

English translation of the 1801 Anti-Catholic Declaration as given by Dallet, with modern romanization and notes (Dallet *Histoire* Part 1, Book 3 Chapter 5)

“Instruction Against Bad Religion, drawn up by the Daeje-hak<sup>1</sup> (master of ceremonies and high priest) Yi Man-su<sup>2</sup> by order of the government.

“Thus says the King: By the secret protection with which heaven and our glorious ancestors surround our kingdom, the root of the evil having been uprooted, and its principal chiefs finally overthrown, we make it known to all the court and to our people. It is a good which the eight provinces should congratulate themselves on; it is for all future generations the assured development of natural and social principles. The kingdom conceded to Gija had enjoyed great peace for four hundred years throughout the extent of its territory of two thousand li and more. Its people are made up of scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants; its classic books are the *Si-jeon* (詩傳 Guide to the book of Odes) and the *Seo-gyeong*<sup>3</sup> (Book of Documents) then the books of civility, rites and music. What is presented for the study and imitation of the people are the teachings of Yao<sup>4</sup>, Shun<sup>5</sup>, Wu<sup>6</sup>, Tang<sup>7</sup>, Wen-wang<sup>8</sup>, Confucius<sup>9</sup>, Mencius<sup>10</sup>, Zhuangzi<sup>11</sup> and Zhu-zi<sup>12</sup>. The foundations of its morality are the relationships of king to subject, father to son, husband to wife, old man to young man and friends among themselves.

“During the long succession of the kings of our kingdom, the virtues of I-nam<sup>13</sup> and Sam-mul<sup>14</sup> stood out particularly, the principal foundations of virtues and morals were in honor, and by means of a crowd of men wise and famous, the meaning of the sacred books was brought out, and the sentiments of a thousand saints were transmitted to one another. How great was

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<sup>1</sup> 대제학 Daejehak 大提學

<sup>2</sup> 이만수 Yi Man-su 李晩秀 (1752-1820)

<sup>3</sup> (Dallet 55. These are two historical works, in verse and in prose, arranged in the form of Morality in action.)

*Si-jeon* 詩傳 = Guide to the Book of Odes 시경 詩經 . *Seo-gyeong* = 書經 서경 The Book of Documents.

<sup>4</sup> King Yao 堯, traditionally c. 2356 – 2255 BCE, extolled as the morally perfect and intelligent sage-king

<sup>5</sup> King Shun 舜, traditionally lived sometime between 2294 and 2184 BC, successor to King Yao. Yao and Sun were often seen as a united pair of sage kings.

<sup>6</sup> Emperor Wu 武 of Han (156–87 BC) considered one of the greatest emperors in Chinese history.

<sup>7</sup> Cheng Tang (Chinese: 成湯) was the first king of the Shang dynasty.

<sup>8</sup> Wen-wang 文王 1152–1050 BC, the Cultured King), one of the sage rulers, praised by Confucius. It was his son Wu who conquered the Shang following the Battle of Muye, Count Wen was posthumously honored as the founder of the Zhou dynasty and posthumously titled King. Many of the hymns of the Classic of Poetry are praises to the legacy of King Wen.

<sup>9</sup> Confucius 孔夫子 Kǒng Fūzǐ in Chinese, Gong Fuja in Korean pronunciation.

<sup>10</sup> Mencius 孟軻 372-289 BCE. inherited Confucius' ideology and developed it further.

<sup>11</sup> Zhuangzi 莊子 369-286 BCE. Zhuangzi is traditionally credited as the author of at least part of the work bearing his name, the Zhuangzi.

<sup>12</sup> (Dallet 56. Emperor Io did not bequeath the empire to his own children, but to Sioun, because of his eminent virtue. Ou was also called to the throne for his virtue. Tang and Moun-oang are equally famous emperors; the latter, however, did not really reign, for he refused by conscience, it is said, to take the kingdom of others; but his son, Moun-oang, less scrupulous, having become emperor, followed the custom of this country by giving his father the honorary title of emperor. Tsiang-tsa and Tsiou-tsa are scholars of great reputation who have greatly completed the part of the Rites, and whose institutions are in use to this day in Korea.) Zhu Xi 朱熹 1130- 1200 was a founder of Neo-Confucianism.

<sup>13</sup> 이남 二南 ?

<sup>14</sup> 삼물 三物 the three fundamental lessons: the Six Virtues, Six Elements, Six Arts.

our late king during the twenty-four years of his dazzling reign! Having in mind only the right doctrine, he protected morality and attached himself to the religion of the scholars; he brought to light the writings of Zhu-zi; he remained faithful to the Emperor, and repelled the barbarians; he put into practice the great principles of the book *Spring and Autumn*<sup>15</sup> (春秋 Spring and Autumn Annals). To make filial piety flourish throughout the kingdom, he practiced it himself, and spreading abroad everything with which his heart was richly imbued, the four seas turned to good. Everywhere in his footsteps arose peace and harmony; wherever it appeared, admirable effects were felt. Who could have foreseen that from the depths of the West a corrupt and poisonous air, secretly introduced into this civilized kingdom, could have come to defile the purity of its territory?

“What the followers of this evil religion worship are genie snakes and genie oxen, and they had infected almost half the world. They speak of a hell and a paradise. Those whom they call spiritual fathers and bishops, they revere even more than the Si-tong 尸童 were formerly<sup>16</sup>. What they call the Ten Commandments and the Seven Capital Virtues are lies analogous to those of those books which claim to teach the art of prophecy and sorcery. The love of life and the horror of death are sentiments natural to man, and yet they regard the saber and the saw as a delightful bed. To give thanks to parents for the life one has received from them is a law drawn by heaven itself; despite this they see in the offering of sacrifices only a vain and futile thing. Could the spirits of their ancestors not die of starvation?<sup>17</sup>

“Finally, the disorder of their morals is something even more shameful. Fallen families and a few scum nobles, harboring a grudge against the government, bonded with bands of lost people, and through some external apparatus, sowed their venom among the crowd; they called to them people of the merchant class; they recruited among the farmers and among the women; then destroying and disturbing the order of the different classes of society, and have corrupted all uses. By means of two or three Chinese characters<sup>18</sup> they give each other a secret name to recognize each other. With a few dishonest painted sheets, they secretly adorn their holes and lairs. In the middle of the night, and in secret apartments, crowding head to head, they recite their books and preach; and sometimes also, appearing in broad daylight, they wave the fan in the midst of the assembled crowd. They have thus multiplied, much more than the band of the rebel Gang I-cheon<sup>19</sup>, lately dissipated. That one day something breaks out, how could it not be more serious than the affair of the troubles of Hwang-ji<sup>20</sup>?

“Seung-hun following the embassy of Peking, bought and brought back depraved books and, going to the temple of the Europeans, became the disciple of this foreign race. Yak-jeong (Augustine Jeong), with all his household, with his older brother and his younger brother, was seized with the contagion. Cheol-sin (John Choe), bastard remnant of the rebel Hei<sup>21</sup>, made a

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<sup>15</sup> (Dallet 57.) One of the books of Confucius.

<sup>16</sup> (Dallet 58.) Before the invention of the tablets, to offer the sacrifices to the parents, they brought in a child, grandson of the deceased, and they offered him the sacrifice. This child, in whom the spirit of the ancestors was supposed to come, took the name of Si-tong. The text therefore means: They revere them more than the tablets of the ancestors.

<sup>17</sup> (Dallet 59.) The double purpose of these sacrifices to parents is to repay them for the benefit of the existence that one has received from them, and to nourish their souls with the smoke of the offerings.

<sup>18</sup> (Dallet 60.) The baptismal name

<sup>19</sup> Gang I-cheon (姜彝天 1768-1801) was an ambitious scholar exiled to Jeju in 1797 as a potential rebel. He is mentioned by Dallet in connection with Josaphat Kim Geon-sun in Book 3 Chapter 1.

<sup>20</sup> (Dallet 61.) These last two sentences allude to some partial troubles caused by misery in the preceding years, but of little political importance, since there were neither influential chiefs nor a serious plot. (Hwang-ji is a locality in Gangwon-do)

<sup>21</sup> (Dallet 62.) This is a purely gratuitous insult, because John Choe did not belong directly or indirectly to Hei's family.

reputation for knowledge and learning there, Nak-min (Luke Hong), who enjoyed an elevated dignity at court, made himself general of the militia, and abjuring the benefits of the King, refused until the end to change his perverse ideas. Even more corrupt than Chang-hyeon and Pil-gong, overthrowing the temple of his ancestors, and destroying natural relations, he also surpassed the inveterate malice of Chang-hyeon and Pil-gong.

“Alas! even in a family brilliant for its fidelity, it is Geon-sun<sup>22</sup> who abandons the rites received, studies depraved books, has his forehead touched (baptized), receives an unknown name, diverts the meaning of books sacred to confirm a false doctrine, and finally persists in wanting to bow his head under the sword of the law.

“Ga-hwan, covered with the many benefits of two kings, dishonored by his imprudence his dignity of the second degree; although he had the reputation of a great scholar, his mean talent ended by producing only shameful and dishonest pamphlets. Besides, his wasp’s eyes and his wolf’s voice could not allow him long to hide the corruption and wickedness of his nature. The real leader was his sister’s son, the rebellious Yi Seung-hun who, to propagate and spread evil, joined efforts with those of his friend Byeok. All this race of true barbarians are his disciples.

“The contemptible Ju-chang (Ludovico de Gonzaga Yi), with all his band, played his tongue like a clarinet and secretly protected Ga-hwan’s dreadful projects. He showed himself to the public and made himself noticed by all, and, although the king, by an indulgence as wide as heaven and earth, deferred his execution by pardoning him, he had seen well by his perspicacity, as lucid as the sun and lunar month, the bottom hidden under this deceitful and devious exterior. At the same time Zhou Wen-mo (Father Zhou) presented himself to support the doctrine of the Europeans. Having first for some years forwarded his news over the northern frontiers, he came from Jiangnan (province of China) ten thousand li from here, and deceived the surveillance of the customs at Pien-men. It was a poisonous wasp that entered the sleeve. The individuals Hwang 璜 (Sabas Ji) and Il 一 (Paul Yun Yu-il) lent him a strong hand from the front; behind him, Sim 沁 (Thomas Hwang) and Hui 禧 (Ok Cheon-hui) were his messengers; Wan-suk (Gang Wan-suk 姜完淑 Columba), a naturally deceitful and corrupt woman, became the mistress of his house, and In-gil 仁吉 (Matthias Choe) was bought to be delivered to death in the place of the head of the evil religion. The rebel Yi In, wanting to make his way to the throne, made the rebel Im<sup>23</sup> a rampart on the outside, and, stripping off in some way the coarse envelope of the body, he knew, although hidden in the mountains, how to communicate with the people remaining at his house, and, from his retreat at Ganghwa, on the shores of the sea, secretly got in touch with the rebels who remained in the interior, and knew the state of things.

“When the dreadful plans of these wicked people began to unfold, it was dared to say, by a false allusion to the annals of China, that the innocents slandered were more numerous than in the case of the conspiracy under the Tsong dynasty<sup>24</sup>. The rebels, taking advantage first of all of the moment when we ascended the throne at a tender age, were able to stir themselves, and, since the death of the late King, their audacity only increased. Alas! a germ of trouble existed, everyone pointed to the danger, and soon the revolt reached such a point that everything was hanging by a thread. It’s frightening! A being like Sa-yeong (Alexander Hwang) with the heart of a tiger, the face and the eyes of a jackal and weasel, relying on the reputation he had

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<sup>22</sup> (Dallet 63. This is Josaphat Kim, who, as we have noted, was from one of the main families of the No-ron party, then in power.) 김건순 (金建淳) 1776-1801

<sup>23</sup> (Dallet 64.) This individual was a pagan compromised in the affair of the exiled prince.

<sup>24</sup> (Dallet 65.) Under this dynasty, there was an attempt at revolt in China, repressed with unexampled barbarism, the memory of which is preserved in the memory of the people, because of the great number of victims whose innocence was later recognized.

had in magic art and sorcery, dared take flight, and, to try to save his little existence, had the audacity to take a piece of silk and write on it the details of three dreadful stratagems. Really! How could he have had the idea of opening the gates of the three hundred districts of this kingdom entirely devoted to the beautiful religion of the scholars, to deliver them to foreign brigands? How could he have summoned the ships of the West from eighty thousand li, and agreed on the day to invade this country? His hatred and his rebellion are a hundred times above those of Yak-Jeong.

“Relations with foreign countries were made by agreement with Hwang Sim; Hyeon Gye-heon was stirring up trouble in the province of Jeolla; Hang-geom made his preparations, went into action, and sowed thousands of taels; so all battalions of the wrong sect were organized and fixed, it was a done deal to end on one battlefield. We can thus see the bases and the extent of this horrible plot. In truth, the famous four rebels, Koal, Ien, In, and Liang (适, 璉, 麟, 亮), could never have conceived such thoughts; the conspirators Gwal, Ryeon, Rin and Ryang (活, 琏, 麟, 亮) could not have done so; and you, a being living between heaven and earth, how could you want such things? From all the ancient Tanggun, Gija, Silla, Goryeo dynasties, until today, no one ever heard of such atrocities.

“But our merciful and holy Regent, having no other thoughts than those of the late King, seeking her tranquility only in that of the whole kingdom, divined their plot, and similar in this to Queen Yeowa (女媧 Nüwa), who had the merit of repairing the vault of the sky<sup>25</sup>, she knew how to thwart their malice. She casts blame and gives her orders with imposing majesty. Her administration recalls the reign of Queen Ma (舜 Shun?), who was worthy of being assimilated to the great Emperor Yu (堯 Yao)<sup>26</sup>. Killing and punishing with fairness, she shines true principles in the eyes of all future races. Scattering rain and dew with one hand, throwing down hoarfrost and snow with the other, it places government on the ground of doctrine and true justice. Seriously worried, and seeing the danger of the position, she emits lucid views like the sun and the stars. This is why, on the third lunar month of this year<sup>27</sup>, she gave her orders to the Geumbu tribunal, ordered the sitting of an extraordinary chamber to judge this affair, and thereby everything was settled.

“Already Ji-chung, Sang-yeon, In-gil, Yu-il, and Hwang had, for several years, undergone the severity of the law; but, from then on, the wife and the daughter-in-law of the rebellious prince In perish by poison; Ga-hwan and Cheol-sin die under the blows; Zhou Wen-mo undergoes the torture of military execution, to attract all eyes; Seung-hun, Yak-jong, etc., etc., in a word, all the principal chiefs of this insane league, are condemned and put to death. On the eighth lunar month<sup>28</sup>, Sa-yeong was taken and dealt with according to law, together with Hang-geom, Ji-hyeon, Hwang Sim<sup>29</sup>, Jeon-hui and their accomplices. Those who had infatuated the people were sent to their respective provinces to be executed. The ministers and dignitaries of the palace uniting their efforts, and all with one voice repeating that to destroy

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<sup>25</sup> (Dallet 66.) In the ancient stories of China, it is said that Queen Nüwa 女媧 having fought with 共工 Gōnggōng, the latter seized one of the pillars of heaven, knocked it down and thus made a hole in the celestial vault. The waters flowing through this hole, the flood threatened the whole universe. Fortunately, Nüwa knew how to find a precious stone, managed to fix it to the vault to plug the fatal hole, and thus rendered humanity a service for which all the races of the Far East thank her from generation to generation.

<sup>26</sup> (Dallet 67.) This is Emperor T'a-yu; that is to say Yu the Great, the one who, by digging canals, delivered to agriculture an immense expanse of land previously covered with marshes.

<sup>27</sup> (Dallet 68.) This date is incorrect; the edict of persecution is dated the 11th day of the first month.

<sup>28</sup> (Dallet 69.) This date is also incorrect. Is it deliberate? and for what purpose? We do not know.

<sup>29</sup> 황심 Hwang Shim 黃沁 (1756~1801) Thomas. Martyr.

evil it must be taken at its base and its root, an order was given, at their urgent entreaties, to despoil Minister Chae of all his dignities<sup>30</sup>. Thus, for not having let go of the celestial thread and having held to natural principles, Emperor Ha-wu<sup>31</sup> raising the enormous pot, the evil spirits could not escape; it is thus that, having been very enlightened on the doctrine of heaven, the Emperor Hyeon-won<sup>32</sup>, advancing in a mysterious chariot, dissipated all the dark and malignant vapors with which his enemy surrounded him<sup>33</sup>.

“All those turbulent loins having been tamed, and all those disordered throats having been cut, the foundations of evil have passed away, and the whole horrible sect has been annihilated. Women or scholars, big or small, all the vile agents of the band have received the wages of their crimes. But without the protection of the spirits of heaven and earth and the spirits of our ancestors, could the kingdom have remained on its feet until today? As for me, I have always heard that the material sky is called heaven, and he who governs it, emperor, and in everything I adhere to pure orthodox doctrine. But these ugly rebels speak falsely about this and that, and mislead in all kinds of matters.

“Moreover, their doctrine is very deceitful, very artful, and very shallow; their acts are very imprudent and very corrupt; all their words are vain and futile. What they say about spirits is only a collection of the dregs of Shakya (doctrine of Fo), and the mixture they make of it is quite similar to the language of sorcerers. As for the books by which they deceive the people, destroy natural relations and all principles, under the reign of the most flourishing dynasties, one could only have delivered them to fire or water, but for those who henceforth would adopt one single article, one should know that they are well below dogs and swine. They carry their blindness to the point of wanting to die, how could that not be contrary to common sense? All things considered for many years, it seems certain to us that they have at the bottom of their hearts some other hidden purpose. On the outside they rely on magic, and on the inside they hatch ugly plans. First, they put forward the word sublime religion, and secretly they weave a web that would rise to heaven. Finally, they regard kings and parents as enemies; they want to freely carry out their plots which turn to general ruin.

“Being the father of the people, how could we not get out of our chariot and feel like crying? You, our people, you must understand the purpose of our prayers, and what is our purpose in opening the net to let you escape. All of you, listen attentively to our voice, so that all, having returned to goodness, may strive to practice virtue; may the subject think of fidelity, the son of filial piety, the woman apply herself to weaving, the man given to the cultivation of the fields think at the same time of honoring the king and of being useful to the people; may he love his parents and respect his superiors; according to the writings Cho-ja<sup>34</sup> and Pu-yei<sup>35</sup>. The rites consist above all in the sacrifices, so let your vases and your clothes conform to those of our public establishments of instruction. Do not lose the virtue we have received from heaven; do not stray from anything that has ever been in use among us. Curiosity is, it seems to us, a mania which blinds modern ages; we get agitated to scrutinize names and things, and then we come to want to turn our backs on the old scholars, and we argue. Led by example, we become infatuated with all that is extraordinary, and we spread strange things. All this reveals only very light tongues. First people come to singular acts that incline towards evil, then in two or three turns, how could they not fall into superstition? This state is very frightening. We must therefore

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<sup>30</sup> (Dallet 70.) This minister, once accused of rebellion, had been dead for some time when this posthumous order was issued against his memory.

<sup>31</sup> 하우 夏禹 the legendary Yu the Great “who controlled the waters.”

<sup>32</sup> 현원 玄元 The mythical Yellow Emperor

<sup>33</sup> (Dallet 71.) Allusion to some ridiculous legends of Chinese history.

<sup>34</sup> Chuci 楚茨 a poem from the Classic of Poetry (no. 209)

<sup>35</sup> FuYi 鳧鷖 “Wild Ducks” a poem from the Classic of Poetry (no. 248)

reject everything that is not in the rules of the six fine arts and in the doctrine of Confucius; there alone is the true foundation of the five natural relationships and of the legitimate rites and ceremonies. It is by this that we know heaven and earth, and that we enlighten the will of men; it is by this that the true doctrine is made to shine and raises the authority of kings.

“From that day, the 22th of the twelfth lunar month, thunder and rain began to have their effects on the people; a great peace returns to heaven and on earth, it is a happy event such as we did not experience in all antiquity. The greatest of attributes being to give and preserve life, it would have been necessary to forgive everything, but in truth, with this bad doctrine, finding no way to change its followers, it was absolutely necessary to strike them with death, to destroy the seeds of their madness. Alas! if something was transmitted in families, the law would still be there. We hope that will not be necessary. A new air begins to blow; it is a sign that the sky is once again favorable to us. A solid foundation for ten thousand years has been set up again, spirits have been renewed, and the destinies of the kingdom now appear unshakeable like rocks and mountains. The words of the King must be brief, why extend more? The bottom of the sea having cleared, we hope that the change for good will continue more and more, such is the purpose of the instructions which we present, and we believe that everyone will know how to understand them.”