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Pioneers of German-Korean Partnership

by Karl Leuteritz

When the opening of Korea to Western trade, and thereby to Western ideas and influence, began in the early 1880s, Germany followed close on the heels of the U.S.A. and Britain as the third Western country to establish relations with the Royal Government of Korea. Incidentally, it should also be remembered that when the Korea Branch of the RAS was formed in 1900, the original membership was composed of nationals of the three countries just mentioned: Americans, Britishers and Germans.

More important, however, is the fact that some of the early Germans in Korea must have been very interesting personalities, and that they succeeded in establishing a partnership both material and spiritual which has survived the vicissitudes which befell both countries in the decades between then and now. Indeed, one of them—Moellendorff—wielded such unique influence, even though only for a comparatively brief period of time, that he can safely be described as the kingpin of Korea’s early modernization efforts.

But let us begin at the beginning:

I

The first encounter Korea had with the Germans—or with a German, to be more precise—was far from encouraging. True, there were no naval or military engagements like those with the French or the Americans, but the so-called grave-robbing-incident of 1867 was in itself so crude and grotesque as to be almost incredible. In that year, a German merchant from Hamburg, Ernst Oppert, was staying in Shanghai. There he met a disgruntled French priest who had escaped from Korea where the Taewŏn'gun, regent for his son King Kojong who was still a minor, was actively persecuting the Catholic Church. Together with an enterprising American, they hatched the plan to sail to Korea, open the tomb of the Namyŏn'gun (the Taewŏn’gun’s father) conveniently located near the west coast, take the coffin into their custody, and return it only against trade concessions!
They actually chartered and fitted out a vessel, and set sail under the flag of the North German Federation just founded by Bismarck. They landed on the Korean coast and marched to the tomb in the Kaya hills west of Seoul. Fortunately, the coal shovels which were their strongest tools were no match for the sturdy construction of a Yi dynasty tomb. The raiders thus left the scene and returned to their ship. But, undeterred by this failure, Oppert still had the nerve to write a letter to the Taewŏn’-gun describing his action, and demanding the opening of Korea for Western trade.

The answer—certainly not from the Taewŏn’gun himself—simply stated that Korea had no need for looting foreigners. Thus, the only result of the whole ill-devised scheme was to reinforce and to prolong the Taewŏn’gun’s anti-foreign policy.

Oppert later described his Korean adventure in a book—long out of print—entitled “Ein verschlossenes Land.” There was even an English translation called “A Forbidden Country.”

II

The next act, 15 years later, took place in an entirely different setting. In 1876, the “Hermit Kingdom” had concluded its first foreign treaty with Japan, but in 1882, things really began to move. The U.S. was the first to obtain shipping and trade concessions by the “Shufeldt Convention” of May 22nd, Britain followed suit on June 6th, and Germany on June 30th. Foreigners not being permitted to enter Seoul at that time, all these treaties were concluded in a tent on the beach of Inchon, then called Chemulp’o.

Not only did the treaties have this setting in common, the texts were also identical, due to the insistence of the Chinese emissary Ma Chieng Chung who was “advising” the Korean negotiators in exercise of the suzerain powers of the Imperial Court in Peking. But while the “Shufeldt Convention” was duly ratified, its British and German copies never were. In both countries, resistance by trading circles to the high import duties—10% for essentials, 30% for luxury goods—conceded to Korea by the U.S., itself a highly protectionist country at that time, made renegotiation necessary.

When this got under way in October/November 1883, the scene had again changed. The German and British negotiators—interestingly enough
acting together as a joint team—were officially received and lodged in Seoul, and facing them across the conference table together with the Korean negotiators Kim Hong Jip and Yi Cho Yon, was another German: Paul Georg von Moellendorff, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Korea! The sources do not indicate how this fact influenced the course of negotiations. Anyway, the treaties were signed and sealed on November 24, 1883, setting the minimum and maximum import duties at 5% and 20%, respectively. In the course of 1884, the treaties were ratified, and diplomatic relations established.

III

But diplomatic history apart, who was Paul Georg von Moellendorff, and how did he come to occupy such a remarkable position, hardly distinguishable from his Korean colleagues in his oriental robes of office?

Born at Zedenik, Brandenburg—thus in the Prussian heartland—in 1847, he studied Law and Oriental Languages (mainly Chinese) at the University of Halle. Having completed his studies, he joined the Chinese Maritime Customs Administration in 1869. Finding the chances for promotion slim, he quit in 1874 and joined the German Foreign Service as a Chinese interpreter, first at the German Consulate in Canton, then at the German Legation in Peking. In 1879 he was appointed Vice Consul in Tientsin, but when the promotion to full Consul which he had hoped for failed to materialize, he quit again in spring 1882. This time, he entered the services of Chinese Viceroy Li Hung Chang in Tientsin as a Foreign Language Secretary.

In autumn 1882, Li Hung Chang in turn recommended Moellendorff to the Korean Government as an expert for negotiations with foreign powers, and for administrative reform. In his letter of recommendation, he described his nominee as “a good natured and sincere man,” an expert in diplomatic affairs, and fluent in foreign languages. But at the same time, he privately remarked to a friend: “The Japanese stand in great awe of the Germans and dread von Moellendorff,” thereby revealing the political motives behind his recommendation. We can also surmise that Moellendorff must already have built up quite a reputation by that time!

Moellendorff’s involvement in Korean affairs lasted only till October 1885, after which he returned to China, rejoining the Maritime Customs Administration, was awarded the advancement which had eluded him earlier, and finally died in 1901 as Customs Commissioner in Ningpo.
Moellendorff thus spent 28 years in China and only three in Korea. But his claim to historical fame rests fairly and squarely with his accomplishments during those three brief years to which we shall now turn our attention.

IV

On November 18, 1882, Moellendorff signed his contract of employment with the Korean Government and on December 12th of the same year he proudly rode into Seoul amid crowds of spectators gaping at the first Westerner permitted, and indeed invited, to enter the capital. He was assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and within days was appointed its Vice Minister. Immediately he set to work with great imagination and energy, though not always with consistency: a contemporary once complained that under his direction, everything was being done by fits and starts!

Moellendorff, referred to in the Korean records as either "Mok Indok" or "Mok Ch'amp'an" held the post of Vice Foreign Minister during practically his entire stay in Korea, and it certainly was his most spectacular and highest-ranking one. But more important in the long run, and certainly more significant than the other Vice Ministerships which he concurrently held for brief periods—at the Ministry of Construction from April to June 1884, and at the Ministry of Defence from December 1884 to February 1885—was his work in establishing and directing the Maritime Customs Administration from 1883 to 1885, and the Royal Mint from 1884 to 1885. In these two capacities, he was able to introduce a modern system of administration and modern technology. Indeed, he gave the decisive impulses for opening up the economic potential of the country.

Whatever his personal shortcomings may have been, the results of his activities were stupendous. In order to get the Customs Administration and the Mint going, he recruited European administrative and technical experts which a very modern clause in his contract authorized him to do "for as long as they need to transfer their skills to their Korean counterparts." These were later joined by a geologist, an agricultural expert, and even a sericulturist! Most of these experts came from Germany, to the chagrin of other Western observers. Thus, when some of these experts—due to the slow communications and transport facilities of the time—arrived in Korea only after Moellendorff's departure, they ran into considerable difficulties.
For the Mint, Moellendorff naturally imported a minting press. He also designed an entire set of 14 coins though he did not stay long enough to see them produced. Furthermore, he imported and installed the first steam-driven power generator. Finally, in an entirely different field, he took the initiative for establishing the Government Language School (Tongmunhak) in 1883. There, English was taught, while other Western languages were added later.

But when, clearly overstepping his instructions to seek a balance between the Chinese and the Japanese influence in Korea, Moellendorff secretly recruited Russian officers to train the Korean army, he had to leave the country rather hurriedly in October 1885.

Was the American contemporary right who is said to have observed "'The conduct of this man would seem to be without parallel in history'"? Perhaps we should listen instead to the rather wistful comment by the German travelogue author Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg who wrote a decade later: "'The many innovations to be found in Korea, hitherto so distrustful of Europe, are due to his initiative... Had Moellendorff been kept in his responsible position, the administrative and commercial conditions of the country would long since have taken a turn for the better, and the lion's share of government posts and foreign trade would have been given to the Germans'" (sic!).

Hesse-Wartegg had visited Korea in 1894, immediately before the outbreak of the Chino-Japanese War. In his account, he provides us with an interesting glimpse of how the Germans, and Westerners in general, in Korea lived at that time. According to him, there were 83 Westerners in the country, as compared to 2,204 Chinese and 9,204 Japanese. The figure 83 includes 14 members of diplomatic and consular missions, but not the 35 or so missionaries! These, our source maintains, were not very popular with their worldly contemporaries. Among the 83, the 19 Germans were second only to the 24 Britishers, being followed by 13 Americans, seven Russians, four Frenchmen, three Danes, two Italians, and one Portuguese.

There was even a club in Seoul to cater to their social needs. It had 19 members, and Hesse-Wartegg vividly contrasts its shabby clay building, one of its two rooms completely filled by a billiard table and a
bar, with its pompous title: Cercle diplomatique et littéraire! Under these circumstances, most entertaining was done at home, the German Consul Krien being the most popular host, closely followed by the British Customs Director Sir John McLeavy-Brown, and the American advisor Greathouse. Consul Krien’s residence was hardly superior to the club, but it boasted a piano and a tennis court!

At that time, facilities in Chemulp’o (now Inchnon) seem to have been somewhat superior to those in Seoul, and indeed, most Western businessmen worked and resided there. Indeed, according to Hesse-Wartegg, the mansion-like building of the Hamburg trading firm of H.C. Meyer & Co. was the first landmark to be seen from any approaching ship. This firm played quite an important role in the opening of Korea, holding also lumbering concessions, and operating a gold mine at Tongogae (somewhere in Kangwŏndo), which, however, was not very profitable. They even held a concession to construct and operate a railway line from Seoul to Wŏnsan, but the realization of this scheme was prevented by political developments.

VI

In the years immediately following Hesse-Wartegg’s visit—and the Chino-Japanese War—two more interesting protagonists entered the scene.

The Korean Government had finally decided that it needed a German language instructor, and Consul Dr. Weipert who had in the meantime succeeded Mr. Krien managed to secure the services of a certain J. Bolljahn who had worked in Tokyo in a similar capacity for eight years. The “J.” is intriguing, but it is all the sources ever mention. I have not been able to ascertain his full name. Anyway, Mr. Bolljahn was employed as of January 1, 1898, and he seems to have worked very successfully. Already four years later, in March 1902, Consul Dr. Weipert could recommend one of his graduate students to the Foreign Ministry for employment as an interpreter for German, along with those already employed for English, French, Russian, Japanese and Chinese. Beyond that, I have to admit, the sources become rather bleak: The consular records contain only repeated vigorous claims on Mr. Bolljahn’s behalf for a salary equal to that of his English and French colleagues. As the Johnny-come-lately among the foreign language instructors, he was obviously fighting an uphill battle!
At about the same time, we find the former Prussian military bandmaster Franz Eckert in Seoul as "Court Composer and Military Music Master," and it is through him that Koreans were first introduced to Western music. Judging by the results, his impact must have been enormous. In 1902, he was commissioned to compose a new national anthem, and for his successful efforts, he was awarded the "Taeguk Order, 3rd Class" in 1903. The music is said still to be preserved in the National Archives, and from there also came the surprising information that prior to Eckert's anthem, the tune of "Auld lang syne" had been used for official occasions. Also in his case, the consular records contain a claim for a salary increase, though for somewhat different reasons: it seems that Eckert had been hired to instruct one military band, but was actually expected to instruct two! Thus, ran the argument, this double workload should be honored by doubling the salary originally agreed upon. Eckert certainly could use some extra money, for as we know from another source, he was not only one of the few married men among Westerners in Korea, but also had some extremely marriageable daughters who seem to have created quite a stir in the community.

VII

This information is contained in the papers of Dr. Richard Wunsch, a German medical doctor who spent the years from 1901 to 1905 in Korea. Although the author died in 1911, these letters and diaries have only been published in 1976, and they are a veritable goldmine. According to Dr. Wunsch, seven Germans were residing in Seoul at that time. It soon becomes apparent that he counts only the heads of households, but as most of them were bachelors, the entire number cannot have been very much larger. The author also notes rather disapprovingly that most Western bachelors did in fact enjoy female companionship in their homes, and the interesting thing is that they invariably chose Japanese ladies as their companions. Korean female beauty seems to have eluded them.

VIII

Topping Dr. Wunsch's list of seven naturally were the German consul (Dr. Weipert) and his secretary, charged, besides their normal consular duties, with the delicate task of maintaining diplomatic relations
between the two countries. Here we have to remember that during all those years of turbulent power politics the Korean Government was desperately trying to save the country from being swallowed up by one or the other of the contenders for regional hegemony: Japan and China before 1895, Japan and Russia later, Japan being backed by Britain, Russia by France. The “German connection” was one of the tools employed to this end.

A very early indication of this had occurred already in 1885 when the Korean Foreign Ministry addressed a semi-official request to the German Consul for his advice on how to react to the occupation of the so-called Hamilton Islands (Komundo) off the Korean south coast by a British naval detachment. This put the Consul, himself a former naval Captain named Zembsch, into a rather awkward position. He could not condone the action without losing the concurrence of the government to which he was accredited; he could not condemn it without offending the rival yet friendly power with whom Germany had just jointly negotiated her treaty with Korea! He extricated himself nicely. It would not be practical, he wrote, to reduce the information received to the format of a cablegram. Therefore, he requested written instructions from his government (which, as everybody knew, would be months in coming). He did, however, add as his personal opinion that it would be wise for the Koreans to lodge a protest in order not to appear to acquiesce in the use of force.

Shortly before Dr. Wunsch arrived in Korea, the official visit of Prince Henry (Heinrich), the Kaiser’s younger brother, had seemed to offer another opportunity. William F. Sands in his Undiplomatic Memories has left a rather unflattering account of how this aborted, due mainly to psychological misjudgments by the visitor, and he wryly comments: “Nobody could foresee a time when diplomacy unbacked by a rather contemptuous gesture of force would be worth trying.”

IX

The next two entries have already been mentioned, teacher Bolljahn and bandmaster Eckert, and we should rather skip No. 5, a businessman named Carl Wolter who seems to have indulged in rather shady real estate transactions—incidentally, there still is a file in the consular section of the German Embassy concerning one of the plots of land involved! This brings us to Dr. Wunsch himself.

Recommended by Prof. Dr. Erwin Baier in Tokyo, personal physician to the Meiji-Tenno, he came to Korea as “Court Physician,”
and we can imagine his dismay when upon arrival in Seoul he found another Court Physician already in residence: the British lady doctor Miss Cook! This resulted in some rather unpleasant rivalry which in spite of repeated displays of royal favor was never resolved.

Anyway, Dr. Wunsch’s official duties consisted of being present in the Royal Palace for one hour each day, during which time he was consulted on all kinds of problems, though very rarely medical ones. He has given us a very amusing description of how King Kojong’s pulse was measured one day. This was not so simple as we might imagine, as only the palace eunuchs were permitted to touch the king’s body, and they were either too stupid or could not be trusted to take his pulse. So a string was attached to each of the king’s wrists, and the two loose ends were handed to two doctors for feeling and counting his pulse.

Being an able doctor, Dr. Wunsch quickly built up a prosperous practice among the foreign community in Seoul, and also established a clinic where he treated poorer Koreans free of charge. In this connection, he deplored not only the appalling public health conditions in Seoul, but also the “low professional standard” of many missionary doctors, and was annoyed that “their activities have led Koreans to believe they are doing the doctor a favor by consulting him, expecting some medicine as a gift in return.” Dr. Wunsch also travelled extensively, mostly on horseback, and went on hikes in the North Fortress area which are still popular today. Once he took the train on the newly-opened railway line to Pusan. The trip took two days, the travellers being required to spend the night in Taegu. On a very human level, he fell deeply in love with one of the Eckert daughters, Amalie. But after much agonizing, he decided not to marry her, because “she will never become a lady!” This leaves us guessing what Dr. Wunsch’s requirements for “being a lady” were, and in which respect he found poor Miss Eckert lacking.

This leaves one more person to account for—perhaps the most remarkable one of them all: Miss Antoinette Sontag, an unmarried lady in her early 60s who occupied an undefined but quite influential position in the Royal Palace. She had been staying with the Russian Minister C. von Waebber, a distant relative of hers, when King Kojong found refuge in the Russian Legation after the murder of Queen Min. Miss Sontag cared
for the King and obviously so impressed him with her talent for getting things done that he asked her to accompany him when he was able to return to the Palace. This she did, and soon had established herself as a kind of MC.

She arranged audiences for Western visitors, and organized receptions and dinners for foreign dignitaries. The dinners were French style—with one important modification: seated at the table between the guests were kisaeng girls—Dr. Wunsch refers to them as “members of the Royal Corps de Ballet” and notes with obvious surprise: “The Koreans seem to enjoy this.” Miss Sontag also advised the royal family concerning the purchase of Western furniture and fittings for the palace, and while her taste may be questioned, her influence may not! It becomes apparent from Dr. Wunsch’s remarks that with her assistance many things became possible at Court for the Western applicant who without her would have gotten nowhere at all.

Besides her Court activities, Miss Sontag also ran a boarding-house (“pension”) for single foreigners where mid-day and evening meals were served also to persons not residing there. Dr. Wunsch profited from this opportunity quite frequently. For the same clientele, she also organized picnics and excursions. There still exists a photo showing Miss Sontag in a sedan-chair being carried along a trail by two young men in bowler hats!

An enterprising lady indeed. So it is all the more surprising that—while there are still Western residents in Seoul who can remember hearing their parents talk about the “Sontag Hotel”—historians had by and large ignored her very existence until Dr. Wunsch’s diaries came to light. Entries in the Korean Court records mentioning “Sohn Taek” had been taken to refer to some obscure Korean courtier.

XII

When, after the Russo-Japanese War, the Treaty of Portsmouth formally recognized Korea as belonging to the Japanese sphere of interest, all these advisors and experts had to leave Korea. Most of them returned to Germany, Dr. Wunsch went on to Tokyo and finally Tsingtau; Miss Sontag retired to the French Riviera. Everything seemed finished. Everything, as we now know, was yet to begin.

The partnership for which these pioneers laid the foundation and the respect they earned are perhaps best expressed by a Korean phrase used to characterize a particularly efficient person: He functions like a German
machine. This expression, I like to think, could go back to the time of Moellendorff, who imported the first of those machines.

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The Independence Movement and the Missionaries

by Samuel H. Moffett

On March 1, 1919, the largest and most influential group of Westerners in Korea was the Christian missionary community. There were some 631 missionaries in Korea that year, of whom 491 were Protestant.1 It is with the first reactions of this group to the Korean Independence Movement that this brief paper will be concerned.

The Independence Movement of March 1, 1919, was a turning point in the history of Korea under Japanese rule.2 It was a public uprising and massive protest against Japanese imperialism imposed upon the peninsula beginning with the protectorate of 1905 and the annexation of 1910. Korea’s smouldering resentment was fanned by the post-war peace conferences in Paris and Woodrow Wilson’s call for “self-determination of small nations.” It was sparked into flame by the death of the last real Korean king, Kojong, on Jan. 21, 1919, and the flame exploded into open fire in March when Korean patriots secretly organized a nationwide, non-violent demonstration for freedom timed to take advantage of the King’s state funeral scheduled by the Japanese for March 3. Two days before the funeral a Korean Declaration of Independence was signed, read in public at what is now Pagoda Park in Seoul, and circulated with amazing speed throughout the peninsula. There were 33 signers: 15 Christians, 15 Chondokyo and three Buddhists. Police and military response was quick and brutal. But the demonstrations continued for months.

The role of the Western missionary in the movement has sometimes been exaggerated in two very different directions. It has been claimed by some that they actually instigated and directed the demonstrations. Lieut. Gen. Kojima, at that time Commander of the Japanese Gendarmerie in Korea, directly accused the missionaries of starting the protests, and he was supported in the allegation by “a prominent official of the Japanese War Office” who declared that “missionaries are behind the Korean mobs.”3

On the other hand, some modern nationalist Korean critics of the missionary movement imply that the general missionary attitude was pro-Japanese and anti-Korean. They do not realize perhaps that thereby they are unconsciously adopting a second Japanese propaganda line of 1919,
namely, that the missionaries had no part in the movement and that therefore the Western world could discount as pure nationalist propaganda the wild Korean claims of injustice and persecution. A Japanese-controlled editorial in The Seoul Press for March 14, 1919 was headlined, NO FOREIGNERS IMPLICATED IN KOREAN UPRISINGS. 4

I would prefer to judge Western missionary reaction and involvement by the original accounts and records of the missionaries themselves, as preserved in letters, manuscripts and reports, both published and unpublished, from the actual period in question. Most of my source material comes from the first sixty days of the demonstrations, March and April 1919. The material can be divided into two main categories: (1) personal viewpoints and actions of individual missionaries; and (2) the officially stated position of their missions in Korea.

I. Personal Reactions

Since the first category is personal, perhaps I may be forgiven for beginning on a very superficial level: my own reaction to the Independence Movement (the sam-il undong). It was simple and direct. It had to be, for I was only three years old. My earliest memory as a child is of Japanese soldiers or police, with fixed bayonets, breaking into the room in our home in P’yŏngyang where my younger brother and I were supposed to be taking an afternoon nap. They were looking for incriminating documents and demonstrators hiding from the law. But to my brother and me the shouts of “‘Mansei’” and the excitement in the streets seemed like some gigantic happy game, so when the soldiers threw open the door we greeted them with the glad cry we had been hearing so much: “‘Mansei.’” It was, of course, a forbidden and dangerous word, a shortened substitute for Choson Tongnip Mansei—the slogan of the movement. My father’s face went pale, expecting retaliation. There was a moment of tension; then the soldiers broke into a laugh, and left. It wasn’t much, but at least I can say I was in the sam-il undong.

My oldest brother was more active. He was 15, and on March 3, hearing the noise of shouting he climbed high in an oak tree in our yard to look across to where a crowd of thousands had gathered on the Soongsil College athletic field. Japanese soldiers were trying to clear the field, and seemed to be hauling down a forbidden Korean flag which had been raised on the school flagpole. He saw my father, S.A. Moffett, walk up to the flagpole and either lower the flag himself or take it from a Japanese officer who was already tearing it down (accounts differ). As
president of the college, Moffett told the Japanese he was claiming the flag as foreign property. He told the excited crowd, “I will keep this flag until the day when Korea is free to fly it again.”

My mother’s reaction was complete astonishment. She wrote in her diary for March 1 that the missionaries in P’yŏngyang had been taken utterly by surprise when, at a memorial service attended by some 3,000 Presbyterians for the late Emperor Kojong, the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Rev. Kim Sun-Du, instead of closing the meeting after the benediction, held the crowd for a public reading of the Declaration of Independence. It was obvious that the missionaries—with the single possible exception of Frank W. Schofield, who was asked the night before by a friend to come and take pictures of the reading of the Declaration in Pagoda Park in Seoul— not only did not instigate the movement but had no advance warning of its imminence. The credit for the great non-violent demonstrations of 1919 belongs to the Korean people alone.

Foreign involvement was, therefore, only secondary, not primary. But when we pursue this personal family record further to my father’s reaction and connection with the movement, it becomes clear that the involvement while secondary was nevertheless real.

It was not entirely by accident, for example, that he was present at the first reading of the Declaration of Independence in P’yŏngyang. He was too close to leaders of the Christian community not to sense something of unusual import going on. A colleague, Charles F. Bernheisel, whom he had persuaded to go with him, describes the meeting:

An immense crowd of people assembled in the grounds of the Boys’ School (Sung Duk) near Central Church. After a short memorial service for the late king a man came out and read the Declaration of Independence and then led the crowd in a mighty shout of ‘Munse’ (or Hurrah) for Korean independence. This was repeated three times and then the meeting was adjourned. Three of us missionaries were standing close inside the main gate. When the meeting adjourned we decided to walk down the hill to the main street... and see how things were going. After walking for some distance down the main street of the city I happened to look behind us and found that we were leading a long procession. As soon as we had quit the school grounds the crowd (which had armloads of small Korean flags) began to leave also, and, unknown to us, had fallen in behind us
and we were thus in the position of leading the procession down the main street of the city. I told the brethren that we must not continue in this position, and they agreed, so we scooted off into an alley and allowed the crowd to follow other leaders.¹⁰

It is not perhaps so surprising, then, that some of the authorities believed missionaries were leading the movement. The missionaries, however, did not long remain mere spectators and involuntary participants. The movement quickly spread, and what began as a non-violent protest was soon met with violent repression. My father (to continue the personal note) was among the first to put his name on the line in public and signed a protest against Japanese atrocities. He very early exposed the wide-spread police brutality as unprovoked and not, as the Japanese claimed, a necessary response to Korean violence. On March 5 he wrote to his mission board in New York his own eye-witness account of shocking events in P’yŏngyang for public dissemination, and unlike most such reports, he specified that it could be attributed to him by name. The day before, March 4, he had insisted that the Japanese inspector of schools, Mr. Yamada, accompany him on a fact-finding tour and verify his charges. He wrote from first-hand observation of beatings, stabbings, clubbings and kickings of girls 12 and 13 years old arrested and marched through the streets.

The above I saw myself and testify to the truthfulness of my statements. In all my contact with the Koreans these five days (March 1-5), and in all my observation of the crowds inside and outside the city, I have witnessed no act of violence on the part of any Korean.

(Signed) Samuel A. Moffett

Later he wrote:

On March 4th, five theological students from south Korea arrived and entered the dormitory of the seminary which was to open on the next day. Late in the afternoon when the people were fleeing from the soldiers who were pursuing them with guns, beating and kicking them, the soldiers pursued (them) into the seminary grounds. These five theologues were in their rooms sitting down and had not been out with the crowd nor had they joined in the demonstration. Soldiers suddenly broke open the door and dragged (them) out and took them to the police station where despite their denials they were given short shrift, taken out, arms and legs tied to the four arms of a large wooden cross face
downward, and beaten on the naked buttocks with 29 blows
of some hard cane or stick till they were all bruised and
broken...

In view of this and the danger to all students of arrest
and beating without cause, it was decided to postpone the
the opening of the Seminary, and the more than 80 students
from all over Korea were dismissed to their homes. This was
the more inevitable in view of the fact that last night the
firemen were let loose on the village where many of the
Academy students live and board, and near midnight broke
into houses dragging out young men and beating them...

Today when the academy and college should have opened
after the ex-emperor’s funeral, only two students of the
academy and eight of the college dared attempt to study,
and both were closed until the end of the term this month.11

On March 22 and 24 Moffett attended two important conferences in
Seoul between aroused missionaries and leading Japanese officials,
including the Minister of Justice (Kokubo) and the Minister of Education
(Sekiya). It was held at the Chosen Hotel at the invitation of Judge
Watanabe, a Presbyterian elder, and a Mr. Katayama. The judge, as
chairman, explained that the object of the meeting was “to talk over
matters connected with the present regrettable disturbances.” Actually, its
purpose was an attempt to enlist missionary support for Japanese ad-
ministrative authorities in Korea against the independence demonstra-
tions. A private report, marked “Not to be Published” is in my posses-
sion and is extremely revealing both of government and missionary
attitudes at this stage of the movement.

“You have great influence,” the Minister of Justice told the ten
missionaries present. “If you put forth your effort to quiet the people you
will do much service and in this way you will do much for humanity and
for peace.”12

But his plea was politely rejected. Politically, the missionaries
replied, they must remain neutral. They had not instigated the movement,
nor could they become tools of the Japanese to put it down. The indi-
vidual responses of some of the missionaries give a frank and representa-
tive spectrum of missionary attitudes in that first month of seething activity.

Let me quote from four: Samuel A. Moffett, president of what is now
Soongjun University; O. R. Avison, president of what is now Yonsei
University; Herbert Welch, then Methodist Bishop of Japan and Korea;
and W. A. Noble, a Methodist missionary in P’yŏngyang. In essence,
Moffett called for justice; Avison for freedom; Welch for neutrality; and Noble for obedience to the powers that be.

DR. MOFFETT: I have lived for thirty years in Korea... (and) speak as a very great friend and admirer of the Koreans. I have come to find that they place a higher value on spiritual and moral things than material. (The Japanese had been stressing the material improvements they had brought to Korea.) The thing which appeals to the Korean is justice and justice has a greater appeal to him than anything of a material nature... I find that they appreciate being treated like men and that manhood and worth appeal to them much more than physical comforts.¹³

DR. AVISON:... I will mention a few things... without which a man cannot be considered to be free: (1) The right to cherish a national spirit... (2) A free man has the right to the use of his national language. (The Japanese had been supplanting Korean with Japanese in the schools.) (3) Freedom of speech... Every man has the right to think for himself and to express his thoughts freely without fear. If this cannot be done... there will be an outbreak in spite of all attempts at repression... (4) Very similar to this is the right of a free press... (5) Associated with these two is freedom of the right to assemble and freely discuss any problem that affects the well being of the people... (6) Every free man is entitled himself to participate in the government... A man cannot be free when he has no voice concerning the laws by which he is to be governed. One thing that has troubled me in Korea during all the past number of years has been the constant display of the sword as the symbol of government... When I go to see Mr. Sekiya at home... when he has doffed his uniform and sword, and look on his benevolent countenance I feel that I can regard him as a friend. But when I visit him in his office, dressed in his uniform and wearing his sword, I stand before him in fear and trembling. Personally I do not think that Mr. Sekiya really likes his sword.

MR. SEKIYA: No, I do not like to wear a sword.

DR. AVISON: So I trust that Japan will stand with the Allies to the very end for the freedom of man.¹⁴

BISHOP WELCH:... May I answer definitely why mission-
aries ought not to intervene? There are three reasons: (1) Interference by missionaries would be ineffective... Most of the demonstrators are non-Christians and outside our influence. I feel sure that even the Christians who have not asked our advice, would not take our advice but... resent it. (2) The people as a whole would resent our interference and the missionary can do his best work only if he has the confidence and affection of the people. (3) It would be highly improper for any missionaries to intervene in a political question. If once admitted that it were proper for missionaries to go into politics it would have to be admitted that they may take part on either side... (Bishop Welch here read the instruction from former Minister Sill in 1897 warning American citizens against taking sides in politics)... 15

A little earlier the bishop had said:

Every missionary being a friend of both the Koreans and Japanese is intensely concerned yet we must assume the position of bystanders. It must be clearly recognized that this movement was not instigated by missionaries; it is not even a Christian movement, for most of the leaders and a great majority of the people are not Christian. It is a national movement, a controversy between the people and the existing government... Of course in such a discussion the foreigner has no choice but to stand in a neutral position... Apart from politics there are humanitarian questions involved but even here we do not want to thrust anything on this company. 16

It was Mr. Noble, the Methodist missionary, who perhaps gave strongest support to the principle of cooperation with government authorities, but even that was coupled with an expression of sympathy for the protesters. Personally Mr. Noble had taught Koreans to be in subjection to powers that be. He said that Koreans felt that under present conditions they had no hope. 17

What is notable in the record of this conference was not this single reference to the Pauline injunction of obedience to government. That had been a standard, but sometimes circumvented, Christian tradition for centuries. Nor was it the general acceptance by the missionaries of a policy of political neutrality. That had not only been urged on them by their home governments since 1897, but had been the official policy of their mission boards since the pattern-setting Conspiracy Trials (the paek-
What is really remarkable was that in face-to-face confrontation with the Japanese authorities, the missionaries so frankly expressed their disagreement with the government’s repressive colonial policies. Dr. Hardie rebuked their “arrogant and overbearing repression,” Mr. Whittemore accused them of failure to respect the principle of religious liberty. And Bishop Welch, despite his protestations of neutrality, pointedly noted that “instances are rare where Koreans did any violence until they were attacked by deadly weapons.”

Even more denunciatory of Japanese oppression were the missionaries in their private letters. A few, like Frank Herron Smith, who had been a missionary to the Japanese in Korea since the beginning of the occupation in 1905, were widely quoted as apologists for Japan’s “benevolent” colonialism. In 1922 Smith was still writing of anti-government activities by Korean “malcontents,” and praising conditions in Korea under Japanese administration. But such cases were the exception, not the rule. In ever-increasing numbers the missionaries rallied to express their direct sympathies with the movement.

At first the missionaries simply reported their outrage at what they were witnessing in Korea, and tried by various means to evade Japanese censorship and convey their protests to the outside world. Some of the earliest reports were taken to China by Mr. E. W. Thwing, Oriental Secretary to the International Reform Bureau, who was visiting missionaries in P’yŏngyang and Sonch’ŏn (Syenchun) just as the demonstrations broke out. Released to the foreign press in China, their publication caused a sensation. The Peking and Tiensin Times, March 15, 1919, carried the headline: THE KOREAN REVOLT. AUTHENTIC STORIES FROM MISSIONARIES. CAUSE AND CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT.

A missionary writes from Sensen, [Sŏnch’ŏn] Korea, March 11th, 1919, as follows: ‘In this letter let me tell you something of the Independent Movement in Korea, its cause, character, aim and hope. The cause of this movement lies in the ten years of oppression, cruel treatment, which these people have suffered from their ruthless conquerors. The Independent Movement in its character is most wonderful. It is a peaceful manifestation of the thoughts of the people... The people have no arms, and where the Christians have been in the majority, in almost every instance they have submitted to arrest and cruel beating without opposition. In cases where there has been bloodshed the soldiers have first
fired on the helpless crowd and so infuriated the non-Christian patriots that they have returned violence for violence. What do the Koreans expect, what is their aim?... Their aim is by peaceful means to let the world know that they are unhappy under the Japanese rule, that they are not given freedom and justice and that they wish their condition changed. What do they hope for? First, that this awful military rule in Korea which is like that of the Huns in Belgium may be removed...

Then follow a number of eye-witness reports by missionaries of police violence and cruelty.\textsuperscript{22}

If the first directed contribution of the missionaries to the movement was to alert the outside world through the press, their second was to bring forcibly to the attention of their own government representatives the facts of Japanese infringement on human rights in Korea. S. A. Moffett’s first report on brutalities on March 5, for example, went to his mission board in New York for publication. Later, on April 7, 1919, he wrote directly to the American Consul General in Seoul, Leo Bergholz, reporting another outbreak of violence by the police and gendarmes, April 2 to 4. Students from mission schools had been dragged off and beaten, and the schools intimidated from opening for the spring term. The missionary houses were searched. On April 4, Moffett found some sixteen to twenty gendarmes already in his house. He asked if they had a search warrant. They did not. He said, “Of course you can forcibly search but it will be without my consent,” and they went on with the search. He wrote:

They were not rude or disrespectful and one said that he did not like the job but had to do as he was ordered... In my study among my secretary’s papers in the drawer of his desk they found the following inconsequential things:

1. A copy of the program of the Prince Yi Memorial Service and the Independence service of March 1st written in ink in Korean.
2. An envelope directed to the Theological Seminar... containing five copies of the Independence Newspaper...
3. A small piece of paper with a statement in Korean of the number of men killed at Anju and the numbers of those who had taken part from the several villages of Anju in the demonstration.
None of the above had I ever seen before... (Then) they searched the outbuildings and the guest house. As we were trying to open the door of the guest house my secretary came out... They seized him, tied him and according to the statement of my two sons who saw it (I did not), they hit him, kicked him, punched him, his nose bleeding, and one man hit him across the cheek with a short whip. In the empty Korean house they found two copies of a mimeographed notice in Korean, thin paper rolled up into a small ball and thrown away. The detective told me that a boy had confessed that several of them had taken my mimeograph from the study and printed notices in that empty house...
The whole population is fearful of unlawful beatings...23

In Seoul a number of missionaries, including H. H. Underwood, E. W. Koons, W. G. Cram and Dr. Frank W. Schofield formed a committee of investigation to verify the facts of Japanese persecution of Christians.24 Schofield wrote signed letters to the Japanese press denouncing the administration’s mishandling of the situation.25 Underwood managed to get an eye-witness account of the massacre and church-burning at Che-amni to friends in America where it was read into the Congressional Record of July 17, 1919.26 S. A. Beck, a Methodist missionary with the American Bible Society in Korea, placed photographs of atrocities in the hands of Senator Norris of Nebraska who protested Japanese brutality in a fiery speech on the floor of the Senate on July 15, 1919.27

Mrs. W. L. Swallen of P’yöngyang was the sister of Congressman William Ashbrook, a prominent Republican. Through her daughter Olivette, who was studying in Chefoo, China, she managed to get facts and case histories to her brother not only for publication in Ohio newspapers, but for official action by church groups in America, and eventually to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.28 Mrs. Swallen wrote from P’yöngyang, Apr. 23, 1919:

“This dearest Olivette: I am enclosing some of the things I have been gathering. When you have read them send them on to Wilbur (her son). He can send them on to Will (the congressman) and he can have them printed in the Independent if he won’t put our name to it... We are neutral, but some of the true facts must be known... It would make your hair stand on end to hear some of the things we have heard. Just this p.m. Song Moksa... has just returned from Hanchung where his daughter-in-law was stripped of
her clothing, and her hands tied behind her back, and she was tied up for five hours, that is, was hung up by her arms. When she was let down she could not get her arms in front of her body until some one rubbed them and helped her. It's been a month or more and she does not yet have the use of her hands. His son is in prison. She was used this way because she hollered, 'Hurrah for Korea: Mansa.' The latest we have heard of the persecutions of the Christians was this p.m. and occurred at So-a-mul 20 li from here in Dr. Moffett's territory last Sunday. They, the police, went to the church, beat some of the officers in front of the pulpit, took the church rolls, hunted up the Christians and beat whole families from one house to another... We thought the statement which you saw—that 12,000 had been killed; 45,000 put in prison—was exaggerated, but many here think it is not exaggerated. The prisons are full everywhere... Don't worry... God is not dead; He loves these people more than we do..."  

Among the documents and reports sent by Mrs. Swallen to her brother were page after page of eye-witness reports of atrocities collected by missionaries in P'yŏngyang, Ch'airyung, Syenchun, Seoul, Andong, Pusan and elsewhere. This was the third contribution of the missionary community to the Independence Movement: the collection of statistics and the verification of injustices. Here is a sample page:

*Evangelistic Condition of Western Circuit, Pyeng Yang*

**Station**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of churches in district</th>
<th>58</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number meeting regularly</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number meeting irregularly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number not meeting at all</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number burned</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number damaged</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The damage done being broken doors & windows, destruction of books, rolls, pulpits & lamps)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of pastors in territory</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number on their job</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 were hiding a while but working now)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number arrested, now in jail</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number unable to work</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number arrested, later released</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Number of helpers (lay evangelists) 14
Number on their job 7
(Working carefully, but not doing much)
Number arrested 0
Number not able to work 3

Remarks:
The church in general seems paralyzed. Men, especially are afraid to meet for worship for fear of being arrested. Particularly true is this of the officers... In most of the churches where pastors and helpers are at work, the work is done very quietly so as not to arouse suspicion. In some of the churches the people fear to have the helper call, least that call should subject them to suspicion and arrest. In four churches the fear of arrest is so great as to have greatly interfered with the farming. The men are not able to put in their crops.

Particular Instances Noted.
At Morak—where the people of a number of villages gathered for a demonstration..., the police, one Japanese and two Koreans, are said to have fired into the crowd, killing a number and wounding others. This enraged the crowd which surrounded the three policemen and killed the two Korean policemen. The Japanese, having sheltered in the police quarters, kept firing out of the window, whereupon the buildings were set on fire and the Japanese finally killed. After this, the gendarmerie of Kangsa were notified and gendarmes and police were sent who damaged the church, breaking doors, windows and lamps and made many arrests. The pastor's house is also said to have been damaged.
At Pansyuk—a number of officers came and tore down the bell-tower and... broke all the glass in the windows of both the church and school-house... All the Bibles, hymnbooks, church and Sunday School rolls and all the school records were destroyed... They caught and bound eight men whom they stripped and beat in the church yard; and one of these was burned with matches on the tenderest part of his body. This was told me in the presence of many others and by one of the men who was beaten...
Three women were stripped naked and beaten because they
would not tell where their husbands were (most likely they did not know...) These three were Leader Paik's wife, Elder Choi's wife and Elder Cho's wife. The two former were beaten so badly that two weeks after when we were informed of this they were still not able to come to the church. The latter, Elder Cho's wife, herself told the missionary that she was taken out of her house by two officers, one a Japanese, the other a Korean, was taken away from the village by these two men, out to a pine grove... and forced to take off all her clothes and was beaten terribly there by them while sitting on the ground...

The material quoted above is just one page of thousands which the missionaries of Korea filtered out through Japanese censorship, breaking down all efforts of the authorities to hide the "incident" from the world. One staid Presbyterian single lady, Miss Alice Butts, unblushingly carried some of the reports hidden in her whale-bone corset across the border into Manchuria. The whole extraordinary missionary effort to investigate, verify, collect reports and make the facts known was undoubtedly the greatest single reason for the sympathetic attention the Independence Movement received almost instantly from the world press. It was not, at first, an organized campaign. It was simply the spontaneous response of good-hearted, honest individuals who loved the Korean people and could not remain silent while they were being abused. And it was not consciously political. As Mrs. Swallen had written, "We are neutral, but the... true facts must be known."

II. Official Missionary Reaction.

Even while Mrs. Swallen was writing those words, the officers of the largest Protestant mission in Korea, the Northern Presbyterians (now United Presbyterians) were meeting in executive session in Seoul, April 22-24, 1919, in a momentous session that was to carry the missionaries beyond mere neutrality. They were preparing a private but official position paper on the situation for their home church. It was the first, and remained the most thorough, statement of organized missionary attitude toward the Independence Movement to emanate from Korea—all the more important because it was not an emotional, individual response, but a carefully formulated statement of consensus. Although never published, and kept confidential in mission board headquarters in New York, it was vitally significant in setting the tone of the forthcoming American
churches' official protest which was issued through the Federal Council of Churches in July.\textsuperscript{32} I have a carbon copy of the 52-page typed text. The full title is "The Present Movement for Korean Independence in its Relation to the Mission Work of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). A Private Report Prepared for the Board of Foreign Missions By the Executive Committee of the Chosen Mission at Seoul, April 22nd-24th, 1919."\textsuperscript{33}

It begins with a sketch of the historical background of the Japanese annexation, noting a Korean resistance movement from 1907 to 1909 that cost 21,000 Korean lives and 1,300 Japanese, but even-handedly paying tribute to the good intentions of the first Japanese Resident-General, Prince Ito. Singled out for special criticism in this section is the ominous omnipresence of the police and gendarmes in Korea and the crippling inadequacies of the Japanese judicial system. The ratio of police and gendarmes was one to every 1,224 Koreans and in the most recent year for which statistics were available (1916-17), "one person in every 200 living in Chosen experienced the judgment of the police box."\textsuperscript{34} As for justice in the Japanese law courts, the report tersely sums up its complaints with the flat charge that under current procedures "there can be no security for either foreigner or Korean against injustice and inhuman treatment."\textsuperscript{35}

Despite the severity of their criticisms, the missionaries took special pains not to appear disloyal to constituted government. They frankly admitted two earlier cases of confrontation between missions and the Japanese authorities. The first was the so-called Conspiracy Case of 1912 when missionaries and Korean Christians had been falsely accused (and six Koreans found guilty) of an alleged assassination attempt on the life of Governor-General Terauchi; the second was the refusal of the Presbyterian Mission to conform to the Imperial Educational Ordinance of 1915 which banned Bible teaching from the curriculum. Nevertheless, the report concluded, "All relations with the civil officials have continued cordial and harmonious."\textsuperscript{36} Some may have noted the absence of any reference to Japanese military authorities in that phrase, but the fundamental principle of acceptance of governmental authority was reaffirmed as it had been formulated by the Mission Board in 1912 during the Conspiracy Case:

It is the unvarying policy of the Boards and their Missions loyally to accept the constituted governments of the countries in which Mission work is carried on, to do everything in their power to keep the missionary enterprise free from political movements...\textsuperscript{37}

The next section, however, is a rather startling contrast. The stern
religious convictions of these missionaries could never allow them to equate loyalty to government with silent assent to observed injustices and oppression. The following eleven pages of the report, sub-titled "History of the Independence Movement," is the most blistering indictment of Japan's fourteen years (1905-1919) of misrule on the peninsula ever drawn up by an official body of foreigners in Korea up to that time. In sixteen terse accusations, summarized from the Korean Declaration of Independence and other sources, it spells out the anguish and legitimate grievances of the Korean people and sympathetically reports their demand for independence. The grievances are bitter:

1. Loss of independence through gradual assumption of power by the Japanese under various pretexts and in spite of explicit promises. The Korean people never assented to annexation...

2. Oppression by the military administration... It is asserted that the administration of the past nine years has been a reign of terror for the Koreans... contempt... oppression, injustice and brutality, whole-sale arrests... intimidation and torture...

3. No liberty of speech, press, assembly, or of conscience.

4. An intolerable system of police espionage...

5. Koreans have no share in the government...

6. Unjust discrimination in salaries...

7. Denationalization, an attempt... to make one race into another by restricting and regulating the racial language (Korean) and forcing the adoption of Japanese ideals... The two peoples are essentially different and Korea does not want Japanese ideals and institutions.

8. Unjust expatriation of all Korerans living abroad... and restriction of emigration.

9. Unjust expropriation of crown lands...

10. Discrimination in education...

11. Debauching and demoralizing Korean youth... The Japanese system of licenced prostitution has made vice more open and flagrant...

12. ...uncontrolled child labor and the practical enslavement of women operatives...

13. Unrestricted immigration of Japanese... forcing thousands of Koreans into Manchuria...

14. Annexation 'for the peace of the East,' as the Japanese
claimed, is no longer thus justified, and independence should be restored.

15. ... great material improvement... done ostensibly for Korea (is) really done for the Japanese in Korea... Annexation has meant the systematic exploitation of the country and its resources...

16. The 33 signers of the original Declaration of Independence have been unjustly treated...

The demands of the Koreans, they conclude, are "nothing short of absolute independence." Had the authorities met the agitation in a more understanding way, the report says, the Koreans might have settled simply for reform, "but the use of sword and gun and fire has so roused the people that they will be more insistent than ever for absolute independence and the suppression of the present movement will doubtless only mean another outbreak later on."  

The concluding sections of the Private Report deal with a brief history of the current demonstrations and of the movement's relation to the Korean church and the missionaries. The general attitude of the missionary writers of the report is not left in doubt. They are obviously strongly sympathetic to the Korean cause. For example, with quiet approval they quote the answer of Yi Sang-Chay, of the Y.M.C.A., to police interrogators. "Who is the head of the movement?", he was asked. "Do you know?" "Yes," he said "Who? Tell us who," they asked eagerly. "God," he answered calmly. "God at the head and twenty million Koreans behind it."  

Church involvement, the report carefully points out, was not organizational except in the sense that all the teachings of the Christian faith are "unconscious preparation of the Christian community for taking part in such a movement." Church participation was through individual Christians of whom "ninety-nine percent plus are in their hearts in favor of the present movement."  

More directly pertinent to the subject of this paper is the section, "The Relation of Missionaries to the Movement." The key phrase is: "No neutrality for brutality." It marks a careful, measured step beyond the affirmations of political neutrality which up to then had always been the officially stated policy of the mission.

The step beyond neutrality was prefaced by a definition of the kind of neutrality which the missionaries felt that they had so far scrupulously observed. They had neither instigated nor advised an independence movement:
Except for the admitted fact that they are propagators of a gospel which has more than once been accused of turning the world upside down, missionaries have had no direct relationship to this present movement... It arose without their knowledge. Their advice as to the inception and direction of the movement has not been sought...  

But neither would they allow themselves to be used to suppress the movement. They explicitly rejected the strenuous efforts of the Japanese authorities "to persuade the missionaries to side with the Government and use their influence direct and indirect for the suppression of the revolt". In fact, they said, they no longer felt able to agree to any further conferences of the sort already held with Japanese leaders in March; lest these be used to compromise them in the eyes of both Koreans and Japanese.

Having thus expressed the kind of neutrality they could accept, they forthrightly rejected as cowardly and unchristian a neutrality which could demand the closing of the eyes to inhumanity and the silencing of the tongue to protest:

It is too much to expect that missionaries representing the Gospel of Christ... should sit silent when inhuman atrocities are being inflicted upon a helpless and unresisting people. Even right thinking Japanese, Christian or non-Christian, would not do so... If reporting to the world the brutal inhumanity with which the revolt in this country is being suppressed be a breach of neutrality then the missionaries have laid themselves open to the charge. 'No neutrality for brutality'...

Conclusions

This is a good point at which to bring to a close this brief survey of one important segment of foreign opinion of the Independence Movement in its earliest weeks. Within less than sixty days missionary reaction, which was to have a formative influence on world opinion, had moved through five distinct stages.

The first was surprised non-participation. On March 1 the missionaries, close though they were to the Korean people, had no advance knowledge of the protests. The second was immediate sympathy. Missionaries were outraged by the brutality with which the authorities tried to suppress the movement; they sympathized with its goals, but hesitated publicly to endorse its methods. The third stage was indirect support. Within a week missionaries were actively seeking to publicize the protests
abroad, asking recognition of the justice of the Korean demands, and criticizing the Japanese handling of the situation. The fourth stage was direct but involuntary involvement. In the early days of the movement missionaries had been struck, beaten, detained and, by April, one had been arrested and found guilty of direct participation in the movement.

Finally, by the end of April, the first official but still private statement of organized missionary support for the protests was issued and circulated abroad. Thus the Korean Independence Movement found in this quick sequence of events and reactions its strongest and most effective source of foreign support: the community of Western missionaries in Korea.

NOTES


4. The Korean “Independence Agitation”: Articles Reprinted from the “Seoul Press.” The Seoul Press: Seoul, May 15, 1919, p. 1ff. The editorial states, in part, “... missionaries were very good friends and assistants of the administration in the past, as they continue to be... They have always striven to make their followers law-abiding and, when occasion demanded, were active in restraining them from going to extremes... We... positively assert that no foreign missionaries are implicated in the recent trouble...” (March 14)

5. The slogan “Choson tongnip mansei,” which can be roughly translated “Long live Korean independence,” was popularly shortened to simply “Mansei.”

6. Fifty-four years later, my brother James who had smuggled out the flag in 1920 when he went to school in the U.S., brought it back to keep my father’s promise and fly it again on the Soongilin University campus. See account in Today at Soongilin Univ., Vol. 1, No. 2 (Nov. 1974), and a handwritten memo by James Moffett dated Sept. 10, 1974.


11. Letter, dated P'yŏngyang, March 5, 1919, with the added notation to a colleague who was to get the letter out: “Dear Blair: Send copies to the Board or use in any way you may wish. I told these same things to Japanese officials here and in Seoul. S.A.M.”

12. Report of First Session of Unofficial Conference, Chosen Hotel, March 22nd, 1919; Second Session, March 14th (sic), 1919. (Unpublished typescript), 10 pp. The missionies were Bishop Welch, Airson, Moffett, Gale, Gerdine, Hardic, Brockman, Whittemore, Noble and Bunker.


22. Peking and Tientsin Times, March 15, 1919. The same issue carried other missionary letters dated Pyeng Yang, March 8 and Syenchur (Sŏnchŏn) March 11. Subsequent issues of that paper and the Peking Leader were full of letters from Korea. Information from a letter from S. A. Moffett (Mar. 5) appeared in the Los Angeles Times as early as March 13, but without attribution.

23. Letter, S. A. Moffett to the Hon. Leo Bergholz, April 7, 1919.


25. He was still writing in November. See Japan Advertiser, Nov. 29, 1919.


27. Ibid. July 15, 1919, p. 2735 f. See also July 18, p. 2956; Aug. 18 p. 4194-4196.


30. The report consists of four typewritten pages. The Western circuit was in the care of Rev. W. L. Swallen. In a handwritten note at the end, Mrs. Swallen adds: “Dear Olivette: I am sending you a partial report of the Western Circuit. I wonder if you could compile some we are sending, have them copied or printed to send to some of our friends. I shall send you a list of names. Please send the sentence of Mr. Mowry to Uncle Will (Ashbrook).” (Eli Mowry was sentenced by a Japanese court on Apr. 19 to six months’ penal servitude.)

A similar half-page of statistics compiled by Moffett for Whang Hai Presbytery (incomplete) lists 12 pastors “beaten, otherwise abused, imprisoned, or compelled to flee;” 13 helpers imprisoned with hard labor, beaten, abused or compelled to flee; 27 elders, 28 leaders, 69 deacons, 31 Sunday School teachers, 42 school teachers, and 341 other Christians so treated. Total 563 of whom 7 were shot and 4 were killed.

31. Ibid.


42. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-36


46. See above, p. 7 ff.


49. I am glad to acknowledge an indebtedness to Frank Baldwin’s lectures and writings on the Independence Movement. My own sources corroborate some of his conclusions on missionary participation.
The Martyrdom of Paul Yun: 
Western Religion and Eastern Ritual in Eighteenth Century 
Korea

by Donald L. Baker

On December 8, 1791, in front of the P’ungnam Gate in Chŏnju, the 
capital of Chŏlla Province, Paul Yun was beheaded for his destruction of 
his family’s ancestral tablets. King Chŏngjo had ordered the execution of 
this Catholic member of Korea’s yangban elite because of his obedience to a 
command from a European bishop in Peking to defy Korean law and 
custom requiring the use of ancestral tablets in Confucian mourning ritual. 
Paul Yun thus entered history as one of Korea’s earliest Christian martyrs, 
three years before the first Catholic priest arrived on the peninsula to preach 
the Gospel to the Korean people.

The story of Paul Yun, how he and his friends and relatives were 
converted to Catholicism and how their new faith led them into conflict 
with their Confucian government and society, can tell us much about the 
nature of Korean values and beliefs two centuries ago. An examination of 
this clash between Western religion and Eastern ritual may offer us some 
insight into fundamental differences between Confucian and Christian 
approaches to truth, morality, and the nature of man and society.

Paul Yun died because of his belief that men have a higher loyalty than 
that owed to their society and government. His conviction that men sometime
have to be willing to sacrifice even their lives if their integrity and 
conscience so demand makes the story of his execution more than just an 
interesting historical anecdote about a clash between Catholic doctrine and 
Confucian ceremony two hundred years ago. While the specific issue of 
ancestral tablets for which Paul Yun gave up his life in 1791 may no longer 
be relevant today, conflicts between the dictates of conscience and the 
demands of society still arise. A look at the dilemma faced by Paul Yun in 
1791 can help us reflect on our moral priorities in 1980.

I. THE EARLY REACTION TO CATHOLICISM: CURIOSITY AND CRITICISM

Catholic ideas arrived in Korea long before the first missionaries. As 
early as the seventeenth century we find Korean writers such as Yu Mong-
in (1559-1623) and Yi Su-gwang (1563-1628) discussing the Jesuit mission-
ary effort in China. In his Ouyadam (Random Scribblings, by Yu Mong-in) Yu noted, "Europe has its own peculiar way of serving Heaven that is different from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism... Although the followers of that Western religion speak highly of our moral principles, they actually regard us as their enemy. There are deep, fundamental differences between their way and ours."

Yu claimed that Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618), the author of the first original work of fiction written in Hangul, returned from a trip to Peking with some maps and prayer books he had received from European missionaries there. Hŏ Kyun is also described by the eighteenth century scholar An Chong-bok (1712-1791) as influenced by Catholicism. According to An, Hŏ had argued, "Heaven gives men and women their passions and desires. But the moral rules governing human behavior are derived from the teachings of the Sages. I would rather violate the teachings of the Sages than act contrary to the human nature Heaven has given me." An and other Confucian critics of Catholicism believed that such an expression of respect for Heaven over the Sages showed that Hŏ Kyun was responsible for introducing the "Doctrine of Heaven" (Ch'ŏnhak, as Catholicism was then known) into Korea.

Yi Su-gwang, a contemporary of Yu Mong-in and Hŏ Kyun, also revealed some familiarity with Catholic missionary writings in his Chibong Yusol (A Collection of Essays, by Yu Su-gwang). In his discussion of foreign countries, Yi briefly describes two major works by an Italian Jesuit missionary to China, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Yi mentions the T'en-chu shih i (The True Lord of Heaven) and the Chiao Yu lun (Discourse on Friendship) and refers to the Catholic doctrines of divine creation of the universe and of life after death in heaven or hell. He also cites the observation of the Chinese author Chiao Hung that Europeans such as Ricci place such a high value on friendship that they regard their friends as a part of themselves.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Jesuit missionaries in Peking, with the help of their Chinese converts, published more than three hundred titles in Chinese introducing Western religion and science. Copies of some of these Catholic books were picked up by Koreans on tribute missions to Peking and brought back to the peninsula. In the early eighteenth century enough of these books on "Western Learning" (Sŏhak) had reached Korea that the Practical Learning scholar Yi Ik (1681-1763) was able to sprinkle his encyclopedic writings with information gleaned from Jesuit works on astronomy, geography, cartography, mathematics, and medicine as well as religion.
Two books explaining Catholic religious doctrine and practice that particularly interested Yi Ik were *T'ien-chu shih i*, which Yi Su-gwang had mentioned a century earlier, and *Ch'i k'e* (Seven Victories). Ricci's *T'ien-chu shih i* introduces the Natural Theology of Thomistic Catholic philosophy. It doesn't discuss such Catholic doctrines grounded in divine revelation as the Trinity, the Virgin Birth, or the Seven Sacraments. Instead, it is limited to positions which Ricci believed could be supported by natural reason alone. As Ricci describes this work, "it treats of such truths as that there is in the universe a God, who has created all things and continually conserves them in being; that the soul of man is immortal, and will receive from God in the next life remuneration for its good and evil works."

*Ch'i k'e* is a moral exhortation in which the Spanish Jesuit Dedacus de Pantoja extols the seven virtues of humility, charity, patience, compassion, temperance, diligence, and self-restraint with which the vices common to all men can be controlled. De Pantoja's picture of the moral man leading a simple and frugal life in which reason has firm control over passion was designed to appeal to men who had been taught to respect the Confucian ideal of the philosopher-scholar whose mind rules his body.

In *Song-ho sasol* (Essays of Yi Ik), Yi discusses *Ch'i k'e*. He believes that what de Pantoja wrote about is no different from the Confucian spirit of self-control and self-denial. And he notes that the effectiveness of the rhetoric de Pantoja uses in his call to virtue sometimes surpasses that found in Confucian literature.

This book will be a great aid in our effort to re-establish proper moral behavior in our world. But, strange to say, this book has talk of God and spirits mixed up in it. If we correct it and take out all such non-essentials, removing these grains of sand and pieces of grit, and pick out and copy down only those arguments that are sound, then this book can be regarded as orthodox Confucianism.

In 1724, Shin Hu-dam (1702-1761), a young student of Yi Ik, composed a lengthy Confucian refutation of Catholic doctrine. Shin discusses three of the Jesuit works in great detail. He analyses and refutes Ricci's arguments in *T'ien-chu shih i* one by one. In summarizing his criticism of this presentation of fundamental Catholic theology, he claims to find one common thread which runs through all the chapters of *T'ien-chu shih i*. In Shin's judgment, despite the constant references to serving and honoring the Lord of Heaven, *T'ien-chu shih i* is primarily concerned with the promise of eternal reward and the threat of eternal punishment.
All Ricci is really doing is using his premise of heaven and hell and the
survival of the soul after death to entice followers and to frighten people
against spurning his religion. Shin dismisses as absurd the Catholic
attempt to identify with Confucian attacks on Buddhism since, for Shin,
the doctrines of heaven, hell, and immortality are clearly Buddhist ideas.
I've never seen such talk in any of our Confucian writings...
These Catholics have simply lifted stray bits of Buddhist
dogma and made them their own and then turned around
and declared themselves the opponents of Buddhism. They
have not only sinned against Confucianism, they are also
traitors to Buddhism.10

Another work which Shin attacks is Ling yen li shao (The Nature of
the Soul) by Francis Sambiasi (1592-1649). Sambiasi presents a Thomistic
portrait of man's soul as immortal, rational, and spiritual substance. Shin
rejects this picture as incompatible with the Neo-Confucian vision of man
as simply a transient condensation of cosmic forces. And he condemns
the Catholic doctrine of the soul traveling to heaven or hell after the
death of the body as absurd and immoral in its implications. For Shin, a
true gentleman is only concerned with serving his parents and superiors
properly. Virtue consists of nothing more than showing loyalty and filial
piety in normal, everyday activities, with no thought of personal gain.
The essence of Confucian philosophy, the standard by which a civilized
man directs his behavior, is to do good for good's sake.
The Catholic goal of a reward in heaven is not something
that a true son should think about when serving his parents
nor a true subject when serving his ruler... Catholic teachings
threaten morality and pervert ethical principles with their
selfish aim of personal reward. How can we not despise
such ideas! It really is a pity that they give priority to selfish
intentions instead of making sincerity the foundation of
their doctrines. Those who follow their teachings can never
be true gentlemen.11

The third Jesuit work which Shin criticizes is Chih-fang wai chi
(World Geography) by Giulio Aleni (1582-1646). While Shin does find
fault with Aleni's cultural geography of the non-Confucian world for
assuming that barbarian kingdoms can be compared with the civilized
states of the Chinese cultural sphere,12 his main attack is against the Jesuit
philosophy of education. The purpose of Confucian education is to in-
culcate moral principles and to train young men in proper moral behavior.
Such skills as reading and arithmetic are of only secondary importance,
even in primary education, and should be treated merely as means to a higher ethical end. Shin notes with dismay that in the West skill, not virtue, is the goal of education. Reading and literature are taught before the ability to recognize the moral lessons in what is read is properly developed. And mathematics, the mere manipulation of numbers, is learned before a sufficient understanding of the purposes and use of such knowledge is reached. Shin warns that such a reversal of the proper priorities in education can only lead to distortion of mental and moral growth.\textsuperscript{13}

II. THE BIRTH OF THE KOREAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Shin’s strictures against Catholic thought were not enough to prevent a growing interest in Western ideas and Jesuit books among a younger generation of disciples of Yi Ik. In 1779 a small group of students of Yi Ik’s philosophy met in a Buddhist temple not far from Kwangju in Kyŏnggi province to study and discuss some of these Western writings. Chŏng Yak-chŏn (1754-1816), an older brother of the famous scholar Chŏng Yag-yong (1762-1836), was there along with his brothers-in-law Yi Pyŏk (1754-1786) and Yi Sŏng-hung (1756-1801), his teacher Kwŏn Ch’ŏlsin (1736-1801), and several other members of Korea’s literati elite.\textsuperscript{14} For over ten days this group of eager Confucian scholars debated among themselves questions concerning heaven, this world, and the nature of man. Drawing on the works of scholars before them, and the writings of the ancient Chinese Sages, they found that they still did not have satisfactory answers to the questions which troubled them. So they turned to the books written by Catholic missionaries dealing with philosophy, mathematics, and religion.\textsuperscript{15} Lacking a Catholic priest or even a layman properly instructed in the faith, and not possessing a large library of Western books, many of the group at Chu-ŏ temple felt that they did not have enough information about Catholicism to fully understand it. Their few days of reading and discussion in the winter of 1799 had only whetted their appetites. Their hunger for more knowledge remained unsatisfied.

In late 1783 Yi Pyŏk learned that the father of Yi Sung-hun had been named the Third Secretary of the Winter Solstice Tribute Mission to the Manchu court in Peking that year. Yi Sŏng-hun planned to accompany his father on that trip to the Chinese capital. This was the chance to learn more about Western mathematics, science, and religion that Yi Pyŏk had been waiting for. He went to Yi Sŏng-hun and told him that there was a Catholic church in the northern part of Peking staffed by Western mis-
sionaries. Yi Pyŏk suggested to his friend that he go to that church and meet the missionaries there. He should show great interest in their religion, asking for copies of their books explaining Catholic doctrine and requesting to be baptized. "If you do that, those Westerners will be delighted with you and you will get a lot of interesting presents from them. Make sure you don’t come back empty-handed."16

Yi Sŭng-hun followed his friend’s suggestion and sought out the European priests in Peking. At first his request for baptism was denied on the grounds that his knowledge of Catholic teachings was inadequate. However, impressed by Yi Sŭng-hun’s sincerity, Fr. Louis de Grammont finally agreed to accept him into the Church. After receiving further instruction in Catholic doctrine, Yi Sŭng-hun was baptized Peter with the hope that Peter Yi Sŭng-hun would become the cornerstone around which the Korean Catholic Church would be built.17

The news of this first conversion and baptism of a resident of Korea was reported by the missionary Father Jean-Matthieu de Ventavon in a letter to friends in Europe. He wrote that, before they admitted Peter Yi to Holy Baptism, they asked him many questions, all of which he answered satisfactorily. When he was asked what he would do if his king would try to force him to renounce his new faith, Yi Sŭng-hun “replied, without hesitation, that he would suffer every torment, and death, rather than give up the religion which he clearly recognized as true.”18 Peter Yi proved more faithful to his baptismal name than to his promise. Despite his later confession that he had originally approached the missionaries out of a desire to gain more knowledge of Western mathematics,19 his conversion seems to have been genuine. Yet three times in the sixteen years that followed he denied the faith which he had sworn to uphold. However, his three public denials were each followed by a secret return to the practice of Catholicism and Peter Yi Sŭng-hun died a martyr to his faith in 1801.

Yi Sŭng-hun returned from Peking in the early spring of 1784, bringing with him several Catholic books as well as various products of eighteenth century Western science and technology. He immediately visited Yi Pyŏk, told him of his conversion, and shared with him the treasures he had brought back from China. Yi Pyŏk eagerly pored over the books explaining Catholic doctrine and decided that this Catholicism was the truth he had been searching for.20 Apparently bolder and more fervent in his new faith than Yi Sŭng-hun, Yi Pyok began proselytizing his discovery among his friends and relatives right away.

The infant Korean Church was fortunate in having Yi Pyŏk as an early evangelist. He was an effective and enthusiastic propagator of his
faith. Fr. Dallet, in his pioneer history of the Catholic Church in Korea, tells us that Yi Pyŏk had an impressive physical appearance. “He was eight ch’ŏk tall and could lift over 100 kŭn with one hand. His commanding presence attracted everyone’s attention.”21 He also had a respectable family background. A member of the Kyŏngju Yi lineage, his immediate family had a record of distinguished service as high ranking military officers. His grandfather had been a Regional Army Commander as were his two brothers.22 His intelligence and character had won him respect from many influential followers of Yi Ik. Fr. Dallet reports that one contemporary Korean source said of him, “he showed penetrating insight into whatever problems he addressed. When he was studying the Confucian Classics, it was almost second nature for him from the time he was very young to look for the deeper meaning of the texts.”23

In April, 1784, Yi Pyŏk joined Chŏng Yak-chŏn, his brother-in-law and fellow participant in the discussions at Chu-ŏ Temple five years earlier, on a boat trip up to Seoul from the Chŏng family home in rural Kyŏnggi province where they had just participated in a memorial service for Yi’s sister. Riding with them to Seoul were Chŏng Yak-chŏn’s two younger brothers, Chŏng Yak-chong (1760-1801) and Chŏng Yak-yong. After they reached Seoul, Yi showed the Chŏng brothers some of his Catholic books, including T’ien-chu shih i and Ch’i k’e. Chŏng Yag-yong tells us that it was at this time that he and his brothers began to be attracted by Western religion, not knowing then that Catholicism forbade proper performance of Confucian mourning ritual.24

Yi Pyŏk then turned his attention to his friends among the chungin, the hereditary government specialists in foreign languages, law, medicine, astronomy, and other skills important to the administration of the Yi dynasty government. Ch’oe Ch’ang-hyŏn, Ch’oe In-gil, Kim Pŏm-u, and Kim Chong-gyo were converted at this time and began to preach their new faith to their friends among the chungin, yangban, and commoners. Slowly the number of Kcreans who accepted Catholic teachings was increasing.

Yi Ka-hwan (1742-1801), Yi Sŭng-hun’s uncle, a grandson of Yi Ik’s brother and later Minister of the Board of Works, heard that Yi Pyŏk had been promoting non-Confucian doctrine. Chŏng Yag-yong tells us that Yi Ka-hwan sighed and said, “What a pity! I’ve read Tien-chu shih i and Ch’i k’e, too. While they do contain some good points, in the final analysis they are not acceptable as orthodox scholarship. How can Pyŏk think he can replace our Confucianism with such things?”25

Yi Ka-hwan went to Yi Pyŏk’s home to try and convince him that he was committing a serious error. “But Yi Pyŏk argued his position with
rhetoric as powerful as a raging river and defended his beliefs with the strength of iron." Yi Ka-hwan realized that he could not win in such an argument with Yi Pyŏk and so he gave up and left, never to visit him again. Ch'ong Yag-yong claims that Yi Ka-hwan, though impressed with the fervor of Yi Pyŏk's convictions, was not converted by him. However, Hwang Sa-yŏng, a son-in-law of Ch'ong Yag-chŏn, wrote in the midst of the 1801 persecution that Yi Ka-hwan had been converted by Yi Pyŏk although he was reluctant to be baptized by him, preferring to wait until he could go to Peking and be baptized by the Western priests there. The Yi dynasty court also believed that Yi Ka-hwan was a Catholic and executed him along with his nephew Yi Ŭng-hun and other prominent Catholic yangban in 1801.

In the fall of 1784 Yi Pyŏk visited Kwŏn Ch'ol-sin, of the Andong Kwŏn clan, who had been with him at Chu-ŏ Temple in 1799. Yi converted both Kwŏn Ch'ol-shin and his brother Il-shin, adding another prestigious yangban scholar family to the roster of Catholic believers in Korea. Also introduced to Catholicism in those first few months after Yi Ŭng-hun returned from Peking were Yi Ki-yang, Yu Hang-gŭm, Hong Nang-min, and Paul Yun Chi-ch'ung, all representatives of recognized yangban lineages.

Paul Yun did not learn of Catholicism from Yi Pyŏk directly but through Yi's friend, the chungin Kim Pŏm-u, a central figure in the birth of the Catholic Church on the peninsula. It was at Kim's house that the first worship services were held. And it was at Kim's house that Catholicism was first brought to the attention of the Yi authorities. According to a 1785 public letter signed by several students studying for their civil service examinations at the Sŏnggyun'gwan in Seoul, in the spring of 1785, Yi Ŭng-hun, Ch'ong Yak-chon, Ch'ong Yag-yong, and several others met at the Myŏngdong home of Kim Pŏm-u to hold religious services.

Yi Pyŏk wore a dark cloth over his head from his forehead back to his shoulders and stood in the midst of the gathering, preaching to them. Yi Ŭng-hun, the three Ch'ong brothers, and Kwŏn Il-sin and his son all called themselves his disciples. With books in their hands, they gave him their undivided attention. When Yi Pyŏk preached to them their demeanor was more solemn than that of Confucian students at the feet of their teacher. They met like this regularly for several months, with dozens of yangban and chungin in attendance. Then one day a Seoul city policeman
passed by and thought he heard the sound of drinking and gambling coming from Kim’s house. He rushed in to find out what was going on and discovered a crowd of worshippers with powder on their faces and dark pieces of cloth over their heads. Startled by this strange sight, the patrolman arrested those present and confiscated their portraits of Jesus, their books, and various other religious articles. The Minister of the Board of Punishments, Kim Hwa-jin, saddened that men from such distinguished families should be involved in such foolishness, lectured them on the proper behavior of a Confucian gentleman and then released them. The only person he kept in custody was Kim Pŏm-u.24 Kim was beaten severely, kept in confinement for ten days, and then sent into exile in Ch’ungch’ŏng province where he died of his wounds in the fall of 1786.29 Thomas Kim Pŏm-u thus became the first Catholic martyr on Korean soil.

The discovery of the meeting at Kim’s home was a severe blow to Catholicism on the peninsula. Not only did the struggling Church lose Kim Pŏm-u, but its two founding members Yi Sŭng-hun and Yi Pyŏk withdrew from further public involvement. The publicity given their participation in the Catholic services brought their unorthodox activities to the attention of their families. Yi Pyŏk’s father threatened to hang himself unless his son abandoned his practice of Catholicism. Torn between love for his father and respect for the teachings of his faith, Yi Pyŏk broke off all contact with the friends he had introduced to Catholic teachings. A year later, in 1786, Yi Pyŏk died of typhus at the age of 33, estranged from the Church that he had done so much to establish in Korea.30

Yi Sŭng-hun also came under pressure from his father and relatives to renounce his faith. His father called all the family and relatives together to burn the books Yi had brought back from Peking and smash the presents he had received from the missionaries. Yi was then forced to write a statement condemning Catholicism and send that statement to the Board of Punishments in Seoul.31 Yi Sŭng-hun’s apostasy appears to have been merely pro forma, however, as he continued to associate with his fellow Catholics, although he was more circumspect after 1785.

Despite the warnings of Kim Pŏm-u’s torture and the forced renunciations of Yi Pyŏk and Yi Sŭng-hun, the Korean Catholic Church continued to grow. Before Kim’s arrest, Yun Chi-ch’ung had borrowed T’ien-ch’u shih i and Ch’i k’e from him and made copies of those works for his own personal use before returning them. Yun had passed his chinsa examination in 1783 at the age of 23 and, no longer having to think only about
preparing for that literati qualification examination, was now free to pursue his interest in "studying ways to have a pure heart and live a conscientious life," as he explained under interrogation in 1791. He left Seoul and returned to his home in a village in Chinsan county in North Cholla province. There he assiduously studied his two Jesuit books and discussed the doctrines they taught with his maternal cousin and neighbor Kwŏn Sang-yŏn. Only after three years of meditation and reflection on Catholic teachings was Yun Chi-ch’ung ready to accept Catholicism. In 1788, under the urging of his cousin, Chŏng Yak-ch'ŏn, he was baptized as Paul. His cousin Kwŏn also became a Catholic with the new Christian name of James.

In 1787 Catholicism again became the target of heated criticism among the students of the Sŏnggyun’gwan. Yi Sŭng-hun and Chŏng Yag-yong were both students at the Sŏnggyun’gwan, supposedly engaged in the study of Confucian philosophy and ethics in order to prepare for government service. A fellow student, Yi Ki-gyŏng, discovered that Yi Sŭng-hun and Chŏng Yag-yong had instead been meeting at a house outside the school grounds under the pretext of engaging in some friendly poetry writing competition. Rather than writing poetry, however, they had been reading more Catholic books and preaching Catholic doctrine to their fellow students. Yi Ki-gyŏng had read some of those Catholic books and had decided that, while they appeared to have some good points when given a cursory reading, a careful examination of their contents revealed that they contained ideas that were a threat to the Confucian moral order.

Yi Ki-gyŏng tried at first to talk his friends out of their dangerous interest in Catholicism. When they failed to heed his advice, he turned to another student at the Sŏnggyun’gwan, Hong Nag-an, and told him about his concern over the spread of Western ideas among their fellow students. Hong wanted to inform the government immediately and ask that these heretics be severely punished. Yi Ki-gyŏng did not want his friends to suffer public disgrace. He argued instead for quiet attempts to reason with those who had been seduced away from Confucian morality by alien books. He believed that logical persuasion and moral example would be more effective in fighting heresy than force.

As rumors spread of heterodox practices among some Sŏnggyun’gwan students, Chŏng Yag-yong wrote an angry letter to Yi Ki-gyŏng, blaming Yi for being behind those rumors and linking Chŏng and his associates to heresy. Chŏng wrote that he had made a serious mistake in trusting Yi. He said that Yi had made an even graver error in judging others too
quickly. "Without even a full day's reflection, you decided that we were miles apart from you in matters of principle and morality."

Yi responded with a letter in which he tried to convince Chŏng of the dangers of Catholicism. He argued that the Ten Commandments don’t say anything about serving one's ruler, and list the command to honor one's father and mother in fourth place instead of at the top of the list. Such blindness to the proper moral priorities is not something that a true gentleman could accept. Moreover, he notes some of those who were studying those Catholics books were hiding that fact from their fathers and older brothers, and that is not the way a true gentleman should behave. He summed up his objections to Catholicism by declaring, "it perverts the moral rules governing human relationships and doesn’t make any sense at all."

Yi Ki-gyŏng’s letter to Chŏng Yag-yong is important because it is representative of the Confucian reaction to Catholicism. Yi did not show much concern for arguing the truth or falsity of Catholic statements about the existence of God, Jesus Christ, or man’s immortal soul. He was more concerned with the moral consequences of those beliefs. Catholicism, he argued, led men to slight their responsibilities to their parents and superiors. That reason alone made it unacceptable to a Confucian moralist.

Korea’s early Catholics were to suffer more shocks than just the criticism of their friends. In 1786 they had established their own ecclesiastical hierarchy, appointing Yi Sŏng-hun as the head of their church and choosing ten of their number, both chungin and yangban, to serve as priests. Not having a duly ordained priest among them, they did not realize at first that the sacraments they administered among themselves were considered by the Church to be invalid. In 1787 they began to have doubts about the propriety of their self-ordained ministries. They ceased administering sacraments other than baptism until they could receive clarification from Peking.

In the spring of 1790 the answer came. They were ordered by Bishop Alexandre de Gouvea to refrain from the illicit performance of priestly duties but were encouraged to continue in their work of introducing more Koreans to the Gospels. This command left the infant Korean Catholic Church in a quandary. Peking was not able to send them a true priest for another four years, yet they had come to believe that the sacraments which only priests could administer were essential to their spiritual health.

In 1788 the Korean Church suffered another setback when King Chŏngjo ordered the destruction of all Western books in private hands.
Paul Yun immediately destroyed his copies of T’ien-chu shih i and Ch’i k’e, having already memorized them. Other Catholics throughout Korea did the same, although some moved their illicit libraries to secret hiding places rather than destroying them.

Then, in 1790 a second letter arrived from Bishop Gouveia which shook the Korean Church to its foundation. For the first time, Korean Catholics were officially informed of the papal ban on participation in ancestor memorial services. Yi Sŭng-hun withdrew from active leadership of the Church upon hearing this news, turning his responsibilities over to Kwŏn Il-shin. Chŏng Yag-yong and one of his brothers, Yak-chon, also withdrew from further participation in Church activities after the announcement of the ban on ancestor rites, although their brother Yak-chong remained an active Catholic until his execution in the 1801 persecution.

The Catholics in Korea had been converted primarily by books written by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century who stressed compatibility rather than conflict between Confucian society and the Catholic faith. The books the Koreans had read did not tell them that the Pope in Rome had ruled against the Jesuit policy of accommodation in 1704, demanding instead that Asian Catholics make a complete break with their non-Christian culture. Rejecting the Jesuit argument for toleration of cultural diversity, the Pope demanded that all members in good standing of the Catholic Church in East Asia desist from participation in the Confucian ritual of offering bowls of food and wine to tablets on which are inscribed the names of ancestors.

III. THE ANCESTOR MEMORIAL SERVICE

What is the nature of this rite which caused so much difficulty for the Catholic Church, both in Korea and in China? It is often referred to as “ancestor worship,” but that translation of the Korean word chesa is misleading. No worship of ancestors is involved in this Confucian ritual. Family members and descendants of the deceased simply gather together in remembrance of their ancestors as an expression of filial piety and family unity. The ancestor memorial service might be called, with little fear of exaggeration, the glue that held Confucian society together. It was this ritual that reinforced the recognition that men are not individuals living isolated and alone on this planet but are members of a family and a community, with all the duties, responsibilities, benefits, and rewards that entails.
In Confucian thought, society was viewed as an extension of the family. Filial sons in the families of the nation meant subjects loyal to the throne. To reject the ritual honoring of one’s ancestors, as Korean Catholics were now ordered to do, meant to challenge the core of the Confucian political, moral, and social order. To be moral and loyal in eighteenth century Korea meant, above all, to show your filial piety by serving, honoring, and obeying your parents faithfully. The refusal to perform these rites meant a refusal to show proper respect for your parents, a refusal to carry out the duties that showed that you were a loyal subject of your sovereign, and a refusal to act in a manner befitting a respectable member of society.

Perhaps the element in the ancestor memorial service that most offended the Pope in Rome was the ancestral tablet. In the Yi dynasty, we are told in Fr. Dallet’s introduction to Korean culture written over a century ago,

Those tablets are generally made of chestnut wood... The tablet is a little flat board painted with white lead, on which the name of the deceased is inscribed in Chinese characters. Holes are bored in the edge through which the soul is supposed to enter. The tablet is placed in a square box and is kept by the wealthy in a special chamber or hall and by the common people in a kind of niche in the corner of the house. Poor people make their tablets out of paper.\(^4^4\)

During the mourning period and on the anniversary of the death, direct descendants and relatives of the deceased to the fourth generation were supposed to perform the ancestral memorial service, led by the eldest surviving direct male descendant. The service essentially consisted of placing the tablet on a low table, arranging bowls of food and drink on the table in front of the tablet, and bowing several times to show respect for the person the tablet represents while offering the food and drink to the spirit of the ancestor being remembered.\(^4^5\) The Catholic Church in the eighteenth century chose to interpret this service as a religious ritual that assumed the actual presence of the soul of the dead in the wooden tablet. This interpretation made this ritual appear to be a form of idolatry, forbidden to all Catholics. The early Jesuits in China had recognized the importance of this rite in family-oriented Confucian society and had realized that, viewed symbolically, the ritual did not offend against any points of Catholic doctrine. Later missionaries were under orders from Rome to construe the ritual literally, as though the bowing to the ancestral
tablet and the offerings of food necessarily implied the assertion that a soul actually was present within the wood tablet.

In retrospect, the Jesuit understanding of the actual significance of the ancestor memorial service appears to have been more accurate. K’ang-hsi, the Manchu Emperor of China from 1661 to 1722, declared in 1700 that worship of ancestors was an expression of love and filial remembrance, not intended to bring protection to the worshipper. Furthermore, there was no idea, when an ancestral tablet was erected, that the soul of the ancestor dwelt in that tablet. Emperor K’ang-hsi was not placing a new, rationalistic interpretation on an old superstitious Chinese practice with his statement. Almost two thousand years earlier the *Li chi* (Book of Rites) had declared, “the idea of sacrifice is not something that comes from without. It issues from within, being born in the heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it in ceremonies.” The ancestor memorial ritual was described even in early Confucian classics as more an expression of the filial piety of the living than an assertion of the presence of the soul of the dead in a wood tablet. As the sociologist C.K. Yang notes of the early rationalist tradition in Confucian philosophy, “All the ritual behavior and offerings made to the spirits were to be interpreted as an expression of longing for the continued existence of the dead without belief in the actual existence of the soul.”

Korean Confucians also understood the symbolic nature of the ancestor memorial rite. They knew the motive and state of mind of the person performing the ritual were more important than any belief or skepticism about the survival of the soul. Yi Ik discusses *chesa* in a short eighteenth century essay entitled “The Reason for Ancestral Rites” (*Chesaji i*). Denying the vulgar belief that the ritual offerings of food were necessary for the continued existence of the ancestor in the after-life, Yi argues that the frequency of sacrificial offerings, as determined by the Sages, is much less than the frequency with which the living need to eat and drink. If the spirits of the dead need food as they did when they were alive, then all spirits must be hungry indeed.

For Yi Ik, the ancestor memorial ceremony is more for the living than for the dead. He argues that the Sages established this ritual for the sake of humanity and morality. Through proper performance of the ancestor memorial rite a filial son is able to express the depth of the gratitude he feels towards the parents who gave him life. It is this sincere expression of filial sentiments that provides the foundation of morality and social order in the Confucian world. Whether or not a soul exists to accept the offering is of secondary importance.
Yi Ki’s disciple, An Chong-bok, showed a similar concern for the sincerity with which the ancestor rites are performed in his criticism of Catholic doctrine and practices. Writing before the Catholics in Korea had been informed that they could not offer food before any ancestral tablets, An reported that Catholics had been telling their friends that it was absurd to think that ancestors could actually enjoy the food placed before their memorial tablets. And the Catholics advised their friends to take part in such superstitious Confucian ceremonies only under silent protest, inwardly turning toward heaven and asking God’s forgiveness for not being able to resist the social pressure to participate in this Confucian ritual. Calling such advice “a perversion of our rituals and a slander against Confucianism,” An declares that the Catholics do not understand the moral principles by which the Sages in ancient China established ancestor memorial rites to show respect for forefathers. For An, the ritual is only meaningful if the participants sincerely desire to show through their performance of the traditional ceremonies their filial gratitude to the ancestors who gave them life. To participate reluctantly, as the Catholics were advising men to do, was to reveal an immoral lack of respect for ancestors and contempt for time-honored tradition.

The papal interpretation of the significance of the Confucian ancestor memorial service appears to have been based on a two-fold misunderstanding. First of all the Papacy, disregarding the learned opinions of the Jesuits who had decades of experience among the scholarly community of China, confused the Confucian philosophical explanation of the significance of ancestor rites with the superstition of the masses. As early as the third century before Christ, the Confucian philosopher Hsun Tzu had explained,

Sacrifice is to express a person’s feeling of remembrance and longing... Among gentlemen it is considered the way of man; among the common people it is considered as having to do with the spirits.

From the time of Confucius on, scholars saw the traditional rituals of sacrifice as important for the moral and social functions they served. Sacrifice of food and drink to the ancestors was cultivated as a way of encouraging the virtues of filial piety and loyalty. As Hsun Tzu noted, the importance of the ritual lay in the effect it had on men rather than spirits. However, the uneducated masses were allowed to hold their belief that rituals were necessary to serve the spirits of the dead. Scholars recognized the value of such myths in supporting the people’s adherence to traditional Confucian values.
The mistake made by Rome was to assume that the popular interpretation of the ancestor memorial service was the orthodox Confucian interpretation. The Church failed to realize that educated Asian Catholics could, without contradicting Catholic doctrine, participate in rites honoring their ancestors, since for them and the rest of the scholarly Confucian world the rites did not necessarily have any superstitious significance. By insisting on viewing the ritual as implying the actual presence of spirits in the ancestral tablets, the Catholic Church aligned itself with the ignorant masses and seriously damaged its claim to be worthy of the attention of the intellectual elite of China and Korea.

A second, more serious, error made by the papal authorities in the eighteenth century was to view Confucian custom and practice through Western categories. Instead of listening to Chinese arguments on the salutary effect of Confucian ritual on the promotion of virtue and morality, Rome insisted on examining the existential claims the ritual seemed to imply. In Rome's eyes, ancestor memorial ceremonies were based on a belief in the existence of the souls of ancestors in wooden memorial tablets. For Confucians, the question of whether or not the souls of the ancestors actually dwelled in those tablets was of secondary importance. More important was the role the ritual played in preserving the social order, promoting family unity, and fostering the practice of virtue. As one Western student of Confucian thought has noted, East Asia did not share the Western concern for the truth or falsity of a statement. In determining whether or not to accept a given belief or proposition, a Confucian was more likely to examine the behavioral implications of the belief or proposition in question. When the Catholic Church condemned the ancestor memorial service as false, it ignored the Confucian claim that the ritual was good. The Western preoccupation with truth clashed with the Confucian interest in morality. And the victims of that clash were the Chinese and Korean Catholics who had tried to live as good citizens of a Confucian society while following Catholic claims to religious truth.

IV. THE ARREST AND MARTYRDOM OF PAUL YUN AND JAMES KWÔN

In 1790 Korean Catholics had to decide whether or not to continue to practice their religion even though they now knew faithful adherence to the directives of the Church would necessarily lead to conflict with their society, with their family, friends, and neighbors. Two who made the
decision to risk that confrontation were Paul Yun and James Kwŏn. In
the spring of 1791 Paul Yun’s mother died. He and his cousin James
decided that they would follow all the customary Confucian mourning
rituals except the rites involving the ancestral tablets. Going beyond the
instructions from Bishop Gouveia in Peking, they not only did not make a
tablet for Yun’s mother, they burnt all the ancestral tablets in their
possession and buried the ashes. Given the central role of the tablets in
the mourning ceremonies, their absence could not go unnoticed by rela-
tives who came to the village in Chinsan to join Yun in mourning the loss
of his mother.56

Soon rumors spread of Yun and Kwŏn’s violation of Confucian
tradition by refusing to show respect for Yun’s dead mother in the usual
manner. These rumors reached the ears of Hong Nag-an, Yi Ki-gyŏng’s
friend who earlier had wanted to punish Yi Sŭng-hun and Chŏng
Yag-yong for their 1787 Catholic study group at the Songgyun’gwan. Hong
was now a minor official in the Royal Secretariat and he apparently felt
that his post gave him the authority and responsibility to demand strict
adherence to Confucian orthodoxy from the members of Korea’s literati
elite. He sent a long letter to Ch’oe Che-gong, the leader of the Namin
political faction to which Hong and Yun both belonged and a top official
in King Chŏngjo’s court. In that letter Hong demanded that drastic action
be taken against Yun and Kwŏn before the Catholic cancer could spread
further and threaten both the Namin faction and the entire society and
government of Korea.

Hong charged that Catholics treated their fathers and their rulers as
no different from strangers they might happen to pass on the street.
“They’ve thrown away their moral principles as if they were worth
nothing more than a pair of old shoes.” Asserting that moral principles
are eternal and unalterable and that Korea had taken ritual and righteous-
ness as the foundation of the nation for thousands of years, he wrote,
“Even the most perverse and immoral haven’t dared to violate the rules
of propriety that require them to serve their parents while they are alive
and to bury them properly when they die.” Yun and Kwŏn had lowered
themselves to the level of beasts and barbarians. They had let their belief
in their “strange and monstrous God” deceive them into refusing to
follow the proper burial and mourning procedures. Not only had they
refused to make an ancestral tablet for Yun’s mother, they had gone even
further and burnt the ancestral tablets they already had.57

What a tragedy! Nothing this bizarre has happened since
time began. The laws of our land declare that the crime of
destroying an ancestral tablet is as serious an offense as murder. The laws also say that anyone who destroys his father’s ancestral tablet with his own hands should be treated exactly the same as someone who rebels against the throne. Even if Yun and Kwŏn were shown to be insane, we couldn’t let them escape the full penalty the law demands. They openly condemn the Way of our ancestors and embrace perversion without hesitation or restraint. Look closely at the evil nature of their crime. It’s one hundred times worse than rebellion. If we don’t exterminate them now, then the moral bonds among men will be destroyed everywhere and this land where ritual and righteousness have prevailed for 4,000 years will fall into ruin and become fit only for savages and wild animals.³⁸

Hong’s charges were too serious to be ignored. An official search was made of Yun’s and Kwŏn’s homes and no ancestral tablets were found. Immediately warrants for their arrest were issued. Near the end of November, Yun and Kwŏn were taken into custody by the magistrate of Chinsan county. That magistrate, Shin Sa-wŏn, had reluctantly arrested Yun and Kwŏn, doing so only after receiving explicit instructions from Seoul. He obviously did not want the embarrassment of having heresy appear in the county under his jurisdiction.

In the notes taken by Paul Yun of his interrogation by Magistrate Shin, the magistrate appears to be trying to save his prisoners’ and his own reputation by having them renounce their more extreme actions and provide an interpretation of their Catholic beliefs that would make this Western religion appear to be completely compatible with Confucian orthodoxy. But Paul Yun held fast to his convictions. Shin reminded him of the Confucian injunction to filial sons to protect the body which their parents had given them. To allow himself to suffer torture and death, argued the magistrate, would bring ruin and disgrace on his family and show a lack of proper filial respect for the life which he had received from his parents. Unmoved, Yun countered with his belief that filial piety meant always acting in accordance with what was right, even at the cost of torture and death. Magistrate Shin, seeing that he could not convince Yun or Kwŏn to abandon their religion, placed cangues around his prisoners’ necks and sent them to Chŏnju where they were turned over to the provincial governor.³⁹

In Chŏnju, Paul Yun continued to deny any wrongdoing in his adherence to Catholic doctrine. And he attempted to justify the destruc-
tion of ancestral tablets by using logic and reason to show the absurdity of the ancestor memorial service. Yun’s defense, based on the Western insistence on the irrational and superstitious character of Confucian ritual, clashed with the Confucian concern for the symbolic and ethical significance of the rite. The account of the interrogation in Chŏnju shows Yun and his interrogator talking past each other rather than to each other. Yun kept insisting that he had done what he had done in order to ensure that his actions were in accordance with truth. The governor kept insisting that Yun admit that what he had done and what his Catholic books taught were immoral. Yun could not understand how actions which offended against logic and reason could be moral. And the governor could not understand how considerations of truth or falsity could affect a person’s performance of his social obligations.60

Yun first argued that it was an affront to the dignity due his father and mother to treat pieces of wood as though they held their souls. He noted that the Fourth Commandment ordered Catholics to honor their fathers and mothers. If their parents were actually present in those wooden ancestral tablets, then Catholics would be obligated to show respect for the tablets. But those tablets are made of wood. “‘They have no flesh and blood relationship with me. They did not give me life nor educate me... How can I dare to treat these man-made pieces of wood as though they were actually my mother and father?’”61

And Yun argued that it was foolish to place food and drink before a block of wood, even if a soul were present in it. Yun pointed out that the soul is not a material object and can get no nourishment from material goods. No matter how delicious the wine and nutritious the meat, the soul can get no benefit from the offering. Furthermore, even the most filial son does not try to serve his parents food and drink when they are asleep. “‘If people can’t eat while they sleep, how much more foolish is it to offer food to our parents when they are dead? How can anyone who is sincere in his filial piety try to honor his parents with such an absurd practice?’”62

This Catholic Korean even dared to challenge the fundamental assumption of Confucian morality which made filial piety and loyalty the absolutes from which all other value and virtue is derived. He denied that those two virtues were complete and axiomatic in themselves but instead argued that “‘the basis of loyalty to the ruler is the laws of God, and the basis of filial piety toward one’s parents is also the laws of God.’”63 This was a radical contradiction of the core of Confucian thought. Rather than accepting the virtues of filial piety and loyalty as the standards by which all else was to be judged, Yun claimed that filial piety and loyalty were
themselves only conditional obligations, binding on man only because
God, the source of all value, had so willed.

Paul Yun did not completely escape the behavioral orientation of the
Confucian world which placed concern for what should be done ahead of
concern for what should be believed. When told to provide a short
summary of Catholic teachings, he replied, not with an account of the
divinity of Jesus Christ and his power to redeem men from their sins, but
with the statement that "What we practice can be reduced to the Ten
Commandments and the Seven Virtues." Catholicism is thus reduced by
Yun to its moral commands and is presented as essentially a collection of
guidelines for ethical behavior.

Yun's view of Catholic morality placed him in fatal conflict with his
Confucian society, since he placed man's obligations to his God ahead of
his duties to his fellow man. Yun was asked by his interrogator to state
the Ten Commandments by which Catholics regulated their conduct. The
governor immediately noticed that there was no specific mention of the
relationship between subjects and their rulers and demanded an explana-
tion of this lack from Yun, who replied that the king was the father of his
realm and his subjects owed him and his officials the same respect and
loyalty they owed their parents as enjoined by the Fourth Commandment.
Yun was ordered to write down in greater detail the Catholic principles of
morality and was warned to "emphasize the principles of loyalty to the
king and filial piety so that you might be able to save your life." Yun
responded with a written statement in which he declared that the
Lord of Heaven was the Creator and Father of all men. Since he
recognized God as his Father, he could not disobey any of his orders.
God had forbidden his children to have ancestral tablets in their homes or
to offer meat and wine to the spirits of the dead as represented by such
tablets. He could do nothing but obey.

Yun also explained that the difference between Confucian and
Catholic expressions of loyalty and filial piety is that Catholics emphasize
diligent application to the practice of virtue instead of participation in
rituals of doubtful merit. This Catholic interest in the sincere practice of
virtue should be seen as the expression of loyalty and filial piety that it is,
not as rebellious and immoral. After all, Yun notes, commoners and poor
yangban are not severely punished if they do not carry out the mourning
ritual strictly according to the regulations. Why should those who are
only obeying the commands of their God in the privacy of their own
homes be threatened with capital punishment and charged with defying
the laws of the land?
While the arguments of Paul Yun might seem reasonable to us in 1980, they appeared irrelevant to Confucian officials in 1791. Few intelligent scholars then needed to be convinced that the souls of the dead were not actually present in the wooden ancestral tablets. They had long been following the injunction of Confucius to show respect for spirits as if they were present.68

The West, particularly as represented by Christianity, has been primarily concerned with matters of knowledge, belief, and fact. Right knowledge has been considered an essential prerequisite to correct behavior, with the highest expression of morality only possible with the recognition of the existence of God as the Father, Creator, and Savior of mankind. Paul Yun, accepting this Western approach, insisted that loyalty and filial piety only have value in so far as they derive from the commands of the Supreme Being who is the source of all truth and good.

Confucianism, on the other hand, was more concerned with what men did than with what they believed or knew. What was important was that men were loyal to their rulers and showed proper respect for their parents, no matter what their personal beliefs. The good rather than the true was the focus of Confucian concern. Paul Yun, in grounding virtue on the fact of God’s existence, had reversed the traditional Confucian order. He had truth determine the good rather than the good determine what was true.

Yun made the mistake, in the Confucian perspective, of allowing his beliefs to prevent him from discharging his moral obligations to his parents and to his society. Any beliefs, any statements of religious or metaphysical fact, which interfered with the performance of ethical duties should have been immediately rejected as immoral and therefore untrue. He erred in his failure to recognize the primacy of loyalty and filial piety.

The governor of Chonju reported to Seoul that Paul Yun Chi-ch’ung and James Kwŏn Sang-yŏn had indeed destroyed their ancestral tablets and had abandoned the Confucian path of their fathers. On December 3, 1791, King Chŏngjo commanded that Paul Yun and James Kwŏn be beheaded without delay. On December 8th, the thirty-three-year-old Yun and the forty-one-year-old Kwŏn were martyred for their faith. Their belief that truth determined morality rather than moral presuppositions determining what could and could not be believed cost them their lives.69

The persecution of Catholics did not end there. Kwŏn Il-sin, who had taken over leadership of the Church from Yi Sŭng-hun, was brought in for interrogation under torture. He made a faint and ambiguous renunciation of his faith after several days of torture and then died of his wounds.
while traveling into exile in the countryside.\textsuperscript{70} A chungin Catholic, Ch’oe P’il-gong, suffered imprisonment and torture for a full month before he finally relented and made a formal statement condemning Catholicism, although he later returned to his faith and was martyred in 1801.\textsuperscript{71} Several other Catholics were also tortured into at least temporarily abandoning Catholicism in the immediate aftermath of the Yun-Kwŏn incident.\textsuperscript{72}

The 1791 persecution was only the beginning of the bloody confrontation between Catholicism and Confucianism in Korea. In 1801, 1839, 1846, and 1866 hundreds of Korean Catholics died for their faith. It has been suggested that, if Rome had not ordered Asian Catholics to repudiate the ancestor memorial service, an accommodation between Confucianism and Catholicism could have been reached and the martyrdom of so many might not have been necessary. I do not agree. The conflict over the proper performance of mourning ritual was more a symptom than a cause of the rift between the Confucians and the Catholics. Paul Yun and his associates were abandoning the basic assumptions of their civilization when they stressed the priority of truth over morality.

Confucians traditionally were concerned with the creation of a stable and harmonious moral community on this earth. They gave primary attention to the maintenance of the proper relationships among human beings. The ancestor memorial service was essential because of its function in promoting family unity and social stability. The Catholics, on the other hand, saw the individual’s relationship with God as more important than his relationship with his fellow man. When the demands of society conflicted with the demands of God, man had to follow God. No matter how beneficial to society the ancestor memorial service might have been, it violated God’s command to refrain from idolatry and therefore could not be tolerated.

In this conflict between Confucianism and Catholicism, we have two radically different views of what it means for a person to be moral. The Confucian picture of virtue meant being a good member of society: serving your parents faithfully while they are alive, honoring them properly after their death, obeying the dictates of your superiors, and living in peaceful harmony with your neighbors. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, taught that virtue meant obedience to God’s commands as interpreted by his Church. Your king and your parents were to be obeyed only insofar as their commands did not conflict with the laws of God. God was Truth and Goodness and his demands were superior to those of a man-centered moral philosophy.
This was a challenge to the social morality of Confucianism that could not have been hidden by a Catholic toleration of the ancestor memorial service. Catholic doctrine denied the Confucian emphasis on human relationships as the proper determinant of moral behavior. Confucianism taught what men should do to create a better world in this life. This goal, in Catholic eyes, was superficial and shallow. Catholicism taught what men should believe in order to win eternal life in a better world after death. This aim, to Confucians, was immoral and absurd.

As long as Catholicism emphasized the supernatural and life after death over the human community, conflict was unavoidable. Truth and Morality cannot both claim supreme authority. Confucians charged that the Catholic insistence on man’s obedience to God forced believers to slight their responsibilities to the society in which they lived. And Catholics countered that the Confucian stress on social obligations ignored the larger question of who created society and for what purpose He did so.

Such radically different views of the meaning and purpose of human existence can never be reconciled. Toleration of each other’s differences may be possible for a time but conflict will eventually erupt. Such an eruption cost the lives of Paul Yun and James Kwŏn in 1791. They were casualties in a war between the forces of transcendent Truth and the advocates of terrestrial Morality. It would be naive to expect that there will be no more such casualties in man’s future, for the final boundaries delineating the regions where individual conscience rules and where society reigns have not yet been—and may never be—determined. The potential for conflict between man’s obligation to follow his personal vision of truth and his duty to live in harmony with his fellow human beings will remain as long as there is more than one person living on this planet Earth.

NOTES

1. A modern Korean translation by Yi Min-su was published by Chŏng-ŭm Sa in Seoul in 1974. The section on Catholicism, entitled “Sŏgyo” (Western religion), can be found on pages 92-93 of that translation.

2. Sunam sŏnsaeng munjip (The collected works of An Chŏng-bok), vol. 17, p. 12.

3. A modern Korean translation by Nam Man-sŏng was published by Uŏl-yu Sa in Seoul in 1975. The section on Catholicism is found in volume 1 on pages 90-91 in Korean translation and on page 515 in the original Chinese.


6. Ricci’s statement is found in George Dunne’s Generation of Giants, Notre Dame, 1962, p. 93. T’ien-chu shih-i can be found in the 1968 collection entitled T’ien-hsueh ch’u-han (An introduction to Catholicism). Recent reproductions of the T’ien-hsueh ch’u-han have appeared in both Taiwan and Korea. In the Korean edition, T’ien-chu shih-i can be found on pages 103-177.

7. Ch’i Ke is also in the T’ien-hsueh ch’u-han, pages 192-309 of the Korean edition.


10. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

11. Ibid., p. 39.

12. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

13. Ibid., pp. 95-97.


17. Ibid.


21. Dallet, p. 13. Obviously the ch’ŏk Dallet mentions must be shorter than the current ch’ŏk of 30 centimeters and the kŭn must be lighter than the current kŭn of 600 grams. However, Yi Pyok was undoubtedly a tall and strong man by the standards of his day.


27. Pyŏgwipy’ŏn, pp. 105-106.

28. Ibid.

29. Sahak ching’ŭi (A warning against Catholicism), reprinted in Seoul, 1977, pp. 82, 278.

31. Yi Ki-gyǒng Pyǒngwipyǒn, Seoul reprint, 1978, p. 80. This appears to be the original Pyǒngwipyǒn compiled shortly after 1801 on which the Pyogwipyǒn of Yi Man-ch’aecited in footnote 9 was partially based.
32. Dallet, p. 43.
33. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
34. Pyǒngwipyǒn, pp. 113-114, Yi Ki-gyǒng Pyǒngwipyǒn, pp. 139-147.
36. Ibid., pp. 117-118.
40. Fr. Chou Wen-mo, a Chinese priest, arrived in Korea in 1794 and served as the spiritual leader of Korea’s Catholics until his execution in the persecution of 1801.
42. Dallet, pp. 34-35.
44. Dallet, p. CXLIII. Here I’m relying on the English translation by the Human Relations Area Files entitled Traditional Korea, New Haven, 1954, p. 154. This is a translation of Dallet’s introduction only.
50. Ibid., 28b.
51. Ibid.
52. An Chǒng-bok, “Ch’ǒnhak mundap” (A conversation on Catholicism), Sunam sonsaeng munjip, volume 17, pp. 134b-35a.
57. Yi Ki-gyǒng Pyǒngwipyǒn, pp. 27-29.
58. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
59. Ibid., pp. 39-42.
60. Dallet, pp. 42-53. An English translation of Yun’s account of his interrogation in Chinsan and Chonju and of his and Kwǒn’s final statement is available in Catholic Korea,
op. cit., pp. 32-40.
62. Ibid., p. 49.
63. Ibid., p. 47.
64. Ibid., p. 43.
65. Ibid., p. 47.
66. Ibid., pp. 47-48. A version of Yun’s statement similar to that found in Dallet can be seen in the Chŏngjo sillok, 15th year, 11th month, 7th day.
67. Dallet, p. 49.
68. Analects, Book III, chapter 12.
69. Dallet, pp. 53-54.
70. Ibid., pp. 57-59. The official account of Kwŏn Il-sin’s interrogation can be found in Yi Ki-gyŏng Pyŏgwipyŏn, pp. 110-118.
72. Dallet, p. 61.
An Early Koreanologist
Eli Barr Landis 1865-1898

by Richard Rutt

In Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, the Landis Valley is the centre of a Swiss Mennonite community. Among the community’s founders was Jacob Landis, a pioneer farmer from Zurich canton who arrived at what is now called East Lampeter sometime about 1720. A century and a half later the same homestead was being farmed by his sixth-generation descendant, Peter Johns Landis (1833-1899). Peter married Martha Barr (1830-1911), and they had six children. One of their daughters died in infancy; the other two girls married farmers, and two of the boys became farmers, all in Lancaster county. The fifth child, born on 18 December 1865, was Eli Barr Landis, destined to be a pioneer scholar of Korean culture.

He seems to have been the only one of the family who was given a college education. In 1883 he matriculated at the State Normal School at Millersville, where he did two years of preliminary study for medicine. In September 1885 he went to Philadelphia, where he studied under S.T. Davies in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania.

During his time in Philadelphia he came to know Father Charles Neale Field, the priest in charge of St Clement’s episcopal church. Field was an Englishman who had been living in America for only three years. He was a member of the Society of St John the Evangelist, an important Anglican religious order of mission priests which by 1885 was working in England, India, South Africa, and the United States. From its birthplace in England the society was (and is) commonly known as ‘the Cowley Fathers.’

The undergraduate Landis was baptized by Father Field at St. Clement’s, and soon afterwards confirmed by the Bishop of Pennsylvania, Ozi W. Whittaker. In May 1888 he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine and returned to Lancaster as resident physician at Lancaster County Hospital and Insane Asylum.

During the 1880s there was a strong missionary volunteer movement among college students in North America, and the Cowley Fathers’ missionary ideals must have inspired Landis to respond to this element in the spiritual climate of the age. Perhaps it was because of them that after little more than twelve months at the Lancaster hospital, he moved to a
church institution, All Saints Convalescent Home in New York. The fathers certainly knew of his missionary aspirations, for the Englishman, Father Arthur Hall, (a scholar of the society who was working in America and later became Bishop of Vermont) told Father Richard Meux Benson, the founder of the society, about him. Father Benson still lived in England and, like many high-churchmen, was much concerned about the appeals being made during the winter of 1889-90 for doctors and priests to volunteer for the newly founded Church of England Mission to Korea.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was then Edward White Benson (no relation to the Cowley father). Two years earlier he had been asked by the English missionary bishops in China and Japan to start a mission to Korea. It was an inauspicious time in England for a new overseas venture. The church of England’s missionary resources were stretched to the full, and level-headed men advised against the plan. Archbishop Benson, however, was a romantic. Five years earlier he had been called to Canterbury from remote and rugged Cornwall, where he had done creative work in establishing a new diocese. A more conventional prelate might have heeded the warnings and worried about organizing a sound administrative base. Benson had a vision of apostolic mission: he simply made a bishop and sent him to preach the gospel in Korea, trusting to God for men and money.

The man he chose was a 45-year-old naval chaplain named Charles John Corfe, a bachelor high-churchman of spartan habits who had earned the friendship of Queen Victoria’s admiral son, the Duke of Edinburgh. The archbishop could offer Corfe no financial support beyond an annual grant of £650 promised by the 200-year-old Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The new bishop must find his own staff. Corfe responded to the challenge with the gallantry expected of a naval officer. When an admiral disparaged the idea of the Korean project, he replied, ‘But if you had orders to attack a battleship in a dinghy, you would obey.’

Some called him quixotic. He was still the only member of his new mission when he was ordained bishop in Westminster Abbey on All Saints’ Day, 1 November 1889. He went to the service carrying in his pocket a letter to the press appealing for men to join him. As he left the abbey afterwards, he posted the letter in the pillar box outside.

It was soon clear that the admiral had good reason to be disparaging. Corfe travelled all over England for six months before he recruited his first two volunteers. One of them was a 22-year-old student for the ministry, Leonard Ottley Warner, who had been invalided home from Central Africa the previous year—not the most promising material for
pioneer work in east Asia. The other was a retired deputy surgeon-
general of the army, Julius Wiles, who at sixty-two years of age offered to
work in Korea for two years at his own expense. Then a group of nuns,
the Community of St Peter at Kilburn in north London, promised to send
nursing sisters after the mission was established in Korea. At the end of
June a curate from Great Yarmouth, Mark Napier Trollope (the future
bishop) volunteered. No one else came forward. The lack of financial
support was equally discouraging, but Corfe’s old naval friends founded
Bishop Corfe’s Mission Hospital Naval Fund to support the medical work
that he was determined to begin by building hospitals in Seoul and the
treaty ports of Korea. The Society for the Promotion of Christian knowl-
dge, oldest of all Church of England missionary organizations, had
promised £50 for the passage of a medical missionary, £50 for instru-
m ents, and annual grants for two years of £50 for drugs and £80 towards
the maintenance of the missionary.

It was, perhaps, hardly surprising that volunteer doctors did not rush
to join Corfe. He was proposing to support six men with the £650 from
SPG. The missionaries, both priests and doctors, would live a community
life with a common purse, and the standards would be ascetic rather than
merely spartan. That arch-asetic, Father Benson of Cowley, was well
aware of the situation and opined that the young doctor Father Hall was
writing about from America would be the sort who would respond to
Corfe’s call. In April 1890 Benson told Corfe of Landis; by the end of
June Corfe had agreed to take Landis to Korea for five years, and
arranged to meet him during August whilst the bishop was preaching his
way through America on his way to Korea. It was odd that an American
should join, sight unseen on both sides, an under-endowed fledgling
English mission. The explanation lies in his contact with the two ascetic
English immigrant priests, Field and Hall.

On 1 August Corfe met his new doctor at the Cowley Fathers’
mission house in Boston. With all the eagerness of twenty-four summers
Landis was ransacking the community library for information about the
Chinese and Korean languages. Corfe took to him at once, and hailed
him as an answer to the prayers of the children in England who were
supporting the infant mission. But Landis needed funds to prepare for the
voyage. Fortunately Corfe had been given 133 dollars while visiting St
Paul’s College, a school at Concord, New Hampshire; five dollars by
someone at the Church of the Transfiguration, New York; and a ten-
dollar marriage fee by Father Field. So Landis was kitted up at a cost of
148 dollars.
The bishop continued his preaching tour of the United States and Canada. Landis joined him in time to sail in the SS Abyssinia from Vancouver on 28 August, 1890. They arrived in Yokohama on 14 September. The bishop went to visit friends in Tokyo, but Landis continued by sea to Kobe, where he stayed with the SPG missionary, Hugh James Foss (who eight years later became Bishop of Osaka). Corfe rejoined Landis in time for them to leave Kobe in the SS Tsuruga Maru on the 23rd. They arrived at Pusan at three in the afternoon of 26 September. Pusan was a treaty port with British officials running the Korean Customs Service, but it was virtually a Japanese town. Corfe the sailor appraised the nearly land-locked harbour with its backdrop of pine-clad hills (though he also noticed and deplored the denuded state of the nearer slopes). He rejoiced to see eleven Chinese warships riding at anchor—for them they were a sign of British naval assistance. ‘On the sandy beach’ near Ch’oryang and Pusan-jin ‘lay the Korean town, which... must not be called a town, being nothing more than a hamlet of mudhuts and matsheds’. Corfe went ashore to see James Hunt, the Commissioner of Customs, and enquire about the Chinese Anglican catechists who had been living there since the Archdeacon of Fukien had sent them in 1885. (In the event, the Chinese refused to see the bishop, and Hunt explained they were not only useless as missionaries, but untrustworthy as men. They left Korea, it seems, very soon after this.)

Corfe and Landis re-embarked that evening, but the Tsuruga Maru did not leave till next morning. They sailed through the island-studded seas round the west coast of Korea to Chemulp’o, the treaty port and point of entry for Seoul, where they arrived very early in the morning on Michaelmas Day, Monday 29 September 1890. The moon was at the full, so the tide was at its lowest, and it took some time to come to an anchor among those famous mudflats that gleamed so dazzlingly in the morning sun. That very day, shortly after disembarking, the bishop baptized the baby John Johnston, son of a customs officer, and the first English child to be born in Korea.

The two new missionaries stayed with James Scott, the British vice-consul. Next day the bishop set off in a coolie-borne box chair to Seoul. Within a few days he had returned to Chemulp’o and left again by sea to visit Bishop Charles Perry Scott in Peking. Meanwhile, on 10 October, Landis moved into the fairly large house that had been rented in advance by Scott for the bishop. Two rooms were at once set aside as dispensary and consulting-room. The next day the first Korean patient came, before
Landis was ready to start work. No medicines had yet arrived, but fortunately this was a case for minor surgery. By the end of the following week Landis had attended to thirty patients, securing the necessary drugs from a store in Chemulp’o. Korean cash was unwieldy, requiring huge quantities of coin for quite small sums, so most of the patients paid in kind, with eggs or fruit.

During the bishop’s absence, however, Landis spent most of his time with his Korean teacher. Corfe returned on 5 November, bringing Leonard Warner with him. Corfe wrote: ‘Having made wonderful progress with Korean during my absence, (Landis) rendered us most valuable assistance in disembarking.’ They all went into their domestic oratory and recited the Te Deum in thanksgiving. On the following morning, St Leonard’s Day, Thursday 6 November 1890, the bishop celebrated their first eucharist on Korean soil, using a dining table for an altar. After the service they settled down to an uncomfortable English breakfast of soft-boiled eggs without egg-cups or spoons.

A simple daily routine was devised for the little community of three bearded men. They said mattins at 7:30 and ate breakfast at 8. From 9 till noon they studied, chiefly learning Korean from the French fathers’ grammar, with the help of a Korean teacher who taught each of them separately. Tiffin and recreation followed. The teacher returned and they resumed study at 3, till evensong at 5. Dinner was at 7 in the evening. Corfe kept his spy-glass handy for scanning the harbour in case the Royal Navy came to show the flag. On Sundays they conducted services at home for the three or four members of the Church of England who were resident in the port. By 23 November the bishop noted that Landis had made ‘wonderful progress’ with the language and ‘could manage the house-boys.’ In fact, Landis managed only the Korean ‘boy.’ Their cook was Chinese, and in theory the bishop, who was supposed to know a little Chinese picked up during his naval days, gave orders for cooking. In practice these were virtually restricted to such simplicities as ‘Make bread.’

Landis was also getting to know the town he was to love so dearly and to regard as home for the rest of his life. It stood on a hilly promontory pointing westward among the islands of the Yellow Sea. The original Korean seaside village of Chemulp’o nestled round two creeks on the sunny side of the main hill, where the local names Paedari, ‘boat quay,’ and T’ongjin’gae, ‘creek,’ still survive, though the water no longer comes so far inland.

The harbour had been an important trading point with China for
centuries, but to Corfe it looked as unprepossessing as Pusan. The erosion of the treeless hills, the squalid-looking thatched huts, the few ungainly brick buildings of the Europeans, the weather-beaten wooden junks at the landing-place, and the miles of mudflats were depressing, though the distant mountains were lovely. Three or four thousand Koreans were believed to live by the harbour and in the new Korean administrative town that had been built in the valley running inland northwards at the east side of the hill. The yamen of the Korean Superintendent of Trade was there, although the prefectoral yamen and the confucian temple remained at Inch’ŏn, five miles to the south-east, where they had been before the place became a treaty port in 1883. The new Korean town beside the harbour was also called Inch’ŏn, but foreigners continued to prefer the old port name of Chemulp’o for half a century longer. The Korean vendors in the market street sold the usual necessities (dried persimmons, rice, garlic, tobacco, dried and fresh fish, earthenware and crockery, pipes, brassware and ironware) together with imported luxuries such as mandarin oranges, western calico, towels and matches, and a number of Japanese products.

Japanese numbering about 2,700, who referred to the place as Jinsen, had a neat settlement of houses and shops built in their own style, arranged on a gridiron pattern of streets above the harbour, to the west of the Korean town. Their consulate was built of wood, but in western style, and they had two banks.

The Japanese streets rose slightly at the western end, where the few hundred Chinese lived (and called the place Jen-ch’uan). Their houses were the most decorative, built of red brick, with shallow balconies and elaborate lattices. The Chinese operated several stores selling imported goods.

The foreign settlement, with its three rather sleazy hotels, was topped off, literally, by the score or so of Europeans and Americans who, coming last, had to live at the top of the hill, just below the ridge, also in red brick houses, but well spaced out. The British consulate was down on the waterfront in the godown area with the Korean Royal Customs, but the French and German consulates were up on the level of the European residences, where much of the hillside was still empty undeveloped land.

Near the northwestern corner of the Inch’ŏn promontory, on the shore and in a geomantically unpropitious site half a mile from the town, was the cemetery for westerners, where there were already many Japanese graves. Such a cemetery was necessary, for Chemulp’o was the second most important international community in Korea. Yet there were no
missionaries there, and no church.

The Church of England mission, arriving late, found itself perched almost at the top of the hill, overlooking the harbour. Koreans, however, were soon willing to toil up to the residence of the yak t'aein, ‘western man of medicine.’ A few women came for treatment, one of them in a carrying-chair, conducted by her father, and so embarrassed that tears rolled down her face. None of the women permitted Landis to visit them in their homes. The foreign residents naturally welcomed the arrival of a physician, and he was soon appointed medical adviser to the British vice-consulate. His days were well filled, but within a month or two he had found time to accompany an Italian resident of some years standing on a visit to the old prefectural town, where he had his first experience of Korean hospitality, sitting cross-legged on an ondol, eating with chopsticks and smoking a Korean pipe.

On 8 December two more missionaries arrived: Richard Small, an English priest seconded from a Canadian Indian mission in Vancouver, and Sydney Peake, a lay candidate for ordination. On 19 December Peake and the bishop set off together to prepare Christmas services for the British community in Seoul.

Small stayed at Chemulp’o with Landis and Warner to give them their Christmas communion. The day after Christmas, St. Stephen’s day, Landis totted up the number of his patients so far. In the first three months there had been thirty-four new patients, with seventy-six visits to the dispensary and twenty-five visits by the doctor to patients’ homes—some of which were three miles away. Modest though the roll was, he was satisfied with his beginning.

On New Year’s Day 1891 the bishop walked back from Seoul, with ice on his beard and moustache. On foot the journey took seven to eight hours, but even when, as in this unusually cold winter, it was rumoured that tigers had come down from the high mountains to the north, walking was still more reliable than the river steamer and faster and more comfortable than any form of Korean transport or animal mount. Landis was often to walk the twenty-seven miles from Chemulp’o through Sosa and Oryudong to Noryangjin, where a ferry crossed the Han to Map’o and another couple of miles’ walk brought the traveller to the Great South Gate of the capital.

The day after the bishop returned, Small left for his permanent post in Seoul. Landis was to be the stable element in the staff of the Chemulp’o station. It was planned that a priest should be appointed to work permanently with him as soon as one was available. For the time being the
bishop remained to welcome the next group of new arrivals. Eventually he
too intended to move to Seoul.

The house provided by Mr. Scott had been useful as a depot for
coping with the first arrivals, but it was bigger than was needed for two
bachelors. As soon as Small and Peake had gone, Corfe rented a much
smaller house next door, to be used until they had a permanent house of
their own. He and Landis moved into it on 6 January, and called it the
House of the Epiphany. They immediately celebrated the eucharist in
their oratory. It was a ‘western-style’ house, consisting of four rooms,
each 14 by 13 feet (‘smaller than a ship’s cabin’) and had a kitchen tacked
on at the back. A central chimney served a stove at the inmost corner of
each of the four rooms. There were no passages, only doors from room to
room. Each of the front rooms had French windows opening on to ‘a bit
of garden’ adjoining the road. The right-hand front room was Landis’s
consulting room; the room behind it was both his bedroom and the
household larder, where during that winter a basket containing pheasants,
a leg of mutton and some salt beef was stored beside his bed. The other
front room was the bishop’s bed-sitter. The room behind that was the
oratory, normally large enough for the two residents at their daily services
and for the regular tiny Sunday congregation. If ever there was an over-
flow, the extra worshippers could be in the bishop’s room and the door to
the oratory left open.

Before January was out, a committee of well-to-do Japanese residents
waited on Landis and asked him to take charge of an adult English-
language class that was being formed at their consulate. Corfe permitted
him to do so, thinking that the work might lead to evangelistic opportuni-
ties. The first classes were held on 1 February, with forty pupils in four
grades, taught on six evenings a week, from 5 o’clock to 8, for an initial
period of one month. Each pupil paid a dollar for the month. Some of
them dropped out, and the number settled down at thirty-two, including
six or eight Chinese. They studied—at least later on—from the American
National Readers, and it was to prove arduous work. Very soon, how-
ever, came lunar New Year’s Day. Everybody, including Landis’s patients,
struck work for a fortnight, and he got a brief holiday.

The lunar new year weekend Corfe was in Seoul, delivering a Lenten
pastoral charge to his main body of workers. While Corfe was in Seoul,
Small came to Inch’on to celebrate Sunday communion for Landis. Small
was a well-educated man, about five years younger than Corfe, to whom
he had become a valued friend and companion. He must also have been
good company for Landis.
Towards the end of February Peake returned to Chemulp’o for ten days because he was unwell. He stayed with the vice-consul. When he walked back to Seoul on 2 March, Landis accompanied him. This was Landis’s first visit to the capital. He stayed only two nights, anxious, no doubt, to get back to his work. The Japanese and Chinese students had asked him to continue his evening classes for another month. Corfe realized how burdensome the classes were going to be, but had no idea how to provide help. He already saw the need for a missionary to do Japanese work only. One of the pupils had asked for an English bible-reading session on Sundays, Landis had concurred, and five Japanese men were attending. The rest of the Sunday programme was two Church of England services in English and a service for what Corfe called ‘dissenters.’

It was some relief to the bishop when four more missionaries from England arrived on 19 March. One of them was Trollope. The others were two students in their mid-twenties, Joseph Pownall and Maurice Davies, and an ex-bluejacket named John Wyers. These three were sent off to Seoul the day after they arrived, but Trollope was kept behind at Chemulp’o to discuss the mission’s affairs with the bishop, lodging meanwhile with Mr. Johnston of the Korean Customs.

Trollope, like Corfe, was an Oxford man. Corfe had a strong sense of class, and only Trollope and Small (who was a Cambridge man) shared his own social background. The rest were below the salt. Even when they were ordained they came under the Colonial Clergy Act and were therefore underprivileged. Landis, as Americans generally do, stood outside the English class structure. He was a qualified doctor, gifted and pleasant; and if he did not precisely fit into Corfe’s social background, at least Corfe was happy to share a house with him, as he never did with the other Englishmen. They all teased Landis and called him Yankee, but said he might almost pass muster as an Englishman. He took their chaffing good-naturedly, though he did not enjoy it and retorted with spirit.

These days with Trollope in Chemulp’o were the beginning of Landis’s friendship with him. Trollope was by three years the elder. They shared an eager curiosity about Korean culture and came to respect and like each other deeply. Perhaps the only reason why Trollope is better remembered as a scholar is that he lived to publish more work than Landis had time to do. Landis, however, as we shall see, was more precocious.

After five days, on Lady Day, the bishop and Trollope left on foot to be in Seoul for Easter, which fell on 29 March. Peake was in Chemulp’o
again, and Small came to give him and Landis their Easter communion. By 13 April Peake was back in the capital unpacking a newly-arrived printing-press, on which he was soon at work printing an English-Korean dictionary compiled by Scott, the Chemulp'o vice-consul. That diplomat-lexicographer must have been a congenial neighbour for Landis, but he was transferred to Seoul in the autumn, and usually lived there for the rest of his service in Korea.

While the younger missionaries were thus agog with enthusiasm, the bishop was anxious because of his lack of funds and workers. Soon after Easter he had another burden: he learned that the Chinese province of Sheng-ching (in effect, the whole of Manchuria) had been added to his diocese by (curious as it may seem) the prime minister of Great Britain. All he could hope to provide in Manchuria was a church and oversight for the British community in Niuch'uang, the treaty port for Mukden; and even that would deplete his already inadequate man-power in Korea. Chemulp'o would not get its resident priest.

Two English ladies from a mission high school in Tokyo visited Korea after Easter and stayed in Chemulp'o with the Johnstons of the customs. One of them, Miss Burnett, stayed for a month and found time to help Landis with his school. The other wrote an acidulous letter setting forth her general disapproval of everything Korean. 'The Bishop,' she wrote, 'doesn't mind sitting down to teach two or three Japanese English .... I don't think it is suitable for him to have to do it.' In fact he was only teaching two of Landis's clerks from the Japanese consulate for an hour a day, and taking the Sunday bible-class, it was perhaps an unusual task for a bishop, but, as the lady continued, 'it is like a good captain to share in the general work, if it seems to need it.'

Both the bishop and Landis were also occupied with building plans. With the coming of spring and the possibility of starting construction, Corfe had bought a parcel of government land for 250 dollars, on the north-eastern edge of the foreign settlement. Building began on 20 April, and throughout the summer work progressed on a dispensary, a church, and a parsonage erected out of 'the few remaining bricks.' The dispensary was of grey brick, roofed with Japanese tiles, 32 feet by 15, divided into three rooms, one of which, 15 feet by 12, was designed as living quarters for the doctor.

A verandah ran along the south side, where Landis planted shrubs to make a garden, and along the east side, which abutted on the main road that ran northward from the harbour, dividing the Korean and foreign areas. On the opposite side of that road was the low wall of the kamni
yamen, where the brutal floggings and leg-twistings and other punishments of the old Korean judicial system were administered.

The new dispensary was paid for with fees Landis received from patients and pupils. The total cost was about £50.

The day before the work began, Corfe wrote home to SPG about Landis:

To show you how hard it is for us laggards to keep pace with him or absorb the work he prepares for us, I will tell you what he has done today, which is like all other days. The patients began arriving at 7, and by 11.30 he had received visits from 35. Then he had to go and see others, and after tiffin he had to go and see more, amongst them the principal Corean official of Chemulp’o. At 5 he went to his Japanese school until 8. After going to see one more patient, he came back to dinner at 8.30.

In fact he was doing too much. The evening school for the Japanese closed for the summer on 1 June, and before the monsoon season arrived, Landis transferred himself to his new dispensary. Corfe immediately set off on a fortnight’s visit to the east-coast treaty port of Wonsan. When he returned to Chemulp’o he was delighted with the quietness of his house. Now that Landis had ‘moved off with his bottles’ to the new dispensary, the day-long stream of ‘importunate visitors’ had followed him. And Corfe had room for a guest.

That monsoon season was the missionaries’ first. They found it trying, and most of them were ill. Landis himself had to take a week’s holiday, for which he walked to Seoul. The building programme, however, proceeded. On 12 August, while Landis was away, the church got its roof and the cross was set up on the east end. Though this meant no new work for Landis, the next development did. Late in August the bishop completed negotiations for the acquisition of a second plot of land, a hundred yards further up the hill beyond the church. This site, 60 feet square, cost 20 dollars (rather less than 4 pounds sterling). A condition was attached to the purchase: the place must be used strictly for medical work and no evangelism was to be done there. It was airy and healthy, on the very crest of the hill dominating the Korean town, and just outside the foreign settlement. (The present Anglican church in Nae-dong is on a southward extension of the same site.) Corfe regarded permission to make the purchase as a sign of official Korean approval of Landis’s good work—though he always coupled Dr Wiles’s name with Landis’s and insisted that the former’s work in Seoul was the more important.
The building of the hospital began at once. Corfe had £100 from the Hospital Naval Fund to spend on the construction of a traditional Korean-style building, where the patients could be nursed on ondol floors.

During September the bishop was advised to rest, so he went to Chifu for the inside of a week. Chifu was a popular watering-place. Bishop and Mrs Scott were on holiday there, and Corfe persuaded them to visit Korea for five days. Though they stayed at the Seoul consulate, when they were about to leave from Chemulp’o on 30 September, it occurred to Corfe that the church was practically finished, so he decided to open it by asking Bishop Scott to celebrate the eucharist in it that day. It was named in honour of St Michael and all Angels. The little House of the Epiphany could now be relinquished.

While the bishop was in Chifu, Joseph Pownall had been called to Chemulp’o to care for the church services. He had plenty to do, for about the same time a young Japanese named Murakami, who could read English well, arrived from Tokyo to join the mission. Pownall guided his theological reading; Landis looked forward to his help with work among the Japanese residents. Re-opening of the evening classes was deferred until 1 October. They had previously been held in a room provided by the Japanese, and run by the Japanese committee. Landis now took over the whole project, arranging for the Japanese committee to disband, and the school to function in his new dispensary.

Tables, benches and blackboard were provided, and an advertisement published in the Jinsen-Keijō Kakushū Shōhō, the local business community’s gazette (just in process of becoming the Chōsen Jumpō). The new venue, however, was less convenient for the Japanese. Only twenty men enrolled. Five Chinese students joined them as a separate class. Joseph Pownall remained in Chemulp’o through the winter, to help Landis teach the Japanese, because the bishop, now that the Chemulp’o buildings were all finished, had moved to Seoul. Pownall, slight and boyish in appearance, was only a deacon, so Landis was not able to receive communion every Sunday. It says much for Pownall that Corfe trusted him to live and work alone. He did not share a house with Landis; but he must have been a pleasant colleague.

On the day the school opened, Landis wrote a letter about his work which showed how he felt about the Koreans.

The Corean is very conservative, even more so than either of his neighbours (the Chinese and Japanese): he is, to all outward appearance, the same individual today as his ancestor Tan when he crossed the River Yaloo from China.
3,000 years ago. Oppressed for centuries by Japan on the east and China on the west, who usually made this country their battlefield, he is quite naturally suspicious of foreigners and all things foreign, and clings to old customs and traditions with a tenacity that would work miracles if enlisted on the side of the Cross. He is a superior man, physically and mentally, to either of his neighbours, and the Corean scholar has for centuries maintained the first place in the ranks of the students of Confucius. And yet, notwithstanding his exclusiveness, he has a warm and grateful side to his nature. Let me give an illustration. Last summer there was a strike for higher wages amongst the coolies who work in Chemulp'o, and for a week neither the Japanese, Chinese, nor Europeans were able to get any work done by them. Yet those coolies who were employed by the Mission in levelling and preparing ground for the school-house and hospital were the only ones who continued to work at the old rate of wages. These coolies all had at one time or another been treated at the dispensary for various complaints, and gave this practical proof of their gratitude.

The opening of the country to foreigners has not been an unmixed blessing to the people. Opium, the eating and smoking of which is forbidden by the law, was quickly introduced by the Chinese, and already there are at least half a dozen opium dens in this port alone. This, of course, means that the use of opium is privately carried on to a much larger extent. During the past year, eight cases of opium poisoning have come before me, two of which were fatal; also fifteen opium habitués have applied for relief from the chains of opium excess with which they were bound.

Prejudice in favour of Korea has already developed. Self-induced infatuation with the country he lives in is a characteristic of the happy young missionary. It can ripen into deep affection, and flower in sacrificial devotion, but at its onset it is often more heady than profound.

On St. Luke's day, 18 October, he moved into the new hospital. There seems to have been no formal dedication ceremony — there were not enough members of the mission in Chemulp'o to justify a ritual observance.

Landis described the construction:
The walls of the building consist of upright posts eight feet apart, with transverse timbers connecting them, in spaces between which split bamboo is fastened. This is coated with mud. After this has dried, another coating of a sandy material is put on. On the outside of this again is put a cement composed of lime, with which is mixed boiled seaweed to make it more adhesive.

The rooms were of the traditional single kan size (about eight feet square in Chemulp’o then) except for one double-kan room. They were ranged round three sides of a square, open on the east, towards the Korean town. The main door was on the south side, in the wing that contained the waiting-room, dispensary, surgery, Landis’s quarters and the stores. The western range was the domestic section, containing servants’ quarters, kitchen, pantry, fuel-stores, and bathroom. The north wing contained the wards, all with ondol floors, planned to accommodate twenty-one patients, though Landis reckoned it full with fourteen. The windows were of paper; the walls decorated with paintings and calligraphy done by patients who had been healed at Dr. Landis’s former dispensary.

The date of the opening naturally suggested the name of the hospital, because St. Luke is the traditional patron of physicians; but only the westerners ever called it St. Luke’s. Landis declared that ‘St. Luke’s Hospital’ would be ‘absolutely meaningless to a Corean,’ so he put up another board inscribed Nak-sŏnsi ŭiówŏn, which he translated as ‘hospital of joy in good deeds.’ At last he was living truly in Korea, outside the foreign enclave, and could sit cross-legged on his own ondol. In barely twelve months he had lived in four houses; now he could settle down, and get properly to work with his hospital. Corfe described him in his first days in the new building as waiting for patients ‘like the spider for the fly.’ His work increased so much that he even needed assistance for a week or two from Miss Gertrude Heathcote, a nurse who had just arrived from England to work in the mission’s Seoul hospital.

In spite of the Japanese school and the rising pressure of the doctoring, his real enthusiasm was for the study of Korea and its language. He and Trollope were the potential scholars of the mission, but Trollope was so occupied in directing the theological and language studies of the younger men in Seoul that Landis, very much alone, and with six months’ start on Trollope, made more obvious progress. On 10 December Corfe wrote to SPG:

With regard to the progress we are making in the language, Dr. Landis is facile princeps. His constant intercourse with
Koreans all day long, and his excellent memory, have enabled him to speak Korean fluently and correctly. He is also well into Chinese, and knows a thousand characters more or less. I fancy Warner comes next — a long way after ...

About the same time, Corfe was reporting to SPCK that Landis had required no more than £63 out of the £80 allowed for his living expenses during the first twelve months in Korea. The bishop asked whether he might keep the remaining £17 towards supporting Landis during his third year, when the SPCK grant would have run out. The Society agreed. The frugality of the arrangements is astounding.

The following year, 1892, was not eventful for Landis. He was in Seoul in the middle of February, escorting the woman doctor Louisa Cooke, and the bishop took him to see the Wŏn’gak-sa pagoda (though no foreigner then knew its name); but when Pownall went to Seoul later in the month to prepare for ordination to the priesthood, Landis wisely discontinued his English class for the Chinese. He must have been run down, because he had influenza and was unable to go to Seoul for the ordination. Pownall soon returned to Chemulp’o. The bishop went off to visit his new territory in Manchuria over Easter, and stayed in Niuch’uang till the end of June. He decided that he must station a priest in that town, and sent the newly ordained Pownall to work there for a couple of months. Landis was alone again.

The summer was unusually hot, though the rains were lighter than usual, and July was a dry month. The bishop intended to ordain Maurice Davies deacon as soon as he returned from Manchuria, but Landis refused to allow the bishop to travel to Seoul in the heat. Chemulp’o was cooler than Seoul, which was also plagued with mosquitoes. The ordination therefore took place at Chemulp’o on 24 July — the first major ceremony in the diocese to be attended by Landis.

Life in Chemulp’o was always liable to such interruptions. Korea had already become a place for discerning holiday-makers to visit, and they all arrived by Chemulp’o, where Landis had to do the honours. At the end of June, he was walking to Seoul with H.J. Veitch, a horticulturalist of the family that introduced *Viburnum carlesii* and other Korean plants to British gardens. Later, Cecil Spring-Rice, the poet and diplomat, came on holiday from Tokyo. In the middle of July came two lay missionaries, John Hodge and William Smart, who stayed in Chemulp’o for the hot season.

Smart was a widower, forty-seven years old, who had the rank then known in the Church of England as ‘lay reader.’ He was destined to work
among the Japanese in Chemulp’o. He was unwell when he arrived. Landis cared for him till he began to get better, and then ordered him to be out of doors as much as possible. Smart was a solemn character but he had domestic skills. He made jam of the superfluous tomatoes in the bishop’s garden, and planted two hundred willow trees around the house — the object of this afforestation being to relieve the bleakness of the site and to combat the erosion of the hillside.

Both the new arrivals went to live in Seoul when Pownall returned from Niuch’uang in mid-August. Pownall was in better health than when he left, and was prepared to help Landis with the language school in the autumn term. That term, however, the school was to suffer badly. The bishop had intended to send Small to Niuch’uang, but Small was now withdrawn from the mission and plans had to be changed. Pownall returned to Manchuria at the beginning of October.

Landis’s work was twice distracted during November by arriving missionaries whom he had to accompany to Seoul: the first group of nursing nuns to come from the community of St. Peter; and, a fortnight later, the nuns’ old friends Canon and Mrs. Doxat.

Landis struggled alone with the language-school, but the pupils grew disheartened and irregular. Before Christmas the school was definitively closed. In December the bishop brought Smart to Chemulp’o, and that earnest teacher, not yet ready to re-start a school, nevertheless began taking Japanese as private pupils. Landis was freed once and for all of a work he had never really liked and had grown stale at. It is surprising that he and the bishop persisted so long in thinking that it was worth while at all.

About the same time Landis made another reckoning. He had cared for 52 in-patients, of whom only two had died. Five of these in-patients were Chinese; more than half the Korean in-patients were from country districts, and had come from every province in the country. Some of his visits to homes had been to islands off the coast. There had been 3,321 visits to the dispensary.

Landis was by now a well-known figure in Inch’ŏn. Like all foreign residents, he had a Korean name, because it was essential to have a name that could be written in Chinese documents. Such a name was usually a transliteration, according to the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters, of the foreign name or surname. Care was taken that the first character should be one used as a surname in Korea, though the result was often barbarous in Korean eyes. Landis’s Korean name was typical of him in that it was not barbarous. ‘Landis’ could have been transliterated
in contemporary Korean orthography as Landisi, which would have been pronounced in the standard dialect as Nanjisi. Perhaps a Chinese friend helped him, for the name he adopted is pronounced Nan-de-shih in Chinese. In Korean it is Nam Tūksi. The surname happens to mean ‘south’; tūksi means ‘gaining time’ and carries the significance of ‘being fortunate.’ To Landis it doubtless suggested St. Paul’s ‘redeeming the time.’

After Christmas Landis and Corfe went to Seoul for a brief conference of the mission, and during January, Trollope visited them at Chemulp’o. Among the subjects they discussed was the project they called ‘Lumen.’ This was a plan to translate a catena of gospel passages into Korean for use until such time as an adequate translation of the New Testament was made. Corfe called this work Lumen ad revelationem gentium, ‘a light to lighten the gentiles,’ from the Song of Simeon in Luke 2.32.

This translation work was soon begun. The missionaries did not yet consider themselves capable of translating directly into Korean from Greek. They worked, with the help of their Korean pundits, from the ‘Delegates’ Version’ Chinese bible. Landis might have been expected to take a hand in this project. All the other members of the mission—even Maurice Davies, who was to leave Korea in 1896 because he failed with the language—did their share of translation. Yet Landis appears not to have contributed. He thought the native script a waste of time, because the literature of educated Koreans was entirely in classical Chinese.

During the spring of 1893 he learned that SPCK, now that his initial two years were up, had decided to grant £50 a year for three years to meet his living expenses. His record for frugality, and the other sources of income he now had, must explain the reduction of the grant from £80 to £50, but SPCK seems not to have had advance knowledge of his appointment as medical officer of the Korean Customs Service in Chemulp’o in February 1893. Corfe, writing of this, says nothing of any emolument—if there was one, it cannot have been much—but notes: ‘His duties will in no way interfere with his work in the hospital. His sphere of influence will, indeed, be greatly extended by this fresh responsibility.’ On another occasion, however, Corfe admitted that this fresh responsibility tied Landis to the post and prevented him from ever itinerating with the other missionaries.

About this time, one of his female patients, a widow, died, and before she died entrusted her six-year-old son to Landis. The boy’s name was not recorded, though the bishop once referred to him as Koum Saik I
which looks like a milk-name, Komsaekki, ‘bear-cub.’ Taking a child into the team must have appealed to Corfe, who set great store by the children in England and America who supported his work. He wrote ponderously dull letters to these children, printed in quaint leaflets with the forbidding title of ‘The Closed Door.’ The leaflets now began to contain brief references to ‘the orphan.’ So began one of the earliest children’s orphanages in Korea. Landis bore the emotional (and much of the financial) burden of the orphan’s care.

Komsaekki could not with propriety be accommodated in any of the mission’s bachelor bed-sitters, so, if what Corfe wrote in ‘The Closed Door’ is to be believed, a house of his own was bought for him in February, across the lane from St. Luke’s hospital, where he was installed ‘in charge of a trustworthy coolie.’ Corfe was more truthful in The Morning Calm magazine. The Korean town was extending up the north and east slopes of the hill. To the south, west and northwest the hospital was hemmed in by foreign property-owners. If the bishop’s mission was ever to start evangelizing, he would need something bigger than the rather cramped hospital compound, so he hurried to buy a contiguous site before it was too late. He also hoped that by engaging a teacher for the orphan he would attract other Korean boys and collect the nucleus of a Korean school. A traditional külpang teacher of Chinese literature was engaged shortly after lunar New Year’s day.

At the end of May Corfe took advantage of the passing HMS Leander to take a passage to Taku, and sail on to see how Pownall was faring in Niuch’uang. The young priest was doing well, making friends with Presbyterian missionaries, and apparently planning to stay in Manchuria for good.

Parents in England who glanced at their children’s copies of ‘The Closed Door’ for July 1893 must have been surprised to read that on his return from Manchuria in the middle of the month the bishop had moved into Komsaekki’s house. He described his room in this, his first Korean-style residence:

A native mattress laid on the floor, a Navy blanket on top of it, a net hanging from the ceiling to keep off flies and mosquitoes... in another corner, my bath, which, with its cover on, acts as a wash-hand-stand and has on it my basin, soap-dish, and hair-brushes. In another corner is a basket containing my clothes and a few books... nothing else.

Another such room the orphan has, and a third is the schoolroom.
The children arrived at 6 a.m. They chanted over the previous day's lesson, then repeated the new lessons of the morning, chanting each phrase after the teacher, about a perfect fourth below the pitch he used. After about two hours of this there is a lull—I suppose for breakfast. The teacher seizes this opportunity to pursue study on his own account. The first morning I heard this, I was alarmed and thought he must be ill, so extraordinary were the sounds which came from him. He seemed to be groaning and wailing and screaming alternately, and always as loud as he could. I spoke to Dr Landis about it afterwards, suggesting that he should go and see him and give him some medicine to ease his pain. But on hearing my description of the symptoms, the doctor said, 'Oh, I expect he was only reading poetry. He is generally like that when he reads poetry.'

The bishop's attempt at wry humour was perhaps heavy-handed even for the Victorian nursery, yet any westerner who recalls his surprise on first hearing Chinese verses recited with relish by a Korean connoisseur of the old school will recognize the accuracy of the description.

Corfe went on to write that his own room was next to the kitchen and mentions the 'verandah'—the maru. It seems that the school was conducted in the sarang-bang. By Christmas a second orphan had joined Komsaekki.

This year, 1893, was otherwise scarcely more eventful for Landis than when he escorted the newly arrived nuns, Sister Nora and Sister Alma, to Seoul in September and they were able to travel on the first journey of a new Chinese steamer. Unobtrusively, his knowledge of Korea grew and the work of the hospital continued. Most of his patients suffered from malaria, enteric fever, indigestion, or abscesses.

Two of his companions reached turning-points in their careers during the year. The irrepressible Warner, always liable, in spite of his asthma, to indiscretions and minor adventures, had abundant energy. The previous September the bishop had sent him to explore the upper reaches of the Han, as a result of which he obtained permission to live alone in a house by the waterside at Map'o, the river port of Seoul. In May 1893 he went on another journey, exploring the Taedong river in northern Korea, and on the way he took a fancy to the island of Kanghwa. Very soon he was allowed to move to Kapkotchi, the landing-place on the island for the regular ferries from Chemulp'o to Kanghwa town. At Kapkotchi he built a cottage on the mudbank by the water and tried to evangelize the ferry
passengers by conversation and Chinese tracts. From then on it was
normally Warner who came and took Sunday services at Chemulp’o when
the bishop was away. Thus Landis became interested in the rich history of
Kanghwa.

The other turning point was in the life of Joseph Pownall. He had
switched entirely from Korean studies to the study of Chinese and of
Manchuria. Corfe proposed leaving him permanently at Niuch’uang. He
contracted pleurisy, however, and was advised to withdraw to England.
Disappointed beyond words, he accepted the verdict and left in October.
(Corfe managed to keep the Niuch’uang mission faithfully staffed till
1901, when it was returned to the Chinese diocese.)

Corfe moved back permanently to Seoul during the autumn, but
returned to Chemulp’o for Christmas, when Landis presented him with a
scheme for devising a Korean Braille alphabet. The bishop responded with
enthusiasm, and confidently expected to have a machine in operation very
soon. The system, like Braille, used six dots. Hodge, the mission printer,
during a visit to Peking in October, had even discussed it with W.H.
Murray, a specialist worker for the blind in China. But nothing more was
ever reported. The idea almost certainly fizzled out for lack of funds.
That it should have got so far is further evidence of Landis’s imagination
and compassion.

The following year, 1894, began as a year of rumours and turned
into a year of war. Landis, in Trollope’s words, was ‘interested and
greatly excited’ by the Sino-Japanese war. Although some members of the
mission had sympathized with the pro-Japanese party in Korea, during
the spring and summer they all took the Chinese side. Alarm was greatest
in Seoul, but Chemulp’o saw most of the Japanese troops. At first, in
June, the townsfolk merely gathered to watch the soldiers disembark.
Landis walked to Seoul and back soon after their arrival. During July
and August he reported that Inch’ŏn was half empty because so many of
the Korean residents had fled. This was after the Chinese attempt to land
a force at Asan. A Japanese man-o’-war sank the Chinese transport Kao-
sheng near P’ung-do, an island about forty miles south of Inch’ŏn. The
gunboat Kuang-chou was also wrecked and when its survivors were
brought ashore at Chemulp’o, Landis cared for them at St Luke’s
Hospital. On 26 August he went to Asan in HMS Porpoise to look for
survivors from the Kao-sheng.

The war ended with a decisive victory for the Japanese at P’yŏng-
yang on 15 August. After that the country quietened down. Lumen had at
last been printed, and had appeared in July. Corfe deemed it wise to close
An Early Koreanologist

Smart’s school, because Koreans in general hated the Japanese so fiercely. Smart went to Japan to study the Japanese language properly.

Early in the autumn came news of Pownall’s death in Leicester on 14 July. His pleurisy had been the first stages of what was then called ‘consumption.’ A month earlier he had published in The Morning Calm one of the best general statements about the mission that was made in the decade. He had been one of Landis’s earliest and best collaborators.

Landis was now collaborating with others. Before the war he and Trollope had together produced a Korean version of the English prayers for the King of Korea that were used in the mission. In November he had a lame boy from Seoul brought to Chemulp’o to learn bookbinding, which the doctor had taught himself since coming to Korea. (Corfe called him ‘omnivorous.’) At the same time he was helping the bishop write some litanies in Korean, based on material from Lumen.

His work at the hospital was the subject of congratulatory comment by that doughty traveller Mrs Isabella Bird Bishop, who mentioned it in her famous book on Korea. Details were given by Landis in his annual report to the Hospital Naval Fund. The dispensary showed a decrease in the number of treatments, which was 4,463. He attributed the drop to the evacuation of the town in July and August. The hospital had admitted 130 patients, 106 of whom had been suffering from imbyŏng in the spring and early summer. Landis translated imbyŏng as ‘pestilence’ and said it was common every year at the same season, but did not describe the symptoms.

Vaccination was becoming more popular. The older practice of introducing virus from a smallpox patient into children’s nostrils was as deplorable in its effects as was the treatment of a forming abscess by applying a sticky mass of centipedes and pine resin. A curious class of injury was

perforation of the back of the throat by a tobacco-pipe. The stem of a native pipe is a long piece of bamboo, with a tapering mouthpiece of metal. If a man stumbles and falls while smoking, the stem of the pipe is forced through the tissues in the back of the mouth, often leading to fatal results.

Landis complained bitterly about sanitation and hygiene in Chemulp’o, saying that foreigners and Japanese were as careless as Koreans. The covered drains of the settlement were merely masked cesspools that were properly cleaned only when the monsoon rains came. ‘The coming year,’ he says ironically, ‘bids fair to be an unhealthy one.’
During the war many of the dead had been buried in very shallow graves and ‘large numbers of carcasses of horses and cattle were not buried at all, but left to decompose on the field’ after the battle of P’yŏngyang.

In the light of Landis’s later history, the irony of this report becomes poignant in the paragraph:

The large number of cases of malarial fever treated is easily understood when one sees the situation of native houses. No Corean will ever build on a hill if he can avoid it. The houses are usually near the rice-fields, which are under water for many months of the year.

His one case of leprosy was that of a man who came from the South begging for relief. It being impossible to place him in the hospital, a small temporary place was obtained for him at some distance from the settlement. The case was one of the tuberosa form, and leontiasis was very marked. When he came the disease was already far advanced, with nodules scattered all over his face, and ulceration of the hands and feet already begun. He was treated with choalmooogra oil and iodides, but without avail, and he gradually grew worse and worse, and finally died.

Landis was proudest of the fact that he had patients from every one of the eight provinces, and the islands of Quelpaert and Kanghwa. Only one third of his patients came from Kyŏnggi, the province Chemulp’o belonged to. That, he considered, proved the importance of his beloved port-town as a mission station where all Korea could be contacted.

In spite of the war and this hard work at the hospital, 1894 was the year in which Landis’s Korean studies began to show fruit. His translation of the Buddhist ‘Rosary Sutra’ was ready in time for publication at the beginning of 1895. His three other published translations of Buddhist writings were almost certainly completed before the end of 1895. It is more than likely that all the texts came into his hands on one occasion—probably during a visit to Pongwŏn-sa, between Seoul and Kwangju, whence he obtained his copy of the sutra. It is curious that having published these pieces he never gave Buddhism sympathetic treatment again. He seems to have assimilated himself to the attitudes of the orthodox Confucian. Buddhist texts, however, as Courant and Trollope discovered, were not easily obtained, and Landis lived only two years after the Rosary Sutra translation appeared. He may merely have lacked opportunity to collect further Buddhist material.
1895 was the kabo year from which effective modernization of Korea has been dated. China had now lost her suzerainty over Korea. The Japanese were in control for the time being. In May the Koreans were forced to abandon their traditional white clothes and wear what Corfe called ‘sub-fusc.’ St Luke’s Hospital was crammed with patients suffering from the early summer pestilence, fifty to sixty men being crowded in at one time. There was a severe famine in Cheju, and many of the sufferers came from that island.

In June The Korean Repository published a note from Dr Landis about the first historical reference to the mariner’s compass.

In the journal of Su King, who was sent as ambassador to Korea in 1122 AD, it is stated that he left Ningpo and proceeded by ship to Korea. He describes the compass as a floating needle which was used to steer by on dark nights and cloudy days. Usually the course was guided by the stars, but when they were invisible, recourse was had to the compass.

Although this looks like a precocious discovery in Hsü Ching’s Kao-li t’u-ching, Landis undoubtedly found the reference in an article by Joseph Edkins in The China Review 1889.

The July rains were unwontedly heavy. In Chemulp’o the church was damaged and the cemetery wall came down. Early in August, Landis was cheered when he received the Imperial Chinese Order of the Double Dragon, Third Class, First Grade. The order was bestowed for outstanding services to the imperial throne, and the rank Landis received was that appropriate to foreign consular officials of the rank of army colonel or navy captain and above. It was, perhaps, ranked according to his consular appointment, but it did not justify the terms of the later reports in the newspapers of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, that said he had been ‘knighted by the emperor.’ The award must have been made on the recommendation of the powerful Yuan Shih-kai, later president of China and would-be emperor, who was the Chinese representative in Korea at the time of the war.

In October the queen of Korea was murdered. The Japanese were, not unreasonably, blamed for her death. All the missionaries were unsettled for a time, but they never doubted that their work would continue. Corfe abandoned his resolve to remain silent on politics, and published his abhorrence of the Japanese, their selfishness and their perfidy. He was hugely angered by the order for Koreans to cut their topknots in November.
The five years of Landis’s contract were now completed. SPCK renewed its annual grant of £50 towards his stipend for a further three years, and it was time for him to go on furlough. In preparation for his departure he made arrangements for the three orphan boys who now lived in Komshaekki’s house. He sent his translation of the Tonghak scripture to the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai.

His systematic list of spirits exorcised by Korean shamans was published in Hong Kong before he sailed from Chemulp’o on 30 December. Mrs Bishop was in the same ship with him as far as Chifu. She asked him if he was looking forward to his holiday. He replied, ‘The greatest pleasure will be the next sight of Chemulp’o.’ He had already told his friends that after his return he hoped to give up all work for foreigners, in order to live and work strictly among Koreans.

While he was away his medical work in Chemulp’o was done by an English bachelor doctor whom Corfe obtained for the purpose from China, a shadowy character who seems never to have made friends in Korea. His name was Fullerton Boyd Malcolm. He had emigrated to Canada early in life and been educated first in Toronto, then at the University of Michigan, finally getting his MD at the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1893, at the age of forty-three, he joined the American Baptist Mission to China, and the following spring arrived with a group of missionaries to develop the hospital recently opened at Sui-fu in Szechwan. Sui-fu, also known as Hsü-chou, and now called L-pin, was a centre of trade with Burma, set at the confluence of the Min and Yangtze. Malcolm had scarcely been there a year when rioting in Szechwan caused him to leave. He worked briefly at the London Mission Hospital in Hankow before Corfe got in touch with him, and he went to Chemulp’o to replace Landis temporarily.

Meanwhile Landis travelled quickly. There is no record of his having done any public speaking during the month he spent in England, though he visited the mother-house of the St Peter’s sisters, which had transferred to Woking in Surrey. He also visited the Bodleian Library at Oxford and there indulged an American bent for genealogy by unearthing the blazon of a coat-of-arms for Landis. Another month was spent in America, where he visited his home in Pennsylvania without lingering there. All his letters to Korea were full of impatience to get back and of anxiety about the orphan boys.

While he was away events in Korea took a dramatic turn. The king escaped from Japanese surveillance in the palace on 11 February 1896 and took refuge in the Russian legation, where he was crowned as Emperor of
Great Korea at a fête in the compound during May. Koreans returned to wearing their traditional clothes and wore false topknots while their hair grew again. Russia was temporarily in the ascendant, and most of the English missionaries preferred Russia to Japan (though the English at home still feared Russian expansion).

Landis saw Chemulp’o again on 10 May 1896. Although Corfe had intended him to be away for six months, he had circled the world and returned in 133 days. Now, however, in spite of his volubly stated preference for Chemulp’o rather than Seoul, the bishop made him look after the Seoul hospitals, while Edward Baldock, the Seoul doctor, went on furlough. His early return meant that he had six weeks to spare before taking up this duty. He spent the time ‘visiting the interior.’ We have no idea where he travelled, but he seems to have made only brief excursions, for he was based on Chemulp’o and made three visits to Seoul during this period.

On 5 July, however, he took up residence in Seoul, taking his orphan boys with him, to live in a separate house in the Chong-dong compound. A month or so later Bishop Corfe was describing how the doctor took them twice a day to the Chapel of the Advent to teach them how to say their prayers. The bishop was also getting more translation help from Landis. In August the office for the admission of candidates was printed. It was translated from the North China diocese’s office by Trollope and revised by Corfe and Landis. Corfe insisted that his men should baptize no Koreans until the missionaries themselves were confident of their linguistic ability to teach. He had estimated they would wait for seven years before the first adult baptisms, and now that they had finished their sixth year, he thought the first catechumens might soon be made. Catechumens would have to attend public worship, so the next translation task was to provide the *missa catechumenorum*, or first part of the eucharist, in Korean. The same team immediately tackled that job, and Landis did his part of it in October.

Trollope’s participation, however, was hindered by his removal from Seoul. The bishop was astonished in August to receive a letter from Warner demanding independence from Corfe’s supervision. He must have known that Corfe was bound to refuse. Less than three weeks later the 29-year-old rebel had left Korea, claiming that he left to get married. (Always unstable, he worked in South Africa and as rector of Kirby Misperton in Yorkshire, where he died by his own hand in 1914.) Someone had to replace him, because of the importance of Kanghwa and because of his success there. Trollope alone was capable of coping with
the work. He moved to Kanghwa in September, and henceforward often had reason to pass through Chemulp’o when travelling between Seoul and Kanghwa. He frequently called on Landis.

The service for catechumens was used in the Chapel of the Advent at Seoul on Christmas Eve 1896. The bishop officiated in cope and mitre, with Trollope’s assistance, for the admission to the catechumenate of six Korean men. One man and two youths among them were from Kanghwa; the other three were the bishop’s language teacher and two men from Seoul. Immediately afterwards the bishop baptized five of Landis’s orphans, using the service for infant baptism in English. Landis himself held the brass bowl that served as font; and one of the boys was named Barnabas. He was Landis’s adopted son. It seems that he was not Komsaekki. Oral tradition suggests that he was the son of a concubine.

On Christmas morning at 8:30 the new catechumens attended the eucharist for the first time. The catechumens were separated from the missionaries and baptized boys by the low railings of the choir. The service began with the litany and continued with the eucharist. The missionaries had carefully practised Korean words to Doran and Nottingham’s setting of the litany and one of Croft’s plainsong masses. The catechumens and orphans, however, ruined the effect by joining in with their own unpractised chant, based on the recitation of Chinese classics and poetry, like that of the boys’ teacher at Chemulp’o. After the reading of the gospel, for all the world as though they were in the days of the early Church, the catechumens were dismissed. The eucharist was then concluded in English, because the rest of it had not yet been translated into Korean.

St Stephen’s, the day after Christmas, is a traditional holiday in England. The sisters gave a tea-party for all eight orphan boys, complete with cake and paper crackers. Happily, all the crackers contained paper hats, which the boys put on to give a drill display for the sisters. One of them, wrote a sister, ‘was with the soldiers for three months before coming to us.’ He acted as sergeant. The boys played up to their hosts, and the nuns had a merry time, but Landis slipped away from the fun for an hour to consult with an American doctor (presumably Scranton).

They could not know that Dr Malcolm in Chemulp’o had been ill with typhoid just before Christmas. On the very afternoon of the party he insisted on going up the hill to the hospital to care for his patients. Bronchitis set in, and in the darkness of the early hours of Sunday morning, 3 January 1897, the lonely and devoted doctor died.

Landis was there when he died but was not able to return to live in
Chemulp’o until Baldock returned from furlough. He continued in charge of the Seoul hospitals, helping the bishop and Trollope to produce a catechism in Korean. Corfe particularly stressed the value of Landis’s knowledge of Chinese. At the end of January, as the lunar new year festival approached, the recently arrived Arthur Turner (later to succeed Corfe as bishop) was walking into Seoul from Map’o and came upon one of the traditional community stone-throwing battles, with Dr Landis ‘looking on with interest not altogether unprofessional, as in the course of the week it gave him some experience in broken heads and how to bind them.’

At the beginning of March he was allowed to return to Chemulp’o. He at once set about severing his connections with the foreign community, but found it harder than he had expected. Undoubtedly the small financial advantage of his appointment to the customs department counted for something. The foreign residents urged him to regard them as his primary obligation. He resented these attempts to dictate where he should live and what his priorities should be, but conceded their point that he should continue his responsibilities to the customs staff. He insisted, however, on his right to move with his family of orphans to a purely Korean neighbourhood, away from the foreign enclave. At the hospital he had only two living rooms, no longer large enough for his expanding literary and scientific collections, and not secluded enough for him to study without interruption. He also wanted to keep his boys from the contamination of contact with the riff-raff of the seaport, where thievery and opium smuggling were rife and the coolies worked stark naked in hot weather.

The place he chose was a little more than half-a-mile—ten minutes’ walk across the valley—away from the hospital, in the hamlet of Songnim. It is difficult to guess why a sensible physician who had deplored the Korean custom of building houses close to the stagnant filthy water of the paddies should deliberately choose to live in just such a place himself. Even Koreans, it was said, considered Songnim malarial and its water supply bad. Yet when the spring building season opened he began to build two houses there: one for himself and the boys, and one where his adopted son, Barnabas, now aged about seventeen, could live with the fourteen-year-old wife who was found for him about this time, and with the couple who cared for the boys. Building went on from May to July, and they moved in at the beginning of August.

There were not so many boys now. Trollope had acquired a house and persimmon orchard in Kanghwa town, where he was joined by other
missionaries, and they had opened a school for boys at Kapkotchi, in which two of Landis’s bigger lads were enrolled. He took them to Kanghwa Island when he went there for the solemn blessing of the new establishment on St John Baptist’s day, 24 June 1897. There was a great gathering of the missionaries with Trollope presiding over the occasion, which turned into a mammoth picnic. Landis utilized the group by persuading them to spend the morning walking around Kapkotchi collecting snails for the study of molluscs in which he was then engaged. This must have been the practical side of his work on the Korean pharmacopoea, Tongūi pogam, of which he translated the section on invertebrates. He may also at the same time have obtained the material he soon published as ‘Notable Dates of Kang-wha,’ based on unidentified ‘official records.’

During 1897 he published two translations of works on geomancy, one in Korea and one in Hong Kong; and some charming notes on children’s rhymes, where one suspects the help of his orphans. He was also now the Korean-language lay reader at Chemulp’o. Every Sunday at nine o’clock in St Michael’s Church he read Korean prayers with his orphans and others. (Smart did the same for the Japanese at ten o’clock, while the English reserved for themselves their own sacred hour of eleven.)

The year proceeded without further events in Landis’s life being recorded. Corfe was not present at the Kanghwa picnic because in March he had left for a conference of bishops in China before going to England for the Lambeth Conference in July, and did not return until October 1898. He was therefore away from Korea when the long awaited first baptism of Korean adults took place at Chemulp’o on Sunday 7 November 1897. Trollope baptized two men from Kanghwa, Kim Kunmyōng (John) and Kim Hūijun (Mark), immersing them in the great font in the floor. Bishop Scott of Peking was there to confirm them at once—in Chinese.

About the same time news came from London that SPG was to provide a considerable sum for the erection of better buildings for St Luke’s Hospital. Landis eagerly set about the planning and looked forward to starting construction work when the spring weather came in 1898. But he was not to see the event.

He felt ill on Lady Day, Friday 25 March 1898, and thought he had influenza. Trollope arrived next day from Kanghwa to celebrate Sunday eucharist at Chemulp’o. He found Landis confined with a fever, under the care of British naval surgeons from the fleet then in port. No one thought the illness was serious, though Baldock came twice from Seoul.
Landis, however, knew more of the local sickness and thought he might die. He begged Trollope not to leave him without a priest; so when Trollope had to go, Turner came to Chemulp’o. A week later, early in Holy Week, Landis was moved to St Michael’s parsonage. The Russian fleet had replaced the British in the harbour, and Dr Benezet of HIRMS Mandjou attended Landis, who rapidly got better. Trollope passed through the port on Maundy Thursday evening, pausing on the way from Seoul to Kanghwa, and thought Landis much better. On Good Friday there was a relapse. Turner sent to Seoul for Baldock and a nurse, who arrived at two in the morning of Easter day, 10 April. A little later Landis received viaticum from Turner, and at three in the afternoon appeared to be dying; but when Trollope got in from Kanghwa about four o’clock he had rallied and was able to talk a little.

The next day he received the Blessed Sacrament again, this time from Trollope, and asked that the cross which had been carried before it from the church might be left standing at his bedside. It was.

On Tuesday he seemed stronger, but scarcely spoke. He then slowly declined, occasionally able to communicate by moving his head, until half-past four in the afternoon of Saturday 16 April. Trollope and Sister Lois were with him. Trollope read the commendatory prayers, then took the crucifix which for years Landis had worn on a cord round his neck, and presented it to the dying man’s lips. A last flutter of consciousness seemed to pass over his face, and a few minutes later he died. He was thirty-two.

Sister Lois laid him out in his silk turumagi, with hands clasped over the same crucifix. On Monday evening his coffin was placed in the church, covered with a pall but almost hidden by flowers, and flanked by two lighted candles. On Tuesday morning the missionaries sang a homely requiem. Trollope complied with Landis’s dying request that the eucharist should be celebrated every day for a week after his death.

The funeral was arranged for four o’clock on the Tuesday afternoon, so that the customs staff could attend. Most of the male members of the Anglican mission came from Seoul and Kanghwa. The little church was crammed with Koreans and foreigners. As the service began, the weather, which had been threatening all day, burst into a violent storm that lasted far into the night. Thunder and lightning, drenching rains, violent winds, and slippery mud roads made the procession to the foreigners’ cemetery doubly painful.

Eighteen months later a seven-foot white marble Celtic cross was set up at the grave with a Latin inscription:
H (ic) s (epultum) e (st) quod mortale fuit medici carissimi
Eli Barr Landis, cujus animae propitietur Deus. Natus
prope Lancastriam apud Americanos A (nno) S (alutis)
MDCCCLXV viii fere annos apud Coreanos commoratus
obit Chemulpo die xvio mensis Aprilis A (nno) S (alutis)
MDCCCXCIII

Behind the cross were carved the Chinese characters of his name: Nam Tükisi. The cross stands now in the cemetery at Ch’ônghak-tong, whither all the graves of Inch’ón foreigners’ cemetery were moved in 1965.

There was considerable doubt about the diagnosis of his last illness, but his death was attributed to a typhoid infection received from polluted water. He had been taking steps to improve the water supply to his house just before he fell ill. It was ironic that he should die of a version of the imbyŏng from which he sayed so many. In their genuine sadness at his death his friends did not reproach him for exposing himself to risk. When a young man of high religious motivation dies in such circumstances, one is tempted to wonder whether he were not courting death and wanting, as so many missionaries have wanted to ‘give his life for the people’ and to ‘lay his bones in Korea;’ but there was too much vitality in his last months. He had just joined a number of scholarly societies; he was enthusiastically planning the new hospital; and he was working away at the water supply problem.

Just as the detailed accounts of his death underline the preoccupations and piety of the period, so do the memorials. Besides the cross, there were the ‘Landis windows:’ stained glass to fill the three lights of the east window of Chemulp’o church; a ward called ‘the Landis ward’ in the new hospital (the building of which was deferred until autumn 1898); and the Landis Memorial Library built up around the nucleus provided by his personal collection. The windows disappeared when the church was destroyed during the fighting over Inch’ón in 1951; the hospital was discontinued in 1914, though parts of the building were still in use for other purposes sixty years later; the library has survived, at least in part. It was moved to Seoul and added to by Trollope. The western-language books in it were kept in the Bible Society building, where they were lost during the burning of central Seoul in 1951; but the Korean collection was kept in the Chŏng-dong Anglican compound until 1941, when it was confided to the care of Chosŏn Christian College while the English missionaries were away during World War II. Bishop Cooper always grieved that the college refused to return the books to the mission after the war—the more so because the books that remained at the cathedral survived the Korean
War of 1950-3 unscathed, while the college library suffered loss and damage. Such of the Korean books of the Landis collection as now survive have been absorbed into Yonsei University Library.

A catalogue of the Landis Library was published by the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1903. It lists some 300 volumes, all in western languages, save for three maps of Korea. Since few of the titles were published before 1898, and Trollope wrote at the time of Landis’s death that he left 300 books, the bulk of the list doubtless represents Landis’s own collection. It gives some indication of his scholastic equipment. The standard sinological works of Legge, Moellendorf, and Mayers are there, together with nearly everything that had been written on Korea: Allen, Carles, Culin, Dallet, de Rosny, Gale, Gifford, Gilmore, Gutzlaff, Hall, Hesse-Wartegg, Hodge, Imbault-Huart, Miln, Oppert, Ross, Savage-Landor, Scott, Underwood, and Wilkinson. The Chinese dictionaries include Goncalves 1833, Giles 1892, Lobschied 1883, Medhurst 1842, Polette 1896, and the curious work of Philosinensis 1835. There is a standard collection on East Asian travel, Chinese culture, and Buddhism, including Eitel’s Handbook and Julien’s Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits que se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois. Botanical references include the Linnean Society’s Index florae sinensis by Forbes and Hensley 1886; Catalogue of plants in the botanic garden of the Imperial University, Tokyo 1887; and Yatabe Ryokichi Iconographia florae japonicae 1891.

A minor memorial is his ikon of the Mother of God. There is no record of how he obtained it, though a manuscript note by Trollope records that it belonged to Landis. When Trollope finished furnishing his splendid church of St Peter and St Paul in Kanghwa town in 1900, he set the ikon on the rood screen, above the central arch. Joan Rutt cleaned it in 1972, when it proved to be a repository article of a kind made by the tens of thousands in nineteenth-century Russia, with only the hands and faces of Christ and his mother painted on the wood where they show through the cut-away parts of the gilded cover. It was possibly given to Landis by one of the officers of the Russian navy visiting Inch’ŏn, or by one of the many Russians in Seoul in 1896.

Sixty years after his death the memory of Nam Tūksi still lingered in Inch’ŏn. He had been compassionate and patient. He had been unusually close to Koreans. In his own mission perhaps only Warner equalled him in this respect. The editors of The Korean Repository remembered that he was ‘an industrious student of Korean Chinese, and many an evening in passing the hospital we have heard him reading Mencius or the Analects
in true Korean fashion.' Mrs Bishop wrote: ‘There will never be another Dr Landis, and twice when I had occasion to go to see him in his tiny room at Chemulp’o, and found him living like a native, surrounded by his patients and Corean and Chinese books, perfectly happy, I thought there had never been another Dr Landis.’

It is hard to descry the real man in the obituary eulogies. Clearly he was an attractive personality. I have found only two photographs. In one he sits with a foreign garden-party group; in the other he squats among his Chinese and Japanese pupils. One can see only a short, neat man with a dark pointed beard and bright eyes.

His attachment to the orphans tells most. He made himself entirely responsible for Barnabas’s expenses, but was detached enough to see that the boy married. All reports speak of his solicitude for the boys, and the Repository, sagely noting that ‘they were to him what a family might have been,’ described him as ‘a wise, kind, careful and loving parent.’ Corfe said he made the orphans ‘in a real sense... his own children.’ (After his death they were all taken to Map’o. We read of the baptism of Barnabas’s wife and the confirmation of the couple in June 1899. Barnabas was taught printing at the mission press. When the press was closed down in December 1900 he was given the machinery and a small sum of money, with which he was sent to Kanghwa to set himself up in business there by teaching some of the boys at the church school to work with him. Nothing is known of his success or otherwise, though he is said to have died in tragic circumstances about 1922. The orphanage moved to Seoul and eventually to Suwŏn, where it was finally closed in 1973.)

Corfe wrote of Landis’s modesty, common-sense, and never-failing good humour and courtesy. Trollope, though irked by the general air of canonization, found it hard to do otherwise than contribute to it. In praising Landis’s colloquial Korean, he wrote ‘I very much doubt whether he (or for that matter any other foreigner) could be said to speak like a native’—which was hardly a complaint. Trollope continued, however, ‘But in one point, and that an important one, he failed us. He had all the Korean syen-pai’s distaste for mere enmoun, a distaste which, of course, greatly diminished his value to us as a translator, though he was always willing to lend a hand...’

This points to a facet of Landis’s character that belongs to youth. He was a whole-hearted enthusiast: not merely for Korea, but for Chemulp’o; not just for Korean, but for Korean literary Chinese. He must live like a Korean, entirely for and with Koreans; he must think and talk like a Korean. Perhaps he succeeded, as not all enthusiastic young
missionaries have done, in retaining his emotional balance; but certainly
his enthusiasm generated prodigious energy in his medical work and his
studies.

Seen in the context of his time, his scholarly achievement was
formidable. Hulbert, never one to give praise where no praise was due
(even to the dead, whose rivalry was no longer to be feared) wrote in 1906
that Landis was ‘one of the most finished scholars that Korea has seen...
Had he lived he would undoubtedly have stood at the head of that small
body of men who have made a special study of the Korean people.’

That ‘small body’ consisted of six men: Gale, Hulbert, G.H. Jones,
Landis, Trollope, and H.G. Underwood. Three of them are shown in
H.H. Underwood’s Bibliography of 1931 as having published more titles
than Landis, but Gale’s writing career spanned forty years, and Hulbert
and Jones each had twenty years of active writing, and all their lists of
publications are swollen by quantities of missionary propaganda and
reporting, by social and political comment. Landis, with twenty-two
pioneer research papers in three years, compares well with any of them
for quantity. In quality he is more accurate than Gale and Hulbert,
though George Heber Jones—another American missionary scholar whose
name deserves recall—was of comparable calibre.

Landis’s particular contribution was that he had been trained in the
natural sciences. Where others were content with impressionistic observa-
tions, he collected specimens, he obtained and translated the handbooks
of the geomancers and soothsayers, the pharmacopoea, the ritual books.
His translations are notably accurate, and he was unusual for his time in
that he translated Chinese names and Sanskrit words as such, not as
Korean. Most of his contemporaries who studied Korean had a literary
training that encouraged them to fill out their accounts with value-judge-
ments and asides. Landis’s training led him to write unadorned diagnostic
prose, sparing of comment. He did not strive for literary grace: though
some of his writing is attractive, he concentrated on amassing and class-
sifying facts. Nobody else did the same at that time, and in some of his
fields little or nothing more has been done by foreign Koreanologists since
he died.

Trollope hoped to publish such of his manuscripts as remained
unpublished at his death, perhaps even publish all Landis’s writings in a
single volume. Had this been done, the little doctor’s contribution to
Korean studies would have been easier to assess. In the event only two
unpublished papers appeared posthumously: one in 1898 in The Imperial
and Asiatic Quarterly Review, which was published in Woking (where the
Sisters of St Peter now had their mother-house); and one in the last two issues of *The Korea Review* in 1906.

We may reasonably doubt whether he wrote much that was never published. He certainly planned more, but had completed very little. The last published sentence of his lifetime appeared in *The China Review* early in 1898 under the heading ‘Query:’

Could any readers of the China Review give me the corresponding date in the English Calendar of the first date of the year Im Chin (and here he inserted the Chinese characters *Jen-ch’en*) 1592?

This is intriguing for the light it sheds on the limitations of his resources; and for the hint it gives of what he was studying next.

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**SOURCES AND REFERENCES**

Landis’s own writings and the principal obituary statements are listed in the appended bibliography. Further details of his years in Korea are to be found in the early issues of *The Morning Calm* (magazine of the English Church Mission to Korea); *The Closed Door* (Bishop Corfe’s letters to children, printed in Seoul; five issues 1891-93); the manuscript *Log* of the mission, kept in Seoul; the archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, both in London; in letters sent home by members of the Anglican mission, some of which were privately printed (specifically those of M.N. Trollope printed by his sister, and those of the St Peter’s sisters, printed for the associates of the community).

L.G. Paik’s *History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, P’yŏngyang 1929 contains inaccuracies on the Anglican missions. Paik depended chiefly on C.F. Pascoe *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, London 1915, PP. 712-715e, which is so condensed as to be misleading about details.

Likewise the information about Landis’s published papers given in H.H. Underwood ‘A Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature in Korea, from Early Times to 1930’ (*TKBRAS* XX, Seoul 1931) is incomplete and inaccurate. Nevertheless, it was the indispensable starting point for my own work.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED PAPERS BY LANDIS

Abbreviations

JBTS  Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India Calcutta
CR    The China Review Hong Kong
IAQR  Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review London and Woking
JAF   The Journal of American Folklore Boston, Massachusetts
JAI   The Journal of the Anthropological Institute London
KRP   The Korean Repository Seoul
KRV   The Korean Review Seoul
MC    Morning Calm London
TCBRAS Transactions of the China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society Shanghai
TKBRAS Transactions of the Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society Seoul.

I. BUDDHIST TEXTS

1. ‘The Classic of the Buddhist Rosary’
   KRP II, 23-5 (1895) and J BTS III, 1 ii-iii (1895). Reprinted in A.C. Clark
   Religions of Old Korea New York 1932, pp. 286-7, where the reference to
   KRP is given, but Landis is not named.
   This is a translation of a sutra printed ‘in chart form’ which Landis claimed
   was ‘put on the walls of many of the Buddhist temples of Korea.’ He says that
   while visiting a temple he obtained a copy printed from blocks cut at Pongui-
   sa near Kwangju at the expense of ‘a virgin by the name of Pak.’ ‘Pong Eui
   Sa’ is translated by Landis as ‘the temple of the receiving of benefits,’ and is
   probably a misprint for ‘Pong Eun Sa’ (Pongun-sa).
   Clark subtitles the translation Yumchoo kyung, i.e. Yŏmjу-gyŏng ‘rosary
   sutra.’ Most of the text is given in Ting Fu-pao Fo-hsueh ta tz’u-tien, Shang-
   hai, 1921, page 2641 under the title Mu-huan ching (Korean Mokhwan-gyŏng;
   cf. op. cit., pp. 484-5).
   The sutra is brief. In it King Virūdhaka (Korean Piyuri, but rendered by
   Landis as Paruri) asks the Buddha how to cure the famine and disease in his
   kingdom, and the Buddha urges him to use the rosary.
   As found by Landis the whole text was apparently printed within an oval
   border of large dots representing the 108 beads of the rosary. In KRP there is
   a fold-out sheet of Korean mulberry-back paper on which the oval string of
   dots is printed with the names of buddhas, bodhisattvas, paramitas, guardi-
   ans, constellations, devas, hells, benefactors and rosary-carrier appended in
   Chinese appropriately outside each bead-dot, apparently in facsimile of the
   original chart. The space in the middle contains the same names in Korean
   script, romanized Sanskrit, and English translation.
   Landis added a note containing a curious error: he said that the Korean
   rosary contains 110 beads. The mistake arose from the fact that the fifty-fifth
dot on the chart has the name of Ksitigarbha (Chijang posal) with two of his
titles: Mudok kwisang, ‘king of spirits, free of malevolence,’ and Tomyöng
chonja, ‘honoured one, light of the way.’ Landis has treated them as the
names for three beads instead of one.

This would have given him two beads too many. But the chart itself con-
tains another error: it contains 109 titles for 108 beads, because it has 20 hell-
names for the 19 hell-beads. Landis, therefore, had 111 names to translate but
for some unaccountable reason he omitted the name of Ksitigarbha, and so
counted 110.

There is also a lacuna in the translation of the sutra, undoubtedly due to
bad proof-reading in the first printing. Near the beginning there are said to be
dozen divisions, but only eleven are named. The missing division appears to
be that for buddhas other than Sakyamuni. Even so, the description given in
the sutra does not tally with the names on the chart: but both agree in de-
scribing 108 beads. The chart differs from the sutra in giving five fewer
heavens, one fewer deva, two fewer earthly localities; compensated by seven
more bodhisattvas and two more hells.

It is clear that the woodblock print from which Landis worked represented
a slapdash combination of two traditions. The reprint in JBTS exactly
reproduces the KRP text, without the chart.

2. ‘Buddhist chants and processions’
   KRP II, 123-6 (1895) and JBTS III, 2, 1-2

   Prayers to be chanted by the monks in procession before the statue of
   Gautama, before retiring at night, on rising in the morning, and when bene-
   factors offer gifts.

3. ‘Three Buddhist tracts from Korea’
   JBTS IV 1, 22-28

   Translations of three texts:
   (a) ‘Precepts for young students’
       A translation of Kye ch’o-simhagin mun by Moguja, otherwise Chinul
       (1158-1210). An edition of the text appears in An Chinho Sa chip happon
   (b) ‘Prayers and chants’
       Prayers to be recited by monks at meal times in the monastery, of a
       character similar to those published earlier as ‘Buddhist chants and proces-
       sions.’
   (c) ‘Precepts for the cultivation of the heart’
       Palsim-suhaeng chang, by Wŏnhyo, the great seventh-century monk of
       Silla. The text is available in Sa chip happon, pp. 6-9. It expounds some prin-
       ciples of the monastic state and forms a natural companion for the precepts of
       Moguja.

4. ‘Record of a vision of Avalokitecvara’
   JBTS IV, 3, pp. 1-3 (1896)

   A translation of Kwanŭum hyŏnsang ki by Ch’oe Hang (1409-1474) de-
scribing how King Sejo, on an inspection tour of Kyŏnggi in 1461, received a vision of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara at Sangwŏn-sa near Chip’yŏng. The king ordered Ch’oe Hang to record the event and the royal acts designed to commemorate it.

II. FOLKLORE

5. ‘Notes on the exorcism of spirits in Korea’
   CR XXI, 399-404 (1894/5); MC Feb 1898, 16-25
   An introductory study of the spirits involved in shaman kut ceremonies. Thirty-six types of spirit are classified, and twelve varieties of exorcism. At the end there is a description of how a woman becomes a sorceress (mudang). This paper is remarkable for its time in the degree of detail Landis was able to elicit about a sensitive subject.

6. ‘Folk tales of Korean children’
   JBTs V, 4, pp. 1-6 (1897)
   Four folktales, probably retold by Landis after hearing them from his orphan boys or other children in Inch’ŏn.
   (a) The hunter’s three sons. A story of avenging the death of a father who was killed by a tiger. The tiger assumes the form of a buddhist monk.
   (b) The tale of the poor nobleman. The poor yangban is kind to a fox, which shows him some buried gold. A man to whom the yangban has been kind envies him the gold and attempts to swindle him out of it. The magistrate solves the case correctly and serpents devour the false accuser. A moral is appended: ‘Of all living creatures, man is the most ungrateful.’
   (c) The tale of the clever artist. A variation on the animated picture theme. A yangban paints a picture of a fruit tree that gives its owner real fruit, which increases the owner’s greed. The artist is eventually condemned to death for sorcery, but paints a picture of a donkey, which he mounts and rides away.
   (d) The tale of the faithful bull. Another tiger story, climaxing in a fight between a bull and a marauding tiger, in which both animals are killed.
   (e) The tale of the sun and moon. A tiger kills a poor widow, then goes to eat her children. The children escape up a cinnamon tree, which the tiger attempts to fell. A rope descends from heaven, and they escape; but when the tiger tries to climb the rope it breaks and he falls to his death. In heaven the girl becomes the sun and the boy becomes the moon. The story is well known, and one version is in Zong Insŏb, Folk Tales from Korea, London 1952, pp. 7-10.

7. ‘Korean Folk Tales’
   CR XXII, pp. 693-7 (1896-7)
   (a) The story of the demon and how it was killed. A demon kills a whole family, save one boy. When it returns, disguised as a girl, to kill the son, the boy brutally exterminates the demon.
   (b) The story of the nobleman and the slave. An inconsequential tale of tiger-
hunting and ingratitude, but with a happy ending.
(c) The story of the boy and the piece of rope. An impoverished boy manages to exchange his possessions in a sequence whereby he profits by each exchange until with the last exchange he obtains a wife, who brings him prosperity.
(d) The story of the hunter's son. A brief but rambling account, with a subsidiary revenge motif, of a posthumously born son of a hunter who kills a demon and gains a wife.
(e) The story of the three orphan boys. Three orphan boys grow up as adopted brothers: Yi becomes a scholar, Kim becomes governor of Tongnae, and Pak the chief of some bandits. Yi meets Pak and then reports to Kim about him. Kim, duty bound, tries to arrest Pak, but fails and dies in the attempt. In remorse, Pak mends his ways.
(f) The story of the ungrateful tiger. A tiger, freed from a trap by a passer-by, proposes to devour the man. The man appeals to a toad to dissuade the tiger, and the toad persuades the tiger to re-enact the story by entering the trap. The pitying toad releastes the tiger, then has to hide under a rock to escape being eaten himself. The tiger rubs his nose sore, trying to get at the toad.

Zong has the same story (op. cit., p. 183). The stupidity of the tiger is a familiar folk theme.
(g) The story of the fox, the hare, and the toad. The three animals boast of the length of their ancestries. The toad wins. A tiger tries to humiliate the toad, but is made to look silly. (Cf Zong, op. cit., p. 17).

8. 'Rules for choosing a name.'
KRP III, 54-8 (1896)
A translation of a text more recently called Haemyŏng pōp, 'method for analysing names' (e.g. in Kim Hyŏkche Myongmun kajŏng pogam, Myŏng-mun-dang, Seoul 1948 and later editions). The strokes of each of the two characters in a personal name are separately counted and both numbers divided by eight. The remainders provide a pair of digits in a series, 1-1 to 8-8, which contains sixty-four pairs. Landis's translation lacks the last three pairs (8-6, 8-7, and 8-8). Each pair is furnished with a runic Chinese couplet that needs a soothsayer's skill to elucidate it. For example:

1-5 The body will be driven from a palace
And flowers will fall in an empty room.

This oracle is referred to in the Chŏnju version of the Ch'ŏnhyang story. Others are superficially decorative, but decidedly hermetic as predictions, such as:

2-2 The green jade stones will tinkle
And boats will face the river terrace.

Others are less opaque:

8-5 The name of a man will be spread abroad;
A virtuous way and a great scholar.

All the couplets are assigned to eleven grades of luck, from Double Superior, through various degrees of superiority, luck, indifference and evil, down to
Great Evil.

The variant forms of this text have not attracted the attention of academics. Landis translates (as best he may) but adds no commentary.

9. ‘Some Korean proverbs’
KRP III, 312-16 and 396-403 (1896)

100 proverbs and proverbial phrases in Korean script with English translations and brief explanations. For the most part they are well known, but twenty-eight of them are not included (or are included with significant differences) in Yi Kimun Soktam sajŏn, Seoul, 1962. Proverbs exerted great attraction for early missionaries, and this is a careful collection—perhaps the best from the nineteenth century.

10. ‘Numerical categories of Korea’
KRP III, 431-8 and 464-8 (1896)

A collection of ninety-four numerical groupings which are peculiar to Korea, modelled on the ‘numerical categories’ listed in F.W. Mayers The Chinese Reader’s Manual, Shanghai, 1874. Most of them are literary or historical. For example:

*Sam ka* ‘the three celebrated calligraphers’: Prince Anp’yŏng, Yang Saŏn, and Han Ho (alias Sŏkpong).

*Sam sŏng* ‘the three surnames (of Quelpaert)’: Ko, Yang, and Pu.

*O hyŏn* ‘the five good men’: Kim Kwangp’i1, Chŏng Yŏch’ang, Cho Kwangjo, Yi Ŭnŏk, and Yi Hwang.

This was Landis’s most original collection. It has the character of folklore in that the material was current in oral rather than written form, despite its literary character. Much of it is no longer current. (Cf. note in Hazard et al: *Korean Studies Guide*, Berkeley, 1954, p. 26.

11. ‘Geomancy in Korea’
KRP V, 41-6 (1898)

Apparently translated from a manuscript manual, for which no title is given, it consists of three sections, all describing grave-sites.

(a) Thirteen positions and descriptions of the hills behind the grave, with their significance.

(b) ‘The instructions of the teacher To Syen.’ Fifteen paragraphs generally similar to those in the first section, but attributed to the fourteenth-century monk Tosŏn.

(c) ‘The mysteries of the teacher Mou Hak.’ Fifteen further paragraphs, attributed to the early Yi monk Muhak, one of Yi T’aehoe’s advisers.

12. ‘Korean geomancy’
CR XXIII, 37-45 (1898)

A translation of a manuscript booklet of the rudiments of geomancy. The text is independent of the text of 11 above. It is entirely concerned with grave-sites, but uses a more extensive symbolic vocabulary, and discusses the geological substrata as well as the configuration of the sites. It contains seven sections:
(a) *The earth’s skeleton.* 20 paragraphs.
(b) *On determining the site of a grave by observing the places of origin and exit of a stream of water.* 24 paragraphs.
(c) *Eight hills and their suitable times.* 8 paragraphs. The ‘proper times’ for digging in hills at the eight points of the compass are determined by auspicious happenstances.
(d) *The twenty-four dragons* (the situation of the hill with the source and outlet of its stream and water). 7 paragraphs.
(e) *The good luck or evil influence of the twenty-four dragons.* 9 paragraphs.
(f) *The rules of To Syen concerning the pulse of the hills.* 9 paragraphs, different from 11 (b) above, but containing some of the same material.
(g) *A discussion on rocks and stones*

13. ‘Rhymes of Korean children’
JAF XI, 203-9 (1898); MC May 1899, 87-91, Nov 1899, 126-8.
In many ways the most interesting of Landis’s writings, perhaps the only collection of children’s rhymes published before the twentieth century was well advanced. It contains twelve chanted rhymes and six counting-out games, given in Scott’s modification of the French missionaries’ romanization and in English translation. One or two variants are recorded and there are liberal annotations. This paper still has the value of a primary source.

III CONFUCIAN RITES

14. ‘A royal funeral’
KRP IV, 161-8 (1897)
An article published in May 1897 in anticipation of the funeral of the minuscule remains of Queen Min that eventually took place 21-22 November 1897. Landis worked from theoretical ritual. He described the rites under three headings: the leave-taking or farewell; the sacrifices on the road; the wailing as the coffin is lowered into the ground. He did not describe the order of the procession nor the accoutrements; but said that he had recounted ‘not a tenth part’ of the complete ceremonies. He did not indicate the source or sources of his information.

15. ‘Mourning and burial rites of Korea’
JAI XXV, 340-361 (1816)
A detailed description of the rites for scholar-class officials in the Koreanized version of Chu Hsi’s exposition of *I li* rites. Landis attributes the regulation of the Korean rites to Yi I (Yulgok). He quotes no text, but includes tabulated material of a typical Korean kind.

16. ‘The capping ceremony of Korea’
JAI XXVII, 525-31 (1898)
A treatment of the capping ceremony performed for boys at puberty, treated in a manner similar to that used in presenting the funerary ceremonies in 15 above.
IV  HISTORY

17. ‘The Tonghaks and their doctrines’
TCBRAS XXXI, 123-9 (1896-7) ‘Proceedings’
This is not the complete paper, but extracts from the parts of it read to the
China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai on 5 February 1896,
printed as part of the minutes of the occasion. Landis had sent the Society a
translation of the first three chapters (P’ iodōk mun, Nonhak mun, and Sudōk
mun) of Tonggyōng taejon, the proscribed scripture of the Tonghak move-
ment. He worked from a manuscript copy surreptitiously obtained. In 1894-5
it was probably not very difficult to get. Bishop Corfe said it was impossible
at that time to know who was Tonghak and who was not.

Landis’s work was read in Shanghai by the Reverend Joseph Edkins. Edkins
was in his seventy-third year and had been in China for forth-eight
years, originally as a missionary of the London Missionary Society. He had
published many books and articles about China, especially on religion and
philology. These minutes contain rather more of Edkins than they do of
Landis—which is a pity because Landis’s paper dealt with interesting material,
selected with characteristically imaginative flair and industriously translated.

18. ‘Notable dates of Kang-wha’
KRP IV (1897), 254-8
Chronological notes on the history of Kangwha ‘from the official records.’
The first two entries refer to AD 793 and 1018. The remaining forty-eight
notes span the period 1232 to 1743. The source is not identified.

19. ‘A pioneer of Korean independence’
IAQR VI (1898), 396-408 (Printed posthumously)
A slightly expanded translation of a biography of Im Kyōngōp 1600-1646. The
original was Im Changgun chōn in the longer Seoul woodblock version. Cf.
Nasŏnjae Kim Tonguk Ko sosŏl p’an’gak pon taejip, 1973, pp. 431-44 or
445-55.

Im Kyōngōp is the subject of many Korean legends, some of them very
localized. He was a general in the struggle against the Manchu in the early
seventeenth century, and Landis accurately discerned his importance as a folk-
hero.

20. ‘Biographical notes of ancient Korea’
KR VI (1906), 412-18, 441-6 (Printed posthumously)
The Korea Review was Homer B. Hulbert’s magazine, and these two instal-
ments of material prepared by Landis nine or more years earlier were published
in what proved to be the last two issues of the magazine. As the second instal-
ment was published, Hulbert was forced to leave Korea and The Korea Review
ceased to appear. The remainder of Landis’s ‘Biographical notes’ was lost.

The part printed consists of a brief introduction followed by a single
paragraph each on thirty-three personalities in Korean history, beginning with
Tan’gun and Ch’i-tzu and ending with the Mahan general Chugūn of the first
century AD. The complete work was probably three or four times longer, for the introduction states that it concluded in AD 932, and a reference to Taru, son of Onjo (founder of Paekche, first century AD) indicates that Taru was dealt with in paragraph 59.

Landis’s principle source may have been Tongguk t’onggam or Tongsa kangmok. The latter work contains most of the material, including the suggestion that Tan in Tan’gun was the name of a line of rulers; Kwŏn Kŭn’s disapproval of Queen Ŭnyŏng; and Kim Pusik’s strictures on King Yuri of Koguryŏ.

V SCIENCE

21. ‘Notes from the Korean pharmacopoea’
CR XXII (1896-7), 578-88 Reprinted posthumously as ‘The Korean pharmacopoea’ in KRP V (1898), 448-64
This paper is subtitled ‘Remedies derived from the invertebrata.’ It contains sixty-nine items. Of these sixty-three are derived from the original ninety-five items in Tongūi pogam ‘T’ angaek p’yŏn; ch’ung pu’ (insects, molluscs and reptiles division of the section on infusions in Tongūi pogam ‘the precious mirror of Korean medicine’. Snakes, tortoises, and terrapins are omitted — perhaps because they are vertebrates. Landis has changed the original (apparently random) order to a zoologically taxonomic one, and divided two of the items. His items 63-68 are taken from ‘T’angaek pyŏn; ŏ pu’ (fish division). The reprint in KR has been lightly edited, but contains additional misprints as well as ŏnmun transcriptions of all the Chinese characters.

Tongūi pogam, a pharmacopoea compiled by royal order at the turn of the sixteenth century which was reprinted in China and is considered a classic of traditional Oriental medicine. Although this article is fragmentary, it again shows Landis identifying important materials.

22. ‘Native dyes and methods of dyeing in Korea’
JAI XXVI (1897), 453-7
Landis noted that only a dozen years after the opening of Korea to western commerce native dye-stuffs had been almost supplanted by imported aniline dyes. He lists three traditional red dyes, two brown, four blue, two grey, five yellow and two black, with five fixatives. He adds notes on ten traditional pigments used in paini-making, and seven cosmetics.
Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1979

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1900 by a small group of foreigners who were concerned with the scholarly investigation of Korea and her neighbors. The Korea Branch of the RAS has grown tremendously into a large society of over 1200 members with meetings in Seoul, Taegu and Taejon.

Membership — As of November 14, 1979, the total membership in the KB-RAS reached an all time high and crossed the psychological barrier of 1200 members; 53 life, 396 overseas, and 751 local. During the year, we kept in touch with our overseas members by means of our Quarterly Newsletter and with our local members by our monthly activities notices.

Meetings — During the year, we sponsored 34 meetings, 21 in Seoul, 9 in Taegu and 4 in Taejon. These included 11 slide shows, and an excellent presentation of Korean children’s poetry in accordance with the International Year of the Child. The delightful puppet play, Kkok tu gak si was presented to the membership by the renowned Nam sa dang troupe. Attendance at meetings reached 2047 in 1979 with 1465 attendees in Seoul, 510 in Taegu and 77 in Taejon.

Tours — In 1979, we took 1681 tourgoers on 29 tours including three overnights. New features included a tour “In Search of Living Treasures,” one of “Korean Artists in their Studios,” a ski trip to Yong-P’yŏng, and a long awaited tour to the reopened Secret Garden.

Publications — This year we published:

RAS Transaction vol. 53, 1978
RAS Zodiac Desk Calendar for 1980
Songs of the Dragon translated by Dr. James Hoyt (New Edition)

Douglas Fund — The Douglas Scholarship was awarded to Mr. Chun Shin-chae of the graduate school of Sŏnggyun Gwan University for both the spring and fall semesters.
# Seoul Meetings

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
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<tr>
<td>January 10</td>
<td>&quot;Han Jung Nok, Princess Hong Hye-kyŏng’s Autobiography&quot; (Mr. Bruce K. Grant)</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 24</td>
<td>Evil in Korean Folktales (Dr. Rhi Bou-young)</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 7</td>
<td>The Good and Bad and the Ugly: Personalities in the Founding of the Koryo Dynasty (Dr. G. Cameron Hurst, III)</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 21</td>
<td>The Korean Economy at a Cross-roads (Dr. Ung-suh &quot;Kenneth&quot; Park)</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 7</td>
<td>Antique Korean Embroidery (Mr. Huh Dong-wha, translated by Mr. Gary Rector)</td>
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<td>March 21</td>
<td>The Korean Minority in Japan: A Sociological Analysis (Dr. Hong Sung-chick)</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 11</td>
<td>The Flora of Cheju-do (Mr. Carl F. Miller)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25</td>
<td>Korean and Japanese Ceramics (Dr. Hiroko Nishida)</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 9</td>
<td>Poems by Korean Children of City and Country (Miss Helen Tieszen, Mrs. Barbara Mintz, Dr. Kim Ho-soon and Mr. Gary Rector)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 23</td>
<td>Korean Shamanism (Mr. Brian Wilson)</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 6</td>
<td>On the Making of a Gentleman: The Uses and Significance of Korean Lineage Organization (Mr. Fred Carrier)</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 20</td>
<td>Hachiju-hakka-sho, 88 temple Pilgrimage in Shikoku (William and Dorothy Middleton)</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 29</td>
<td>Highlights of the Korean War (Dr. Horace G. Underwood)</td>
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<td>September 12</td>
<td>Pioneers of Korean-German Partnership (Dr. Karl Leuteritz)</td>
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<td>September 26</td>
<td>Genealogy and Society in the Early Yi Dynasty (Dr. Edward Wagner)</td>
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<td>October 10</td>
<td>Korean House and Shrine (Mr. Norman Sibley)</td>
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<td>Kkok Tu Gak Si; Puppet show (Namsadang troup, introduced by Mrs. Margaret Moore)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 7</td>
<td>The Killing of Paul Yun: Western Religion and Eastern Ritual in 18th Century Korea (Mr. Donald Baker)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 21</td>
<td>Won Hyo's Theory of One Mind and Karl Jaspers's Concept of God (Dr. Shin Ok-ki)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 5</td>
<td>Western Reactions to the March 1 Movement of 1919 (Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 19</td>
<td>Little Known Relics of the Yi Dynasty in Seoul (Mr. Peter Bartholomew)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Taegu Meetings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>February 21</td>
<td>Koreans I have Known (Dr. Father Egon Berger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 21</td>
<td>Art Treasures Taken to Japanese Soil by Hideyoshi (Dr. Jon C. Covell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 18</td>
<td>A Pictorial Journey Through Old Korea (Mr. Robert A. Kinney)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 16</td>
<td>Zen Buddhism in Korea (Mr. Lynn Olson)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20</td>
<td>Lady Hong and the Story of the Coffin King (Mr. Bruce K. Grant)</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 19</td>
<td>House and Shrine (Mr. Norman Sibley)</td>
</tr>
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<td>October 18</td>
<td>Acupuncture Demonstration at Jae-Saeng Oriental Hospital (Dr. Byun Jung-hwan)</td>
</tr>
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<td>November 21</td>
<td>Reminiscent of the Korean War &amp; the Armistice (Dr. Horace G. Underwood)</td>
</tr>
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<td>December 19</td>
<td>Archabbot Weber's 1925 Film of Korea (Dr. Father Egon Berger)</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 24</td>
<td>A Walk through Ancient Taegu (Dr. James Grayson)</td>
</tr>
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**Taejon Meetings**

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<th>Event</th>
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<td>Neo-Confucian Influence on Mid Yi Dynasty Social Development (Mr. Mark Peterson)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
April 20  
Korean Art Treasures taken to Japan by Hideyoshi  
(Dr. Jon C. Covell)

Sept. 21  
Slides of Korea in the Early 1900's  
(Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)

October 19  
A Perspective on the Korean War and the Armistice Agreement  
(Dr. Horace G. Underwood)

1979 Tours

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<td>March 1</td>
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<td>March 18</td>
<td>Eunhasoo Restaurant</td>
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<td>April 7</td>
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<td>May 26</td>
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<td>June 2</td>
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<td>Wŏlchong-sa and Odaesan</td>
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<td>Ch’ŏng P’ŏng Boat Trip</td>
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<td>Silk Tour, from Leaf to Loom</td>
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<td>Korean Artists in their Studios</td>
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Members
(as of December 31, 1979)

LIFE MEMBERS

Adams, Edward B.
Bartz, Dr. Carl F., Jr.
Bertuccioli, H. E. Giuliano
Bridges, Ronald C.
Bunger, Karl
Carroll, The Rev. Msgr. George M.
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Cook, Dr. & Mrs. Harold F.
Crane, Dr. Paul S.
Curill, Daniel B., III
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Folkelal, Tor D.
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Goodwin, Dr. Charles
Gordon, Prof. Douglas H.
Hahm, Dr. Pyong Choon
Henderson, Gregory
Kinney, Robert A.
Koll, Gertrude
Landy, Pierre
Leavitt, Richard P.
Ledyard, Dr. Gari
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Mattielli, Sandra L.
Miller, Carl F.
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Pai, Inez Kong
Park, Sang-chon
Peterson, Mark
Quizon, Ronald P.
Rasmussen, Glen C.
Rucker, Robert D.
Rutt, The Rt. Rev. Richard
Sleph, Gerald
Smith, Warren W., Jr.
Steinberg, Dr. David I.
Strauss, Dr. William
Terrel, Charles L.
Underwood, Dr. & Mrs. Horace G.
Underwood, Dr. Horace H.
Wade, James
Williams, Von C.
Wright, Dr. Edward R.
Yoon, Prof. Chong-hiok
Yoon, Young-il

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Abercrombie, Miss Clio L.
Allen, Heidi
Allen, John Cosmos
Amir, D. I.
Archibald, Mr. & Mrs. S. David
Bader, Mr. & Mrs. Erich
Bae, Byung Sam
Baecker, Mr. & Mrs. Henry J.
Baker, Mr. & Mrs. Donald L.
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Bainbridge, Helen
Ball, Mary A.
Banfield, Mr. & Mrs. Peter
Barber, Maj. & Mrs. Paul F.
Barbey, Maj. Gen. & Mrs. Pierre
Barbier, Mr. & Mrs. G.
Bark, Mr. & Mrs. Th. J.
Barker, Joan H.
Barnden, Anne J.
Barr, Dr. & Mrs. Alan
Bartholomew, Peter E.
Basinger, Mr. & Mrs. Bill
Bates, H. E. & Mrs. W. S.
Batterson, Mr. & Mrs. Paul
Bean, John
Beecham, Mr. & Mrs. Walter
Behringer, Roberta A.
Belbutowski, Paul M.
Bemis, Nancy M.
Bennison, Mr. & Mrs. Larry L.
Berger, Dr. Egon P.
Berger, Mr. & Mrs. Laurence W.
Bergholz, Mr. & Mrs. J. A.
Berlin, Paula
Blacker, Mr. & Mrs. M. C.
Blackstone, Rev. & Mrs. George
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Bognanno, Mr. & Mrs. Mario I.
Bohne, Brent
Bohne, Marilyn
Boldcro, Mr. & Mrs. J. M.
Bongers, Mr. & Mrs. Herwich
Bonnemaison, Anne M.
Boo, Wan Hyuk
Boujet, Nicole
Bowie, Mr. & Mrs. N. J. G.
Boyd, Ltc. Wayne C.
Boyer, Line
Brain, George W.
Brubaker, Dr. Virginia
Bruggemann, Lt. Col. & Mrs. Adolf
Bryner, Elizabeth
Burgener, Ruthe
Burney, Amb. & Mrs. Derek H.
Burton, Susan J.
Butler, Laura
Butters, Mr. & Mrs. Richard
Buttolph, Ltc. & Mrs. Dan D.
Buzo, Adrian
Cain, Mr. & Mrs. J. R.
Calabough, Cdr. & Mrs. Jerry
Cameron, Mr. & Mrs. James
Campbell, Mr. & Mrs. Stephen
Carey, Glenn W.
Carpenter, Col. & Mrs. R. D.
Casler, Mr. & Mrs. Robert R.
Catillon, Andre
Chang, Yun Deuk
Charboneau, Mr. & Mrs. Daniel E.
Chedoux, Micheline
Cheesman, W. Gifford
Cho, In Sook
Cho, Margaret
Cho, Maria
Cho, Min-ha
Choe, Moon-hui
Choi, Prof. Chongko
Choi, Chong-nam
Choi, Elizabeth R.
Choi, Mr. & Mrs. Il-chu
Choi, Prof. Uhn Kyung
Choi, Wook-kyung
Choi, Young
Chon, Seung-Hi
Choy, Cornelius E.
Chung, Duk-Ae
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Clawson, Ltc. & Mrs. L. B.
Cohen, Mr. & Mrs. I. A.
Collins, Mr. & Mrs. Walter
Combes, Mr. & Mrs. Henry
Conradi, Mr. & Mrs. Axel H.
Cope, Martha H.
Copeland, Ltc. & Mrs. Richard
Cotten, Mr. & Mrs. James
Covell, Dr. Jon C.
Crawford, Graeme
Creed, Mr. & Mrs. James L.
Cucullu, Cpt. & Mrs. Gordon C.
Cullen, Michaela F.
Czyz, Kyong H.
Dacey, Tucker A.
Danga, Karl I.
Daniels, Bro. Michael J.
Daryanani, Ram
Davis, Mr. & Mrs. Wilbur T.
Delacoste, Mr. & Mrs. Jules
de Lassen, Edith
de Preneuf, Mr. & Mrs. Reue
Deschamp, Mary
Dewdney, Dr. John
Di Biase, Rafaela A.
Dickson, Mr. & Mrs. William S.
Diggelmann, Mr. & Mrs. Richard J.
Doi, Kenichi
Dong, Chon
Donovan, Joseph R., Jr.
Dorow, Rev. & Mrs. Maynard
Dovey, Mr. & Mrs. Denis
Dudli, Mr. & Mrs. Theodor P.
Duggan, John M.
Dustin, Prof. Frederic H.
Ebel, Nicole
Ebel, Ria
Eddy, Rodger I.
Edmonds, Warren B.
Ender, Elke F.
Erickson, Mr. & Mrs. Frans V.
Ersan, Mr. & Mrs. O. Gokce
Faille, Dominique
Fanshel, Mr. & Mrs. Sol
Ferrar, Gertrude K.
Feyen, Father Joseph
Finger, Mr. & Mrs. Peter
Flemington, Inez M.
Foley, Richard B.
Frederick, Mr. & Mrs. Alan
Fuller, Mr. & Mrs. Robert
Gallant, Thomas A.
Gardner, Mr. & Mrs. Frank A.
Geddes, John M.
Gegenheimer, Mr. & Mrs. A. M.
Geier, Sis. Dolores
Gerster, Ursula
Geuzinge, Mr. & Mrs. Harry T.
Glenn, Cmdr. & Mrs. William A. II
Goelz, Louis P.
Goldrick, Sean B.
Goodberg, Mr. & Mrs. Robert
Gora, Thomas
Gransback, Col. & Mrs. Donald H.
Grant, Mr. & Mrs. Bruce K.
Green, Barbara
Greeves, Mr. & Mrs. Oliver
Grieshaber, Raymond W.
Groff, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A.
Grubb, Dr. & Mrs. William A.
Gustafson, Maj. Nina
Guynup, Lois D.
Haagena, Mr. & Mrs. Alex
Hackett, David
Hahn, Arlene C.
Hahn, Changgi
Halpin, Dennis P.
Hampton, Marcia W.
Harbor, Mr. & Mrs. Louis J.
Hard, Rev. Thedore
Harvey, John H. T.
Hauswirth, Mr. & Mrs. Toni
Held, Mr. & Mrs. John H.
Herriges, Mr. & Mrs. Mark
Higa, Hatsue H.
Hill, Brenda
Hill, Nancy-Lee W.
Hill, Patricia A.
Hoare, Margaret
Hoelzlein, Mr. & Mrs. Horst
Hoffmann, Hanne
Holsbaum, Mr. & Mrs. K.
Hong, Prof. Sung-Chick
Horvath, Mr. & Mrs. Jules
Hough, David
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