeves, the multitides bowed and pressed forward to greet him. ‘Now get up. Stand in the name of Jesus Christ!’ shouted Park while at the same time massaging a man’s head whom Park’s helpers had singled out for him as a cripple. One moment later, the same shouted, ‘Here stands a cripple who has not stood for thirty years.’ Hundreds of people hearing this began to applaud. Park continued to walk among the crowd massaging heads and limbs. When the sun rose he returned to the platform and one of his helpers announced, ‘One thousand were healed this morning by Elder Park,’ and again the crowd applauded.”

4 “The Drama and Uproar of Elder Park’s Healing,” Yd Dam & Shil Wha
Park's own particular methods of faith healing and accompanying prayer developed during this period are referred to as "Anch'al" (laying on of hands), involving a vigorous massage by Park by which he is said to transmit his divine power to the afflicted individual. Water with which Park washed his feet came to be a cure-all which would lead whoever drank it to "eternal life." It was during this initial period of the movement that Park's followers started to call him "Olive Tree," Spiritual "Mother," and the "Righteous Man of the East." He himself declared in some of his sermons that he is the "one from the East" of whom already Isaiah had spoken. Park himself interprets this to mean that the "East" is Korea, and the "coast lands" of the same Bible passage refer to Japan. He explains that the "two Olive Trees" and "the two lampstands" refer to himself. As a result the hymn "Joy to the World! The Lord is Come!" was changed by his followers to "The Olive is Come!"

The complete verse 6 "Listen to me in silence, O coast lands; let the peoples renew their strength; let them approach, then let them speak; let us together draw near for judgment. Who stirred up one from the East whom victory meets at every step? He gives up nations before him, so that he tramples kings under foot; he makes them like dust with his sword..."

Park's interpretation does not only mean that he is the "one from the East" but also implies that since Japan was defeated in WWII it is now "in silence." He argues that "After all, a righteous one must appear in Korea," a pronouncement well in concert with the latent nationalism in the movement coupled to Park's previously referred to anti-Japanese feelings.

The verse "These are the two olive trees and the two lampstands which stand before the Lord of the earth. And if any one would harm them, fire pours form their mouth and consumes

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5 "Who stirred up one from the East whom victory meets at every step?"
   Isaiah 41:2

6 "Listen to me in silence, O coast lands..." Isaiah 41:1 translated in the Korean bible simple simply as "islands" (Japan).
their foes..."7 in Park's interpretation further assumes added implications by inferring from the commonly accepted interpretation of this passage in which one of the two olive trees refers to Moses representing the Law; and the other representing Elijah...the representative of the prophets. Park believes that he is not only representing the "true" law but that he is at the same time the one and only prophet and interpreter of this law.

In 1956 while Park's following grew in direct proportion to his ability to hold revival services, the Presbyterian church (Kyoggi Province Assembly) formally expelled him as a heretic. Since then the movement professes a superdenominational Christianity, and Park himself maintains that he is in fact a truer Christian "than the Christians who denounce me." Park since then has lived in the center of controversy. He has been accused of being a charlatan, a heretic, a swindler, and a murderer. In 1959, Park was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for injuring sick followers in the process of Ach'al in addition to defrauding them of "offerings." However, perhaps due to his increasing political power, Syngman Rhee's Liberal regime pardoned him shortly before the later proven rigged elections of 1960 which led to the downfall of Syngman Rhee and his regime. Park's difficulties were not over. He was jailed by Chang Myun's government, which followed Syngman Rhee's, a few months later on a charge of inducing his followers to vote for Liberal (followers of deposed President Rhee) candidates. Convicted, he served six months in prison on that charge. During one of the Elder's trials, the National Police revealed that followers of the movement were organizing a special group to rescue their leader either by force or money, and to retaliate against officials who dared to prosecute "the Righteous Man of the East."8

The charges bought against Park during his fourth trial (January, 1958). for example, give an indication of his alleged activities.

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7 Rev. 11:4
8 According to the Jookan-Hyimang (Weekly Hope) of April 2, 1956 Park had collected, to the end of March 1956, some 7,000,000 won (§140,000).
The government charged Park at the time with:

1. Evading taxes.
2. Excess profit making on “Zion” produced merchandise.
3. Obtaining “offerings” by fraudulent means.
4. Secretly burying deceased believers.
5. Promiscuity with female believers.
6. Causing death and injury with “An Ch’al.”
7. Violation of the Education Laws.
9. Fostering domestic troubles and destruction of family relations.

Open violence in the end did follow. In December, 1960 some 2,000 believers, mostly female, stormed the daily Dong-A newspaper offices in downtown Seoul after the newspaper carried an article calling the photographs of Park’s “holy fires”, which show streaks of fire descending on the assembled believers, fakes. Overwhelming a 400-man police detachment the raiders ransacked the building. At the time, leaders of the movement stated that they had asked LIFE Magazine to authenticate the pictures in question and that they had received from LIFE an answer stating; “There are some things that cannot be forged by human skill”.

This newspaper-sacking incident soon became a fullblown political issue. The House of Councilors created a special seven-man committee to investigate the incident. The Republic’s Ministry of Education also, at the same time, proceeded with an investigation of the movement, charging a panel of scholars, religious leaders and government officials with the task. Both investigations after months of bickering got nowhere.

Against charges of heresy and criminal prosecution, leaders of the movement consistently maintain that theirs is the sole way to eternal life, pointing out that after all Protestantism had been branded, at one time, as heretical by “corrupt” Roman Catholic officials. Korea’s Roman Catholic Church is somewhat less harsh, stating that whether the movement is heretical or not
“cannot be determined without a thorough study of its doctrine and practices.”

Heretical or not, the movement by 1964 had from 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 followers in some 303 congregations (Chondo Kwan), against some 97,306 Presbyterians after more than half a century of intense missionary efforts. This perhaps suggests that Park Tae-son himself is in his own way a more reliable interpreter in Korea of the Protestant “ethic” than the Western Presbyterian missionaries have been. Not only do the statistics cited here support this contention, but further evidence is provided by Park’s zealous aversion to sin on the one hand and his highly successful economic ventures on the other.

Followers of Park range from illiterates to college graduates, the majority of “Christian Town I” residents having completed at least primary school, from peasants to retired generals, from simple artisans to college professors and practicing M.D.’s. It even boasts the perennial American “smuggler” who lives in “Chrisitan Town” with his Korean wife, participating in the management of the movement after having left the Presbyterian Church himself. Women followers were observed to be especially eager to offer whatever possessions they had—rings, waches, clothing, and some ardent believers were even seen shedding their skirts during revival services since they had nothing else to give. Housewives left their families for good, husbands deserted their wives and children, donating in the process all their worldly possessions to gain “eternal life from sin.” To this, a movement leader remarked: “Of course there is no extortion involved, we just accept what they offer voluntarily”.

The movement’s services are conducted much like Presbyterian ones. However, they are characterized by rapid hymn-chanting accompanied by frenzied hand-clapping that

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9 The educational background of “Christian Town I” residents in 1965 was as follows: College or University graduate 209; Attended University but not graduated 408; Attended but not graduated 85; Junior High School graduate 800; Attended but not graduated 217; Primary School graduates 3,173.
continues for hours. One observer describes it as follows: "They used drums, and even beat them at midnight. The neighbors were disturbed in their sleep. They clapped their hands whenever they sang hymns; the sounds could be heard from miles away". Like some other Korean Protestant groups, the movement bans tobacco and alcohol.

It also prohibits the eating of pork and peaches "for the pig is an animal of greed and the peach is the fruit with which the serpent tempted Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden." (It could not have been the apple since that is a valuable cash crop for the movement.)

As to the future of the movement after the death of Park, the writer was informed: The Olive Tree is immortal, the last day of the world will come within his lifetime. Park in his sermons is careful not to distinguish between mortality and immortality, except when he deals with "non-believers" who are "not worthy of immortality". In a sense, Park's followers cannot lose, since for them, unlike for most other Koreans, "the Elder" is creating a modernized but still Korean paradise only some ten miles from Seoul.

As in Japan in such movement as Soka Gakkai, the Korean long accustomed to communal patterns coupled to a tightly knit family system finds in his increasing loneliness and misery hope in this "New Religion". The believer is provided with a faith to persevere, and what is most important, his new activistic approach to religion means not only prized economic security but less time for morbid introspection. Movements in Korea such as "Olive Tree" or Tong-II gyo serve as deliberate, organized and conscious efforts to integrate traditional patterns with the plethora of outside influence unleashed by sudden socio-economic changes in a given situation of a given society. Such traumatic shifts may not only include war, revolution, liberation from colonialism and occupation, but also any enforced acculturation in general.

It is in this light that one must therefore examine these phenomena which may provide a most useful scholarly insight
into the process of culture change, especially in the vigorous activism and the remarkable totality of commitment which adherents of "Olive Tree," "Tong-Il gyo," and Soka Gakkai exhibit.

From the standpoint of the anthropological observer, while these features which are readily characterized as "aberrational" often seem most attractive for description, what may be far more significant is the role of movements such as Park Changno-gyo in providing an indigenous source through which the multiple effects of the western impact can be focused to the overall and necessarily desirable aim of cultural revitalization.
CHUNGSAN-GYO: Its History, Doctrine and Ritual

by Lee Kang-o

Translated and Edited by Richard Rutt

THE first of Korea’s modern syncretic religions, Tonghak, was formulated by Ch’oe Cheu at Kyongju in 1860. Forty-one years later Kang Ilsun, styled Chungsan, proclaimed a new revelation at Chonju. He died in 1910, fifty years after Ch’oe Cheu’s revelation and is said to have written and burnt a document called P’ongyo osip nyon kongbu chongp’il, ‘the consummation of fifty years’ mission’. Some of his followers claimed that this title indicated that Kang’s teaching was lineally descended from Tonghak; others disagreed. In either case Chungsan-gyo, as his doctrine may conveniently be called, became a major cult with eighty divergent sects, one of which, Poch’on-gyo, at one point claimed a million adherents. Though heavily suppressed by the Japanese colonial government, Chungsan-gyo revived after 1945 and now comprises at least thirty sects. It is one of the most significant groupings among the new religions of Korea.

1. The founder

KANG Ilsun was born on October 6 (19th of the 9th moon) 1871 in the house of his maternal grandparents at the present Tuji-ri, in Ip’yong township of Chongup prefecture in North Cholla province. He grew up at Tokch’on-ni in the same prefecture. His father, Hungju, came of farming stock; his mother’s name was Kwon.

According to Taesun chon’g yang, the biography of him by Yi Sangho which is the basis of the various Chungsan-gyo scriptures, Kang Ilsun’s mother dreamt during her pregnancy that the heavens were rent from north to south, the universe was filled with light, and a great ball of fire descended and enveloped her. Her son was born after thirteen months’ gestation. Another story relates that his father saw two immortals come down and
tend the mother at the time of the birth, while a wonderful
fragrance filled the room. The boy had a remarkable face, and
his palms were marked with Chinese zodiacal logograms, *jen*
on the left and *shu* on the right, indicating magnanimity and vir-
tue. He gave signs of great wisdom from his infancy, and out-
stripped all his fellows in the traditional studies of classical
Chinese. When he was twelve the family’s poverty compelled
him to be hired out and, though still so young, he was regarded
as an ‘exiled scholar’. After his marriage at the age of twenty
to a girl surnamed Chong from Naeju-p’yang, Ch’och’o-myon,
in Kimje prefecture, he ran a cottage school in his wife’s home
and devoted himself to studying Confucian, Buddhist and taoist
works, medicine, divination, and magic. He quickly gained a
reputation as a teacher of religion.

Korea was then politically enfeebled. Her independence
was threatened by Chinese, Japanese, and Russian policies; her
economy was in ruins. Christianity had arrived from the west,
and its influence was spreading rapidly under such conditions
of national unrest, as also were the Tonghak doctrines of Ch’oe
Cheu. The latter was the stronger of the two in Kang Ilsun’s
area. He embraced it enthusiastically, but seems to have re-
alized very quickly that Chon Pongjun’s Tonghak rebellion of
1894 would fail. He followed the rabble army from its starting
point near his home as far as Ch’ongju, without taking part in
the fighting.

Realizing, nevertheless, the religious potential of Tonghak,
he resolved to found a system that could supercede it. He believ-
ed the desperate state of the country could not be rectified by
any of the existing religions nor by human effort, and that salva-
tion could be effected only by spiritual arts invoking divine
power. Tonghak teaching about waiting on heaven for the sta-
bilization of the created world, however, he thought was merely
traditional Confucian reliance on human endeavor, thinly dis-
guised. So he added the study of occult magic to his religious
researches. When he was twenty-six years old he set off on a
spiritual pilgrimage. For three years he wandered about the
country, seeking out famous magicians, and in the course of these
peregrinations he himself became known as a prophet, spiritual
healer, and thaumaturge. At Piin in North Ch'ungch'ong he met Kim Kyongsö, and learned the T'aeul mantra; at Yonsan in South Ch'ungch'ong he met Kim Ilbu and learned from him the theory of chongyok, 'corrected fluctuations', by which in the age to come day and night will be of equal length throughout the year, which will always consist of 360 days, with no leap years. The T'aeul mantra and chongyok theory were to become basic elements of his new religion.

In the autumn of 1900, aged twenty-nine, he returned to Cholla to live at Kaengmang-ni, where the frequented the hills behind the village, crying aloud day and night in his quest for spiritual power. People thought he was crazy, and deliberately avoided him. In the summer of 1901 he withdrew to Taewon-sa, a monastery on Moak mountain near Chonju, where, on August 18 (5th of the 7th moon), nine days after he began a course of prayer and meditation, he was suddenly enlightened during a violent rainstorm, and was freed from avarice, lust, anger and ignorance. Enlightenment brought him divine powers; perfect knowledge of all things, both spiritual and material; and clairvoyance with understanding of astronomical principles. He could call forth wind and rain, make himself invisible, perform all magic acts, and even usher in the age to come by correcting the courses of the heavenly bodies.

After this enlightenment, he returned home. His reputation for mental derangement was reinforced when he fasted for nine days in an unheated room during the coldest winter weather, claiming that he was exercising his divine powers.

No one believed in him or accepted his new doctrines. Yet in May (4th moon) of the following year a man named Kim Hyongyol, from the village of Haun-dong near Chonju (in the present Kumsan township), who had been with Kang at Ch'ongju during the Tonghak rising, heard about Kang's enlightenment and came to see him. Kim invited Kang to live in his house at Haun-dong, which soon became the center of the new cult. A few disciples appeared. Kang told them that he was the God of the Nine Heavens come down to earth, and would usher in a new creation, establishing a paradise on earth and saving
mankind from all its distresses. His followers were to be circum-
spect and not to hurt others, but to purify their hearts in pre-
paration for the coming new order, in which they would be
given divine creative powers. He also taught them some man-
tras, including extracts from the Confucian canon.

They held that incantation of these mantras would cause
kangsin or kangnyong, ‘descent of spirits’, sometimes signalized
by ecstasy and trembling, which healed the sick, preserved the
health of the sound, and produced kaean, ‘opening of the eyes’
(by which spirits and distant things could be seen) and ibo
‘aural rapport’ (by which divine intimations could be heard).
In Buddhism kaean means spiritual awakening to buddhahood;
in Kang’s teaching it meant insight into the objective world and
knowledge of the past and future. Even though they did aspire
to achieve their master’s powers in re-ordering the universe by
ch’onji kongsal, ‘cosmic rites’, his followers believed they could all
attain kaean.

Meanwhile the master practiced medicine combined with
incantations, imposition of hands, and the application of paper
charms, all of which was readily accepted as the exercise of di-
vine therapeutic powers. Those who believed they had been
healed joined the new religion and acknowledged Kang as di-
vine. They became his missionaries. They said he foretold deaths
and misfortunes, the quality of harvests and the course of events.
It was claimed that he could control the weather and even em-
power others to halt the rising sun; that a pillar of cloud stood
by his house; the rain never wet him and mud never soiled
his shoes. His followers increased as this miraculous reputation
spread. He promised that one night he would build a myriad-
chambered pearly palace, where believers would receive places
appropriate to their merits, and be fed and clothed by spirits.
He himself would be reborn after death. He was teaching at a
time when the messianic prophecies of the curious book Chong-
gam-nok were in vogue, and many were looking for the advent
of the bodhisattva Maitreya or the rebirth of Ch’oe Cheu. Kang
Ilson appeared to such people, and they flocked to him with
their eschatological hopes. The movement crystallized into an
organization.
His critics called his cult Human’i-gyo, after humch’i, the first two syllables of his principal mantra. The name was derogatory, for Humch’i was also a pun on a Korean word meaning ‘theft’. At first he gave his creed no formal name, but referred to it as ‘the sublime way (muguk-taedo) unparalleled in history’. After his death, when his concubine Ko succeeded him, the names T’aeul-gyo, ‘teaching of the primordial monad’, and Sondo-gyo, ‘teaching of the way of immortals’, were adopted.

Doctrine was neither systematised nor codified. The group cohered merely in its devotion to the practices taught by Kang and in its hope for the promised paradise.

Kang himself, having moved with Kim Hyongyol to Ch’ong-do-ri, now began a peripatetic life, visiting the houses of his followers. He wore heavy cotton in summer, light summer clothing in winter. He never wore an ordinary hat, but carried a huge straw rain-hat in his hand. His words were sometimes incomprehensible. Such eccentric behavior made most people treat him as mad, but others took it as proof of his extraordinary religious powers.

In July (6th moon) 1907, five years after he took up with Kim Hyongyol, he first met Ch’a Kyongsok, who lived at Taehung-ni, in Ibam township, near Chongup. He then began to dress normally and stayed at Taehung-ni, devoting himself more assiduously to planning his part in the coming new creation, whereby his teachings would unite all the world’s governments into one (sin segyo chohwa chongbu). He took Ch’a Kyongsok’s widow sister-in-law Ko as his concubine, and called her house Subu-so, ‘place of his head wife’, to express the role of yin and yang in the re-ordering of creation. Then at Tonggong-ni, near Kumsan, in the house of Kim Chunsang, he set up a special medicine-cabinet, containing twenty-six remedies for the diseases he expected would ravage the world. He is said to have called the cabinet anjang-nong, ‘funeral chest’, or sinju-dok, ‘spirit-tablet dais’, and told Ko it would be hers. (Some say anjang-nong was a name given after his death, when thirty yen found in the chest were used to pay for his funeral; and that Ko used the cabinet as an altar-cupboard to enshrine his spirit-tablet, thus
giving rise to the name sinju-dok. Because it was expected to enshrine Kang’s spirit, it was reverently preserved after his death, and Cho Ch’olche, founder of T’aeguk-to, once attempted to steal it. Kang labelled Kim Chunsang’s house Kwangje-guk, ‘department of universal healing’, and made it the center of his medical work. He took a daughter of Kim Hyongyol, his first disciple, as his third spouse, again explaining that yin and yang must be properly balanced and physically expressed by the union of male and female. His followers addressed both concubines by the honorific title samo.

He named Ch’a Kyongsok’s home P’ojong-so, ‘place of the promulgation of government’; Kim Kyonghak’s house in Paegam-ni was Tachakkyo, ‘great school’; Sin Kyongwon’s house at T’acin, Pongnok-so, ‘place of blessing’; and Sin Kyongsu’s house at Kobu, Sumyong-so, ‘place of longevity’. Pak Kongu was appointed man’guk-taegang, ‘general of the nations’. Twenty-four chief disciples were named, of whom twelve had previously been Tonghak followers. Ch’a Kyongsok and Kim Hyongyol were Kang’s principal lieutenants. Accompanied by small groups, he travelled about North Cholla, preparing his great work, teaching new followers, and occasionally holding training sessions for larger groups that lasted several days at a time. He was regarded with suspicion as one who misled the common people with occult practices. Local officials kept a careful watch on him, in case he fomented rebellion. Finally, when he had met together with about twenty others in Sin Kyongsu’s house at Kobu, on January 28, 1908, the Japanese gendarmerie arrested them on suspicion of raising a group of uihyong (loyalist volunteers). The others were released after fifteen days, but Kang was detained for more than forty days. Most of his followers, unable to square his pretensions about reorganizing creation with his inability to avoid his misfortune, decided he was a fraud and left him.

Even his more loyal and enthusiastic supporters began to express doubts and complaints. Taesun chon’gyong tells how Sin Wonil, one of the twenty-four chief disciples, said to him: ‘You have been working for the establishment of paradise on earth for a long time, but nothing has happened. Your followers are
racked with doubt, and the world at large is scoffing. We beg
you to found the earthly paradise at once, and restore our re-
putation.”

Kang replied: “Human affairs depend on opportunity, heavenly
affairs on due proportion; and my work requires both
human opportunity and heavenly proportion. If I were to aban-
don this principle and try to hasten matters, I should bring
disaster on the world and death to millions. So I cannot do what
you ask.”

His disciples’ relations complained that he was deceiving
people and ruining happy homes. Meanwhile, strict surveil-
ance by the justices brought his activity virtually to a standstill. He
was in his thirty-eighth year when he died suddenly on August
14 (24th of the 6th moon) 1909, almost exactly eight years after
his enlightenment experience at Taewon-sa. It is reported that
very few of his disciples accompanied Ch’a Kyongsok and Kim
Hyongyol to the funeral. They were afraid of being laughed at.

2. Schisms

Chungsan’s teaching had laid so much stress on his own
role in creating the new order that his death meant the end of
his organization. His followers were divided. Some of them be-
lieved that he had not really died, but merely returned to his
foremer state as Lord of the Nine Heavens or as Maitreya, and
that he would return. They thought he would continue to pro-
tect them, would ensure the inauguration of the earthly paradise
and the eventual full enlightenment of believers. They also
believed that mankind could be saved from impending disease
by Chungsan’s medicines alone.

On November 9 (19th of the 9th moon) 1911, two years
after his death, his concubine Ko suddenly fainted during a
ceremony commemorating his birthday. When she recovered,
hers speech and behavior were strangely altered. She claimed
that his ‘holy spirit’ (songnyong) had invested her. She had the
medicine cabinet fetched from Kim Hyongyol’s house and treat-
ed it as though it were a spirit-tablet. Word soon got around that
her voice and mannerisms had become uncannily like Chung-san’s, and that he had returned to earth in her. Some of the faithful accepted this as a fulfilment of his own prophecies. The twenty-four chief disciples and many others re-assembled, and began to treat Ko as the reincarnation of Chungsan. By 1914 she was recognized as head of the sect in succession to the founder. Ch’a Kyongsok and Kim Hyongyol were among the prime movers in the missionary movement that was now started under the name of T’aeul-gyo or Sondo-gyo. Numbers grew rapidly.

Ch’a Kyongsok, however, with the object of making himself head of the sect, tried to separate the chief disciples from Ko. He declared her house a yemun, ‘house of honor’, which all ordinary believers were forbidden to enter. No one was allowed to see her, and Ch’a took over executive authority. Eventually he persuaded her to retire to her father-in-law’s house at Kaeng-mang-ni, where she was kept in isolation till in 1919, with the connivance of Kang Ungch’il, a kinsman of Chungsan, she was able to move to Chojong-ni, in Paeksan township of Kimje prefecture, where she gathered some of the faithful around her, built a place of worship, and began to propagate the faith under the name of T’aeul-gyo.

In the same year, 1919, Ch’a Kyongsok expanded his power base by naming sixty pangju, ‘divisional leaders’, as a first stage in organizing an entirely new sect. In 1921 at a koch’on-je, ‘announcement to Heaven’, on Hwangsoek Mountain at Hamyang, he proclaimed the sect name Pohwa-gyo, ‘doctrine of universal transformation’, and the dynastic title Siguk, ‘timely realm’. In 1922 his sect was registered with the Government-General of Chosen as Poch’on-gyo, ‘doctrine of universal Heaven’. Thereafter others of Chungsan’s leading disciples also claimed each to have inherited the founder’s succession and started sects of their own. Chungsan had indeed appointed twenty-four leading disciples and given them authority to take part in his preparations for the new creation. Moreover, at a ceremony in Kim Kapch’il’s house at Tonggok, he had given joints of bamboo to nine of them (their names are not recorded), saying that he passed his doctrine on to them, and that it would flourish like
the bamboo. So others could claim the succession as plausibly as Ch’a Kyongsok. And they did.

Kim Hyongyol followed Ko at first. Then he parted from Ch’a Kyongsok, and took up with Chungsan’s first wife, Chong, whom he taught to recite mantras that would attract Chungsan’s spirit to enter her. This project came to nothing because Chong was mentally deranged. Kim Hyongyol then went for a time to Kumgang-dae on Moak mountain to perform spiritual exercises so that he himself should receive the spirit. He returned declaring he had succeeded, and started a new sect at his own house. Instead of teaching the T’aeul mantra, he taught his followers the sich’on formula of Tonghak, and gave people charm-papers, varying according to their birth-years, and told them to burn these charms as a prophylactic against disease and disaster. (There is a tradition that Chungsan had done the same thing.)

His followers are said to have numbered several thousand. In 1916, announcing that the disease foretold by Chungsan was about to appear and destroy mankind, he gave charm-papers to 360 agents whom he sent to bury them in each of 360 magistracies. He also taught that Chungsan was really an incarnation of Maitreya who, having inaugurated the 50,000 years of the naga-puspa era, when he was due to come to earth, had now withdrawn into the great statue of Maitreya at Kumsan-sa, the important temple and monastery near Chongup. Kim therefore revered that statue at the ‘spiritual body’ (yongch’e) of Chungsan. This idea also accorded with a prophecy made by Chungsan. Kim Hyongyol persuaded Kwak Popkyong, the monk-in-charge of Kumsan-sa, to start a group called Maitreya Buddhism. Thousands enrolled in it, but the Japanese authorities accused Kim Hyongyol of sorcery and rebellion. The Maitreya Buddhists were forcibly disbanded, and Kim was imprisoned for a while. After his release he formed the Buddhist Promotion Society (Pulgyo Chinhung-hoe) in Seoul as an attempt to reorganize his Maitreya Buddhists. In 1922 he revived the name Maitreya Buddhism and returned to Kumsan-sa, but because the group taught that their Buddha was Chungsan dwelling in the monastery’s Maitreya statue, the abbot insisted that they
leave the place. The sect could not survive once it was deprived of its base at Kumsan-sa.

An Naesong, another of the original twenty-four, also stayed with Ko for a while, but he grew disenchanted with Cha Kyongsok’s pretensions, and in 1914 withdrew to his native Yo-su, where he preached under the name of T’aechul-gyo. In 1917 he continued at Sunch’on, and in 1918 at Muan, but in 1925 he moved to Paegun-dong in Ch’ongdo-ri, in Kumsan township of Kimje prefecture, where he changed the name of his doctrine to Chungsan Taedo-gyo, ‘the great tao of Chungsan’.

Another of the twenty-four, Kim Ch’ibok, helped Cha Kyongsok with his reorganization of the sect at first, but left him in 1916 to set up an independent group at Wont’yong, near Kumgu, under the name Chehwa-gyo, ‘doctrine of transformation by healing’. Later he returned to his native Puan, where he and Ho Uk (styled Namsong, ‘southern pine’) created a new sect, centered on the house of So Sangbom in Chogyang township of Hadong prefecture, under the name Samdok-kyo, ‘doctrine of three virtues’. Samdok-kyo had an elaborate constitution based on the ninefold conformation of Chu Hsi’s beloved valley at Wu-i in Fukien. Samdok-kyo was dissolved by the Japanese colonial government. It revived again after the liberation in 1945 by So Sangbom and Yi Tongmok, working in So’s house at Yongsan-ni in Kumsan township, where it still exists, at least on paper.

Pak Kongo, Chungsan’s ‘general of the nations’, began preaching in Hungdok township of Chongup prefecture, but won few followers until he moved to T’aechin in 1916 and used the name T’aechul-gyo. Later he moved to Wont’yong, where he died in 1928. His disciple and successor Pak Chongsu carries on under the name Chungsan-Inam-gyo (from Inam, ‘benevolent cottage’, which was Pak Kongo’s literary style). The sect is doctrinally and organizationally too weak to survive the death of its present members.

Mun Kongsin was one of the disciples who was disenchanted when Ch’ungsan was arrested at Kobu in 1907. When Ko
and others started their own sects, so did Mun. After his death it continued at Namyang-ni, Pongsan township, Kimje prefecture, under Kim Tongsop. It is still known as Chungsan-gyo Mun Kongsin p'a, ‘Mun Kongsin’s sect’, but is very weak indeed.

Kim Kwangch’an was another disciple of Chungsan. He preached in his home town of Namwon. Because Chungsan had said that reading Li Po’s Tao-li-yuan hsu-wen, ‘peach orchard essay’, a thousand times would induce enlightenment, Kim Kwangch’an made that text the core of his teaching, and his sect was called Toriwon-pa’a, ‘peach orchard sect’. The sect disappeared after he died in prison, but one of his followers, Yi Kunha, studied Tao-li-yuan hsu-wen and the Buddhist Naga-puspa sutra (hunghua ching, ‘dragon-flower sutra’- the dragon-flower being a tree in Maitreya’s heaven), and concluded that Chungsan’s teaching was an amalgam of taoism and Buddhism. On the strength of that opinion he started a group called Yonghwaw-gyo, ‘dragon-flower doctrine’, in 1926 in Sangso township of Hamyang prefecture. The sect died when Yi Kunha died.

Many more of Chungsan’s followers passed on his teaching to small groups which were in effect new sects, although they were not organized under new names. It is impossible to tell how many there were. The number was further swollen by the fissiparousness of the sects already described.

The divisions of Poch’on-gyo, however, the group which Ch’a Kyongsok formally inaugurated in 1921, deserve more careful attention. Poch’on-gyo was the strongest section of Chungsan’s legacy. Ch’a eventually built an elaborate complex of shrine buildings at Tachung-ni in Ibam township, a little south of Chongup. He was called ch’onja, ‘son of heaven’— an old Chinese imperial title, and was constantly in trouble with the police on accusations of fraud or sedition. In 1935 his main temple hall was moved to Seoul, where it stands as the main hall of the Buddhist Chogye-sa. In early summer 1936 Ch’a died, and three months later the colonial government suppressed Poch’on-gyo completely. After 1945 it revived a little, and ageing believers still meet for regular worship at Ch’a’s homestead in Tachung-ni. Here is an outline of the chief tributaries
of his sect.

Sin Hyonch’ol, a member of the Poch’gyo staff, as a result of friction with Ch’a over an incident involving the sect’s funds, conspired with Kim Yongdu and Chang Kangman of Seoul to set up a T’aegul-gyo headquarters in the capital. They hoped to destroy Ch’a’s group, but in the event they failed to establish their own.

Yi Sangho and his brother Songyong (alias Chongnip) were also members of the staff. They hoped to improve the reputation of Poch-on-gyo by systematizing its doctrines and obtaining Government-General recognition. They were able men: Sangho was director of the Seoul bureau and ran the daily newspaper Sidae Ilbo, while Songyong published the magazine Pogwang. In 1920 they quarrelled with Ch’a. They failed in an attempt to reform the sect, left it, and emigrated to Manchuria. When they returned to Korea they joined forces with I’m Kyongho, another defector from the Poch’on-gyo staff, and at the winter solstice of 1928 founded Tonghwa-gyo, ‘doctrine of orient splendor’, at Yonghwa-dong in Kumsan township.

Ch’oe Wisok was yet another defector from Ch’a’s staff. For many years he remained a private believer in Chungsan, and after 1946 he invited the two Yi brothers and others to join him in refounding the religion at his house in Hapchong-dong, Map’o, Seoul. This new organization was called Taebop-sa, ‘service of the great law’. The Yi brothers became central chairman and general secretary, while Ch’oe Wisok was chief planning officer. They seem to have met with some success, but at the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950 the Yi brothers fled to North Cholla, where they set up ‘Taebop-sa’ at Yonghwa-dong near Kumsan. Ch’oe refused to accept this, and maintained his organization in Seoul. The Yi brothers’ sect is now called Tongdo-gyo Chungsan Kyoboe, ‘Chungsan church of the doctrine of oriental tao’.

Ch’ao Kyongdae and his brother Kyuil were disciples of Chungsan, who eventually broke with Ch’a Kyongsok and set up a shrine for Chungsan at his birthplace, Kaengmang-ni,
near Kobu. In 1924 Ch’ae Kyongdae was joined by Kim Onsu, another Poch’on-gyo official, in turning this shrine into a sect headquarters called Samsong-gyo, ‘doctrine of the three sages’. They succeeded in attracting a number of Poch’on-gyo believers, but when they built a meeting-place at Chongnun near Seoul, and began preaching an Ch’onin-gyo, ‘doctrine of heaven and man’, the leaders were arrested by the Japanese for sedition, and the organization was dissolved. Ch’ae Kyongdae started Sillong-sa, ‘Divine Husbandman Company’, to acquire development land in Chi-lin, Manchuria, so that several hundred households of his co-religionists could emigrate, but the enterprise petered out when he died in Manchuria.

After the 1945 liberation Sin Wonmok of Taegu took over the Kaengmang-ni shrine and started regular sacrifices. He assembled a score or so believers and held training sessions. This was the so-called Kaengmang-ni sect.

Kang Sangbaek was a Cheju native who became an official in Poch-on-gyo. In 1929 he claimed that he had been spiritually awakened by reciting an obscure mantra. (The mantra was supposed to have been used by the legendary ruler Yu of Hsia: it appears to have been a recent esoteric invention, and its text is exceedingly opaque.) During the following winter he returned to Cheju, where he established the headquarters of Susan-gyo, ‘doctrine of waters and hills’ at Myongdok-tong in Hallim township. After his death in 1961 his group split into three, each with its own teaching.

One of Kang’s disciples, Kim Sungnye, started a sect at Hongno-ri in south Cheju. For a time he was associated with the Yi brothers’ Tongdo-gyo, but they excommunicated him. His sect is referred to as Hongno Kyohoe, from the name of the village.

Kim Hwanok was yet another Poch’on-gyo official who seceded. He travelled widely in search of truth, and met So Sanggun, a former Poch-on-gyo believer who claimed to have contacted the divine spirit of Ch’oe Cheu while pursuing spiritual exercises in the mountains. Guided by So, Kim Hwanok claimed
that he had reconciled the doctrines of Chungsan-gyo and Tonghak. He said he was Kungang Taesin, 'great spirit of the Vajra', and taught his new system in the Chiri and Moak areas till he formally established Muguk Taedo, 'the sublime way'—Chungsan's own phrase—at Paegam-ni in Ch'ilbo township of Chongup prefecture. In 1942 the Japanese imprisoned him at Chonju for violating the Public Security Law, and while he was in prison he met and made friends with a Chungsangyo follower named Kim Chaehon. After the liberation they together launched Muguk Taedo Pohwa-gyo (combining Chungsan’s and Ch’a Kyongsok’s original titles) at Paegam-ni. After Kim Hwanok’s death, Kim Chaehon moved the sect to Sint’aein in 1953; then again in 1957 to Ssangnyong-ni in Kumsan prefecture of Kimje prefecture, where it is known as Tongdo-gyo Pohwa Kyohoe.

Yo Ch’oja was a woman from Sinnyong-ni, near Yongch’on in North Kyongsang. Till she was thirty she refused to marry, declaring that she as a divinely-inspired prophet, and people said she was the sort to be an empress. When she was thirty-six, Ch’a Kyongsok said he would need an empress in his new dynasty and offered to marry her. She declined. Meanwhile So Chongil, a Poch ‘on-gyo believer, heard of her, and together with other dissidents from Ch’a’s group, founded a sect with her as its head. After 1945 they moved to Yonghwa-dong in Kimje prefecture, under the name of Sondo-gyo, ‘doctrine of the immortal tao’. So Chongil and at least four others have started splinter groups, while the continuing group of Yo’s sect is called Muul-gyo.

Kim Kyeju was one of those who left Poch’on-gyo for Yo Ch’oja’s sect. He was obsessed with the study of Kim Ilbu’s ‘corrected fluctuations’ theory, which had meant so much to Chungsan. In 1942, when he was forty-two years old, he said he had received a revelation from Chungsan and began to preach Mu-gyo in Unnidong, Soch’ang township, near Kwangju. In 1946 he changed the name to Muul-gyo. After he was killed in the Korean war, Kim Naktu, also a former follower of Yo Ch’oja, took over Muul-gyo, but in 1963 it was registered as Miruk-chong, ‘Maitreya sect’, by Kim Honghyon, once a follower of So Sanggun. One splinter group lives under Yi
Tonggok in Moak-san, and another under Pak Tonghok at Sinamni in Yonggwang prefecture.

Kim Chongnyol, originally from P.yongch’ang in Kang-won, also left Poch’on-gyo after quarrelling with Ch’a Kyongsok, and lived as an independent Chungsan-gyo believer. After 1945 he joined Yi Sangho’s Chungsan Taedo-hoe, but left it, accusing Yi of corrupt practices. In March 1952 he organized Immu-gyo at his house in Sangnyong-ni.

So Sanggun, who so influenced Kim Hwanok, had left Ch’a Kyongsok after serving him as bodyguard and labor organizer. After 1945 he was living in a thatched hut he built in the hills above Ch’ongdo-ri, and tilled a few mountain fields. Many people regarded him as a sage, and formed a ‘So Sanggun sect’. When he died in 1962 Kim Kit’ae took over their leadership.

Ch’oe Kumbong, another of So’s disciples, declared he had contacted Unjang-sin, ‘cloud leader spirit’, and bought the house in Tonggok that Chungsan in his lifetime had called Kwangje-guk and used as his medical center. It now became the focus of a flourishing Yakpang-gyo, ‘apothecary doctrine’. Ch’oe died in 1960. His wife behaves very much like a shaman, and has many clients.

Cho Chesung was yet another defector from the Poch’on-gyo staff. He met So Ch’ongjuk (alias So Paegil) in Kunsan grain market, and they decided to form a religious sect. In 1931 they assembled some followers as Kumsan-sa Miruk-pulgyo P.ogyoso, ‘Kumsan Monastery Maitreya Buddhism Mission’, at Togomi, in Yangmum township of Kurye prefecture. They said Chungsan was not dead, but had often been seen gathering medicinal herbs on Namhae and Ibaek islands, Cho broke away before long. So was imprisoned for six months for contravening the Temples Law. In 1935 he moved to Hadong, where he was again arrested, this time under the Public Security Law, and sentenced, first to eighteen months’ imprisonment, then to three years. He was released after the 1945 liberation and lived for a time at Sangbul Hermitage, in Hwagye township of
Hadong, and Wibong Monastery at Chonju, before setting up his own Won’gak-sa, an establishment in Wansan-dong, Chonju; and Namil-sa, another at Chongdong-ni in Ujon township, with about 200 believers. In 1953 he founded Yonghwa-sa at Ch’ongdo-ri, which still functions there under the name of Taehan Pulgyo Yonghwa-jong.

Han Pyongsu was also a Poch’on-gyo officer. He proclaimed himself T’aeul chinin, ‘adept of the primordial monad’, and started Inch’on-gyo, ‘doctrine of man and heaven’, in P’irun-dong, Seoul. After his death it was continued by Yi Tokche. Since the Korean war it has been in Taejon.

Pak Int’aek of Puyo was another who was disgusted by what went on in Poch-on-gyo. He and Hong Sunok left the sect and gathered a group of believers as Won’gun-gyo, ‘doctrine of the prime rulers’, at Chiso-ri in Sannae township of Puyo prefecture. It has now disappeared.

Within Poch’on-gyo itself there was a division into old and new parties which began during Ch’a Kyongsok’s lifetime. At first he had treated Chungsan as the founder and source of Poch’on-gyo, but as his work succeeded he began to neglect Chungsan and center attention on his own teachings. Those who maintained reverence for Chungsan became the old school, and those who emphasized Ch’a became the new school. In 1954 they came into open conflict over the publication of Ch’a’s book Sijong, ‘time adjustment’, which some of them treated as their bible. The old school insisted that a brief notice of Chungsan should be prefixed to the work; the new school disagreed. About the same time the new school proposed to move Ch’a’s spirit-tablet from its separate shrine into the main shrine with Chungsan. As a result the new school seceded under the leadership of Ch’a’s second son, Ch’a Yongnam, and the two groups have become separate organizations.

We now turn to the subsequent divisions of the Maitreya groups.

When Kim Hyongyol, as already described, in 1916
selected 360 men from his Maitreya group to be commissioned and sent out with charms to combat the monstrous disease foretold by Chungsan, one of the 360 was a Sunch’on man named Chang Kijun. But Chang lost confidence in the idea and went off to the foot of Kuksa-bong, a mountain in Ssangam township near Sunch’on, where he read the preface of the Shu ching a thousand times. Chungsan had said that this practice would lead to enlightenment, and Chang Kijun declared that his effort had been successful. He asserted that the essence of Chungsan-gyo was in Chungsan’s collection of charms Hyonmu-gyong, ‘sable warrior classic’ (‘sable warrior’ is the name for the tortoise and snake locked in sexual embrace that form an astronomical emblem for the north). On the basis of Hyonmu-gyong, Chang established a new sect, Sunch’on-gyo, named after his own birthplace. Chang was succeeded by Yu Ch’ullae of Kohung, who in 1939 moved the sect to Namyang-ni, in Pongsan township of Kimje prefecture. The sect is also known as Pommun-p’a, because the Hyonmu-gyong was called pommun, ‘text of the law’.

Pak Ilmun, styled Mosan, was a Muul-gyo member who joined the Pommun-p’a, but quarrelled with Yu Ch’ullae and formed his own sect with the help of Pak Ponghwan (also ex-Muul-gyo and Pommun-p’a) and Kim Pongsu. This was called Sunch’on-gyo Yonggwang (‘spiritual light’) p’a, or Mosan-p’a. Another Pommun-p’a man, Chu Chongyun, also parted from Yu Ch’ullae and started a group near Iri. After Chu’s death Kang Taehyong succeeded him, but their sect is now very weak.

Another of Kim Hyongol’s disciples in the cult of the Kumsan-sa Maitreya was Yu Chebong. On April 4, 1935, after Kim’s death, the statue was destroyed by fire. Yu Chebong joined the then abbot of the monastery, Monghwan, in organizing a group called Miruk-kyo or Yonghwa-gyo to finance the restoration. The members of this group were in effect the former Maitryea Buddhists. When Yu Chebong died, Ch’oe Sonho took over the leadership, and there are still some continuing worshippers of the Kumsan Maitreya as Chungsan’s ‘spirit body’.
Kim Hyongyol had a brother-in-law, Kim Chahyon, who was also a disciple of Chungsan. He helped Hyongyol found Miruk Pulgyo and assumed the leadership of the group after Hyongyol’s death. When Chahyon died his sons T’aejin and T’aebong carried the sect on. It is known as Chungsan-gyo Kim Chahyon p’a. In 1959 a woman relative of Kim T’aebong, who is said to have performed as a shaman, dreamt that Chungsan’s third wife (Kim Hyongyol’s daughter, in whose house the famous medicine cabinet was installed) appeared to her and demanded redress for her grievances. Apparently the only marriage ceremony she had been through with Chungsan was a threefold circumambulation of the medicine cabinet, and they had never slept together. When Chungsan was dying, Kim Hyongyol said he would marry the girl to someone else—she was still in her teens—but Chungsan said that if she married again disaster would befall the family. Nevertheless, she was married again, and soon fell ill and died. Her death was naturally ascribed to Chungsan’s curse, and this was what she was supposed to be complaining about in the dream. Her remains were exhumed and enshrined in a small concrete building erected behind her house, where her spirit was venerated. Most of the worshippers were women. They were known as Kim Samo p’a.

We can now turn to the history of An Naesong’s Taedogyo, started at Paegun-dong in 1925. When An died in 1949 there was no obvious successor and the sect broke up into several functions: ‘elder’ factions under Yu Yongju, Kwak Sanggon, and Paek Un’gi; and ‘younger’ factions under An’s eldest son Munhwan, Nam Sanggi and Ch’a Namgyu, all operating in the vicinity of Paegun-dong.

Kim Nagwon was another follower of An Naesong, who left him to join Ch’ae Kyongdae’s Sillong-sa, the previously mentioned resettlement venture in Manchuria. After three years in Manchuria, he returned to Ch’ongdo-ri in 1941 and set up a group called Chungsan-gyo Odongjong-ni p’a. He claimed several hundred followers, but his group had been missed in the government registration of Chungsan-gyo, so he attempted to gain recognition by allying himself with So Chunyong and Hwang Taeho in their movement to unify
Korea’s new religions. When Maitreya Buddhism was ostensibly unified as Yonghwa Pulgyo Hyangdo-hoe (described below) on July 7, 1965, Kim Nagwon became its senior adviser. Later, when Hwang Taeho resigned, Kim succeeded him as chairman, but So Chunyong is the effective leader. The object of the organization, however, is so impracticable that the organization cannot long survive.

There remain four other significant schisms of the Maitreya cult to be mentioned. One was a development of the T’aœul-gyo set up at Chojong-ni in 1914 by Chungsan’s concubine Ko when she separated from Ch’a Kyongsok. In 1931 she joined forces with Yi Sangho’s Tonghwa-gyo in Jongwa-dong, then in 1933 she moved to a new place ta Osong-san in Songsan township, Okku prefecture, and called it Tonghwa Kyohoe Suyangso, ‘spiritual exercise place of the Orient Splendor Church’. When she died in autumn 1935, three of her followers claimed the succession and started rival groups: Ko Minhwon at Kum-san, Yi Yonggi at Samnye, and Park Yunghwa at Iri—all under the name of Chungsan-gyo Ko Samo p’a.

Cho Ch’olche’s story began in Manchuria, where he was living with his father, Cho Yongmo, who had fled there because of his anti-Japanese activities. In 1909, when he was fourteen, Ch’olche met Kim Hyok, who taught him Chungsan’s doctrine. Ch’olche spent some time in spiritual exercises in the mountains and claimed he had been enlightened. In 1917, aged twenty-two, he returned with a group to Anmyon Island, off the South Ch’ungch’ong coast, and began to teach his cult. To create a proper succession he took Chungsan’s sister as his concubine. She had been married to Pak Ch’angguk of Sondol hamlet at Kobu, but was now wandering about claiming to be divinely inspired. After that he took into his house Chungsan’s first wife, Chong, and only daughter, Kang Sunim, who had been married at the age of twelve to Yang Tokchin. (Chungsan had no sons.) At the same time Cho Ch’olche was attempting to lay sound financial foundations by developing farmland. In 1921 he set up Muguk-to, ‘the tao of the infinite’, otherwise Ch’onin-gyo, ‘teaching of heaven and man’, at T’aœin. By the following year he had built two four-story shrines, sohgon and
yongdae. In 1925 he changed the same of the sect to Mugik Taedo-gyo, and since Ch’a Kyongsok was known as ch’onja, ‘son of heaven’, he took the same style—so confident was his group. The Japanese colonial government, however, disbanded it. It was revived after the liberation. In 1948 the headquarters was in Posan-dong in the city of Pusan, and called T’aeguk-to. In 1955 it moved to Kamch’on-dong in Pusan, but after the death of Cho Ch’olche in 1958 it split into old and new factions.

Kang Sunim stayed in Cho Ch’olche’s house for nearly ten years. Then, at the age of twenty-three she left, and for nine years lived a wandering life. When she was thirty-two she went to live with one Kim Pyongch’ol, a North Kyongsang native who was living in Chonju. In 1942 they moved to Uisong in North Kyongsang, where they made underground places in Kumsong Mountain and Changdaegok. In these caves they set up a statue of Chungsan and one of Tan’gun, legendary founder of the Korean nation. They managed to avoid discovery by the Japanese gendarmes; and after the liberation they went back to the homeland of Chungsan-gyo, and lived under Moaksan. In 1947 on Sakyamuni’s birthday (which fell that year on May 27) they erected a thirteen-foot Buddha-statue of Chungsan at Ch’ongdo-ri in Kuri-gol. (Chungsan had said he would return in a thirteen-foot body, and many of his followers believed that in the new age all men would be of that height.) Kang Sunim became head of a sect called Chungsan Hyang-won, ‘worship institute’, which soon claimed tens of thousands of believers. In 1949 they erected a mausoleum and temple enshrining a picture of Chungsan at Orial-t’o in Kumsan-ni. (Although Cho Ch’olche had stolen Chungsan’s corpse in 1919, when Cho quarrelled with Mun Kongsin at Taejon, the police ordered that it should go back to Ch’a Kyongsok, from whom it passed into his daughter’s hands.)

Their group was registered in 1953 as Chungsan Sonbul-gyo, indicating a fusion of taoism and Buddhism. Kang Sunim died in April 1959, and Kim Pyongch’ol, as her husband, took over from her. Following the Ministry of Education’s policy for native religions in 1961, the title was changed to Tongdo-gyo Popchong Kyohoe. Then in 1963 Kim Pyongch’ol’s son Yangho
claimed he had received the succession, and built a new place of worship at Kuri-gol, where he attracted some of the sect to form Ch'ongdo Tae-hyongwon.

The fourth and last of these schisms began when Chong Inp'yo came from Soyang in Waju prefecture declaring that he had been enlightened by God and received the spirit of Chunsan from the Maitreya Buddha image at Kumsan-sa. He tried to reassemble Kim Hyongyol's former Maitreya Buddhism group, and declared that he had Chunsan's power to renew the world. He was jailed in Chonju for prophesying the defeat of Japan, and not released till the liberation of 1945. He went to Taehung-ni in T'aein township, and built a temple where he ran 'Maitreya Buddhism' till he died in 1955. Two of his disciples, Chong Kongil and Kim Hunsu, attempted to take over his work, the former applying for government registration as Miruk-pul Yongwon-hoe, 'society of Maitreya of the perpetual vow', and the latter doing the same as Miruk Pulgyo. Eventually they joined forces to register as Miruk Pulgyo; but in fact they still operate separately.

After the liberation of 1945, when Japanese repression came to an end, something like eighty sects of Chunsan-gyo appeared, and there was naturally a movement to unite them.

In 1945 Yu Tongsol, a leading figure in the provisional government, started a movement for the unification of Korean native religions. An organization called Chunsan Kyodan T'ongjong Won, 'institute for organizing Chunsan sects', was set up at the Sich'on-gyo church in Seoul, but it disappeared at the time of the Korean war in 1950.

On February 28, 1955, following government instructions, a unification movement called Chunsan Taedo-hoe was established in the Taebop-sa building at Yonghwa-ri, under the leadership of Yi Chongnip (i.e., Yi Songyong, who had published the magazine Pogwahg for Poch'on-gyo before 1920). In fact, this was no more than a change of name for Taebop-sa, and it came to nothing.

In December 1961, following the Ministry of Education's
policy for uniting native cults, an association called Tongdo-hoe was started, centering on Minjok Sinang Yonmaeng, ‘folk religion league’, led by Yi Ch’anyong. It comprised thirteen sects, including Chungsan Taedohoe, Chungsan Sonbul-gyo, Pohwagyo, Samdok-kyo, Poch’on-gyo, Miruk Pulgyo, and T’aeguk-to. The last three, however, were disallowed by the Ministry because of their internal schisms; the other four continue under the prefix Tongdo-gyo ‘doctrine of Korean tao’. They appear to be trying to establish a national religion combining the cult of Tan’gun with the teachings of Ch’oe Cheu and Chungsan.

So Chunyong has already been mentioned as an administrative leaders of Muul-gyo who adopted the Maitreya version of Chungsan-g-o. In December 1963 he tried to register Muul-gyo in this form. In April 1964 he joined with Hwang Taeho (former monk-in-charge of Muryang-sa, near Puyo), Son Songhan, and Yi Kapsul at a meeting in Seoul to form an association of ex-Buddhists and other ostracized religious groups in order to obtain official recognition for them. The following August they persuaded Kim Nagwon of the Odongjong-ni group and other esoteric religious leaders to join them, and on August 1965 (the 7th day of the 7th moon) in a wedding-hall at Chouju. They inaugurated Yonghwa-gyo Hyangdohoe. The headquarters are in Chon-dong, chonju. Hwang T’aeho was president, but when he realized it was merely an organization to promote Kim Nagwon’s sect, he resigned. It is now, as previously suggested, in effect so Chunyong’s affair, and its prospects are not good.

This very sketchy account of Chungsan-gyo, listing the chief names and dates, has ignored the real motives of the divisions. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that the essential fissiparousness of Chungsan-gyo derives from the fact that it is a syncretic faith with no canonical scriptures. Schisms have derived from emphasis on Buddhist or taoist elements in turn, from theories about the succession of the leadership, and from simple self-aggrandizement by strong characters within the movement.

3. Doctrine and ‘Cosmic Rites’

Chungsan-gyo was in origin a syncretic fusion of taoist,
Buddhist, Confucian and other elements to such an extent that it has no distinctive doctrine, and is simply an amalgam of Korean folk beliefs. It was reluctantly, if at all, accorded respect by outsiders. Some of its followers were therefore anxious to codify their doctrine. Thus in 1921 the brothers Yi Sangho and Yi Songyong, of Poch-gyo, while compiling *Taesun chon'gyong*, published *Sa tae kyogang*, ‘four great principles of doctrine’, which were: fear God; foster virtue; correct ethics; love men. The other sects, however, have little doctrine in common, and even Poch’on-gyo teaching went through considerable changes. Some groups changed their doctrines to win government approval, as when Muul-go registered as a Maitreya sect. The data are therefore so confused that I cannot pretend to offer a systematic analysis. All I can do is discuss Chungsan’s concept of *ch’ onji kongs*a, ‘cosmic rites’, because that is the core of his teaching as recorded in *Taesun chon’gyong*. I rely heavily on *Taesun c’orhak*, an attempt to explain Chungsan’s doctrine by Yi Songyong, written under his alias of Yi Chongnip, while he was secretary-general of Taebop-sa, founded at Map’o in 1947.

Chungsan’s cosmology takes as its starting-point not the origin of the world, but its present state, which he calls *undo*. *Undo* appears to be a portmanteau word combining the concepts of astronomical or cosmic order and human history. Older schools of oriental thought had often held that these two concepts were related; Chungsan’s originality lies in his principle that *undo* can be affected and improved by *ch’ onji kongs*a, ‘cosmic rites’. The theory of *ch’ onji kongs*a is derived from the idea of *cebyok*, ‘creation’. Recognizing that *undo* proceeds according to a regular pattern, Chungsan nevertheless held that it can be adjusted by *Sangje*, the ‘supreme godhead’, whose action in so doing is called ‘creation’. Moreover, *undo* is divided into two aeons, the present aeon, *sonch’on*, and the aeon to come, *huch’ on*. We are living at the juncture of these two aeons, called *malse*, ‘the last days’. The last days are characterized by disasters, but will be succeeded by *huch’ on*, when there will be an earthly paradise. The transition will be due to the *ch’ onji kongs*a, ‘universal cosmic rites’ of the godhead.

Chungsan’s views of spirits (or gods) and men owe much to
shamanism in that they distinguish the spirit and human worlds, but concede them no independent existences. The two worlds are conceived of as interdependent, the phenomena of each reflecting those of the other. Because the religious practices of Chungsangyo believers are more concerned with attaining communion with the spirits than they are with self-cultivation of any kind, they believers have been described as simple shamanists; but it would be fairer to describe their faith as a form of anthropomorphic polytheism. Not only do they not use purely shaman techniques, they have no concept of a transcendental deity, only of spirits with human attitudes and limitations (saving physical limitations). Although there are differing accounts of the details of the heavenly government structure (also known in popular taoism), all dead souls are believed eligible for appointment even to such high offices as ‘lord of the nine heavens’. There is no absolute God, only a supreme spirit with responsibility for general oversight.

The comic rites have three objects: chedo ch’angsaeng, the salvation of men from the disasters of these last days; poguk anmin, the prosperity of Korea and its establishment as a major state; and Iwamin chongse, the removal of existing religious error and the spiritual preparation of the people for the coming of the earthly paradise.

Hence the cosmic rites presuppose the definition of reasons for evil and confusion. Chungsan diagnosed three: the fact that the last days are a period of transition, requiring the exercise of cebyok, ‘creative activity’; the fact that the affinity between the human and spirit worlds is disturbed by the reflection of the spirit world’s disorders in the human world; and the fact that established religions are so self-interested and exclusive that they mislead and hinder men. In order to eradicate these sam tae womin, ‘three great sources (of disorder)’, Chungsan himself performed cosmic rites according to sam tae kanogy, ‘three great principles’: creation of the earthly paradise and salvation of men from the disasters of the last days; improvement of relations between the human and spirit worlds by resolving the disorders of the spirit world; and helping men to achieve the above first principle through communion with the spirits.
Therefore the cosmic rites have three aspects, 'sam tae kongsa': undo kongsa, 'rites of cosmic order'; sinmyong kongsa, 'rites of the spirits'; and indo kongsa, 'rites of man'. All three aspects are necessary to the cosmic rites, which are ineffective if one aspect is lacking.

In the theory of undo Kongsa, rites of cosmic order, Chung-san-gyo follows the theory of the Sung astronomer Shao Kang-chieh, who reckoned one cycle of undo as 129,600 years, divided into two aeons of approximately 60,000 years each. The period of transition between the two is inevitably a period of creative tension, comparable to the striving growth necessary in plants before they can bear fruit. The function of cosmic rites is to adjust and promote this process, for the achievement of which the rites of cosmic order refer to four things: disasters, world government, religion, and the earth.

Rites for disasters are designed to obviate the trials of these last days by dealing with separation from the spirit world (which we will consider under the rites for religion) and with medicine. Chung-san did his utmost to avert all disasters, but believed that a strange disease was bound to appear in the Kunsan area and would rapidly exterminate the human race. As a protection against it, he provided mantras and paper charms, promising that their use would lead to spiritual enlightenment, healthy longevity, and power to heal by touch, sight, and speech. He set up the famous medicine cabinet and called his house a pharmacy in token of his healing promises. He gave his followers 'prescription slips', 'medical warrants', and paper charms to be used after his death. He said that even the dead could be raised to life when the great disease occurred, so all nations would recognize his means of salvation, and Korea would become the center of world government.

Rites for world government are intended to rescue the world from confusion, to restore order and harmony, and to establish a utopian state. These objects imply the propagation of Chung-san-gyo and the emergence of Korea as the world's leading nation. Political confusion in this world is held to mirror the confusion in the spirit world caused by cultural and material exchange between East and West, which had led to
national gods encroaching on one another’s domains. Chungsan hoped by performing appropriate rites to restore all national gods (Tan’gun of Korea, Amaterasu of Japan, Yahweh of Israel, and so on) to their own territories and confine them there; and believed that the good order thus restored would be beneficial to all. Since the displacement of local gods had geomantic repercussions, he believed that rites aimed at redressing the ensuing imbalances would improve and unify the political situation. In view of the West’s growing determination to control all Southeast Asia, Chungsan assigned responsibility for stemming the western tide to the Japanese. He is claimed to have weakened the western powers by dispatching Korean spirits to provoke World War I, and by his rites to have protected China and Korea from Russia by instigating the Russo-Japanese War and raising a ‘south-easterly breeze’ that defeated the Russians. For the proper ordering of East Asia he confided the government of Korea to the spirit of Chou Rongjun, leader of the 1894 Tonghak rebellion; that of China to Kim Ilbu, his own mentor; and that of Japan to Ch’oe Cheu.

China and Korea, however, were so crippled by maladministration that for the time being he left them in the hands of other countries. Korea was to be the responsibility of Japan, to resolve the grudge felt in the spirit world by the Japanese from what had happened during the period after Hideyoshi’s invasion—but the Japanese were to leave Korea empty-handed. Hence Koreans were to treat Japanese with courtesy.

Chungsan had arranged for spirits from the west to be brought by sea to Korea to prepare her to be the chief nation of the world; and for China to repay all the tribute she had received from Korea by sending poun-sin, ‘spirits of gratitude’, to Korea. Since he had removed the spirit of imperial power from the Emperor Kwang-hsu to Korea, and prophesied that China would succumb to two Sino-Japanese wars and intercourse with the west, he found himself obliged to commit China to the Russian military. (Some of his followers explain communism’s success in China as the fulfilment of this prophecy.)

In the forthcoming struggle for world leadership, he de-
clared, the most gifted country would emerge as suzerain. Japan
would perish by fire and the West by water. Some have claimed
that this was a prophecy of the atomic bomb, and even that
Chungsan performed cosmic rites for protection against atomic
explosion. (He ordered Ch’oe Ch’angjo to kill and cook a pig,
and prepare a suit of clothing. Kim Hyongyol and two others
were told to visit Ch’oe’s house, and each don one of the three
garments of the suit. They were then to dig a pit before the main
gate of the house one night; set a brazier and a bowl of water
beside it; throw the boiled pork over the brazier into the pit;
after the pork throw in rice-wine, octopus, more pork, and fin-
ally bean-curd; then cover the lot with earth. As they did all this,
there was a thunder shower and a flash of lightning. Chungsan
said he had buried the ‘ball of fire’ from heaven, lest a moun-
tain-sized ball of fire should burn the world to ashes. This is
understood as the vanquishing of the atomic bomb.)

The gifted country that would govern the world was, of
course, Korea, and its definitive gift would be his own magical
skills, medicine, and doctrine. To assist in preparing the Korean
paradise he recalled to Korea the spirit of Chinmuk, who had
gone with other spirits to enlighten the west. (Chinmuk—1562–
1633—was a Korean monk who was supposed to have visited
India in spirit. While his soul was away the envious Kim Pongg-
ok borrowed his powers to bury his body, so Chinmuk’s soul
became a wandering ghost.) Likewise, because Matteo Ricci,
the sixteenth-century Jesuit missionary, although he had failed
to establish a western paradise in China, had managed to export
the spirits of eastern culture to Europe, Chungsan ordered them
to return. He gathered together all the spirits of imperial and
royal power to work under his guidance to make Korea the
ruling country of the world.

Oson wigi tosu kongs, ‘rite of the five immortal paduk players’,
was performed at a geomantically favorable grave-site on Hoe-
mun mountain near Sunch’ang, and was intended to restore
harmony between the human and spirit worlds. It supposed that
five immortals were playing paduk, the pebble game. The host
was Korean, two spirits—his guests—played the game, and two
sat by watching and commenting. When the game was over and
the guests left, the pebbles and checker-board would remain as the property of the host. Therefore the Koreans had only to be good hosts and the whole world would become their property.

Rites for religion amount to the exposition and propagation of doctrine. Chung-san once wrote: ‘Form of Buddhism, world of taoism, morals of Confucianism’; and in the Taegyong (Chapter 8), he says:

Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity are the sources of the world’s various culture. Ch’oe Cheu will be leader of taoism, Chinnuk of Buddhism, Chu Hsi of Confucianism, and Matteo Ricci of Christianity. They will distil the essences of these faiths, control the spirits of religion and culture, and bring all nations together in a single tao.

He never explained what he meant by ‘form of Buddhism’. He declared that when he first descended to earth as Lord of the Nine Heavens, he had come to the ‘thousand-story pagoda of the country of the great law’; and the second time he had come for thirty years to live in the Maitreya statue at Kumsansa, where he would be again after his death. (Since ‘country of the great law’, ta-fa-kuo, is a Chinese location for France, some believers say the first descent was on the Eiffel Tower in 1840—though it was not built till 1870; the second, however, unquestionably indicates his identification of himself with Buddhist teaching.)

His taoist world is easily understood. The cosmic rites used incantations and magic diagrams, presupposing a magical ascetic, a potential unity between spirits and men, and a concern for immortality that all derive from taoism.

His ethics were straightforwardly Confucian, with the five virtues of benevolence, justice, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity; and ideals of loyalty, filial piety, and wifey chastity.

He claimed that Ch’oe Cheu had received his spiritual powers from him while he was in the Kumsan-sa Maitreya. Tong-
hak believers called Ch’oe taesonsaeng, ‘great teacher’, but Chung-
san was taesonsaeng, ‘teacher of the ages’. His syncretism and his
rituals certainly owed much to Tonghak, as did his identification
of himself as haemyong sin, ‘spirit of deliverance’, and Ch’oe as
poun sin, ‘spirit of gratitude’.

He linked himself with Christianity by saying he was the
Christ of the Second Advent, come in response to Matteo Ricci’s
desires.

His concern with shamanism is shown in the story that he
once beat the drum for his concubine Ko to dance like a sha-
man; he declared it was a performance of cosmic significance;
that she was a shaman and he an adept, both of the highest
degree; and that life depended on shaman rituals.

His rites concerning undo, kaebok, and the two aeons, and
his theory of Korea’s future world leadership were all based on
the yin-yang theory, feng-shui geomancy, and magic diagrams.

He declared that all matters should be handled according
to the taoist principle of wu-wei-i-hua, ‘transformation by non-
action’, and that he would set the world to rights and establish
paradise by applying that principle. He said that if the Hide-
yoshi invasion had been tackled by the contemporary adept Ch’
 oe P’unghon, it would not have lasted more than three days;
that Chinmuk would have needed three months; but the Con-
fucian Song Kubong would have needed eight months. Clearly
he regarded taoist magic as the highest form of religious power.
Indeed, he compared himself to the T’ang adept Lu Tung-pin.

In spite of his syncretistic claims he never made positive use
of Buddhist or Confucian doctrine. His attitude to them was, in
fact, negative. His ‘form of Buddhism’ has no relation to Bud-
dhist doctrine of deliverance from attachment to forms, nor to
the attainment of buddhahood. In a poem he went so far as to
subordinate Buddhists to Confucians, but expressed a low view of
Confucianism when he said: “I intended Ch’oe Cheu to save
mankind, but because he could not free himself from Confucian-
ism, I had to come to earth myself.’”
Such vague and unsystematic syncretism not only renders Chungsan’s doctrine very hard to describe; it was a significant factor in the development of Chungsan-gyo schisms. Every group emphasized one or other element in the religious amalgam. Inevitably there were doctrinal conflicts, with a recognized opposition between ‘truth’ and ‘confusion’. It was held by some that Chungsan had deliberately created a confused system, foreseeing that truth would emerge out of it. There is even a story that he performed a cosmic rite in which he announced to nine disciples that he was creating the future schisms, and said that confusion was necessary, because of man’s need to express anger when frustrated, which predicated the necessity for confusion, out of which men could freely distinguish true principles.

He is reported to have prophesied that the confusion would last for twenty-seven years, because one Hong Songmun had studied in vain for twenty-seven years on Hoemun mountain near Sun’chang. Twenty-seven years after Chungsan’s death was 1936, when Ch’a Kyongsok, founder of Poch’on-gyo, died; but the confusion continues still, each sect claiming sole guardianship of ‘truth’. On another occasion, in 1909, concluding the cosmic rites, Chungsan said that fifty years was the term of mission work; so many believe that the eschatological prophecies of Chungsan were to be fulfilled after fifty years. There are various ways of computing the date, and many ways of preparing for the end. Some construe the fifty years as between 1860 (Choe Cheu’s spiritual enlightenment) and 1909 (Chungsan’s death); others prefer 1901 (Chungsan’s enlightenment) to 1950; or 1909 to 1959. Those who were disappointed in 1959 made a revised calculation and produced 1964 as the fatal year, but when it passed without event, they found reasons for fearing 1968. Concern about the date of the last day is very much part of Chungsan-gyo.

Chungsan held that never-ending wars are due to lack of harmony between local spirits and the destiny of the earth. He performed rites to produce that harmony: Chiun t’ongil kongsa, rites of the earth. First he abolished wangun, traditionally known arcane principles of geomancy, by preparing new geomantic patterns for the aeon to come. He tried, for instance, to divert
attention from traditional geomancy by dispersing the influences of Chong at Kyeryong-san, Cho at Kaya-san, and Pom at Ch’il-san, all described in Chonggam-nok. To unify his new geomantic influences he performed rites at the house of his disciple Hwang Ungjong, co-ordinating all the earth forces of Cholla province by making Moak mountain of Chonju and Hoeman mountain of Sunch’ang the parent peaks from which rivers and other mountains would derive their power. He wrote out a statement about the influences of Cholla mountains and ritually burnt it, to effect the new geomantic pattern he was preparing for the new acon.

He extended this principle from his native province to international geography. Claiming that Korea had suffered because the geomantic forces of Japan created aggression and greed in the Japanese, he decided to rectify those forces. At a smithy in Sinho (otherwise called Sinbangjuk, a hamlet at T’aerin, near Chongup) he performed a rite in which he burnt a paper with a punning inscription. The pun involved the Korean pronunciation of the name of the city of Kobe, which is Shinho, and the transference of strong forces to Korea. He summoned the forces of Kuwol, Tan’gun’s holy mountain in North Korea, to the grave sites of Ch’a Kyongsok’s ancestors; the spirit of Matteo Ricci to Mudung mountain near Kwangju; and the spirit of Ch’oe Cheu to Sunch’ang. Furthermore, he summoned the lethal forces of the 12,000 peaks of the Diamond Mountains, to prepare for the appearance of 12,000 perfect believers.

All of which sufficiently illustrates Chungsan’s interest in geomancy.

Sinmyong kongsa are cosmic rites of the spirits. These are basic to Chungsan-gyo, as will be clear from what has been said of the importance of the spirit world in the rites for religion. The spirit world contains all kinds of heavenly and earthly spirits, including the souls of the dead, who are presumed to hold in the spirit world the same rank and dignity as they held in this life. Our fortunes here depend on the welfare of our ancestral spirits, the welfare of this world depends on good order in the spirit
world. This good order is ensured by three kinds of cosmic rite: placatory (sinmyøng haewon), distributory (sinmyøng paech’i), and unificatory (sinmyøng t’ongil).

Placatory rites are thought to have been the first performed by Chungsan. They are based on the practice of Korean shaman’s in domestic rites for arresting evil and inviting blessings. But Chungsan thought he could influence the affairs of this world by satisfying the spirits, and to that end he held rites to placate Tan Chu, the son of the mythical emperor Yao, who was not allowed to succeed his father, and was therefore angry; Matteo Ricci; and Ch’oe Cheu.

Such rites were performed with food: pure water, rice-cakes, rice-wine, steamed rice, sweet fermented rice (sikhye), fruit, dried and fresh fish, and meat—oxhead, oxtail, goat’s blood, pork, dogmeat, according to the place and season. Offerings were made of money and grain, cotton cloth, clothes, and straw sandals. Yellow loam was scattered on the floor; a barrier of tabu ropes was set up; magic diagrams were pasted on the walls; a ‘spirit-general’s flag’ was hoisted; paper lanterns, bells, drums of different sizes, begging-monks’ hoods, bows and arrows, and other shaman equipment were used. Prayer papers and paper charms were burnt; incantations and mantras were read, songs and dances performed. There were dramatic presentations such as the portrayal of war by all the participants tying white cloths on their heads and shins, and carrying long tobacco pipes over their shoulders while they marched out through the kitchen carrying flaming paper torches, then returned, imitating gun-shot noises and pretending to use the pipes as rifles. Paper charm burning was a constant element in the rites.

The spirits were not driven away, as they are by shamans; only placated. The effect was not merely prophylactic, but held to have a higher moral significance for both the spirit world and for this world. This significance depends on the fact that peace cannot exist so long as individuals seek revenge or redress, but will increase in proportion to the degree that individuals console one another. Placation and consolation produce mutual understanding and forbearance, so all placatory actions improve
peace. Chungsan’s placatory rites, by inducing peace in the spirit world, morally influenced the world of men, and would eventually create a utopian order and unity.

The distributory rites were necessary because the spirits, when placated, find themselves in suspense, and cannot begin to show gratitude to men until they have been appointed to responsible offices. Hence Chungsan sent Korean spirits to the west to help Korea and ward off western aggression; and summoned western spirits to the Orient to strengthen Korea’s position. We have already described how he appointed guardian spirits to the principal eastern countries.

It still remained necessary to perform a rite welding all the newly appointed spirits into a unified organization. Chungsan, as Lord of the Nine Heavens, presided over this organization. He worked in three stages. Firstly, all the national, racial, and regional spirits (such as Tan’gun for Korea) were to be united, so that their respective peoples could live in peace. Secondly, the culture spirits, such as Confucius, Sakyamuni, Christ, Mahommed, and Socrates, who continue to function as sages in the spirit world, were to be united. Once they combine in the spirit world, strife between religions, between idealism and materialism, capitalism and communism will end in our world. A syncretic fusion of doctrines in the heavenly world will stimulate the creation of the earthly paradise. Lastly, men’s ancestral spirits must be united, because concord among them would bring concord among their living descendants. One ancestral spirit representative of each clan was to participate in a heavenly court, chonsang kongjong or okkyong, to moderate the action of their descendants.

The rites of man were to help men repent of their sins and prepare for the life of the earthly paradise. Seven basic principles were involved.

1. By religious exercises a man can be spiritualized to the point of communicating with the spirit world, understanding all the secrets of the universe, and being united body and soul in one divine being. This differs from any Christian concept
of sharing in divine nature, from buddhahood, and from taoist immortalization. It is primarily a mental state, virtually the same as enlightenment. The necessary religious exercise is incantation, which also produces spirit possession, ‘spirit sight’ and ‘spirit hearing’. There are two methods: chongnyok t’ong, ‘enlightenment by effort’, attained by striving; and kamhwa t’ong, ‘enlightenment by inspiration’, in which incantatory exercises prepare for the sudden opening of the ‘gate of illumination’, tot’ong-mun, by the external action of spirits at the moment of kaehyok. Some of the sects, such as Taedohoe, emphasized enlightenment by effort, but Poch’on-gyo and others preferred enlightenment by inspiration.

The sects differ as to the texts, types of formula, and prescribed days for incantation; and have developed different theories on the subject. Chungsan himself taught the recitation of a simple Chinese sentence: ‘Great ruler that infuses all things, come and be joined to me!’ Some say this is an invocation of electricity, and in Poch’on-gyo an electricity-room was installed, modelled on its heavenly counterpart. The Maitreya group held a simulated electric wire during incantations, expecting to receive a current of inspiration. Chungsan, however, thought incantation would stabilize the mind’ saying “The cure for serious ills is peace of mind and body.”

2. Placation and gratitude, as a moral and beatifying principle, applies to both men and spirits (as described earlier). Among Chungsan’s dicta on this subject are:

‘One man’s discontent can ruin the universe.’
‘Loving an enemy like a benefactor is a virtue that brings blessings.’
‘Requiting evil with evil is like shedding blood to wash blood stains.’
‘It is wicked to forget one’s king, one’s father, or one’s teacher.’

These illustrate both placation and gratitude, as did the two
texts he pasted on the wall during cosmic rites, naming Ch’oe Cheu as the spirit of gratitude and himself as the spirit of placation. The two ideas are reciprocal.

3. Benevolence and justice, mutual support and help are key terms in Confucianism. Chungsan’s version of them is: ‘Benevolence means not exercising partiality in love or hate; justice means not seeing the truth in black and white.’ This is the doctrine of the mean. He said he would teach men how to live together by the exercise of benevolence and justice, which would produce mutual support and help.

4. All the Confucian virtues were to be cultivated, but because the future would have a classless society, widows would be free to remarry, and monogamy would be the rule, Chungsan performed cosmic rites for ‘the rectification of ethics and clarification of virtues’, chongnyun myongdok.

5. Singlemindedness, sincerity, reverence, and faith are essential for spiritual training. Without them there can be no illumination and no intercourse with spirits. ‘Singlemindedness can achieve anything’, and ‘Only the singleminded can live’, are two of Chungsan’s sayings. Devout integrity is necessary for success, for blessings, for morality, even for life itself.

6. Immortality means extension of life. In the aeon to come, men will be thirteen feet tall and live at least 800 years, in unbounded bliss. Chungsan said: ‘The world thinks mere longeity is bliss, and rates longevity higher than happiness; so I prefer bliss to longevity, for without it a man perishes.’

7. Chungsan insisted on the equality of the sexes. According to the principle of placation, women should be released from their millennia of subservience, and Korean social customs should be radically changed. He preached monogamy, permission for widows to remarry, and obligatory remarriage for widowers in the coming aeon. He performed cosmic rites to give men’s rights to women, including setting an amulet in the groin of his baby daughter Sunim and declaring that
she now had male genitals. He also instituted grandiose titles for women.

The ultimate object of all the cosmic rites was the establishment of the earthly paradise, by the process of kaehyok, creation. Some of the details of the paradise are specific.

The cycles of the sun and moon will change. Night and day will be of constant duration, heat and cold reduced to a single norm. Men and spirits will live in constant communion; the spirits will be docile; all men will be clairvoyant, knowing past, present and future, and the whole of space, without effort.

The whole human race will become one family, with equality of the sexes, and all agreeing on all subjects. Armies and punishments will disappear. Only two classes will remain: officials and others. But officials will never exceed their authority, so the people will live contentedly. Greed, lust, anger, and idleness will disappear, as men live in untrammelled virtue and happiness.

Without disease and death, men will be forever young. Poverty and wealth will be done away with: food and clothing will be issued from the warehouses as required. Disasters by fire, wind, and water will be unknown. Rice will be cooked without fire; agriculture will not dirty the hands: seeds once sown will spring up again year after year, and all soil will be richly fertile.

A lantern set up in the house of an adept will keep a whole village as bright as daylight. A steam engine will travel 10,000 miles in an instant. Men will ride the clouds at will, ascending easily, because the heavens will be lower. Door-rings, coat-hangers, and sandals will be made of gold.

Human life will be reverenced more than it now is; because in the present acon, an age of heroes, men live by sin, but in the acon to come, an age of sages, men will live by virtue.

This earthly paradise is modelled on a spiritual prototype. Chungsan’s followers believe it will soon be set up, and point to
such modern developments as respect for human rights, space
travel, electricity, and emancipation of women as stages in its
fulfilment.

4. **Incantations and Charms**

Mantras and paper charms figured largely in Chungsan’s
cosmic rites and in his training of disciples. He also stuck paper
charms on walls and pillars for protection against disease and
evil spirits. He used a book of predictions in conjunction with
them. His various sects use these things in different ways, but
they all use them. To some extent they are used as magic, but
they are also used as prayers more strictly understood. Here is
another sign of Chungsan’s debt to shamanism.

A mantra is a verbal formula recited with the intent of gain-
ing a specific object. In Chungsan-gyo it has power to subdue
evil spirits, or, in cosmic rites, to invoke spirits. Chungsan re-
cited mantras, wrote them on paper and burnt them, and even
wrote them on ‘spirit general’s flags’. He rescued Kim Sunguk
from disaster with the T’aeul mantra, and Chang Hyosun with
the Unjang mantra. He did not restrict himself to one or two
simple mantras, as Tonghak did, but collected many, adaptable
to all conceivable circumstances. He made up his own mantras
as required. For instance, he once wrote out a list of different
types of shaman terms on a slip of paper and called it a mantra;
and he gave personal mantras to individuals. There is no discer-
nible system in his teaching of incantation.

Yet the T’aeul mantra is the principal one. Chungsan
learnt it early on, during his pilgrimage in search of truth,
when he found a copy of Kim Kyongso’s *T’aeul-gyohg* at Piin
in south Ch’ungch’ong. Kim Kyongso was a sixteenth-century
Korean who sought enlightenment in vain for fifty years, but
was not enlightened till he used the Buddhist mantra against
disease. (Chungsan’s followers say it was learned by Asanga in
a dream, when he heard Maitreya present it to Sakyamuni.)
The formula is *T’aeul ch’onsang won’gun* (‘T’aeul, high king of
heaven!’). Kim’s enlightenment was never complete, though he
left a record of it in *T’aeul-gyong*.
Chungsan thought the T'aeul mantra and the Sich'on mantra were the best he had collected, but that the one was marred by Kim Kyongso's fifty years of frustration, and the other weakened by fifty years of use in Tonghak. So, to placate Kim Kyongso, he prefixed the words Humch'i, humch'i to the disease mantra, and combined it with the T'aeul mantra, to make his own formula. Humch'i is taken from a Chinese Buddhist mantra believed to ward off evil spirits. It is a transliteration of a Sanskrit word, said to represent the cry of a calf as it is being born, and hence a symbol of Gautama's power and of the world to come. Since T'aeul is a taoist deity, Chungsan's mantra combines Buddhist and taoist elements, and its original power was prophylactic against disease.

Like Ch'oe Cheu, Chungsan made wide use of paper charms of the kind used by Korean shamans, called pu, pujo, or puso. His followers interpret them variously: as simple prophylactics; as spiritual records or 'spirit writings'; as encoded statements of the regulation of undo by cosmic rites; as powers to raise the dead; as arcane statements about the earthly paradise, to be reverenced like Chungsan himself.

Judging by my own collection, they fall into three groups: those with Chinese characters, those with diagrams or drawings, and those combining characters and diagrams. Some of the written ones are simple brief texts, but some are larger, usually extracts from Chungsan's own compilation Hyonmu-gyong or Pyongse-mun. Some are written from left to right, that is to say, in reverse. The drawings include faces, spirals, squares, stars, plants, birds, and animals.

They were used as house charms, pasted on thresholds and door-posts; as amulets carried on the person, usually in a 'medicine purse'; as medicine, by burning them, then swallowing the ashes in water (especially in Poch'on-gyo); for burning at all sorts of rites (especially in the Pommun sect where there is a daily ritual of burning a charm form Hyonmu-gyong selected according to the date in the sixty-day Chinese cycle); as written prayers; and on the sinjiang-gi, the 'spirit general's flag', set up at group functions to attract the spirit general and gain his pro-
tection. (It is a large paper flag with the T'aeul mantra and Sich'on mantra written on it. Other charms are stuck on the flag-pole.)

Most charms are drawn or written with black ink, but house charms and amulets are often in red.

Most of the charms are derived from the two collections already mentioned. Hyonmu-gyong consists of twenty-four charms. Together with P'yongsae-mun, 'description of the powers of diseases', it was compiled by Chungsan at Ch'a Kyongsok's house in 1909, shortly before he died. As the only surviving works from the master's hand, they are zealously studied, and believed to contain the kernel of his teaching. Sunch'on-gyo in particular lays great stress on this book, treating it as a sacred scripture—hence the name Pommun-p'a, 'lawbook sect'.

P'yongsae-mun, also called Uit'ong-gam, divides all diseases into great and small. The great diseases are fundamentally moral and psychological, deriving from moral deficiencies. There is no medicine for them, save the beneficent influence of holy men. Small diseases are physical, and amenable to medical treatment. Chungsan's medicine combines taoist salvation principles with ordinary therapy.
A SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SURVEY OF SINDONAE

by
Choi Jai-Sok

This paper is a report on my survey of the community called Sindonae, near Kyeryong-san in South Ch’ungch’ong province, and concentrates on the peculiarly religious nature of the community, ignoring those sociological aspects that can be studied more easily in other rural Korean communities. I am well aware that my study is not exhaustive, but I hope it will serve as a stimulus for further work in the same field.

The survey was conducted on two occasions: August 8–22 1955, using a prepared questionnaire to survey the general social and economic background; and September 30 to October 6, 1955 for an investigation of the various religious groups in the area.

The questionnaire prepared for the first phase contained enquiries on: name of householder, position in family, sex, age, place of birth, occupation, previous occupation, previous domicile, amount of arable and forest land owned, date of immigration to Sindonae, and religious adherence. One copy was distributed to each household.

The first six days were spent visiting the village headmen and schools to gain their sympathy and support. The headmen were often very reluctant to give any information, and required several hours’ persuasion; but the forty-two students of Kyeryong Middle School were most helpful. They were given a briefing on survey methods, then divided into groups of three and assigned to their home hamlets. They were told to fill in the questionnaires first from the tong and pan registers, then by personal visits to each household. I believed that the enthusiasm of the students would ensure accuracy, and errors resulting from lack of survey technique would be compensated for by their conscientiousness.
I myself took Ujokkol, the remotest and least known village. It consists of thirty-six houses, set apart in a mid-slope valley of the mountain. Because of the villagers' suspicious reactions, the survey of this small place took a day and a half.

The second phase of the survey was much more difficult, because the villagers keep the details of their faiths secret, and do not attempt to proselytize. Often the only way for a stranger to persuade them to talk was to pretend to believe in their religion.

**General Description of the Community.**

Alighting at Tugye railroad station after fifty minutes in a slow train from Taegon, one sees the rugged peaks of Kyeryongsan some four kilometers away to the northwest, where the three prefectures of Taedok, Kongju and Nonsan converge. Sindonae or Sindon is a group of fourteen administrative villages (nu) at the southern foot of the mountain. The name of the area is derived from the original plan of the first Yi dynasty king to build his new capital (sindo) here at the end of the fourteenth century, before he decided to use the site of Seoul. Even today a few large foundation-stones from early Yi times lie about the villages.

Apart from the four villages (ku) of Namson-ni, which belong to Chinjam township of Taedok prefecture, the area belongs administratively to Tuma township of Nonsan prefecture. It is sheltered between ridges of the Kyeryong range to east, north, and west, but open towards the south in the direction of Tugye. The whole area is about two kilometers from east to west, and three kilometers from north to south. Into this small space are packed some thirty temples and ten religious groups. The soil is poor, yet there has for many years been a constant flow of immigrants, drawn by the religious attraction of the place.

Dr. Yi Pyongdo describes its historical background as follows:
Kyeryong-san has been famous since ancient times. Chang Chang Ch’u-chin of T’ang mentions ‘the east mountain Kye-san’ in the Paekche section of his Han yuan, and ‘Kyeram-san, east of the capital’ appears in the list of place names in the same book. These references are to Kyeryong-san, which is east of the then Paekche capital of Puyo, and was evidently already known in China. (The name Kyeram-san is also found in Korean records.) . . . Samguk sagi records in the monograph on sacrifices that Kyeryong-san was one of the five sacred mountains of Silla. The Ten Precepts of T’aeco of Koryo mention ‘the mountains south of the Ch’ahyon range beyond the Kongju river’ in terms that do not suggest Kyeryong was of great geomantic importance, . . . but after the first Yi king thought of building his new capital there, many curious fables and prophecies relating to the area appeared and flourished. Especially during the latter half of the Yi dynasty the arcane book Chonggam-nok described how the Yi would be replaced by a Chong dynasty with its capital at Kyeryong-san. This prophecy has attracted many people to live in the area. Geomancers described the conformation of the mountain as ‘a coiled dragon looking back to its ancestors’ or ‘a t’aeguk of mountain and water’. (Koryo sidae-ui yon’gu, Seoul, 1954, pp 397–8)

The population of the area as of August 22, 1955 was 5,682 in 1,086 households, including temporary absenteees such as military servicemen, students and itinerant merchants. There was an average of 5.2 persons per household. The largest village was the market place center of Taegwol-t’o, with 150 households. Four other villages had over 100 houses; only two had less than thirty.

The survey of educational background revealed that 70% of the heads of households had no formal education—though this does not necessarily mean that they could not read some Chinese characters. 22% had primary education, 7% had middle school education and 1% some college or university training.

Only 4% of households subscribed to a daily newspaper, and 4% had dry battery radio or other receivers. This fact, however,
is of doubtful significance, because the people have a strong
tendency to interpret outside news and world events quite
arbitrarily to fit their religious convictions. No serious magazines
were taken, and only twenty copies of fiction magazines were
found in the whole district.

Sindonae has a branch office of Tuma township and a
police station. There are five township employees, fourteen
tong headmen and the usual quota of pan headmen. Youth or-
ganizations and a fire brigade exist, but appear to be inactive.
There were no signs of spontaneous community action. Apart
from religion, the residents do only what is demanded of them
by the government. They have never used the tong and pan
organizations to improve their villages, and many of them only
attend public meetings when harried into doing so by local
government officials. The peak of their communal achievement
is road maintenance under local government direction.

The population of Sindonae has been swollen by immigra-
tion. The survey showed marked fluctuations in the number of
families entering the area each year, with well defined peaks at
times of political crisis. Immigration was high during World
War I; at the time of the 1919 Independence Movement; in
1921, when the Sich'on-gyo sect split and a group came to
Sindonae; and again in 1925 when this group took the name
Sangje-gyo. There followed a lull until the mid 1930s, when
East Asia was disturbed by Japanese imperialism. The rate of
immigration to Sindonae rose again, to increase still further dur-
ing 1947. The figure remained between 30 and 40 annually
during the disturbed period before and during the Korean war
of 1950-53, but has tailed off since.

Investigation of the place of origin of family heads shows that
only 19% were born in Sindonae. 21% were from other places
in South Ch'ungch'ong. 14% hailed from Hwanghae, 11%
from South Cholla, 8% from North Kyongsang, 4% each from
Kyonggi and Kangwon, 3% each from South Kyongsang,
North Ch'ungch'ong and North P'yongan, 2% each from South
P'yongan and Seoul, and less than 1% from Hamgyong. Thus
the majority were from agricultural areas in South Ch'ung-
ch’ong and North Kyongsang (both near to Sindonae), Hwanghae and South Cholla—all areas where Tonghak was once very active. Immigration from South Ch’ungch’ong started about 1914, but reached a peak in 1945–47; from Hwanghae there was a peak in 1921, related to the Sangje-gyo affair, and another at the time of the Korean war of 1950; the rate from South Cholla was highest 1945–47 and 1951; while there was no significant influx from North Kyongsang before the liberation. But it should be remembered that our survey was unable to reckon the number who had immigrated to Sindonae, then left again.

Farmers are normally reluctant to leave their homes because of their emotional, as well as economic, dependence on the land, their attachment to it as a heritage and as the site of their ancestral graves. This fact, added to the difficulty of obtaining fresh farmland, limits the number of Korean transferring from one rural area to another to 3% of the total rural population (although 20% of the urban population and 50% of city population are immigrants from rural areas). Sindonae, as a rural area with nearly 60% immigrant population, is therefore abnormal, and in this respect resembles the larger cities.

Investigation of the previous occupations and social standing of Sindonae’s immigrants showed that 81% were farming families before they came here. Of the remainder, 7% were retailers of food and miscellaneaous goods; 3% were furniture-makers or lacquer-workers; 4% were herb doctors, village headmen and religious or professional workers; 4% were unemployed or physically handicapped.

Thirty of the families that had farmed before immigrating were questioned about the size of their previous land holdings. Eight were landless tenants, 3 had up to five tanbo (half a chongbo), 6 had up to one chongbo, 7 had up to two chongbo, 3 had up to three chongbo, 3 had more than three chongbo. Since 65% of all the farmers in Sindonae now own less than five tanbo, it is clear that most of them now own less land than they did before coming here. It is also evident that both wealthy and impoverished farmers have immigrated. Only two of the thirty questioned had bought their new land before moving to Sindonae; the other
twenty-eight had simply moved in without previously securing a livelihood here, trusting to the providence of their gods or spirits. Five of the twenty-two families which had been landowners before immigrating are still landless, while the other seventeen waited anything from two to ten years before purchasing their present holdings. It is hard for the immigrant farmers all to obtain land in this restricted area.

Most of them live on the money they received from the sale of their former holdings. Even after acquiring land in Sindonae they rarely find that the new farm is productive enough to give them a living. This is the chief cause of immigrant families leaving Sindonae again. Many of these who stay, including some landowners, supplement their income by hiring themselves out as part-time agricultural workers. 65% of all households own farm land; 14% live by casual farm labor (supplementing their income by wood-cutting, toffee-making and liquor-distilling—sometimes temporarily going as far as Kangwon for wood-cutting; or for a few months to Taegon for city labor; or tramping the roads to Seoul as toffee-sellers, sleeping hard); 11% are retailers of food, rubber shoes, matches, soap, dried fish, and other necessities, often itinerating a circuit of five-day markets; 3% are carpenters, blacksmiths, bamboo-workers, spinners, and other craftsmen; 45% are local government employees, herb doctors, teachers, religious workers or otherwise self-employed; and the remaining 3% are the handicapped, unemployed, and those who are dependent on charity.

As for their present land-holdings, of the 707 landowners, 65% own five tanbo or less (for the whole of South Korea the figure is only 43%) and 60% of these have less than three tanbo each. They are among the very poor. In fact five tanbo is the average landholding per household in Sindonae (as opposed to 8.7 tanbo for the whole country) and only 80% of the cultivated land is owned by the farmer who works it.

82% of Sindonae farmers have no subsidiary employments; 12% have subsidiary work that produces less income than their farming; and 6% derive the greater part of their livelihood from work other than farming.
The staple cereal eaten by a family also provides an indication of its economic status. In Sindonae only 20% are in the highest class, eating rice mixed with an equal or smaller quantity of other cereal; 50% eat barley or other cereal instead of rice 30% eat potatoes, flour, or dried pumpkin instead of cereal. On my arrival in the area I noticed that one in three households had grinding stones making flour for gruel; and in Ujokkel even at the autumn moon festival three of the five families were eating barley or millet, while the other two made do with potatoes and kimch’i as on ordinary days.

**The Religion of Sindonae**

Of 1,086 households in the area, 272 adhere to Sangje-gyo, 72 to Buddhism, 31 to Christianity, 9 to Confucianism, 5 to Chongdo-gyo, 10 to T’aeul-gyo, 7 to Kwansong-gyo, 1 to Tan’gun-gyo, 7 to Ilsim-gyo. The remaining 672 belong to no organized sect, but believe in the prophecy that Sindonae will become the national capital. The impression I had before making the survey (that most of the villagers belonged to organized groups) proved wrong. It was difficult to find accurate criteria for identifying the adherents of the sects, partly because of the excessive secrecy of the villagers, partly because at the time of the survey the Sangje-gyo leader was involved in a court case, and some Sangje-gyo followers were disclaiming their connection with him. Nevertheless, I believe my figures give a reliable impression of the facts, especially in showing the dominance of Sangje-gyo. (A few villagers who show little or no interest in the Sindonae capital prophecies have been included among those who do, but the statistical effect of this is insignificant.)

There were once other groups, such as Yonggamu-gyo, ‘reciting, singing, and dancing doctrine’, and Ch’ilson-gyo, ‘seven stars doctrine’, but they no longer exist. The Ch’ilson-gyo temple is now a dwelling-house. The great festivals of Kwansong-gyo and Chongdo-gyo are said to attract believers from outside Sindonae, who bring large offerings. Possibly these two groups have larger memberships outside the area, consisting of people who find it impracticable to move into Sindonae to live.
Faith in the sects is strongest among the old and ignorant, but generally claims the allegiance of complete families. Christianity appeals chiefly to younger people. Believers in the local prophecies advocate many eccentric beliefs and ideas of their own.

Sangje-gyo, ‘religion of the Supreme Ruler (Chinese Shan-
ti)’, the largest of the groups in Sindonae, has distinct orders of
‘ministry’ and laity. The name of the group dates from 1925
when Kim Yon’guk, a disciple of Ch’oe Sihyong, second head
of Tonghak, moved the headquarters of Sich’on-gyo to Sindonae.

Sangje-gyo has two kinds of rites: daily and occasional. Every family has either a stone construction two or three feet
high set up in the yard, or a small altar table indoors, at which
the daily rites are conducted. The rite is simple: at the third and
fifth hours (approximately dawn and mid-morning) of the
twelve-hour day, the whole family attends as the head of the
household offers a bowl of pure water, reciting seven times a
thirteen-character mantra meaning, ‘Serve the Lord of Heaven,
creation stabilized, never forgetting, knowing all,’ after which
specific petitions are presented. Though they worship Shang-ti,
some families of this group have above the altar portraits of the
first three Tonghak leaders (Ch’oe Cheu, Ch’oe Sihyong, and
Kim Yon’guk) and of the present leader. At every meal, and
on leaving home or returning, they offer Koch’on, ‘address to
heaven’.

They assemble at their temple for the occasional rite on
Sundays; on the anniversaries of the birth, death, and enlighten-
tenment of the three founder-leaders just referred to; the birth-
day of the present leader; and twice of year for spring and
autumn celebrations. The order of the occasional rite, according
to Kim Chingong, nephew of the present leader, is as follows:

1. On entry the worshippers reverence the altar, then sit
   attentively;
2. The conductor of the service bows before the altar,
   withdraws the curtain, uncovers the bowl of clean
   water, and burns incense;
3. Facing the altar, the leader of the religion bows his head to the ground, prays in silence, then bows again four times. The worshippers do the same.

4. The conductor leads the assembly in the sevenfold repetition of the mantra used at daily prayers.

5. The leader faces the altar, bows, then squats on his heels. The reader (taedok) reads prayers before the altar and the congregation responds ‘Won-wi-dae-gang’ (‘Let there be the great descent’) four times.

6. Money offerings are presented by all present in order of seniority, each one praying and bowing four times before the altar.

7. The leader bows before the altar, and burns incense. All bow their heads and pray in silence (simch’uk).

8. The mantra is recited as in (4) above.

9. Closing silent prayer is offered as in (3) above.

10. The conductor bows to the altar, covers the water bowl and closes the curtain.

11. The worshippers bow to the altar and file out.

Tan’gun-gyo, ‘religion of Tan’gun’, keeps a picture of Tan’gun only, but worships him together with Confucius and the mythical Yellow Emperor of Chinese pre-history. Only one family of Tan’gun-gyo remains in Sindonae, and they have forgotten the ritual prayers. They offer a bowl of clean water before the picture of Tan’gun at sunrise and sunset, bowing repeatedly as they present their petitions. They are sometimes attended by Confucians when they observe Tan’gun festivals on the 15th of the 3rd moon and 3rd and 15th of the 10th moon. It is essentially an ancestor-cult, different from the other Sindonae groups, yet attracted like them to Kyeryong-san.

I have never found any reference to Ilsim-gyo, ‘one heart religion’, though I met it here. Its followers grow their hair long, and the adults wear topknots. Their children do not attend school, but learn Chinese characters at home. Their headquarters is to the south at Iri, and the cult is losing ground in Sindonae, only seven families remaining. Their ritual centers on a diagram pasted on the wall indoors bearing inscriptions in Chinese. The family assembles before this at daybreak to offer
a bowl of clean water, recite the Haein-gyong, 'sea impression sutra', three times, make petitions, and kotow three times. They use a peculiar gesture, raising their hands slowly sideways to join palms over the head, then reversing their palms to lower and fold their hands before sitting on their heels.

Twice a month they have a more elaborate service, burning candles and incense and making further triple kotows.

The text of the sutra reads (each line repeated):

Bull nature in the field;
Heaven and earth, father and mother;
The bow and the bird combine their force;
When the calf cries grace is aroused;
One heart cooperation;
The world stands fast;
Our lord stands fast.

On the 8th of the 4th moon, 16th of the 8th, and 8th of the 10th there is a ceremony at Iri when the sutra is recited twelve times. A delegate from Sindonae attends.

T’aeul-gyo is a sect of Chungsan-gyo, otherwise called Humch’i-gyo. In Sindonae it exists only at Ujokkol hamlet. Like the other native syncretic religions described here it has no use for modern formal education, but relies on enlightenment through the repetition of the T’aeul mantra, and hopes for an earthly paradise.

Kwansong-gyo, 'religion of the sage Kuan Yu', worships that worthy (otherwise known as the Chinese God of War), and his companions in *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Chu-ko Liang, Liu Pei, and Chang Fei. The group has a fine statue of Kuan Yu and two-story building containing a picture of a heavenly king and a goddess of the earth on the lower floor and pictures of a male god of heaven and four female spirits of the Great Bear constellation on the upper floor. Worshippers make four bows before the picture of Kuan Yu and six before each of the others. Most families in this group have a stone altar in the
houseyard where a bowl of clean water is offered before sunrise and after sunset. After their initial prayer they bow twelve times to the northeast, silently salute the spirits they worship, then make nine bows to each of the cardinal points of the compass, concluding by praying while facing south. They have four mantras, each repeated 21, 28, or 36 times. There have been many groups devoted to Kuan Yu. In 1920 Pak Kihong and Yongsik organized a Kwanu-gyo in Seoul, but the organization now called Sindonae dates only from 1945 and is quite different. Greater festivals are held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon and the 9th of the 9th moon, when co-religionists come from other places, bringing offerings of rice and cash.

Chongdo-gyo, ‘right way religion’, is a name that was used by Yi Sonpyeong when he started a new religious group in Koyang, Kyonggi province, in 1922; but the Chongdo-gyo now at Sindonae is said to have been founded by an illiterate old woman, now dead for some years. She claimed to have learned her doctrine by heavenly revelation, and dictated it to her followers. They are now divided into two sects, one led by an illiterate woman in her sixties, the other by a man in his forties called Sim. She claims that the two of them were the foundress’s principal disciples, but separated because of Sim’s arrogation of superiority. The woman’s temple has an altar with three diagrams over it, embroidered in green on a white ground and framed. In the middle is a swastika; on the right a circle segmented by vertical and horizontal crossed diameters; on the left a rectangular version of the character Kung, ‘a bow’, with its mirror image to the right (producing the effect of the character a, ‘second place,’ with the top and bottom strokes blank at the center). On a corner of the altar is a framed vertical inscription in Korean script: ‘Holy Spirit of Kyeryongsan.’

On ordinary days clean water is offered and incense burned, with six bows, at morning, midday, and night. The 9th, 19th and 29th of every lunar month are equivalent to Sundays for Christians and all local believers attend the temple, where the ritual just described is performed with the following prayers.
Heavenly Father, grant us protection and love. (Once)
Heavenly Father, Heavenly Father, descend and make an
earthly paradise here on Kyeryong-san. Forgive your chil-
dren's sin; give food for our bodies, protect us from tempt-
ation; give us all good things, give us water of life to drink
to prepare us for the earthly paradise, to enjoy wealth and
bliss in thy glory. (Thrice)
Heavenly Father, Heavenly Father, Heavenly Father, give
us, the descendents of Tan'gun in the fair land of Korea,
unity and strength; give us wisdom, knowledge, compe-
tence, courage, to save mankind and give a salutary ex-
ample. (Thrice)
Heavenly Father, Heavenly Father, Heavenly Father, for-
give the sins of all mankind and bring our present trials to
an end.
Give us a united country, unity, strength, and devotion.
Give us all good things. Give us long life, immortality,
earthly life. Give us water of life to drink, to prepare us for
the earthly paradise, to enjoy wealth and bliss in thy glory.
(Thrice).

After these prayers they again bow six times. Then the lead-
er offers petitions and bows six times; and after all have drunk
the water from the altar, they all exchange greetings and bless-
ings.

On the 9th of the 3rd moon, 29th of the 6th moon, and 9th
of the 9th moon, co-religionists from other places come with
offerings to more elaborate ceremonies, at which the local moun-
tain spirit is also worshipped and the number of bows is increase-
ed from six to nine. The same diagrams are enshrined in each
household and pure water is offered before them three times a
day, with mantras and prayers. At every meal thanks are offer-
ed to Kungul pumo-nim 'Kungul father and mother'. The cult
also uses hymns with such titles as 'Welcome to Kungul father
and mother', 'Song of peace', 'Green cross song', 'New fortune
song', 'Five virtues song', 'Imprisonment song', 'Song of Korea',
and 'Song of Kyeryong, the sea or religious discipline'.

Beyond these organized cults, I learned from a woman ad-
herent of Chongdo-gyo that there used to be a man who went to their temple and other places, repeatedly chanting ‘Sinjang, sinjang’ and giving a shrill whistle, claiming that he alone could teach how to realize heaven on earth. Kim Chinhong also told me that a self-professed clairvoyant in Ant’ogol chose eight of his women followers as ‘immortals’; but he has now gone to Ch’onan. Then at Taegwolt’o there is a Maitreya temple with a nun who also tells fortunes; and in another place a shrine with Tan’gun alone in it.

The groups I have described have no very clearly developed doctrines, and show many similarities among themselves, with numerous syncretistic features. Believers in the Chonggamnok prophecies have vigorous faith, but no allied religious practices.

We now turn to my investigation of the religious convictions and practices of lay members. For this purpose I distributed a questionnaire to twenty Sangje-gyo believers and ten Methodists, chosen at random in the administrative area of Yondong, Second Ward.

The first question was ‘Why do you believe your religion?’ Of the Sangje-gyo followers seventeen said they hoped for an earthly paradise, three that they wanted to be good. Seven of the Methodists hoped for heaven after death, two hoped to avoid bad health, and one wanted the birth of a son.

The next question was ‘Do you know the names of your religion and its leader?’ All twenty Sangje-gyo followers knew both names; but nine of them were unable to answer ‘What is the doctrine of your religion?’ They all said that religious faith was necessary and that Sangje-gyo was the best religion. It transpired that only ten of them had domestic altars; that five of them did not carry the prescribed amulets; four of them never attended temple ceremonies; and one of them read prayers at home only once a day. Two of twenty made no offerings at all, but twelve of them made ten or more offerings a year, ten of them offering 2,000 hwang or more each time. In view of their very small landholdings, these offerings are lavish.
The questions about names and doctrine were put to five ardent Sangje-gyo followers who lived on or near the temple premises. None of them knew anything about doctrines, but all said they had been converted by belief in the coming paradise on earth and in hope of personal success. One old woman from Chinju had given her land away to Come and join Sangje-gyo, but when she discovered she would not be given a ranking position in the group, she changed over to chongdo-gyo. Ilsim-gyo and T'aeul-gyo followers believed their faith would improve their hard life. They attach great importance to religious practices.

Most of those who belong to the above groups also believe in the Chonggam-nok prophecy, and weave it into their religious life. Except for Tan'gun-gyo, however, they believe not in a man named Chong Toryong, but in Chongdo-ryong, 'commandment of the right way,' i.e. their own religious system as the sole means of establishing the earthly paradise at Sindonae. The following passage from Chongdo-gyo teachings shows one way in which Chonggam-nok is adapted by these groups.

The divine father (ruler of heaven), divine mother (ruler of earth) and divine son (ruler of mankind), conspired to build a new heaven on earth and establish the world in corrected order. The divine father said, 'This world is a decaying world. The decay is sin'.

It decayed until 1947, but from this year, 1948, the world's destiny is renewed. Hoist the banner of the green cross, and the banner of the Taeguk and eight trigrams. These are the signs of paradise on earth. Otherwise the world will be destroyed within three years.

Divine prosperity will flourish for 90,000 years. After the creation of heaven and earth, in the beginning, when man was made the noblest of all creatures, first the three Buddhas, the rulers of heaven and earth and mankind, were unable to complete their creative work, because the ruler of mankind sinned and the world became sinful. Therefore the three Buddhas too suffered, and the people suffered the tribulations of hunger, disease, drought, and nakedness.
After 90,000 years of this world of sin I will come to the purest, most sinless, most upright of men with orders of the right way (chohdo) for establishing the earthly paradise.

The disastrous order of things lasted till 1947, but from this year 1948 the blessed new order will begin. While sin holds sway, and the principles of heaven and mankind—the five duties and three bonds—are not observed, the earthly paradise cannot be established. The three Buddhas will come with heavenly hosts and myriads of soldiers to give judgment and send sinners to hell. This judgment will extend to mountains and streams, trees and plants, birds and animals, reptiles and insects. Therefore, o evil hearts, repent! Confuciansim, Buddhism, taoism, Christianity—none have the true way; all strive for greed and desire; therefore the world is judged and to be destroyed, but I (Chongdoryong) will come into the world and sit on my throne on Kyeryong Mountain in Korea, to establish the earthly paradise, to unite all nations, laws, and faiths, by issuing the ‘decree of the right way’ (Chohgdo myohghtohg). Receive and obey my right laws and right way. Till now women have been bound by the three ways of obedience (to father, husband and son), but henceforth it is the age of equality of the sexes. The old prophecy that after the Yi dynasty had ruled in Seoul for 500 years, Chong Toryong would come and make his capital on Kyeryong, does not refer to a lad (tyoryohg) surnamed Chong, but to a man with the right way, (chohdo) that is to say, my words of life. In paradise there will be neither heat nor cold, nor war, nor famine, nor flood, nor frost, nor typhoons, nor sickness. A man’s years will be unlimited at best, 5000 years on average, and 300 for the short-lived. Men will marry at 30, and women at 28. Man and wife will sleep together on the 9th, 19th and 29th of the moon. More than that will be sinful.

Food and clothing will be abundant; there will be no wealth and poverty; no money, only trade by barter. Korean will be the language of the whole world; within three years all other tongues and languages will disappear. There will be two hours of day and two hours of night. Learned men,
brave men, loyal men and ignorant men of this world will not be discriminated against in the new world because they were born in the world of sin, but will be differentiated according to their degree of spiritual perfection and virtue. A palace will be built of all the world's gold and silver and precious stones on the central peak of Kyeryong. Paradise will have no taxes. From this autumn pay dues to me. Use neither wine nor tobacco, and do not go to doctors, hospitals or soothsayers. Come to me!

Outside the organized cults, the second section in Sindonae comprises those who believe in Chonggam-nok prophecy, expecting Chong Toryong to make his capital here, with attendant peace and prosperity. There are many subsidiary tales, ranging from the heavenly vision that made the first Yi king abandon this site to a story that Chong Toryong is already in the world, but is in hiding till his proper time. A few years ago Sindonae was swept by rumors that the prophecy would be fulfilled in one or two years—but nothing has happened.

Yet the believers in the prophecy are not likely to give up hope. They keep creating new theories and interpretations. Some hold that divine grace will be restricted to Sindonae. After the Korean truce of 1953 on American army signal tower was removed from the top of Kyeryongsan, and this was interpreted as the result of divine interference with the signals. Sindonae is also believed to be the world's only refuge in a third world war. Their faith is an ambiguous but firm kind of messianic hope.

The third section of the population has no religious interests at all. These are mostly young people who have had modern schooling; but they are sufficiently under traditional Korean family influence that they do not criticize their parents' religious attitudes.

The religious groups of Sindonae so far described are typical of recent Korean religious developments in that they are syncretistic. Sangje-gyo, for instance, combines the three bonds and five principles of Confucian ethics, elements of Confucian
ritual, theories of enlightenment and karma from Buddhism, the yin-yang theory of taoism, Sunday observance from Christianity, and the Sindonae prophecies from Korean indigenous tradition. Kwansong-gyo takes the worship of Kuan Yu from Chinese popular religion; and the gods of heaven and earth with the spirits of the Great Bear constellation from taoism. T'acul-gyo has taoist elements; Ilsim-gyo borrows the names of its prayers; Chongdo-gyo has Christian doctrines of creation and original sin, Confucian ethical ideas, mingled Christian and Buddhist eschatology, and various rituals.

Members of the groups I have described resemble those who believe only in the Chonggam-nok prophecies in that they all believe Sindonae will become the capital, and they all believe in a messiah. For Sangje-gyo the leader of the group is the messiah and will soon perform a miracle; for Kwansong-gyo and T'acul-gyo, the messiah will eventually appear from their own ranks; for most of the Chonggam-nok believers, the messiah will be Chong Toryong. They all also have beliefs about grave-sites that derive from feng-shui geomancy—one of the early strata of taoism.

In general, it appears that the basis of all these religions is native anisism, overlaid with taoist developments and topped by a messianic theory that varies from group to group and person to person. Formal practices, ethical concepts, and ascetic theories from Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity in varying degree typify the various organized groups.

All Sindonae religion is characterized by a concentration on bliss in this world, a basically materialistic approach to the objects of faith, paying little attention to life after death or the spiritual perfection of the individual. The earthly paradise theme is paramount, and mantra recitation is emphasized as a means for realizing heavenly life in earthly terms. I believe that this type of religion indicates that its believers have grown up in a society that is economically decadent and politically oppressive.

These people also believe that only certain chosen individuals have the spiritual power necessary for enlightenment and
clairvoyance. Belief in a single messiah is an extension of this attitude.

Similar religious attitudes are widespread in Korea, outside Sindonae, and even in urban society. The external manifestations of religion may be Buddhist prayers to obtain a son, strictly observed ancestral rites, Christian churchgoing for deliverance from ill-health, or resorting to soothsayers for predictions—but the fundamental reason for religious faith is the same as in Sindonae.

To test this theory I conducted a survey of thirty-two high-school teachers in Seoul, after my visits to Sindonae. Such a limited survey, I realized, could at best reveal a tendency, and could establish no firm conclusions; but, considering that all the people concerned were university graduates between 30 and 40 years of age, working in the capital, the results have a particular interest. Five of the teachers had at least once consulted a soothsayer, though none had ever employed a sorceress. Seventeen of them (half the total) had consulted the fortunes of the coming year by the T’ojong pigyol system; eleven of them (a third of the total) had used physiognomic readings; and eleven had sought readings of their horoscopes by the ‘eight characters’ method. Eight (a quarter of the total) had used cheiognomny. Two of them half-believed in the Chonggam-nok prophecy; nine believed to some extent in the feng-suhi of grave-sites, and eleven others were inclined towards such belief—meaning that two thirds of the total were sympathetic to feng-shui. All this indicates that the teachers are not interested in shamanism, but show some interest in cheiognomny, physiognomy, and eight-character horoscopes, while more than half of them have used T’ojong pigyol, and a significant proportion pay attention to the feng-shui of grave sites.

When we turn to the families of the same high-school teachers, we learn that 75% have visited fortune-tellers, or used T’ojong pigyol or eight-character horoscopes. If these are the figures for families of the well educated, we can guess what they would be in lower education groups. It is noteworthy that the schoolteachers’ families are more concerned about their own personal well-being than the people of Sindonae, who believe in
a whole new society or nation, or even a new creation. Yi Pyongdo has asserted that *feng-shui* is deeply entrenched in Korea; and most of the Sindonae residents doubtless brought these theories from other rural areas where they are vigorous.

Next, twenty Sangje-gyo followers and twenty non-religionists in Hallim-gol were chosen at random and asked ‘How does your standard of living in Sindonae compare with what you had before coming here?’ About half of each group said they were now worse off, and 30% that they were much the same as before. Very few claimed any improvement. (The smallness of the sample was due to the evasiveness of the residents and shortage of time.)

‘What do you think determines the course of this world, men or God?’ showed that nineteen of the respondents said ‘God’ and sixteen said ‘men and God combined’, while only two answered ‘men alone’. (Three did not answer.)

‘Is the *Chonggam-nok* prophecy true?’ was answered affirmatively by five only. Twenty-five said it was partly right, six said it was wrong, and four gave no answer. This result suggests rather weak faith in the prophecy. Non-religionists were noticeably less confident than Sangje-gyo believers.

‘When will Sindonae become the capital?’ Three said within five years, ten said within ten years, sixteen said in the distant future. Only four said never. (7 gave no answer.)

When asked what they most hoped for in life, ten of the religionists and fourteen of the non-religionists said an improved economic situation; seven of the former and five of the latter said a good education for their children; the remaining four said domestic peace. All forty of them would like to send their children to school, the object of twenty-seven of them being to get their children into salaried posts as policemen, teachers, government officers and so forth. Seven wanted their children to be in business. Only three of the forty wanted their children to be farmers. The reasons given by the twenty-seven who looked for salaried jobs for their children were freedom from interference...
by others (9), money (3), a better life (3), and power (11). These reasons suggest motivations which in themselves deserve further study.

A survey of obedience among the twenty Sangje-gyo members showed that 10 gave unconditional obedience to parents, 8 gave deference to parents, and 2 made their own judgment. Only three would give unconditional obedience to uncles. On the other hand 13 of them thought parents should choose their children's spouses and only four thought the sect leader should make the choice. The leader's authority is nearly as strong as parents', but does not penetrate into intimate personal affairs.

**Group Relations**

The members of the organized religions in Sindonae show the solidarity that would be expected within each group. They accept the fortunes of the group as personal to each member—a vivid instance can be seen in the efforts of Sangje-gyo followers to release their leader when he was under trial.

The closeness of the bond within the group is demonstrated by the Chongdo-gyo custom by which believers call their co-religionaries 'brother' or 'sister'. Illiterate old women are normally extremely conservative and reserved in talking with strange men, yet such a woman, on learning that I had joined her religion, addressed me as 'brother', and prayed for 'our brothers and sisters'. Sangje-gyo believers address their fellows as Yongu (spiritual friend), in the third person. They give free hospitality to travelling brethren; help each other in weddings, funerals, ancestral rites, and farm work; and visit sick brethren. They address fellow-believers over the age of thirty as am, a title derived from Kuam, 'tortoise hermitage', which was the literary style of the third head of Sangje-gyo; and younger ones as tang, 'hall'; but the am or tang is preceded by a name given by the leader of the group. (This is reminiscent of the Korean practice by which clan patriarchs name new-born babies.) Such religious names, known only to the members of the group, strengthen their 'we-consciousness'. At Sindonae each group lives in distinctive villages: Sangje-gyo in Sangwon and
Ch'ongsok-tong, round the chief temple; Ilsim-gyo in Korgun; Chongdo-gyo in Paegam-dong and Ujokkol; T'aeul-gyo in Ujokkol; Kwansong-gyo in Paegam-dong. Yet there are significant elements of inequality within these group despite their general sense of friendship and equality.

Sangje-gyo has the longest history and strongest organization among the religious groups of Sindonae. The smaller groups each have three officials or fewer, but Sangje-gyo has a systematic organization on a political model. Under the leader (Kyoju) there is a Religious Affairs Bureau (Chongmu-won) administering all religious matters under his direction. This bureau has branches in other parts of Korea. The leader is assisted by an Advisory Council (Myongdo-gwan Hoeui). The Bureau is administrative and the Council policy-making, but this distinction is often blurred in practice, and the leader by-passes the Council in directing the Bureau’s administrative work. The Bureau has five departmental officers (Kwanjang): Doctrine (Ch'olli); Religious Affairs (Chongmu); Legal Affairs (Pommu); Financial Affairs (Chaemu); and General Affairs (Somu).

The workers or ‘ministers’ are of six ranks: popsa ‘law teacher’, toju ‘tao master’, yugim ‘sixfold charge’, taeryong ‘colonel’, chungnyong ‘lieutenant-colonel’ and sorong ‘major’, which depend on religious progress and the amount contributed in offerings. The leader is regarded as speaking the will of God, or symbolizing God. Since the organization has the earthly ideal of creating a material paradise with similar advantages, it is potentially political. Hence the leader takes his title in a coronation ceremony, tungguk-sik.

The superhuman role of the leader is evidenced by the honors he receives, and the practice of observing his birthday and anniversary of enlightenment. It is not difficult to imagine the relationship between followers, whose hopes are strictly for earthly blessings, and their leader, whom they regard as divine. Their constitution, Sangje-gyo taehon, also lays down that believers must pay reverence to officials in the group, giving implicit obedience to immediate superiors, in a chain culminating with the leader. Hence they address all officials as Kwanjang-
nim, which also indicates the authority they attribute to their officials. It is a relationship that Max Weber would classify as 'charismatic'.

They also respect seniority in age. This is illustrated by the honorific titles already mentioned, tang and am; but also by the fact that in a country where legitimacy of birth is highly regarded, the present leader of Sangje-gyo, who is illegitimate, was chosen in preference to his legitimately born brother simply because he was very slightly his senior in age. One must record, however, that Sangje-gyo followers are very much at ease with their authority and seniority structures.

Relations between the various religious groups of Sindonae are based on the conviction of each group that it holds the sole true religion. Nevertheless, Sangje-gyo and Chongdo-gyo are benevolent towards Buddhism, which they regard as deviant only in its preoccupation with a transcendental world. All groups, however, hate Christianity. The Protestant church in Sindonae was founded eight years ago with thirty members. It has never grown at all since. It is attended by individuals, mostly young people, whereas the other religions are followed by whole households. The Presbyterian minister said it is extremely difficult for the church to grow in a community where another religion is predominant and deeply rooted. Other groups refer to Christians by the contemptuous name Tesujangi. It is easy to explain this extreme attitude by the contempt in which Christians holds the religious practices of others, but more important is Christianity's refusal to adopt into itself the traditional practices of Korean popular religion. Buddhism, Confucianism, and taoism during their long history in Korea have assimilated various Korean religious elements, but Christianity has a brief history here and rejects, for instance, any kind of ancestor worship. It is natural that those who hold traditional popular practices in high regard should resist such a faith.

Those who believe in the Chonggam-nok prophecy about Sindonae, but belong to none of the groups I have described, have no common practices or attitudes. They fail to see the need
for organization, because they regard the Chong Toryong prophecy as a natural aspect of developing creation.

**Factors Contributing to Religious Decline.**

The religions of Sindonae are concerned with the betterment of this world. Improvements in our society may satisfy them. Certainly their zeal is declining. The two chief reasons for this are the growth of modern education and increased mobility of population.

I am well aware that educational level is not a realistic index of religious consciousness, but modern education produces logical and scientific attitudes. In Sangje-gyo it is the educated people who want to replace hereditary succession to the leadership by election; and the younger people are less firm in the faith than the older ones. There is an undeniable connection between education and lack of fervor. Sindo Primary School, founded in 1939, has graduated 900 students, and the independent school set up in 1949, subsequently developed into a Middle School, has graduated about 100 students and now has an enrollment of 200. Thirty-five of its graduates are now at high schools elsewhere; and five students from Sindonae (not graduates of the Sindonae middle school) are now at college in Taegon. I am sure that the more young people learn scientific methods of thought, the faster will Sindonae religion decline. More than 50% of Sindonae males between the ages of 20 and 30 now live outside these hermit villages, many of them in touch with progressive ideas in towns and cities. Their religious zeal naturally declines.

Economic hardship as a factor causing religious decline is peculiar to Sindonae, where disillusionment about the standard of living and the unlikelihood of the prophecy ever being fulfilled combine to destroy the immigrant’s faith. There are too many people in this small area living off the capital derived from the sale of their former holdings while they struggle to find new holdings in Sindonae. By the time their resources are exhausted they realize that their religious leader shows no signs of supernatural power and that Sindonae will not become the capital. The
leader's charismatic role fails, and many people leave. In the period 1918–1924, of 1,247 immigrant households, 1,142 left Sindonae. The annual average number of departing households was 87% of the number arriving.

Yet this loss of population will continue to be made good by further immigrants so long as the whole country's living standards and social stability do not improve. Only if Korean society offers reasonable expectation of material satisfaction as a reward for effort will the Kyeryong area lose its attraction.

This survey was inadequate, and crude in its method: a quantitative approach to problems that required qualitative assessment. Even one more visit to Sindonae might greatly have improved my findings. Nevertheless, there are some firm conclusions which can be drawn. The majority of Sindonae residents are poor uneducated farmers who moved to the area in times of social crisis, hoping for improvement of their living standard when Sindonae becomes the capital city. Their faith is an amalgam of taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism and more primitive forms of indigenous religion, but their faith is directed solely at satisfactions in this world. Such faith is sincerely held, but unrealistic, and its doctrinal amalgam is expressed in religious practices drawn from various sources, characterized by mantra recitation, unsociability between groups but religious solidarity within households. Beliefs are very unsophisticated, and both doctrine and ritual are subject to reformation from time to time. Hence schisms develop into new faiths, like Sangje-gyo and Ilsim-gyo; new groups emerge, like Kwansong-gyo and Chondo-gyo.

Four main types of syncretism are found: (1) simple credence in the Chonggam-nok prophecies, without adherence to any religious group—numerically the strongest of the four; (2) syncretism of folk belief with other elements, as in Chondo-gyo; (3) a basis of folk beliefs and elements of established religions, on which are superimposed features of modern folk religion, as in Sangje-go, T'aeul-gyo, Ilsim-gyo and Kwansong-gyo (especially Sangje-gyo), which has had features of Chonggammok theory superimposed since it broke with Sich'on-gyo and moved to Sindon-
nae); (4) an established religion which adopts aspects of folk belief after coming to Sindonae, as in the case of the Methodist who was converted in hope of having a son born.

Sindonae has no community-wide organization, but consists of a number of groups, each internally loyal, but all mutually exclusive. Sangje-gyo, the largest group, has a para-political organization, and a charismatic bond between leader and believers.

The growth of modern education erodes Sindonae popular religion. Nevertheless, unless social and economic conditions are much improved by other means, these religions will linger for many years.
CH’ONDOGYO ENTERS ITS SECOND CENTURY

by Benjamin Weems

The Ch’ondogyo cult, which passed its century mark in 1960, is the oldest of Korea’s “new” religions. A massive, patriotic ceremony in Taegu in 1963 to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of the founder, Ch’oe Che-u, showed that the sect is still accorded national recognition. Additional evidence was provided in 1966 by the unveiling of a statue of the great Ch’ondogyo leader Son Pyong-hi in Seoul’s Pagoda Park, a place hallowed as the birthplace of the 1919 independence uprising. A movement which is so recognized after over a century of existence deserves a review of its origins and its role in Korea’s modern national life.

Origins of Ch’ondogyo

Ch’ondogyo, originally known as Tonghak (Eastern Learning), was founded in 1860 by Ch’oe Che-u, a patriotic reformist scholar. It was a mystical, idealistic religious doctrine, in which Ch’oe combined and redefined certain basic principles of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. He also took certain organizational and ritualistic elements from Roman Catholicism, and borrowed some of the features of Korean shamanism and geomancy.¹

The theoretical and ritualistic basis of Ch’ondogyo doctrine is embodied in a twenty-one character Sacred Formula which Ch’oe Che-u created, and from which he derived the cardinal principle of in nae ch’on (man and God are one). This means, in brief, that man is potentially God, but that this state of oneness with God is actually achieved only as man exercises sincere

¹ The material on the origins of Ch’ondogyo is from Benjamin Weems, Reform, Rebellion, and the Heavenly Way, Association of Asian Studies Monograph No. XV (Tuscon, The University of Arizona Press, 1964), Passim
faith. This faith must also be implemented by a harmonization of all truth into a to, or way of life, based on the principle of in nae ch’on.

As applied to man’s relations in society, the basic principle of in nae ch’on is reflected in the theory of tong kwi il ch’e (all life evolves toward a social oneness). Human society, according to this concept, is a collective, cooperative, organized body of individuals, bearing the same sort of relationship to society as each component part of the human body bears toward the whole body. Society cannot enjoy the optimum improvement if the development of the individual is ignored, nor can the individual realize his highest potential outside the coordinating and harmonizing influences of society.

In the field of ethics, the theory of sa in yo ch’on (treat people as though they were God) is the application of the basic principle of in nae ch’on. Sa in yo ch’on incorporates the three virtues of sincerity, respect, and faith. Sincerity is thought of as embracing truth, diligence, and energy. Respect includes: (1) respect for heaven, or religious consciousness; (2) respect for man (that is, respect for individual character and actions without discrimination); and (3) respect for things (that is, regard for the value of all things as having come from heaven). Faith is regarded as embracing complete honesty, personal loyalty, and absence of social discrimination in human relations.

The practical application of Ch’oe Che-u’s dynamic doctrine was perfected by his successors, Ch’oe Si-hyong and Son Pyong-hi. They implemented the principles of sa in yo (treat people as though they were God) and tong kwi il ch’e (all life evolves toward a social oneness) so as to make them form the basis for new social standards in Korean ethical, social, economic, and political life. In terms of the individual Korean of that day, the Tonghak teachings meant that man, having within himself divine potentialities, had the ability eventually to change his oppressive environment through an evolutionary reformation.

The specific character and role of Ch’ondogyo in Korea’s
national life has varied during the three important periods of its existence. During the first (or Tonghak) period (1860–1905), Ch’ondogyo was a reform movement directed against the social, economic, and political abuses of the time. The second period (1905–1945) was that of Japanese control of Korea, during which Con’ondogyo retained its character as a domestic reform movement, but redirected its energies toward the achievement of Korean independence from Japanese control. This period was highlighted by the nation-wide, nonviolent independence uprising of 1919, organized and financed largely by Ch’ondogyo but participated in by Christians, Buddhists, and the Korean general public. The third Ch’ondogyo period is that from 1945 to the present time, characterized by the disastrous division of Korea and the destructive Korean War. These major developments have had strong and largely debilitating effects on Ch’ondogyo, but it has nevertheless been able to survive, as the accounts presented in this paper will attest.

**Chondogyo Developments Since 1954**

Although the Ch’ondogyo movement had originated in the extreme southern part of Korea, the preponderance of its membership was in northern Korea by 1945, when Korea was liberated from Japanese rule. One of the major reasons for this shift appears to have been the setback to reform and nationalist activities in the south as a result of two Ch’ondogyo defeats; in the Tonghak Rebellion of 1894 and in the independence uprising of 1919.

The territorial division of Korea in 1945 thus had a strong, direct impact upon the status and effectiveness of Ch’ondogyo, both as a political entity and as a religious cult. The political arm (Ch’ondogyo Ch’ong’u-dang or Ch’ondogyo Young Friends Party) claimed over 400,000 members in the north and only 80,000 in the south. In the north, it became one of two non-Communist political groups recognized by the Communist authorities and lost its identity as a genuine nationalist group. The small remnant of the party in the south was rendered virtually powerless by internal political factionalism. As a religious body, Ch’ondogyo was similarly divided (with about
2,000,000 members in the north and 600,000 in the south), but suffered somewhat less than did its political party from Communist political pressures in the north or factionalism in the south. In the south, the Ch’ondogyo sect enjoyed complete freedom. In north Korea, it was permitted to exist and, as the only non-Communist religio-political avenue open, attracted large numbers of anti-Communist nationalist leaders who were not adherents of the cult but approved of its nationalist, humanist, non-Communist traditions.\footnote{The above material on developments since 1945 is from official Ch’ondogyo sources in Seoul.}

Information which has come to light since the end of the Korean War has given credence to the long-standing insistence of Ch’ondogyo leaders in the Republic of Korea that Ch’ondogyo (but not its political party) in north Korea has remained true to its spiritual and nationalist principles despite strong, continuing Communist pressures.

*The “Second Sam Il Independence Movement”*

A story which first appeared in print in the *Hanguk Ilbo* on February 23, 1958, and has since been substantiated by participants and eyewitnesses, describes the “Second Sam Il Independence Movement,” conducted by Ch’ondogyo members in north Korea in 1948. The event had been kept secret for ten years to protect many participants still in the north.

The timing was the early part of 1948, after the US-USSR Joint Commission had failed in its efforts to unify Korea through direct negotiations between the two occupying powers. The United Nations General Assembly had taken over the task of unifying Korea and had sent a commission to Korea to supervise elections for a nation-wide government. When the UN Commission was denied access to North Korea, faithful Ch’ondogyo members in the north, who maintained contact with their general headquarters in Seoul, requested permission to stage some sort of demonstration to dramatize their opposition to a permanent division of the nation and their insistence on
national unification.

After a brief period of hesitation, Ch’ondogyo leaders in Seoul under the direction of Ch’oe Rin (a principal planner of the 1919 demonstration) met on January 20, 1948 to plan a mass popular independence rally in North Korea, with Ch’ondogyo members as its nucleus. The objectives were: (a) establishment of a unified government of all Korea; (b) welcoming the UN Commission to North Korea; and (c) disbanding of the US and Russian military governments.

The event, modeled after that of 1919, was planned to include the following declaration of purposes and three-point pledge:

We are a homogenous nation backed with nearly 5,000 years of history. The complete independence of our motherland depends on (1) the establishment of a unified government through a self-managed general election; and (2) overcoming the handicap of the 38th parallel division and establishing a unified government.

We therefore declare that we are initiating a national self-determination movement and make the following pledges: (1) We aim to achieve complete independence by national self-determination; (2) we will not give up this movement until we have established a unified government; and (3) we will carry out this program with non-violence and non-resistance.

The planners of the demonstration decided to accept the offers of two dedicated Ch’ondogyo women to serve as emissaries of the Ch’ondogyo headquarters in Seoul to carry the documents to the North Korean Ch’ondogyo leaders. Mrs. Pak Hyon-hwa and Mrs. Yu Un-dok set off from Seoul for North Korea on February 7.

Mrs. Yu, whose husband had carefully written her message in small writing on Korean paper and hidden it in the lining of her undergarments, suffered frostbite in the mountains just above the 38th parallel. She was picked up by the North
Korean authorities and reportedly executed.

Mrs. Pak succeeded in reaching P'yongyang and transmitting the directive to Ch'ondogyo leaders Kim Il-dae and Kim Tok-rin. These two men and their fellows in the top leadership of Ch'ondogyo in the north resolved, after careful consideration, to follow the directions from Seoul and hold a mass rally on March 1. They made the error, however, of making their decision known to Kim Tal-hyon, a leader of the political party (Ch'ondogyo Ch'ong'u-dang) and Chairman of the Supreme People's Committee of the North Korean regime. Kim claimed to disagree with the other leaders' decision on the grounds that its implementation would exact too high a price in terms of suffering and sacrifice among Ch'ondogyo members. The Ch'ondogyo leaders then changed their tactics, burning all copies of the directives from Seoul and turning the planning over to their underground organization known as the Samjac-dang. They instructed the Samjac-dang leaders to circulate instructions concerning the demonstration through their cellular organizational structure. This underground apparatus did its work thoroughly and quickly, so that all prospective participants were notified and all preparations made well in advance of March 1. About four days before the target date, however, the treacherous Kim Tal-hyon, apparently with a view to saving himself rather than his fellow Ch'ondogyo members, reported the entire plan to the Communist security police. As a result, some 10,000 Ch'ondogyo leaders and members were arrested, but all except 87 persons were later released. Five of the 87 were sentenced to death and the remaining 82 given sentences to hard labor ranging from seven years to "unlimited."

Despite the disastrous outcome in P'yongyang and other urban centers, the demonstration plans were carried out in a number of remote sections of North Korea. A particularly significant rally took place in Nyongbyon, P'yongan Puk-to, where the local citizens put on widely scattered demonstrations throughout the Kun (county).

3 Mrs. Pak returned to Seoul, where she is still living. The writer has checked the details of the story with her.
Leading Ch’ondogyo members who survived the “Second Sam II Movement” incident formed an underground organization called Yong-U Hoe (Circle Society) which operated in P’yongyang under directions from Seoul headquarters until the eve of the Korean War. In May, 1950, the operations of this society became known to the Communist authorities and some 165 leaders and followers of the group were arrested. A number of those arrested were able to escape to the Republic of Korea during the Korean War, and one of them (Yi Chae-jon) was awarded a citation by the Republic of Korea Government.\(^5\)

**The Ch’ondogyo War Prisoners**

At the end of the Korean hostilities, war prisoners were screened by the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) to determine the desires of the prisoners regarding repatriation. Many thousands of Ch’ondogyo members among the North Korean prisoners held by the United Nations Command expressed a strong determination to stay in the Republic of Korea. When they were released by the NNSC, they marched southward from Panmunjom triumphantly, bearing high over their heads the Republic of Korea flag and the banner of Ch’ondogyo.

**Current Trends in Ch’ondogyo**

According to the most recent statistics of the central headquarters of Ch’ondogyo in Seoul, the sect now has, in the Republic of Korea, 600,000 members and 100 churches, which are located in the chief population centers of the country. No reliable data on the cult or its political affiliates in North Korea are now available.

In the Republic of Korea, Ch’ondogyo is not now affiliated

\(^5\) The writer has verified these statements about the Yong-U Hoe incident with Mr. Yi.
with any outside political organization and has no political organizations of its own. It operates branches devoted to work with youth and women, and publishes a magazine entitled Sae Ingan (New Human Being) as its official organ.

Although the division of the country, dislocations of the Korean War, and the severe restrictions of normal Chon’dogyo activities in North Korea have seriously reduced the potential strength of the cult in Korea as a whole, these developments have brought some beneficial effects to Ch’ondogyo in the Republic of Korea. For example, a large number of faithful Ch’ondogyo members fled south from Communist North Korea during the Korean War and remained in the ROK. This not only bolstered the numerical strength of Ch’ondogyo in the south, but also served to reduce the serious factionalism which had hampered the cult in the south, by greatly strengthening the New Faction (Sin P’a) against the small and generally outmoded, but previously influential Old Faction (Ku P’a).

A serious weakness of Ch’ondogyo is that, in spite of the loss of many of its leaders through persecution in the north and through the natural attrition of old age, incapacity and death, the organization has not exerted much effort toward the training of younger leaders.

Tonghak ideology and actions, which are the historical basis of modern Ch’ondogyo, have become increasingly popular subjects of research in academic circles in recent years. Concurrently, there has been a steadily growing movement, under the leadership of Ch’oe Ik-hwan, grandson of Ch’oe Sihyong (the second great leader of Ch’ondogyo), dedicated to the nation-wide propagation of the reformist ideal of Tonghak and to unification among the forty sects and factions which trace their common origin to the Tonghak movement. The drive for reunification took an important step forward on September 4, 1966 when representatives of the forty Tonghak elements joined in the formal inauguration of the Tonghak Chongsin Sonyeong Hoe (Society for the Rebirth of the Tonghak Spirit).
CONCLUSION

The events which have exerted the most decisive influences on the Ch’ondogyo movement have been the long, enervating Japanese occupation; and the strong political pressures and separations caused by the division of the country since; and the Korean War. Despite the force and great historic importance of these developments, however, they have not resulted in any significant changes in the creed, ritual, or organizational structure of Ch’ondogyo as a religious cult. They have had a seriously depressing effect on both the quantity and the quality of Ch’ondogyo leadership and on the vigor and soundness of its platform as a Korean nationalist organization. Nevertheless, significant elements of the Ch’ondogyo membership have, even under the severely oppressive rule of the Communists in North Korea, performed isolated acts which exemplified the nationalistic ideals and patriotism of the Tonghak-Ch’ondogyo tradition at its best.

Ch’ondogyo is still in a period of relative weakness and lack of growth, but there are some signs pointing toward a brighter future. One of the most encouraging signs is the positive leadership role being taken by Ch’ondogyo in the unity drive which has resulted in the establishment of the Society for the Rebirth of the Tonghak Spirit. Another positive element, which is implicit in the entire history of the Tonghak-Ch’ondogyo movement, is the large body of simple, honest, hard-working citizens which makes up the bulk of the Ch’ondogyo membership. The fact that these solid people are spread fairly evenly throughout the Republic of Korea tends to enhance their potential importance to the country. The idealism and enlightened humanism of the Ch’ondogyo religious doctrine are also favorable elements. The principal lack at present is strong leadership at the top. With the infusion of such leadership the three valuable assets of increased unity, strong rank-and-file membership, and inspiring doctrine can be effectively exploited to restore Ch’ondogyo to a position of major influence in Korean national life.
KOREA'S TONG-IL MOVEMENT
by Ch'oi Syn-duk

I present here a brief picture of the Tong-il Church from the sociological point of view. I wrote a booklet entitled “A Comparative Study on the New Religious Groups in Korea” last year, which compared the Tong-il Church and Elder Park’s “Olive-Tree” Church with two established churches. (I used two kinds of Presbyterians for comparison.) This paper is a refinement of that work. Many reports have been made about these two religious bodies. There is, however, no one who really knows about their leaders, organizations, beliefs and practices. We have seen many families which have been destroyed, leaving unhappy husbands, sorrowful parents and miserable children because of these new religious movements. The purpose of this research is to help in the solution of these problems of disorganization of homes, and to make a scientific study about these groups, without emotional or biased opinions.

I. History of the Leader and the Church

The founder of the Tong-il Church or the Holy Spirit Association is Moon Sun-myung. He was born at Chongju, P'yong'an Puk-do, on January 6, 1920. He finished high school in Seoul and completed his college work at Waseda College, Japan, majoring in the study of electricity. In those days he was reputed by his friends to be a well-behaved student and a very devout Christian.

As to his family life, he once married an attractive and passionate Korean girl, who, however had had little education. She gave birth to his son, who is now a senior at Kyunghee attached High School. However, she did not understand the mission of her husband, Mr. Moon, and once she even had him placed under arrest. Finally they were divorced.

After his divorce, he fathered a son who is now in the second year of elementary school. The mother is unknown. In
1960, at the age of forty-one, Mr. Moon married a girl eighteen years old. She was a student at Sung-jung Girls High School in Seoul. She was not only pretty and graceful but also fitted the principle of restoration held by Moon’s church more than anyone else. Their marriage is called the Feast of the Lamb by the people of the Tong-il church, and it has a very significant religious meaning. After the marriage ceremony, the bride was to be called the Mother of the Universe, or the True Mother, and was given the right to receive deep bows from believers. Up to this time only Mr. Moon had the right to receive the deep bows. After some time the Holy Mother delivered a daughter, who is now five years old, and a son, who is now three years old. These two children are regarded as sinless children by the church members. Thus, Mr. Moon is the father of four children from three different mothers.

Before Moon’s marriage believers, male as well as female, who longed to meet him and talk with him could easily arrange to be with him in the living room of a home attached to the church, staying until very late. They used to talk, sing and laugh without realizing how fast the night went, until after one or two o’clock in the morning. They called this their period of direct association with the master. Its purpose was to educate and train the believers, that is, to “restore” them. After the Feast of the Lamb, however, their course of restoration had to be changed. Now it is a period of family with family association. That is why ordinary believers cannot communicate with Moon directly but only through specially admitted people.

It is said that Mr. Moon received special revelations from God at the age of sixteen. In 1945, right after the liberation from Japan (his age was 27 years), he felt keenly the necessity of reforming the existing churches, and established an independent church in P’yongyang. In 1948, he was accused by the ministers of the existing churches, through sixty-four letters to the communist authorities, of disturbing the social order, and was put into Hungnam Prison. On October 14, 1950, he was released by the troops when our national army marched into Hungnam. He then came down to Pusan with two followers.
He arrived at Pusan on January 27, 1951 and began to spread his teaching. In December, 1953 he happened to meet Mr. Yu Hyo-won (who is now the executive director of the church). They had a great deal in common and were so pleased with their mutual understanding that they tried to establish a church. Finally on May 1, 1954, they announced the establishment of their church under the name of the Holy Spirit Association for Unification of World Christianity located at 391 Puk Hak Dong, Seoul. In July, 1955, several senior members and four leaders as well as Mr. Moon were imprisoned under an accusation of injuring public morals. (This matter was reported in papers and journals.) However, on October 14, three months later, they were released as innocent by the decision of the Seoul District Court. On May 31, they received registered certification as a legal social organization. Thus they were no longer regarded by the government as a heretical religious group disturbing the social order.

The church’s statistics as of January 1964 are given as follows: The total number of churches is 891, and the number of believers has reached 32,491. In Japan, there are 59 churches and 2,450 believers. In the United States, Miss Kim Young-woon (an ex-professor at Ewha) was the one mainly responsible for spreading the new faith. (She went to the United States under the status of a student at Oregon State University in 1959.) She came back to Korea in 1964, but she left Korea again last January. In addition to Miss Kim, a Mr. Kim Sang-chul who used to work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been preaching in Oregon and more recently in Berkeley, California. Another worker for the Tong-il Church in America is Colonel Park Bo-hee who used to be assistant to the Military Attaché at the Republic of Korea Embassy in Washington, D.C. He is now discharged from the service and is working in an organization for the promotion of American-Korean goodwill. These three missionaries had established more than twenty churches in the United States as of July, 1964, in Oregon, San Francisco, Chicago, Washington D.C., Berkeley, etc.

Members of these American churches invited Mr. Moon to
the United States, and he set out on his trip on January 28, 1965, accompanied by several attendants such as Miss Kim Young-woon, Mrs. Ch’oe Won-pok and Mr. Park Bo-hee. In preparation for the trip he had studied English for several years. He stayed in the U.S. for several months travelling around the country. In July Mr. Moon left America and traveled around the world, visiting forty countries and reaching Korea again on October 10, 1965. This trip to the U.S. seems to have been a profitable one since he encouraged the believers in America and appointed sole districts for them and also had opportunity of interviewing ex-president Eisenhower. The American church members were stimulated by the meeting with their Master, Moon. They think it is fascinating to have a living Lord with them. They are preparing to dispatch missionaries to twelve different countries within this year. Some American missionaries have already gone to such countries as Australasia, Arabia, England, Brazil, Japan, etc.

II. Organization of the Church

The organization of the Tong-il church is so systematic that one thinks of communists. They pose as “heavenly communists.” Their headquarters is located in Seoul. Mr. Yoo Hyo-won is the executive head of the Holy Spirit Association. Under his leadership is: (1) The administrative section, which deals with general affairs, cultural affairs, rural districts, and business affairs; (2) the student section, which includes departments for middle school students, high school students, young children, and Sunday school students; and the national network. There are provincial heads, “Kun” or district heads, “Myon” or sub-district heads, “Li” or village heads, and individual evangelists. Thus the Tong-il faith has been spread throughout the country to every small village.

Seoul is on the provincial level, and its organization is as follows: it consists of three districts. The first district is the Youth Division, the second district is the Men’s Division, and the third district is the Women’s Division. The Youth Division in turn is subdivided into two areas, a girls’ division and a boys’ division. Then each sub-division is divided into three groups. For the boys,
Seoul National University students take the lead, and for the girls Ewha University students take the lead. The second and the third districts are divided into three areas respectively, and each of these areas is subdivided into three groups. One group consists of about twelve persons. One area consists of 36 persons and one district consists of 108.

Special emphasis is put on youth in the Tong-il Church. They don’t expect much from those above forty. Old people over forty, they think, should regard themselves as the sacrifices offered on the altar to bring the kingdom of heaven on earth through Mr. Moon.

There is a communication system formed between the members so that they can act immediately in matters which concern them all, such as passing on information, acting on Moon’s direction or responding to some urgent notice by the church. Each group in its respective district has its own weekly meeting, and has many activities besides studying their principles.

*Training Meetings for Orientation*

They have several peculiar practices of their own: In order to provide many evangelists for the church, they frequently hold training meetings. A national meeting is usually held for forty days. During this period they have the participants master their principles and do many drills. They lodge them together for that period, as in the military service, so that they can learn to endure all the difficulties they will have to face, mentally as well as physically, while doing their evangelistic work.

*Evangelistic Activity.* They set aside special evangelistic periods for organized proselytizing, twice a year. The first term is in the summer for forty days from July 20 to the end of August, and the other is in the winter for forty days from December to the end of January. Nearly all members of the Seoul church who can read the Korean alphabet participate in this activity. Their destinations are settled by drawing lots. All the costs for this evangelistic work are borne by the participants, individually.
When they go out they teach the children the Korean alphabet and mathematics as well as their church principles. They work hard with the farmers and help the villagers in any way they can. Because they are not a financial drain on the farmers, but help them with sincerity, many of them are welcomed by the rural administrators as well as by the people. Also, there are some over-seer preachers who go around to advise and assist the evangelists in their work. They associate with the village administrators, such as Yi-chang, and the head of the police station, winning their cooperation. The Tong-il Church is growing more rapidly in the rural areas than in Seoul.

*The Church Guard.* The Tong-il Church where Moon lives is guarded by two believers every night. They do not sleep. Each of the three districts takes the responsibility of guarding the church for ten days each. The reason for the guard, so they are taught, is to defend this sacred Church from Satan who already controls the rest of the world, and who, liking darkness, is more likely to come at night.

*Celebrations.* They used to hold celebrations on Moon's birthday, and on the day he came out of prison, the day he was released as innocent from Seoul District Court, the last day of the year, etc. But after his marriage the celebrations have been limited to such days as Moon's birthday, which is *January 6th* of the Lunar year; Moon's wedding day, the *Lunar March 1st* which is called the Day of Parents; and *June 1st* which is called the Day of the Universe, referring to the redemption of the universe from Satan's control; *October 1st*, the Day of Children which is a Thanksgiving day for them; and also Moon's two children's birthdays, etc. Christmas is not so meaningful to them; besides, they believe the date of December 25th is not the correct one, but that January 3rd is the correct date of Christ's birth.

*Joint Weddings.* They have had several joint wedding ceremonies. From the time of the establishment of the church in 1954 until 1960 (when Moon got married) no believers were permitted to get married. Not surprisingly, this rule was relaxed after Moon's own marriage. A joint wedding of three couples
was the first Tong-il wedding ceremony after Moon’s wedding. The second ceremony was for 36 couples, the third for 72 couples, and the fourth (and last so far) was for 124 couples. They expect to hold another mass wedding ceremony soon. These marriages have been arranged by Moon and the leaders of the church. Of course the mates are found only within the church. The mass wedding ceremonies have always been presided over by Moon and performed by him. He and his wife bless the marriages. Those who are blessed at their weddings are intended to be, and in fact they swear to be, the nucleus of the church and to fulfill their obligations to the church.

*Examination on the principles.* They give occasional examinations on the principles of doctrine of the church. These are held throughout the country on the divisional level, the district level, the church level and the national level. Anyone who wants to be recognized in the Tong-il church must pass all kinds of examinations, besides making evangelistic contributions.

### III. Their Beliefs

*God, the Father.* “God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them.” (Genesis 1:27) From this scripture they conclude that God has the dual characteristics of both male and female, and of subject and object in himself. Yet God is a masculine character to his creation, therefore he is called the father of mankind in the scriptures.

God is, of course, an everlasting and absolute being who created the universe.

*Jesus Christ.* Jesus is God’s only beloved son. He came to this world in Adam’s place, in other words, he is the second Adam. The fall of men into sin was brought about by the first Adam and Eve, therefore the restoration of men must be made by the Second Adam and Eve. Man could have been restored to his original perfection by being grafted both spiritually and bodily into Jesus. But owing to Christ’s physical death on the cross, only the spiritual grafting into Jesus became possible and
spiritual salvation alone was achieved. This means that he failed in physically grafting us into himself. In order to restore man’s original state of perfection in spirit and in body there had to be a Second Advent.

Jesus therefore did not accomplish the mission actually intended for him: the restoration of man both in spirit and body, and of the whole universe. He accomplished only half of his mission; he achieved for man only spiritual salvation. Whoever believes in him is saved spiritually and goes to Paradise, but his body still remains under Satanic dominion; therefore, his spirit belongs to God while his body is under Satan’s domination. It was after he saw the impossibility of fulfilling his original mission that Jesus began to preach about his return. The purpose of the Second Advent is to fulfill the rest of the physical salvation.

Who then is he who comes at the second advent? It is the one who was worthy of the “wedding feast of the Lamb.” And who is he? It is Moon, with his wife in their Tong-il church. The second advent is already fulfilled on earth.

Moon, therefore, is superior to Jesus Christ, because he fulfilled the mission which Jesus could not accomplish. Jesus is no longer one of the Trinity, the Holy Son, because of his failure in his original mission. But Moon Sun-Myong in the Tong-il church has taken his place. Thus Moon is not only the founder of the church but also he is the Messiah of the Second Advent, one of the Trinity, a living God.

The Holy Spirit. If Adam and Eve had not fallen, they could have become the ideal parents of mankind. Because of their fall, however, men have become illegitimate children and have no true parents in God’s sight. They have the devil as their father, as Jesus said in John 8:44: “Your father is the devil and you choose to carry out your father’s desires.” Therefore, before the restoration of all mankind, one true father must be restored. As God created one man, Adam, from whom he made a woman, Eve, he restores one man first, and he extends the work gradually until the entire restoration is accomplished. The Divine Word became flesh for the second time in order that Adam might be
restored, and Jesus was thus a true father of mankind. (Isaiah 9:6)

The fall was brought about by the first Adam and Eve, therefore restoration must be made by a Second Adam and Eve. But who is the Second Eve? If Jesus was the true father, who was the true mother? It was the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit works in Eve’s place and cleanses sins which originated from the first Eve. Since the Holy Spirit is a Mother Spirit, the Spirit moves man’s heart and regenerates sinners. No one can stand before Jesus as a bride until he receives the Holy Spirit. No one can believe in Jesus as the true father until the Holy Spirit fills him. Thus he is born again by receiving new life through the love of the true parents, Jesus and the Holy Spirit.

However, being the spiritual parent (as mentioned above) was not enough. Jesus should also have taken a bride physically in Eve’s place, in order to fulfill his original mission physically too. But because of his early death on the cross he was unable to have the blessed marriage, which God first intended for Adam and Eve.

There is, however, a man who achieved the blessed marriage, the Feast of the Lamb, in order to fulfill the part wherein Jesus had failed. It is Moon. We have seen that Moon is the Second Advent, superior to Jesus. His bride then takes the place of the Holy Spirit.

_The Nucleus of the Principles (of Belief)_

“God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it.” (Genesis 1:27–28)

God created Adam and Eve so they might become perfect and produce sinless children, and that they might dominate the whole universe, responding to God’s love with the utmost beauty, beauty and glory. In other words a God-centered family, a God-centered couple and God-centered parents and children make
up the basic unit of mankind.

However Genesis 3:6 tells that Adam and Eve ate the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil which was forbidden. This sin was passed on to their children, and it is still inherited by us today. It is, of course, no sin to eat fruit. Therefore the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil should not be interpreted literally but symbolically. Genesis 3:7 says that after they ate the fruit they felt ashamed, and sewed fig leaves together and made aprons in order to conceal their lower parts. It is human nature to conceal what is wrong. The eating of the fruit, therefore, represents in allegory that Adam and Eve had unlawful and immoral sexual relations which God had forbidden. The fallen Archangel tempted Eve to adultery. She, in turn, tempted Adam. Since their sin was adultery, it tainted their blood, and generation after generation inherited the sin through their blood. Thus the descendants of Adam became the children of Satan. Thus people have been subjected to Satan’s dominion and have become Satan-centered couples and Satan-centered parents of Satan-centered children. Since that time, 6,000 years ago, God has been working for cosmic restoration. Every time, however, his will has been delayed and not yet fulfilled because of man’s rebellion against him.

Now is the time to complete the providence of restoration. The Lord of the Second Advent is to come again in the status of the True Parent of man. He will overcome Satan to save all men physically as well as spiritually so that they will become as brothers and sisters in a cosmic divine family which will establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

IV. Motivation for Attending This Church

Direct Motivation. My research on the Comparative Study of New Religious Groups shows the following elements of motivation in Tong-il Church believers:

1. They believe their church is superior to others. Their principles are logical. They have many experiences of divine revelation. They believe that this church is the only road for the salva-
tion of the Korean people who are suffering from poverty and misery.

2. They are disgusted with the traditional churches, because of the disputes and divisions in these churches, and because their doctrines seem illogical.

*Indirect Motivation.* In my research I asked people 16 questions in multiple choice form in regard to their beliefs. In the traditional churches, the answers given were relatively varied with, at the most, 60% uniformity in response, though the response to most questions showed even less uniformity. On the other hand in the Tong-il Church, the uniformity of response to nearly all questions was 100%; that is, everyone agreed with what their leader had thought. And in Elder Park's Church, the uniformity of response ranged from 80%—100%.

This indicates that the members of the traditional churches, even though they were selectively chosen from senior members (deacons, deaconesses, etc.) are very unsure about what they believe. If their belief is so vague, it will not be very effective when they need spiritual strength. Since they they are not sure what they believe in, they go to church only as a matter of form.

*Some Unique Characteristics of the Tong-il Church.*

(1). *This church is built around Mr. Moon.* To his followers he is the True Father, the Lord of the Second Advent, the Holy Son. Their beliefs as well as their practices are Moon-centered, as is explained in the foregoing description of beliefs. Of all the churches called Christian in Korea, the Tong-il is most removed from the established churches in matters of belief.

(2). *They value mystical experience very highly.*

The prefatory note of the first printed copy of the *Divine Principle* says that the Principles were revealed by God to Mr. Moon over a period of twenty years. God constantly opened Moon's spiritual eyes and he was able to communicate with God himself, or the Lord Jesus, and was able to talk to other saints in Paradise. On accepting these Principles many have
received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, healing from sickness, speaking in tongues, prophecy, visions, and voices from God. Some are able to communicate with the Lord Jesus.

They regard dreams as significant. Believers talk about their dreams and ask Moon to interpret them or try to measure the status of their faith in proportion to the significance of Mr. Moon’s role in their dreams.

They also take witches and fortunetellers seriously. These witches and fortunetellers, even though possessed by wicked spirits, may perceive Moon more correctly than people in other established churches. Just as men who were possessed by devils in Jesus’ time shouted “You son of God” when they saw Jesus, so today witches and fortunetellers testify concerning who Moon really is.

(3) They pay a minimum of attention to the function of social integration. They regard the existing world as under the dominion of Satan. They believe that the people are descendants of Satan. If one’s marriage was performed according to the customs of the existing social order, the relationship of husband and wife should not be maintained any more if possible. One should not love his parents more than he loves Moon. For Jesus said in Matt. 10:37 “No man is worthy of me who cares more for father or mother than for me; no man is worthy of me who cares more for son or daughter . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . People are to establish the kingdom of heaven on earth only through Moon’s blessing. They will be concerned with the social order wholeheartedly only in the world of the new kingdom.

(4) They emphasize cultural characteristics.

The beliefs of the Tong-il church are of such a nature as to encourage believers and cause them to be proud of being Koreans. For Korea is now an underdeveloped and wretched country financially as well as politically. It is, however, to be the highest honored country by producing the Lord of the Second Advent. Referring to Revelations 7:2–4, one who has the seal of the living God will come forth from the East. The Lord of the Second Advent will appear from the East, especially from a na-
tion which has been tried by unmerited sufferings and persecutions for a long period in history. Much innocent blood will be shed there. For God has not been relieved from divine grief and has not had rest from the labor of restoration. Jesus was a universal sacrifice on the altar of the Jewish nation. Likewise the Lord of the Second Advent will be a cosmic sacrifice and his nation will become a universal altar. Therefore the nation will be divided into two sections, symbolizing Cain and Abel. Since six thousand years of human history will come to a conclusion at this point, this nation will become the ideal Fatherland of mankind. There will be a time when all Western people will envy the people of such a nation, and they will also have difficulty in learning their language.

(5) Their systematic organization.

Their organization has been described already. The hierarchical order of the church, the rapidity of its communication, the members’ devotion to Master Moon, and their zeal for the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth are quite astounding. In such a systematic society, if there is anyone who neglects his duty to the church, he will have difficulty in keeping up with others. Some dropouts have been caused by such heavy requirements from each member of the church. One can easily see that there are in that church many college students or graduates whose devotion to the work of the church is more of a social nature, saving people from poverty of powerlessness, than of a religious nature.

(Note to second Edition: This is an account of the early history of the “Unification Church” which has achieved considerable international attention during subsequent years.)
General Report of the Council for 1965

The year 1965 was a busy one for the Royal Asiatic Society and its members, with 19 lecture meetings, 5 restaurant tours, and 35 trips to Korean temples and other points of cultural and historical interest—some of them favorite scenes revisited, others being scheduled for the first time. We were happy to welcome 158 new members during the year, for a new increase of 66 members as compared to the total for the preceding year. The inevitable departure of some of our members leaves current local membership at 322. In addition, there are 70 overseas members. During this year we settled down to holding our lecture meetings regularly at the National Medical Center, and on the occasion of our annual meeting it would seem appropriate to express our appreciation for the hospitality which the Center extends us.

The lectures in 1965 were on a variety of topics, ranging from "An Anthropologist's View on Modernization with Special Reference to Korea," and "Some Traits of the Korean People as Expressed in their Literature" to the Korean Alphabet, "Fundamental Problems of Societies in Transition with Special Reference to Korea," public opinion and the normalization of relations between Korea and Japan, reform movements in Korean journalism, Korean music and Korean birds. These were supplemented by lectures on several southeastern Asian countries including Burma, Ceylon, Laos, Thailand and Bali and Java—and a little further afield India, mainland China and the Soviet Union.

Our trips included one one-day trip, and six over weekends, in addition to treks to such old favorites as Mt. Sorak and Cheju-do, each of which we visited five times, the annual cherry blossom viewing at Chinhae which this time turned out to be almost the right weekend (and no rain), pulgogi on the Han once more, two trips to Mallipo, one to Pulguksa, and one island-hopping junket to the beautiful but remote Hong-do, Mal-do and Oechong-do. In addition the more hardy went on
a skiing weekend; there was moon-viewing and vegetarian Buddhist food at Pogwang Temple, the annual garden party for members featuring selections by the Court Orchestra, held at the residence of His Excellency the French Ambassador, a reception for delegates and participants of the Modernization in Korea Conference sponsored by Korea University, and in early December the annual kimchi-making at Carl Miller’s. One overseas tour was conducted... Taiwan over Thanksgiving.

This year saw the inauguration of what we hope will be a regular program of showing Korean movies with English subtitles. Twice during the year the RAS presented Korean full-length and documentary films which had been award winners at the Asian Film Festival. On both occasions the movies were shown on two successive evenings, with enthusiastic audience, contributing to our feeling that there is a genuine need for programs of this nature.

Since there are very few Korean films available with English sub-titles and, alas, altogether too few of us are able to follow the Korean dialogue, we plan to use the proceeds from the admission charged for these evenings to subsidize the titling of other outstanding Korean movies.

**1965 RAS Meetings**

The dates of the meetings, the speakers, and their subjects were as follows:

February 10  Mr. Marshall R Pihl,  
“Certain Aspects on the Creation and Development of the Korean Alphabet”

February 24  Mr. David Steinberg  
“Some Problems of Buddhism in Burma”

March 10  Dr. Felix Moos  
“An Anthropologist’s Views on Modernization with Special Reference to Korea”
March 31  Mr. William McDougall
  "Ceylon, Past and Present" (illustrated by color slides)

April 14  Dr. David Gnanaprasam Moses
  "The Nature and Characteristics of Indian Culture"

April 21  Mrs Virginia Thurman
  "Where Lie the Seeds of Self-Destruction" (about the Soviet Union—illustrated by color slides)

May 5  Dr. John L. Withers
  "The Significance of Laos in the World Today" (illustrated by color slides)

May 26  Dr. Bruno Seidel
  "Fundamental Problems of Societies in Transition with Special Reference to Korea"

June 2  Dr. William Skillend
  "Tears of Blood" (the first Korean novel in the modern sense—read by Father Richard Rutt)

June 23  Prof. Hahm Pyong-choon
  "Muwonok" (A Yi Dynasty handbook for coroners)

July 21  Mr. Chester Fennell
  "Korean Birds" (illustrated by color slides and preserved specimens)

August 25  Mr. Harry Hudson
  "The China I Knew" (illustrated by slides)

September 15  Dr. J. Mark Mobius
  "Korean Public Opinion and Normalization of Relations with Japan"
September 29 Mr. Harrison Parker
"An Introduction to the Music and Performing Arts of Java and Bali"
(illustrated by musical instruments and phonograph recordings of Javanese music)

October 20 Mr. James Wade
"Reform Movements in Korean Journalism from the Yi Dynasty to 1945"

November 3 Mr. Chu Yo-sop
"Some Traits of the Korean People as Expressed in Their Literature"

November 10 Mr. George Chalmers
"Thailand: A Temporary Resident's Impressions"

December 1 Mr. Alan Heyman
"An Introduction to Korean Music and Dance"
(supplemented with live performances of instrumental and vocal music and dance)

December 8 Dr. Spencer John Palmer
"Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition."

1965 RAS Tours and Special Events:
The Society, during 1965, sponsored tours ranging from one-day to five-day trips. The dates, places visited, and number of participants (in parentheses) follow.

February 22–24 Ski tour to Taegwallyong (25)
March 20 One-day tour to Sonun-gak and Tosen-sa (98)
March 20–29 Four-day tour to Cheju Island (26)
April 3–4 Annual Spring Cherry Blossom tour to Chinhae and Chinju (92)
April 11 One-day tour to Sujong Temple (65)
April 18 One-day tour to North Mountain Fortress (66)
April 24-25 Weekend tour to Haein-sa (46)
May 7-9 First tour to Mt. Sorak (25)
May 14 Vegetarian Dinner and moonwatching tour Pogwang Temple (58)
May 21 Garden Party at French Embassy (400)
May 16 One-day tour to Hoeam Temple (79)
May 28-1 Tour to Cheju Island (79)
June 3-6 Four-day tour to Mt. Sorak (25)
June 12 Exhibit of paintings of Ha Man-Jin at Miss Polly Spofford’s (150)
June 7-8 “Samyong the Mute” movie at Studio B (350)
June 14 Pulgogi on the Han (140)
June 20 One day tour by boat to Tokchok Island (132)
June 29 Train trip on the loop line in evening (104)
July 16-18 Three-day tour to Mallipo Beach (42)
July 2-5 Four-day tour to Cheju Island (25)
July 5 Reception at Kyongbok Palace (200)
August 6-9 Tour to Cheju Island (11)
August 27-29 Weekend tour to Kyongju, Pulguksa (52)
August 30-31 “Heartlessness” movie at MPI Studio B (310)
September 4-6 Three-day tour to Mallipo Beach (48)
September 3-day tour to Mt. Sorak (20)
10-12
September 18-19 Weekend tour to Mudung-san and Song-nwung Temple (26)
September 25-26 Weekend tour to Ha hoe, Andong and Pusok Temple (22)
October 2-3 Three-day island-hopping tour to Hongdo, Mal-do, Oechong-do (36)
October 9 One-day tour to Mt. Kwannak (90)
October 10 One-day tour to Hungguk Temple (45)
October 16-17 Weekend tour to Green Crane mountains (25)
October 19 Restaurant tour (Kyongbok) (42)
October 22-24 Fall tour to Mt. Sorak 23
October 26 Restaurant tour and showing of Mr. Dieter Sasseis movies (Diplomatic Club) (67)
October 30–31  Weekend tour to Naejang mountains and temples of Paegyang, Naejang and Sonnun (20)
November 9  Restaurant tour (Tongil-jang) (31)
November 11–14 4-day tour to Cheju Island (24)
November 20–28 9-day overseas tour to Taiwan (34)
December 4  Kimchi-making party at home of Carl Miller (250)
December 6  Restaurant tour (Hyang-won) (30)

Report of RAS Activities for 1966

The year 1966 marked a definite turning point in the expansion of the operations and program of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch.

The usual semi-monthly meetings continued, with outstanding speakers on pertinent Korean and Asian subjects drawing capacity audiences at meeting after meeting. (See accompanying list of meetings). The traditional RAS weekly tours to various points in the Republic of Korea of historic, cultural and scenic interest were also unusually successful, with more people making most of the tours in 1966 than in previous years. (See list of tours attached.)

The innovation in 1966 for the Royal Asiatic Society, however, was in making plans for a greatly expanded publications program. Plans for a new RAS Monograph Series, written by able scholars on Korea and published in hardcover books, were completed, and work on the publication of the first two monographs was undertaken. These books, subsequently published in the first part of 1967, include: Professor Hahn Pyong-choon’s “Korean Political Tradition and Law,” and Dr. Spencer Palmer’s “Korea and Christianity.”

Planning for a second new series of RAS hard-cover books, its popular hand-book series, was also started and culminated with the publishing in August 1967 of the first book in this series. It is Dr. Paul S. Crane’s “Korean Patterns,” a comprehensive discussion of Korean thought patterns and attitudes, which is expected to prove extremely valuable in
orienting foreigners living in Korea to a better understanding of the Korean people and their culture.

In addition to these two new series of books, plans were made for publication of two new Transactions each year, beginning in 1967. These Transactions are distributed free to RAS members, while the books in the Monograph and Handbook Series are offered to members at greatly reduced prices.

The Council also reorganized its administrative structure to increase the efficiency of its operations and enhance the effectiveness of the Council by delegation of responsibilities for various RAS activities to Committees within the Council. The following list of RAS Council members for 1966 also presents the structural organization.

1966 Meetings of Royal Asiatic Society

The dates of meetings and special programs, the speakers, their subjects and places of meeting were as follows:

January 12  Mr. Lee Ku
“Korean Architecture” National Medical Center (Illustrated by photographs taken by Mr. Lee Kyong-mo)

January 26  Dr. Kenneth Bunce
“India-Pakistan: The Nature of their Differences,” National Medical Center.

February 9  Dr. Allen Clark
“Historic Seoul,” National Medical Center.
(Illustrated by Color Slides).

March 23  Dr. Richard L. Walker
“Communist China Today,” YWCA

April 13  Dr. Edward R. Wright, Jr.
“The Current Situation in Vietnam,” YWCA
April 27  Mrs. Choi Syn-duk
   “The Tong-il Sect—Korean Religious
   Group,” National Medical Center.

June 1  Dr. Paik Nak-chun
   “Korean National Ideals,” YWCA.

June 11  Chinese Feature Films-Winners of Asian
Film Festival YWCA

August 10  Dr. Soh Nam-won
   “North Korean Economic Policy,” National
Medical Center

August 24  Mr. Leslie Ruscher
   “Indonesia—People and Places,” National
Medical Center

September 14  Dr. Paul S. Crane
   “The Traditional Chinese Medicine Han
Yak,” National Medical Center

September 24  RAS Fall Garden Party-Mr. Allan Heyman,
master of ceremonies of program of Buddhist
singing and dancing, American Embassy
Garden

September 28  Mr. Robert Humphrey
   “The Basic Issues in the War of Ideas,”
National Medical Center

October 5  Prof. Cho Kyu-tong and Dr. Samuel Moffett
   “Korean Temple Bells,” National Medical
Center (with recordings of Korean temple
bells)

October 12  Mr. Allan Heyman, master of ceremonies
   “Traditional Korean Puppet Show,” YWCA
October 26 Dr. Kim Hon-kyu
“The Proposed National Parks of Korea,”
(Illustrated with Color Slides) National Medical Center

November 7 Professor Wu Ping-chung

December 3 Demonstration of Kimchi Making,
Mr. Carl Miller’s Home

December 7 Mr. Vincent Brandt
“Korean Village Life” National Medical Center (Illustrated with Color Slides)

December 14 Dr. Shannon B. McCune
“Korean Geography,” National Medical Center.

1966 Royal Asiatic Society Tours and Special Events.

The Society during 1966 sponsored 27 tours and special events, ranging from one-day to five-day trips. The dates, places visited, and number of participants in parentheses follow:

April 2–5 RAS First Spring Tour to Cheju Island (25)
April 6 Restaurant Tour to Sujong (20)
April 9–10 Cherry Blossom Tour to Chin-hae (60)
April 15–18 RAS Second Tour to Cheju Island (65)
May 20–22 RAS Third Tour to Cheju Island (30)
May 27–30 Yellow Sea Island-hopping Tour (25)
June 3 Pulgogi on the Han River (230)
June 19 Tour to Tok-chok Island (30)
June 23–26 Tour to Mt. Sorak (30)
June 29 Restaurant Tour to Sin-jong Mongolian Restaurant (30)
July 1–4 Four-day Tour to Cheju Island (25)
July 6  Vegetarian Dinier and Moon-watching Tour to Pogwang Temple (60)
August 6–8 Malipo Beach Tour (26)
September 11 One-day Guided Tour to Chong Myo (200)
September 13 All-day Guided Tour of Chang Duk Palace (150)
September 24 RAS Fall Garden Party at American Embassy, including Buddhist ceremonial singing and dancing (300)
September 25 RAS Railroad Loop Line Trip around Seoul (160)
October 2  One-day Guided Tour to Nam Han San Song (60)
October 9  One-day RAS Guided Tour to the Royal Tombs (40)
October 15 All-day Trip to Kanghwa Island (50)
October 21–24 Trip to East Coast, Mt. Sorak (25)
October 29–30 Trip to Kyongju (30)
November 5 Trip to North Mountain Fortress (30)
November 11–14 Repeat Trip to Mt. Sorak (25)
November 24–27 Tour to Cheju Island (20)
December 3 Kimchi Making Party (250)

Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch
Officiers for 1966

President  Mr. Robert A. Kinney
Vice-Presidents  His Excellency Franz Ferring
                Professor Hahm Pyong-choon
Co-Treasurers  Mr. Carl Miller
               Mr. Benjamin Weems
Corresponding Secretary  Mr. Carl Miller
Librarian  Dr. Dong Chun
Recording Secretary  Dr. Samuel Moffett
Publications and Books  Dr. Paik Nak-jun
                       His Excellency Roger Chambard
                       Dr. Paul Crane
                       Dr. Dong Chun
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                       Dr. Spencer J. Palmer
Program
Mr. David Steinberg
Professor Hahn Pyong-choon
Dr. Kenneth Bunce
Dr. Lee Son-kun
Dr. Samuel Moffett
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Mr. Cho Min-ha
Mr. Benjamin Weems
Tours
Mr. Carl Miller
Mr. Yi Ku
Special Projects and
Events
Mr. George Chalmers
Mr. Robert Kinney
Mr. David Steinberg

NOTE: In this reprint a list of members has been omitted with approval of the Royal Asiatic Society Council.