History of the Church of Korea

Charles Dallet

1874

Volume 1 Part 1

General Introduction
to the History, Institutions,
Language, Morals and Customs of Korea

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Annotated by Brother Anthony

Dallet's Dedication

Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of Apostles, Queen of Martyrs, Queen of Confessors, allow me to humbly lay at your feet this story of apostles, confessors and martyrs.

You are entitled to this homage, because you are the special patroness of the Church of Korea; because all the martyrs whose triumph I recount, all of them, missionaries and neophytes, gloried in the title of your children. These pages, stained with their blood, are a new and dazzling demonstration of this truth: that one cannot love God made man without loving the Mother of God. Yes, they loved Jesus Christ, since they wanted to be scourged, strangled, beheaded, cut to pieces for him; and by a natural and necessary consequence, they also loved you, and they went to execution with the scapular on their shoulders and the rosary in their hands.

Blessed Virgin! protect this poor Korean mission; protect all the missions of the holy Catholic Church. Obtain from your Son the conversion of the infidels. Hasten the fulfillment of the prophecies which announce that all nations will remember the Lord, that the distant islands will know the glory of his name. And when that great day shines, when those hundreds of millions of idolaters come out of their darkness and come into the marvelous light of Jesus Christ crucified, they will love you, they will sing your glory, they will cry out with a loud voice: Hail, supremely beautiful Virgin! it is from you that the light of the world was born.

Vale! valde décora...

Ex que mundo Lux est orta.

Protestation.

In accordance with the decree of Urban VIII, I declare that in employing, in this history, the qualifications of Saint, Martyr, Confessor, etc., I have only followed the ordinary manner of speech, received among the faithful, and that I in no way intended to prejudge the official decision of the Church, to which alone it belongs to award these titles in their true and complete sense.

Ch.D.

Contents

Charles Dallet's Preface

The Church of God knows no failure or decline. Established to bear witness to the truth, to teach all nations, it fulfills always and everywhere this double duty, despite all obstacles, in the face of all tyrannies, and there is no country so carefully closed that it has not penetrated, there is no people so isolated, so sequestered from all relations with other peoples, that it has not brought the Gospel there and conquered believers. At the end of Asia, between China and Japan, is the kingdom of Korea. Everyone has heard of China and Japan: everyone has read books, travel reports, which give more or less exact notions of them. But Korea, who knows about it? Geographers themselves hardly know anything but the name, no scientist has paid attention it, no traveler has been able to explore it; the expeditions attempted of late to make her government respect the laws of humanity have failed miserably[1], and today she remains more obstinate than ever in her isolation. And yet, in this unknown country, Jesus Christ has numerous and fervent worshippers; his Church, for eighty years[2], has not ceased to grow there, through an incessant persecution, which still lasts and which has already claimed thousands of victims.

To tell the story of the Church of Korea, its providential origin, its rapid developments; to make known the missionaries who evangelized it, the country which was the theater of their labors and their martyrdom, the character of the people to whom they preached, the difficulties of all kinds which they had to overcome; to recall the sufferings of the persecuted Christians, the cruelty of their executioners; to describe the adventures, the anguish of this fierce struggle between Jesus Christ and Hell; to publish the acts of the martyrs and to save from oblivion some of the examples of heroic virtue which have illustrated the Christian name, such is the object of this book. It will serve, I hope, to glorify Our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, by showing that his arm is not shortened, and that his grace works the same miracles of conversion today as in the first centuries.

Perhaps this reading will also contribute to dispelling some prejudices, to correcting some false ideas about missions and missionaries. I do not speak of the biases and errors of the impious. The man who has had the misfortune to renounce his baptism, who no longer believes in the Son of God made man for us, and in redemption through the merits of his blood, that man, of course, will never understand why we preach Jesus Christ, and work for the salvation of souls. But even among believers it is not uncommon to encounter unfortunate prejudices and inaccurate notions. Some are astonished that it takes such a long time to convert peoples: they find the results obtained when baptisms are not counted by the millions petty. Others, unwittingly undergoing the influence of the materialist theory[3] which claims to explain everything in the history of peoples by differences of race and climate, affect to fear that the conversions effected are not solid, that these new Christians are, so to speak, of a species inferior to the Christians of Europe.

Undoubtedly, what has been done up to now is very little compared to what remains to be done; no doubt it is painful to see that today, nineteen centuries after Pentecost, three quarters of the human race remain to be converted. But we must not forget what the price of a single soul is before God. Above all, the impatience to contemplate the final and universal triumph promised to the Church must not make us unjust towards current works. The conversion of Christian nations, under much more favorable conditions, was not the work of a day or even of a century.

As to the solidity of conversions, faith teaches us that Jesus Christ came to save all men, and that he commanded the gospel of his reign to be preached to all peoples, whence it necessarily follows that all men are fit to receive and keep the faith that all nations are called to the gospel. And in fact, the

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[1] The French expedition of 1866 and the American attack of 1871 were both of them brief attacks of the fortifications on Ganghwa Island with no significant lasting result, both serving to harden Korean attitudes to foreign pressure.

[2] Counting from the baptism of Peter Yi Seung-hun in Beijing in 1784 until the Persecution of 1866.

[3] Dallet might be thinking of the materialistic theories of history of Hellwalt (1842-1892) or the Anthropogeography of Friedrich Ratzel.

number and the courage of the martyrs among the neophytes, in Korea as in Tongking[4] and elsewhere, proves that the new Christendoms are not inferior to any of the old ones, and that the same Holy Spirit knows how to animate same almighty grace, men of every race, tongue and color. The greatest proof of faith, the greatest act of charity, is martyrdom. Now, where there were martyrs, the Church is solidly founded, for the blood of the martyrs is, in Asia as well as in Europe, a seed of Christians[5]. They objected by pointing to Japan[6], formerly illustrated by the death of so many and so glorious witnesses of Jesus Christ. The Christian faith, in fact, seemed destroyed there. The idolaters had drowned her in blood; the more abject heretics had sealed her sepulcher for two hundred years, trampling the cross under foot[7]. See today the descendants of the martyrs confessing, by the thousands, in prisons or in exile, the faith which they knew how to preserve, without priests, without altars, without sacraments, through a persecution of three centuries[8]. Is the resurrection of Catholicism in England[9] anything more striking, more supernatural than its resurrection in Japan? and does the history of the universal Church not offer many examples of such unshakable fidelity in faith?

More than one reader perhaps, reading through the history of the Church of Korea, will be surprised, not that we have done so little, but that we have been able to do so much, in a few years, and despite such powerful obstacles. More than one perhaps, far from questioning the faith of the neophytes, will humbly beat their breasts, and will ask God for the grace to imitate their courage, the grace to find themselves like them in the day of trial, so strong, so persevering, so truly Christian.

The story itself is preceded by an introduction to the institutions, government, manners and customs of Korea. I have brought together and classified a large amount of scattered information, found here and there, in the letters of the missionaries, and which could not easily have been placed in the text; a special chapter is devoted to the presentation of elementary grammatical notions on the Korean language, a language almost unknown, until today, to orientalists; and in another I have given, throughout, the official chart of the administrative divisions of the kingdom. This preliminary work, which completes the account of the facts and which is in turn completed by it, nevertheless presents inevitable gaps. But, such as it is, it has a value unique in its kind, since the missionaries are the only Europeans who have ever stayed in the country, who have spoken the language, who have been able, by living for long years with the natives, to know seriously their laws, their character, their prejudices and their habits.

As for the accuracy of this information, it is as great as possible. However, it must not be forgotten that the position of the missionaries, always hidden, almost always pursued, did not allow them, in certain cases, to verify for themselves what they heard said, and to compare the mores of the different provinces. Very often, what is absolutely true in one part of the country, is only relatively true in another. Also the illustrious martyr, Bishop Daveluy[10], was the interpreter of all his colleagues, when, giving in

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[4] The old name for what is now the northern part of Vietnam.The Foreign Missions Society had been active there since the later 17th century. It too was the scene of active persecution,

[5] Tertullian: Sanguis Martyrum, semen Christianorum, (Apol. 50, 13).

[6] After the first contacts of Japan with Portugal in 1543 and the arrival of St. Francis Xavier with other Jesuits in Japan in 1549, many Japanese were baptized, so that by the early 17th century there were some 30,000 Christians. The decision by the Tokugawa shogunate to forbid Christianity led to intense persecution, so that between 1597 and 1660 there are extimated to have been 3125 martyrs.

[7] A reference to the Japanese practice of *ebumi*, trampling on a sacred image or cross as a proof of apostasy.

[8] Kakure kirishitan (Japanese: 隠れキリシタン, lit. 'hidden Christians') is a modern term for the Catholic believers in remote areas of Japan who continued to practice the faith secretly and emerged after the law forbidding Catholicism was abolished in 1873.

[9] Dallet is thinking of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England in 1850 and the conversion of notable Anglicans such as Newman, Manning and Wiseman as a result of the Anglican Oxford Moverment of the 1830s.

[10] Marie-Nicolas-Antoine Daveluy (16 March 1818 – 30 March 1866) was ordained as a priest in 1841. In 1843 he joined the Foreign Missions Society and in 1844 set off to serve in the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa). Arriving in Macao, he met Bishop Ferréol, newly appointed as Apostolic Vicar of Korea, who asked him to join him in Korea. They were taken by ship to Korea from Shanghai by the newly ordained Fr. Andrew Kim Dae-geon. He became fluent in Korean, and began to

one of his letters rather long details of morals, he added: "What I am sending you is very little; it is incomplete, muddled. Perhaps, against my will, some error will have slipped in; but I did my best." This conscientious timidity in a witness, is it not, for serious readers, the best guarantee of the sincerity of his words?

The history of the Church of Korea is made with the letters of the missionaries and the Korean relations of which they sent the translation; there are no other possible materials. For the times preceding the arrival of European priests, most of the documents were collected by Bishop Daveluy[11]. Before him, there were only fragments of letters or isolated accounts of the first persecutions. In 1857 he was charged by another martyr, Bishop Berneux[12], to research all the existing Chinese or Korean documents[13], to translate them into French, and to complete them as much as possible, by questioning the eyewitnesses himself, under oath. It was already very late, for these witnesses remained few in number for the martyrs of the first epoch, and most of the written accounts had disappeared in the various persecutions. We will see in the course of this story, at the price of what pains Bishop Daveluy managed to accomplish his task[14].

I must point out that there are sometimes differences in the spelling of the proper names of places or persons, in the letters of various periods or of various missionaries. Certain Korean letters have no equivalent in our alphabet, and, in Korea as elsewhere, the pronunciation varies according to the provinces; everyone reproduced the sounds as best they could. I thought I had to respect these spelling differences, until a general transcription rule was decided upon by the missionaries. Moreover, this little inconvenience is common, as we know, to all the books of history and geography which speak of the Far East. It is even less here than in other books, because all the missionaries were French, accustomed, therefore, to give an identical value to the same letters of the alphabet.

An objection which will perhaps be made, and which I myself have made more than once, is the monotony of certain accounts of persecution: always the same interrogations, the same questions, the same answers, the same tortures: always on one side the same cowardice in strength and falsehood, and, opposite, the same courage in weakness and truth. But that downside, if it is one, is unavoidable in a story like this. The pages of a martyrology are necessarily monotonous like victory bulletins, and many chapters of this book are only a martyrology. Since neither the executioners have tired of torturing, nor Christians of dying, nor God of giving his martyrs strength and perseverance, why should I have tired of recounting their triumphs? Why leave in willful oblivion among men those who are now the elect of God, and many of whom will one day, it is to be hoped, be placed on our altars?

Besides, a very special reason of sovereign importance forbade me to suppress or to abridge too much the acts of the martyrs. There will be no other history of these witnesses of Jesus Christ, since there are no other documents. However, the Chinese and Korean originals collected by Bishop Daveluy perished in a fire in 1863; the copies of these reports which were in various native Christendoms were

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translate Korean texts as well preparing a Korean-French dictionary. In 1857 he was appointed coadjutor bishop for Korea, assisting Bishop Berneux. Both were arrested and executed by the Korean authorities early in 1866, together with 7 other French priests.

[11] The writings of Bishop Daveluy, including those mentioned here, are now in the archives of the IRFA in Paris, in the form of eight volumes containing certified copies (the originals are lost) catalogued 5C-MAR/067-074. In the notes that follow these eight volumes are designated "Archive Daveluy."

[12] Siméon-François Berneux (14 May 1814 – 8 March 1866) was ordained as a priest in 1837, having joined the Foreign Missions Society in 1831. In 1840 he left for Vietnam and in 1842 was arrested there and sentenced to death. Released, he went to Manchuria in 1844 to work as a missionary, until he was appointed Apostolic Vicar of Korea in 1854, replacing Bishop Ferréol who had died in 1853. He entered Korea early in 1856 and served until his arrest and execution in the persecution of 1866.

[13] The documents recording the history of the Korean Church were written using either Classical Chinese (written in characters) or the colloquial Korean language which was written using the Korean alphabet, Hangeul.

[14] The result of this work is the main text in Volume 5 of Daveluy's archive.

destroyed during the last persecution[15]; the translations sent to Europe, as well as the correspondence of the missionaries, exist only in the archives of the seminary of the Foreign Missions, and, if an accident caused them to disappear, the history of the origins of the Church of Korea would be irretrievably lost . It was therefore necessary to ensure the knowledge of these facts which belong to the general history of the Catholic Church; it was especially necessary to preserve, for the Christians of Korea, these glorious accounts of the faith and the sufferings of their fathers, to indicate as much as possible the name, the family, the particular history of each of the martyrs, so that these names, these facts , these details may one day be known to their descendants, for whom they will be the finest title of nobility.

In the course of the work, I have most often quoted the letters of the missionaries instead of analyzing them. This sometimes results in lengths, repetitions, but these slight inconveniences seemed to me to be more than counterbalanced by the interest attached to these letters themselves. Most of those who wrote them sealed the faith with their blood some time later, and Christian readers will love to hear the martyrs tell their own story, or that of other martyrs.

I have no illusions about the many faults of style, arrangement, etc., which are found in this book. It is impossible for a missionary to pass his life catechizing idolaters, without more or less forgetting his mother tongue, and I beg the reader not to be too severe for the inaccuracies which are inevitable in such cases. Forced away from my mission by a long and terrible illness[16], I did my best to fulfill the task that obedience imposed on me: a task too heavy for my weakened faculties, but a very pleasant task, since it made him live for several years in the intimate society of the martyrs and confessors whose history I was writing.

May these pages contribute to the exaltation of the Holy Catholic Church, by making known some of the wonders of grace that God delights to work, in her and through her, to the ends of the world!

May they inspire in the faithful the desire to pray with more perseverance and fervor for the conversion of all peoples, and especially for the mission in Korea, so that God may deign to shorten his long trials!

Above all, may they arouse some vocations to the apostolate of the infidels! May the words and example of these glorious confessors of Jesus Christ stir the hearts of the young students of the sanctuary, so that, animated by holy emulation, some at least will cry out: “And I too will be a missionary! it is a duty for me, it is a necessity; woe to me if I do not preach the Gospel! Necessitas enim mihi incumbit, vœ enim mihi est si non evangelizavero! (I Cor. ix, 16.)

[15] Refers to the 1866 Byeong-in 병인 丙寅 Persecution.

[16] Dallet had left for Mysore, India, in 1852. In 1859 he returned to France, suffering from epilepsy. In 1863 he returned to India but was obliged by sickness to go back to France in 1867.

Papal Blessing

To our dear Son Charles Dallet, apostolic missionary[17] of the Society of Foreign Missions, Paris.

PIUS IX[18], POPE.

Dear Son, Greetings and Apostolic Blessing.

How much the Catholic missionaries have deserved, not only of religion, but also of geography, history, and science, is known to all who have read their writings. You have walked in their footsteps with dignity. Dear Son, by this hitherto unknown history of the Korean Peninsula which you have just compiled in two volumes, all that the monuments of neighboring nations have been able to reveal about this people who have no history of their own[19], all that long research and intelligent observations have been able to reveal about their country, their customs, its religion, its language, its commerce, you have collected it and put it in order, thus giving science a present all the more precious because it is a country impenetrable to foreigners.

Obviously, the charity of Jesus Christ alone was able to acquire and spread the knowledge of so many unknown things, since it alone was able to kindle in the hearts of the missionaries that burning zeal for the salvation of souls which led them to joyfully face all the fatigues, at the certain peril of their lives, in order to bring the light of the Gospel to the nations sitting under the shadow of death. And this work of evangelization, with what zeal, what constancy, what success they accomplished! This is seen by the whole series of facts which you have related; we see it by this atrocious persecution of which Christians have been the victims for a century, and of which public writings have often deplored the excesses; we see it above all by those legions of martyrs who, with admirable courage, confessed, in trials and tortures, the faith which had been inspired in them, and which was finally sealed with their blood.

This is why We congratulate you on having written this history, so glorious for the Church, so fit to encourage in the midst of so many perils the Christians of the whole world, so useful to science itself. We accept the volumes with gratitude, and We augur that this book will finally excite the hearts enemies of our most holy religion to admire so much strength and so much virtue.

Receive, dear Son, in testimony of Our paternal benevolence, and as a pledge of divine favor, the Apostolic Blessing, which We affectionately impart to you.

Given at Rome, near St. Peter, the twenty-seventh day of September of the year 1875[20], thirtieth year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS IX, Pope.

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[17] A formal title used at the time, indicating that all Catholic missionaries were sent out in the Pope's name.

[18] Pope from 1846 until 1878.

[19] A strange expression, perhaps reflecting the lack of an accurate, extensive account of Korean history available in Europe? Obviously, Koreans had long been writing histories of their nation.

[20] This papal text, written in response to the 1874 publication of Dallet's work, prompted the publishers to produce a revised edition in 1875 which included the Blessing.

I Physical Geography of Korea – Soil – Climate – Products – Population

The kingdom of Korea, in north-east Asia, consists of an oblong peninsula and a very considerable number of islands, especially along the west coast. The whole is contained within 33.15º of latitude north, and between 122.15º and 128.30º of longitude east of Paris[1]. The inhabitants of the peninsula give it an approximate length of 3,000 li[2], about 300 leagues, and a width of 1,300 li, or 130 leagues, but these figures are evidently exaggerated. Korea is delimited to the north by the Chan-yan-alin[3] mountain range, dominated by Baekdu-san 白頭山 (the White-Headed Mountain), and by the two big rivers that have their source on opposite sides of this range. The Yalu-gang (in Korean Amnok-gang 鴨綠江, River of the Green Duck) flows westwards and empties into the Yellow Sea; it forms a natural frontier between Korea and the Chinese regions of Liaodong and Manchuria. The Mi-kiang[4] (in Korean Tumen-gang), which empties to the east into the Sea of Japan[5], separates Korea from Manchuria and the new Russian territories, ceded by China in November, 1860. The other borders are: to the west and south-west, the Yellow Sea; to the east, the Sea of Japan; to the south-east, the Straits of Korea, of an average breadth of 25 leagues, which separate the Korean peninsula from the Japanese islands.

The name of Korea[6] comes from the Chinese word Kao-li 高麗, which the Koreans pronounce Goryeo and the Japanese Ko-rai[7]. This was the name of the kingdom under the preceding dynasty; however, the present dynasty, which dates from the *im-sin* year, 1392 of our era, changed this name and adopted the name of Joseon 朝鮮, which today (1874) is the official name of the country. The very meaning of the word Joseon, Morning Calm, shows that this name comes from the Chinese, for whom Korea is, in effect, the land of morning[8]. Sometimes, in Chinese books, Korea is also designated by the word 東國 Dong-guo, Eastern Kingdom. The Manchu[9] call it Sol-ho[10].

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[1] The Paris meridian is a meridian line running through the Paris Observatory in Paris, France – now longitude 2°20′14.02500″ East. It was a long-standing rival to the Greenwich meridian as the prime meridian of the world, used for navigation until 1914.

[2] A li is 360 geometric feet, or 567 metres. Ten li are equal to a maritime or geographical league.

[3] This name is a form of the Manchu name of the mountain, Golmin Šanggiyan Alin. Baekdu-san 白頭山 (white-head mountain) is usually seen as forming part of the Changbai range. The Chinese name, Changbai Shan 長白山 and Manchu name, Golmin Šanggiyan Alin, mean "perpetually white mountain".

[4] Dallet's name has no obvious origin. The river is known as the Tumen River 豆滿江/ 圖們江 in all the local languages, even if the characters differ.

[5] Koreans dispute this name and wish to see the name "East Sea" used internationally.

[6] Much of the information in this chapter seems to come from *Observations géographiques sur le Royaume de Corée, tirées des Mémoires du père Régis* published in Volume 4 of Jean-Baptiste Du Halde : *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, 4 volumes, Paris, 1735, pages 529 ff.

[7] The immediate source of these lines is the opening folio of Daveluy's Volume 3.

[8] This is incorrect. The name Joseon was given to the new dynasty by its founder, Yi Seong-gye, after he had defeated the last remnants of the Goryeo dynasty in 1392. He might have chosen the name because legend said it had been the name of the (Go)joseon 古朝鮮 Old Joseon kingdom ruled over by Dangun, the mythical first founder of Korea. Dangun's rule is usually said to have begun in 2333 BCE.

[9] Dallet sometimes uses 'Manchu' and sometimes 'Tartar' indifferently when referring generally to the inhabitants of Manchuria.

[10] This name derives from the Mongolian name for Korea, Solong, etc.

This country, unknown in Europe before the sixteenth century[11], figures as an island on the first Dutch maps[12]. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Chinese Emperor Kangxi tried in vain to obtain from the king of Korea the necessary geographical documents to complete a grand map of the empire, on which the missionaries of Peking were working. His ambassadors were welcomed with all the pomp they could have wanted, and they were showered with compliments and offers of service, but in the end they came away with nothing but a very incomplete copy of a map that they had seen in the king's palace in Seoul. It was after this map, and the necessarily imperfect Chinese books, that Father Régis[13] and his colleagues drew the map of Korea which one finds in Duhalde's[14] atlas, and which the authors of subsequent books have contented themselves with copying or abridging.

In 1845, the venerable martyr Andrew Kim[15], a Korean priest, himself copied a map from official drafts in the government archives in Seoul. The one given at the beginning of this work was prepared, as to the coastline, after the charts of the maritime department, and as to the interior of the country, after a relatively recent native map, translated by Bishop Ridel[16], apostolic vicar of Korea.

Korea is a land of mountains[17]. A great chain, starting from Chan-yan-alin (Baekdu-san) in Manchuria, runs from the north to the south along the eastern shoreline, of which it determines the contours, and the spurs of this chain cover nearly the whole country. "In whatever place you set foot," wrote one missionary[18], "you will see nothing but mountains. Nearly everywhere, you feel imprisoned by rocks, shackled between the slopes of hills, sometimes bare, sometimes covered by wild pines, sometimes entangled by brushwood or crowned by forests. At first, you will not see any way out, but look closely, and you will eventually discover the traces of some narrow path, which, after a rather long and always laborious march, will take you to a summit where you will discover the most uneven horizon. You will have contemplated the sea from the deck of a ship when a strong breeze stirred up the waves in infinite little peaks of various shapes…the scene that offers itself to your view is a little like that. You will perceive in all directions thousands of sharp little peaks, rounded cones, inaccessible rocks, and further away, at the edge of the horizon, other mountains still higher, and it is so in almost all of the country. The only exception is a district which lies towards the western sea, and which is called the Naepo 內浦 plain[19]. But by this word plain, do not take it to be a broad and flat terrain, such as our beautiful

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[11] The existence of Korea was known to Arabic geographers by the 9th century. The *Kitab al-masalik wa'l-amalik* of 885 by lbn Khurdadbih refers to the kingdom of Silla.

[12] Only the very earliest, 16th-century maps show it as an island. By the 17th century it was known to be a peninsula.

[13] Jean-Baptiste Régis S. J. (1663-1738) was from Southern France. He left for China in 1698 and having trained as a cartographer took the chief share in the making of the general map of the Chinese Empire. Included in this was the first fairly accurate map of Korea. Since the Jesuits were not allowed into Korea a Tartar Lord (Mukedeng, a troubleshooter and trusted assistant for the Kangxi emperor) was accompanied on a visit to Seoul by a Chinese Surveyor trained by the Jesuits. They were able to produce a map based on Korean models which was exported to the Jesuits through the Tartar Lord. The map was then edited by Jean-Baptiste Regis, transmitted to Fr. Jean-Baptiste du Halde, was again edited by d'Anville and published in 1737 in the *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet*. Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon Anville; La Haye: Henri Scheurleer. 1737.

[14] Jean-Baptiste Du Halde : *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, 4 volumes, Paris, 1735.

[15] St. Andrew Kim Dae-geon (1821-1846), the first Korean priest, studied in Macao, entered Korea as a priest in 1845, on a ship carrying Bishop Ferréol and Fr. Daveluy. He was arrested and executed in 1846. There is much debate regarding the map he is said to have drawn or copied, and it is still not clear if it or any accurate version of it has survived. He was declared Venerable by the Pope in 1857.

[16] Félix-Clair Ridel (1830-1884) served as a missionary in Korea from 1860, escaped to China at the outbreak of the 1866 persecution, was consecrated in Rome as the sixth Apostolic Vicar of Korea in 1870. In 1877 he secretly entered Korea but was discovered and expelled the following year. Falling ill, he retunred to France where he died.

[17] This chapter is based on information found in a number of letters written by the French missionaries, often to their families, in which they try to give an overall impression of the country.

[18] This refusal to identify the author of a letter is unfortunately a characteristic of Dallet. Since letters from Korean missionaries are scattered across the IRFA Archive, it is not always possible to trace a particular quotation.

[19] An area in the province of South Chungcheong, where one of the earliest Catholic communities arose.

French plains, for it is simply a place where the mountains are much less tall and more spaced out than in the rest of the kingdom. The wider valleys leave a bigger space for the cultivation of rice. The soil, moreover, is cut by a great number of canals, and its bounty is so abundant that Naepo is called "the granary of the capital."

Forests are numerous in Korea, but it is in the northern provinces that one finds the most beautiful ones. Trees of various species suitable for building abound there, pines and firs above all. The latter are most used because they are very easy to work, and the government monitors their conservation; and in order that each village always has the necessary trees within reach, the mandarins are charged with supervising their harvest, and preventing the cutting down of too great a number at a time.

It seems certain that the mountains conceal rich gold, silver and copper mines. One is assured that in many places, and particularly in the northern provinces, one need move only a bit of earth to find gold, and that grains of gold dust are found in the sand of certain streams. However, the exploitation of the mines is forbidden by law[20] under pains so severe that one does not dare gather any gold because it would be almost impossible to sell it. What is the true cause of this prohibition? Some say it is related to the Korean government's age-old policy of making the country seem as small and as poor as possible in order to discourage the ambition of its powerful neighbors. Others believe that the government fears that the concentration of large numbers of workers in regions far from the capital where its authority is nearly unenforceable would unavoidably lead to unrest and troubles. The plot of 1811[21], it is said, was devised in one such meeting. Whatever the case may be, the law is strictly observed, and the only known exception is the permission of twenty-five years ago to exploit for a few months the silver mines of Sun-heung-bu 順興府 in the province of Gyeongsang. Korean copper is of excellent quality, but it is not used, and that which is used comes from Japan[22]. Iron ore is so common in certain districts that after a heavy rain it suffices to bend over to gather it up. Everyone helps himself as he pleases.

Flint is scarcely to be found but in the province of Hwanghae[23], and still it is of the crudest quality. What is needed for common use is imported from China.

The climate of Korea is not what one could call a temperate one. As in all the countries of the Far East, it is much colder there in winter, and much hotter in summer, than in the corresponding European countries. In the north, the Tumen-gang is frozen for six months of the year, and the south of the peninsula, though the same latitude as Malta or Sicily, stays covered by deep snow for a long time. At 35 degrees of latitude, the missionaries didn't see the thermometer drop below -15 degrees centigrade, but at 37.3 or 38 degrees, they often found it to be -25. The spring and the autumn are generally very beautiful. The summer, in contrast, is a time of torrential rains that frequently interrupt any kind of communication for several days at a time.

In the valleys, rice[24] is planted if the terrain is favorable in the least, and the immense quantity of streams and rivulets that descend from the mountains provide the means to form the ponds necessary for the cultivation of this grain. Land irrigated in this way is never left to rest; it is always in use. In addition, corn, rye, and millet are planted. The instruments of husbandry are as simple and primitive as can be. The ox alone is used for ploughing; the horse is never used. When one day a missionary offered the use of his mount to some converts, there was a burst of general laughter, absolutely as if in France one proposed to hitch a plough to a team of dogs. In any case, a horse would not survive working in the

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[20] In the earlier centuries such a law existed, but from the 16-17th centuries mining was permitted and Dallet's information is incorrect.

[21] The 1811 Rebellion was a peasant revolt that occurred between 31 January and 29 May 1812 (lunar 1811-12) in northern Korea. It was led by Hong Gyeong-rae of Pyeongan Province.

[22] This too is incorrect, domestic production had been allowed since 1678.

[23] Flint is also found in the Anmyeon-do region of Chungcheong-do.

[24] Here Dallet begins to quote passages from Daveluy's long letter to Mr Jurines (director of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris) dated July 18, 1846, ff. 33-59 of Volume 6 of the Daveluy Archive.

rice fields because they are continuously flooded. Other than manure and other animal fertilizers that they carefully gather up, ash, in which every Korean household is rich because firewood is not expensive and prodigious quantities are consumed in winter, is used. Furthermore, when leaves begin to appear on the trees in spring, the lower branches are cut, spread on the fields, and left to decompose. After the sowing, to prevent the birds from eating the seeds, and to protect the young stalks from the excessive heat that would dry them up where they stand, the fields are re-covered with other branches cut later when the trees are strong enough.

The lack of roads and means of transport in this mountainous country absolutely prevent agriculture on a large scale. Everyone cultivates only the land around his house and gate. Large villages are also rare and the population of the countryside is spread out among hamlets of three or four houses, ten or twelve at the most. The usual harvest is barely sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants, and famines are frequent in Korea. For the poorest class of the population, one might say that they recur at two times of year: first in the spring when waiting for the rye harvest, which takes place in June or July, then before the millet harvest in September or October. Money not being lent except at a very high rate of interest, the unfortunates whose little stores have run out cannot go to buy rice other grains, and have nothing to live on but herbs boiled in salt water.

Other than rice, corn, rye, and millet, the principal products of the country are: vegetables of every kind but very insipid, cotton, tobacco, and various plant fibers suited for making cloth. Tobacco was introduced to Korea by the Japanese towards the end of the sixteenth century. The cotton plant came from China. Five hundred years ago, it is said, cotton was unknown in Korea, and the Chinese took every possible precaution to prevent the export of its seeds, the better to sell fabrics of their own manufacture to the Koreans. One day, however, a member of the annual embassy[25] succeeded in procuring three seeds, which he hid in the stem of a feather, and thus bestowed on his country this precious shrub. The cotton plant perishes each year after the harvest. It is sowed again in the spring, like corn, and in the same soil. When the germs have sprouted, a great number are pulled up so that the remaining ones are at a distance of twelve inches from each other, a little earth is tucked up around each shoot, constant care is taken to pull up parasitical weeds, and in September a good harvest is obtained. The potato, introduced only recently[26], is nearly unknown to the Koreans. Its cultivation is forbidden by the government; no one knows why. Christians alone secretly grow a few in order to provide some European vegetables to the missionaries when they come to visit their villages.

It is the Christians who were the first in Korea to cultivate the mountains[27]. Pushed by persecution into the most remote corners of the country, they cleared land on the slopes to avoid dying of hunger, and a few years' experience taught them the system of cultivation suitable to that type of terrain. The pagans, stunned by the success of their efforts, imitated them, and today most of the mountains are cultivated. Tobacco is the chief crop of these heights. Millet also does well there, as do hemp and certain species of vegetable, but it has not been possible to acclimatize cotton there yet. This type of cultivation, which demands much more work than that of the plains, offers in exchange great advantages to poor workers. The taxes are lower, and firewood, herbs, and wild fruit are abundant and ready to hand. The turnip, which is consumed in considerable amounts, comes up very well amid the tobacco plantings and furnishes a precious resource. Unfortunately, the earth exhausts itself quite quickly, and while one never sees fields left fallow in the valleys, it is necessary in the mountains, after a certain amount of time, to let the soil rest for several years. Even so, it almost never recovers the productivity that it had after the first planting.

Fruits abound in Korea. One finds practically all those found in France, but what a difference in taste! Under the influence of the constant summer rains, apples, pears, plums, strawberries, mulberries,

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[25] This story is told of Mun Ik-jeom (文益漸, 1329-1398) who returned from China in 1363.

[26] Potatoes are first recorded as being cultivated in Jeju Island in the 18th century where they served to alleviate famine.

[27] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 Ff. 128-9

grapes, melons, etc., are all insipid and watery. The grapes are of a disagreeable sugariness, the raspberries have less flavor than the wild blackberries of our hedgerows, the strawberries, very beautiful to look at, are inedible, the peaches are merely miserable worm-eaten specimens, etc. A lot of gherkins are eaten, as well as watermelons, which are perhaps the only passable fruit the country produces. Some missionaries make another exception in favor of the fruit of *Diospyros lotus*, the persimmon[28], known in France by its Japanese name: kaki (kam in Korean). In its color, shape, and texture, this fruit fairly resembles a ripe tomato. The taste recalls that of the medlar, but is much superior to it.

Flowers are very numerous. In season, the fields are bedecked with Chinese primroses, different species of lilies, peonies, and still other species unknown in Europe. However, apart from the dog-rose, of which the foliage is so elegant, and the May-lily, which resembles that of Europe, all these flowers are odorless, or they have a disagreeable scent.

Ginseng is also grown, but it is extremely inferior in quality to the wild ginseng of Tartary. This famous plant, to hear the inhabitants of the Far East tell it, is the foremost tonic in the universe. Its effects are far superior to those of Peruvian bark. According to the Chinese, the best ginseng is the oldest. It must be wild, and in that case it can be sold at the exorbitant price of 50,000 francs a pound. The root alone is used, which is cut in pieces and infused in white wine for at least a month. This wine is then taken in very small doses. It is not uncommon to see invalids at death's door who, by means of this remedy, succeed in prolonging their lives for several days. Cultivated ginseng abounds in various provinces of Korea[29]. It is added to other drugs to strengthen the invalid, but is almost never used alone. In the last several years, its price has doubled because of the significant quantity smuggled to China, for the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire make even greater use of it than the Koreans. It is said that ginseng, tried many times by Europeans, very often caused in them serious inflammatory illnesses. Perhaps they took overly strong doses, or perhaps this inefficacy must also be attributed to the difference in constitution and diet.

Wild animals, such as tigers, bears, and boars are very numerous in Korea, especially tigers, which take many victims very year. They are of a small species. Quantities of pheasants, waterfowl, and game birds are also to be found. The domestic animals are generally of an inferior stock. The horses, though very small, are tolerably strong. The oxen are of an ordinary size. There are enormous numbers of pigs and dogs, but the latter are excessively timid and serve almost only as meat. One is assured that dog meat is very tender; however that may be, in Korea it is one of the greatest delicacies. The government forbids the raising of sheep and goats; the king alone has that privilege. The sheep serve as sacrifices to the royal ancestors, and the goats are reserved as sacrifices to Confucius.

It is impossible to speak of the animal kingdom in Korea without mentioning the insects and vermin of all kinds — lice, fleas, cockroaches, and bugs of all kinds — which, particularly in summer, make a stay in the country so miserable for foreigners. All the missionaries are agreed in calling it a veritable Egyptian plague[30]. In certain localities, it is physically impossible to sleep inside the houses during the summer heat because of the cockroaches, and the inhabitants prefer to sleep in the open despite the tigers. The cockroach scratches the surface of the skin and leaves a sore there that is more irritable and takes longer to heal than an ordinary scratch. These creatures, much bigger than May-bugs, multiply with prodigious rapidity. A Korean saying is, "When a female cockroach bears only ninety-nine young in one night, she is wasting her time."

The climate of Korea is healthy enough, but the water, tasteless everywhere, is in several provinces the cause of a host of maladies. Most often, these are intermittent fevers that last for several years. Sometimes, as in the province of Gyeongsang, one of the most fertile, the water causes scrofula,

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[28] The name Dallet gives, *lotus Diospyros*, is in fact the date-plum, while the persimmon is *Diospyros Kaki*.

[29] The cultivation of ginseng began in the late 17th – early 18th centuries but because of the space and the several years required its commercial production was mainly limited to the regions around Gaesong, the former capital of the Goryeo Dynasty, to the noth of Seoul.

[30] Exodus 7-12, a series of plagues sent by the Lord to persuade the Egyptians to let the Israelites leave.

hysterics, or severe bloating of one of the limbs, but rarely two at once. In certain districts of this same province, it produces premature aging — the teeth fall out, the limbs weaken, the nails strip the flesh off the fingers and eventually almost reach the middle joint. The Koreans call this malady *suto* (水土), which means "the sickness caused by the water and soil;" in this sense, the water has an effect not only directly as a beverage, but also in rendering fruits and vegetables that are otherwise useful, or at least harmless, polluted and dangerous.

Certain diseases in Korea are veritable scourges, including smallpox. There are perhaps not a hundred individuals in the country who have not been attacked by it. It is extremely virulent. Often, all the children in a district come down with it at the same time, and their bodies are covered by pustules or disgusting sores. The air is so infected that one cannot remain in the houses without danger. Those who escape it at an early age are sure to be attacked later, and then the danger is all the greater. More than half of the children die of this illness, and, in some years almost none survive. A Christian doctor recounted one day to Bishop Daveluy that, a few weeks before, of seventy-two children to whom he had given remedies, only two had escaped death. Each year, in the capital, the victims are counted in the thousands.

Among the diseases that attack adults in particular, a type of plague[31] or typhus, of which there are frequent cases, must be mentioned. If a sweat is not induced, death is inevitable in three or four days. In addition, there are sudden indigestions which suffocate the invalid and cause instant death, epilepsy, which is very common, cholera, etc.

The mortality rate, as one sees, is high in Korea, and if one adds the abominable practice of abortion to the causes enumerated above, and if one considers further that children who lose their mother before the age of two or three years can scarcely survive her because no one knows any means of feeding them, one easily understands that the population does not grow in great increments. The missionaries once remarked once that the number of converts had remained more or less stationary for ten years, even though there had been ten to twelve thousand adult conversions in the meantime, which would indicate a noticeable excess in the number of deaths over births. However, the particular situation of the converts, always persecuted, and nearly all reduced to misery, does not allow us to draw a general conclusion from this fact. The Koreans, in any case, are convinced that the number of people is growing and that their country is becoming more and more populated, and certain facts seem to bear them out. For instance, for several years now, there have been few provinces where new villages have not appeared, and few villages where some new cottages have not been built. Fields and rice paddies abandoned as infertile have been brought back into cultivation in all areas. Except in the two northernmost provinces, the mountains have almost all been cleared, and tigers, driven out of their lairs, are becoming much less numerous.

What is today the total population of Korea? It is difficult to know exactly. Thirty years ago, the government's official statistics counted more than one million, seven hundred thousand households, and about seven and a half million inhabitants[32]; however, the lists were compiled with such negligence that one cannot trust them. It seems certain that many individuals were not counted[33]. One would perhaps not be completely mistaken in estimating a total figure of ten million, which would give an average of six individuals per household. Some contemporary geographers speculate that Korea has fifteen million inhabitants, but they say nothing about what they base these obviously exaggerated conjectures on.

The Koreans are connected to the Mongol race, but they resemble the Japanese much more than the Chinese. They generally have a copper-colored complexion, short and slightly flat noses, prominent cheekbones, rounded heads and bodies, and elevated eyebrows. Their hair is black; nevertheless, it is not uncommon to meet with chestnut-colored or even auburn hair. Many individuals have no beards, and

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[31] It is unclear what disease this was. It was certainly not bubonic plague.

[32] These figures probably derive from Daveluy's letter (in Volume 6) dated July 15, 1846, which quotes a census of 1793. In 1840 there were 1,560,774households with 3,308,012 men and 3,309,985 women, a total of 6,617,997.

[33] It is possible that children and women were not counted since they were not subject to taxation.

those who do have them have sparse ones. They are of medium height, fairly vigorous, and quite resistant to fatigue. the inhabitants of the northernmost provinces neighboring Tartary are much more robust and nearly wild.

II History of Korea – Her Status as a Vassal of China – Origin of the Various Political Parties

It is difficult, if not impossible, to create a serious and coherent history[1] of Korea for the lack of documents. The different Korean histories written in the Chinese language are nothing, according to those who have perused them, but undigested compilations of more or less imaginary facts that serve as a vehicle of strident claims. Learned Koreans themselves put no faith in them, and never make them an object of study; they content themselves with reading the history of China. It is true that one finds abridgements of history in the Korean language, but they are nothing more than collections of curious anecdotes, true or false, arranged for the amusement of ladies, that a literate man would blush to open[2].

Besides, these different collections only treat the ancient history of the country because it is severely forbidden to write or print a modern history, which is to say that of the princes of the present dynasty[3]. This is how documents are preserved. Certain dignitaries of the palace[4] secretly inscribe, such as they understand it, all that happens. Then these confidential writings are deposited in four coffers preserved in four different provinces[5]. When the dynasty is eventually extinguished and another one has succeeded it, an official history will be written from these various drafts. Nevertheless, it is customary among most of the great noble families to make note of the principal events of the day in special ledgers, but with the precaution of never giving any sign of a judgment or an opinion of the actions of ministers, or even of lower-ranking officials; otherwise, the writer would be risking his head.

It is therefore with the help of Chinese and Japanese books that a few somewhat accurate notions of the history of Korea could be gathered. Rather than fatiguing the reader with tiresome citations and dissertations, in any case superfluous to our goal, we will give a succinct analysis in a few words of what it is important to know[6].

The first missionaries and travelers in China believed that the Korean language was no more than a patois of the Chinese language, on which grounds they concluded that the two peoples had a common origin. We know today that the two languages and peoples differ, and it is certain that the Koreans are not of Chinese but Tartar origin[7].

Absolutely nothing is known of the history of Korea before the first century of the Christian era. Only traces are to be found of the three distinct states that shared the peninsula: to the north and north-

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[1] Much of the information in this chapter comes from *Histoire abrégée de la Corée* published in Volume 4 of Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, pages 538 ff.

[2] This is a caricature of the truth. While Chinese history was much studied, Korean history was far from neglected.

[3] One need only cite the *Gukjo Bogam* 국조보감 國朝寶鑑, containing the records of the accomplishments of King Jeongjo, King Sunjo, and the Crown Prince Hyomyeong, made in 1848 by Jo In-yeong (趙寅永 1782-1850) to see that Dallet is wrong.

[4] Dallet could have had no clear information about the complexities of the record-keeping leading to the production of the official "Veritable Records" Sillok 實錄 for each reign after the death of the king. It involved a considerable number of high officials.

[5] The history of the different repositories across the country is complex, with various ones being destroyed at various times. Four is the standard figure and thanks to this system of keeping multiple copies, the surviving Annals cover every reign from 1392 to 1865.

[6] (Dallet Note 4: Those who wish to study the matter in depth have only to consult, among other works, *Epitome linguae Japonicae* (Modèle de la langue japonnaise) by Mr. von Siebold.)

[7] Koreans are generally seen as belonging to the Altaic group of races.

east the kingdom of Kao-li[8], to the west that of Baekje, to the south-east that of Silla. A chaos of interminable civil wars between these rival states, endless recurring quarrels between the kingdom of Goryeo and China on the one hand, and between the kingdom of Silla and Japan on the other, such is the history of Korea for more than ten centuries. What seems clear is that towards the end of this period, the kingdom of Silla had a marked preponderance over the other two. In effect, the histories of Korea give the name of Silla to the dynasty which preceded that of Kao-li or Goryeo. Another proof of this superiority is that the west and the north, whether they willed it or not, seemed always to have been under the suzerainty of China, while the south or the kingdom of Silla for centuries carried on a war against Japan, with alternate successes and reversals. The Japanese annals mention about fifty successive treaties between the two peoples.

However that may be, it is towards the end of the eleventh century, under Taejo Wang-geon 太祖 王建, which is to say Wang the Founder, that the three Korean kingdoms were definitively united into a single kingdom[9]. The king of Goryeo, supported by China[10], conquered the states of Baekje and Silla, formed a single monarchy, and in recognition of the help that the Mongol dynasty then established in Peking had given him, officially recognized the suzerainty of the emperor[11]. The Chinese historians give a slightly different version of this revolution. According to them, Zhou-wang (紂王 King Zhou), the last emperor of the Shang 商 dynasty, a cruel and debauched prince, had exiled his nephew Gija[12] 箕子, whose remonstrances were disagreeable to him, in disgrace. Wu-wang (周武王 King Wu of Zhou), having overthrown Zhou-wang and put an end to the Shang dynasty, recalled Gija, made him king of Korea, and gave him for his army the remnants of the troops that had served his uncle.

The descendants of the founder of Korean unity reigned peacefully[13] for more than three hundred years. It is these princes who are identified in the books and traditions of the country under the dynastic name of Goryeo.

In the fourteenth century, the fall of the Mongol dynasty in China led by repercussion to that of its vassal dynasty in Korea. Taejo[14] 太祖, whom the Chinese histories name Yi Dan 李旦, sponsored by the Ming dynasty that had just supplanted the Mongols, seized power in Korea in the year 1392 and founded the present dynasty, of which the name is Joseon 朝鮮. The new emperors of China took advantage of this revolution by broadening their rights of suzerainty, and this was when the use of

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[8] Dallet writes *Kao-li*, which represents the Chinese pronunciation of Goryeo 高麗. The northern of the Three Kingdoms is sually known as Goguryeo (高句麗 Old Goryeo). The Chinese pronunciation Kao-li is thought to be the origin of the western name "Korea".

[9] Dallet and his sources had very little information about Korean dynastic history. In fact Silla had conquered the kingdoms of Baekje and Goguryeo by the year 668, after which the pensinsula was a single kingdom, known as Unified Silla. The last king of Unified Silla submitted to Wang Geon of the emerging Goryeo dynasty, founded in 918, in 935.

[10] At the time when Goryeo was arising, China was passing from the Tang to the Song dynasties and between 907 and 960 was engulfed in chaotic warfare.

[11] The tribute relationship was established between Goryeo and Yuan China in 1231. Goryeo had no such relationship.

[12] Some versions of Korean history have Gija (箕子 pronounced in Chinese Jizi/Chi-shih) as the second founding father of Korea, replacing Dangun. Early Chinese documents like the *Book of Documents* and the *Bamboo Annals* describe him as a virtuous relative of the last king of the Shang dynasty who was punished for remonstrating with the king. After Shang was overthrown by Zhou in the 1040s BCE, he allegedly gave political advice to King Wu, the first Zhou king. Chinese texts from the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE) onwards claim that King Wu enfeoffed Gija as ruler of Gija Joseon 기자조선 箕子朝鮮. According to the *Book of Han* (1st century CE), Jizi brought agriculture, sericulture, and many other facets of Chinese civilization to Korea.

[13] Throughout its history, Goryeo was constantly troubled by invasions from the North by tribes living in what was later known as Manchuria.

[14] Taejo ('founder') is a title, his name was Yi Seong-gye (李成桂, 1335-1408), but after becoming king he took the name Yi Dan 李旦.

Chinese chronology and Chinese calendars was imposed on the Koreans. Taejo, once assured on his throne, quit the city of Songdo or Gaesong, where his predecessors had resided, and established his capital at Hanyang (Seoul). He divided the country into eight provinces, and organized the whole system of government and administration that has been preserved to this very day.

The first successors of Taejo seemed to have acquired a fairly large amount of power, for under King Jungjong, who occupied the throne from 1506 to 1544, mention is made of a war with Japan on the occasion of the revolt of Daema-do (the island of Tsushima) and some other Japanese provinces which were then tributaries of Korea. However, some years later, Japan took her revenge, and Taiko-Sama[15] brought Korea within a hair's breadth of its doom. In 1592, this prince, as great a warrior as he was an able politician, sent an army of two hundred thousand men to Korea. His plan was to clear his way to the invasion of China. In vain did the Chinese dash to the aid of the Koreans against their common enemy, for they were beaten in several encounters, and three quarters of Korea fell under the power of the Japanese, who probably would have remained the masters of the whole country if the death of Taïko-Sama in 1598 had not forced his troops to return to Japan and abandon their conquest. In 1615, at the fall of the family of Taiko-Sama, the head of the present dynasty of Japan, signed a definitive peace with the Koreans. The conditions of it were very hard and very humiliating for the latter, for they had to pay a tribute each year of thirty human skins[16]. After a few years, this barbaric imposition was changed to an annual remittance of silver, rice, linen, ginseng, etc, etc. Furthermore, the Japanese kept the ownership of the port of Busan 釜山 (Busan-gae,) on the southeast coast of Korea, and they are still the masters of it today[17]. This important spot is occupied by a colony of three or four hundred soldiers and workers, who have no relations with the interior of the country, and cannot trade with the Koreans but one or two times a month for a few hours. Busan is under the authority of the prince of Tsushima.

(Dallet's long footnote: The possession of Busan-gae by the Japanese is a permanent reminder of the defeat of the Koreans, and their national pride is deeply wounded. In addition, their histories take great care to pass over in silence facts that we have mentioned and to replace them with ridiculous legends. Here, for example, is how the explanatory notes on a Korean map account for the presence of foreigners on Korean soil:

"Residence of the barbarians 倭夷, inhabitants of Daemado 對馬島, on Jeolyeong-do 絕影島, a small island two three leagues south-east of Busan-gae:

When Sejong[18] was on the throne, several barbarians of Daemado[19] left that island and came to establish themselves on the coast of Korea in three small ports, the ports of Busan, Ulsan and Jinhae, and they did not delay in becoming numerous there. When Jongjong had been king for five years, the barbarians of Busan and Ulsan stirred up trouble, and in one night they destroyed the walls of the town of Busan, where they also killed the mandarin Yi Woo-jeung 李友曾. Beaten by the troops of the State, they could not continue to live in these ports, and they retreated to the interior of the country. Nonetheless, not long after, having begged pardon for their misbehavior, they managed to re-establish themselves. It was only for a short time, for a little before the *im-jin* year (1592), they all returned to Taema-do, their home country. In the year *gi-hae* (1599), King Seonjo had some communication with the barbarians of

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[15] Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, 1537–1598). Dallet calls him "Taiko-Sama." Taiko 太閤 is a title meaning 'honored father' that Hideyoshi adopted toward the end of his life, 'Sama' being an honorific suffix.

[16] This is a mistake. In the historic novel *Imjin-rok* 壬辰錄 the soldier-monk Samyeong-dang 四冥堂 demands that Japan send to Joseon 300 human skins each year in exchange for a peace. Dallet's source has reversed and transformed this.

[17] This is wrong. Busan was simply a place of contact and exchange with Japan.

[18] King Sejong 世宗 reigned 1418–1450.

[19] Islands lying between Korea and Japan, known in Japanese as Tsushima, belonging to Japan but serving in earlier times as an intermediary for communication between the two countries.

Daemado. It happened that he recalled them to the places that they had left on the coast of Korea, built houses for them, treated them with benevolence, established for them a market which took place every five days from the third day of each month, and even permitted them to hold markets still more often when they had a greater quantity of merchandise.")

Up to 1790, the king of Korea was obliged to send a special embassy to Japan to notify them of his accession, and another one every ten years to pay tribute. Since that period[20], the embassies have gone only to Tsushima, which requires much less pomp and expense.

In 1636, when the Manchu dynasty presently reigning in China overthrew the Ming[21], the king of Korea took the part of the latter. His country was promptly invaded by the Manchu, and he could not put up any serious resistance to the enemy, who came to dictate to him in his own capital[22]. There is still today, near one of the gates of Hanyang (Seoul), a temple built in honor of the Manchu general who commanded the expedition, and the people render him divine honors[23]. The treaty[24] concluded in 1637, while it did not seriously aggravate the practical terms of Korea's vassalage to China, rendered its submission more humiliating in outward form. The king had to recognize not only the emperor's right of investiture, but his direct authority over the king's person, which is to say a ruler-and-subject relationship (君臣 gun-sin).

One of the articles of this treaty, signed on the thirtieth day of the third lunar month of *jeong-chuk* (1637-38), sets out the terms of the annual tribute payment[25]:

"Each year shall be presented: one hundred ounces of gold; a thousand ounces of silver; ten thousand sacks of whole-grain rice; ten thousand pieces of silk; three hundred pieces of *mosi* (a type of linen); ten thousand pieces of ordinary linen; a hundred thousand pieces of fine hempen cloth; a thousand rolls of twenty-sheet-thick large paper; a thousand rolls of small paper; two thousand good knives; a thousand buffalo horns; forty straw mats with designs; two hundred pounds of dyewoods; ten bushels of peppers; a hundred tiger skins; a hundred deer hides; four hundred beaver skins; two hundred blue rat skins, etc., etc.; this shipment will begin in the autumn of the year *gi-myo* (1639)."

The sack of rice at issue here is the weight borne by an ox, or a bit less than two hectoliters. A few years after the treaty, in 1650, the Korean ambassador, whose daughter had been taken captive by the Manchu and had become the sixth wife of the emperor, managed to have the rice tribute reduced to nine thousand sacks[26]. The other articles of the treaty fixed the protocol of all the relations between the two countries, and except for a few insignificant modifications on points of detail, it is this treaty which has been the international law up to the present time.

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[20] Actually since 1810.

[21] The Ming only finally fell in 1644. The dynasty was still nominally in power over China in 1636.

[22] In 1636 the Korean king had to surrender to the invading Manchu army.

[23] Dallet seems to be referring to Dongmyo (東廟; lit. Eastern Shrine), a shrine outside of the eastern gate of Seoul, built in honour of the 3rd century Chinese military commander, Guan Yu. The Joseon government embarked on construction in 1599 and completed the work in 1601, as a sign of gratitude for the help provided by Ming China during the Japanese invasions. It gained in importance after the fall of Ming, as a sign of enduring Korean loyalty to the Ming. It has nothing to do with the Manchu invasion of 1636.

[24] King Injo surrendered early in 1637 at a ceremony at the river crossing of Samjeondo 三田渡 and the new treaty imposed recognition of Qing (Manchu) domination. The submission of Korea's kings to the Chinese emperor was made more explicit and humiliating, as Dallet says.

[25] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 91-2. The source of Daveluy's information is unclear. This list does not correspond to the generally recognized texts, such as the *Dongmun Huigo* 同文彙考.

[26] This seems incorrect. The reduction was agreed already in 1646, thanks to intervention by Yi Ho-won and others. It is unclear who is meant by "the sixth wife of the emperor."

A Korean embassy goes each year to Peking to pay tribute and to receive the calendar[27]. This latter clause is of a capital importance in the minds of these peoples. In China, the determination of the calendar is an imperial right, exclusively reserved to the Son of Heaven. Various tribunals of astronomers and mathematicians are charged with its preparation, and each year the emperor promulgates it by an edict, armed with the great seal of state, forbidding on pain of death the following or publishing of any other. The great dignitaries of the empire come to receive it solemnly at the palace of Peking; the mandarins and lower officials receive it from the governors or viceroys. To receive the calendar is to declare oneself a subject and tributary of the emperor; to refuse it is to place oneself in open insurrection. Since the treaty, the kings of Korea have never dared to forego the imperial calendar, but to safeguard their authority over their own subjects, and to give themselves a certain air of independence, they affect to make certain changes, placing the long lunar months (those of thirty days) at different intervals, advancing or delaying the intercalary months, etc.[28], so that the Koreans, to find out the ordinary dates and the times of the official festivals, are forced to wait for the publication of their own calendar.

Furthermore, each new king of Korea must send a special embassy to ask for investiture by the emperor, and he must give a full account of everything to do with his family and the chief events occurring in his kingdom. Most of the Chinese ambassadors being a higher grade in the imperial hierarchy than the king of Korea, the latter must leave the capital to meet them and offer his humble salutations, and he must do so by a different gate than the one through which the ambassador makes his entry. The latter, during his stay, never leaves the palace assigned to him, and all that appears on his table, including dishes, silver, etc., becomes his property, which occasions enormous expense for the Korean government. It also seems that Korean ambassadors do not have the right to pass through the gate of Pien-men 便門, the first Chinese town at the frontier, and that they are obliged to make a detour[29]. The imperial color is forbidden to the king of Korea; he cannot wear a crown similar to the emperor's; all official acts must be dated by the emperor's regnal years; and when something of importance happens in Peking, the king must send his congratulations or condolences, as the case may be, by special embassy. The treaty also stipulates that the Korean government does not have the right to mint coinage, but this article is no longer observed.

One finds in Duhalde[30] a curious example of the official relations between the two courts: the petition presented to the Emperor Kangxi 康熙 in 1694 by one of the princes of the Yi dynasty[31]. It is couched in these terms:

"The king of Joseon presents this petition to put his family in order, and to make the desires of the people known.

"I, your subject, am a man of unfortunate destiny: I have for a long time been without a successor; finally, I had a male child by a concubine. His birth gave me incredible joy; I promptly took as my queen the woman who gave birth to him, but I made a mistake in doing so that has been the source of many suspicions. I obliged Queen Min, my wife, to retire to a private house, and I made my (favorite) second wife, Jang So-ui 張昭儀, queen in her place. I informed Your Majesty in detail of this affair. Now I

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[27] Daveluy Volume 3 f. 90

[28] The Koreans were free to make such changes according to the Chongzhen calendar of 1653. What was essential was the use of the correct dynastic name.

[29] This seems not to be correct, embassies regularly passed through the Pien-men.

[30] Du Halde, Volume IV pages 556-7.

[31] 1694 was the 20th year of King Sukjong 肅宗. Queen Inhyeon (仁顯王后 閔氏 1667-1701) was the second wife of King Sukjong. She was Queen from 1681 until her deposition in 1688, and from her reinstatement in 1694 until her death in 1701. Royal Noble Consort Hui of the Indong Jang clan (禧嬪 張氏 1659–1701), was a consort of King Sukjong of Joseon and the mother of King Gyeongjong. She was the Queen of Joseon from 1689 until her deposition in 1694. In 1701, Jang Hui-bin was executed by poison after Queen Inhyeon died of an unknown disease. Sukjong was convinced that Lady Jang was conspiring with a shaman to curse the Queen with black magic.

reflect that Min had received Your Majesty's letters patent; that she had managed my household; that she had assisted me with the sacrifices; that she had served the queen my great-grandmother and the queen my mother; that she wore mourning for three years alongside me. Following the laws of nature and of justice, I should have treated her with honor, but I let myself get carried away by my imprudence. After the thing was done, I felt an extreme regret. Now, to comply with the wishes of the people of my kingdom, I intend to restore to Min the rank of queen, and to return Jang to the rank of concubine. By these means, the regulation of the family, and the foundation of good morals and of the transformation of the whole State, will be effected.

"I, your subject, though I dishonor the title that I have inherited from my ancestors by my ignorance and my stupidity, have nonetheless served Your Supreme Majesty for twenty years, and I owe all that I am to your benefactions, which shelter me and protect me as Heaven does. This is what has given me the temerity to importune Your Majesty about this affair two or three times. In truth, I am ashamed to step outside the bounds of duty in this way; but as it is a matter that that touches on the order that must be conserved in the family, and that it is a question of making known the wishes of the people, reason demands that I respectfully bring it to Your Majesty's attention."

The emperor responded to this petition with the following edict: "May the ministry responsible deliberate and advise me." The ministry responsible was that of Rites. It determined that it was proper to grant the king's request, which was ratified by the emperor. Officials of His Majesty were sent to take to the queen new letters patent, magnificent robes, and all that was necessary to fulfill the customary formalities.

The following year the king sent another petition to Kangxi. The emperor, having read it, sent down this edict: "I have seen the king's compliments. May the relevant ministry responsible be informed that the expressions of this petition are not seemly; there is a want of respect. I order that it be examined and that I be advised."

On this order, the *li-bu* 禮部 or Ministry of Rites sentenced the king of Korea to a fine of ten thousand Chinese ounces of silver, and to be deprived for three years of the presents that the Emperor made in exchange for the annual tribute.

The pieces that we just read, and other analogous ones that we will see in this history, show that the suzerainty of China over Korea was very real. One grasps that depending on the circumstances, and the respective characters of the sovereigns of each country, the bonds of subordination may be tighter or looser, but they always exist.

Besides, the Chinese emperors, as skillful politicians, husbanded the resources and the sensitivities of the Korean government. They received the tribute mentioned above, but in exchange they gave annual presents to the Korean ambassadors and to the people in their suites, and they sent to each new king a royal mantel[32] and valuable ornaments. Even though they had the right to demand of Korea subsidies of victuals, munitions and soldiers, they almost never made use of it. Above all, although they could have done so by rigorously applying the letter of the treaties, they never meddled in any way in the internal administration of the kingdom. The Yuan (元 Mongol) dynasty, in former times, interfered on many occasions to make or unmake kings of Korea, and because of this their memory is execrated in the country. The Ming, wiser, treated the Koreans more as allies than as vassals; they sent an army to the rescue of the king of Korea when the great Japanese invasion happened, thus securing the affection and gratitude of the Korean people to this day, to the point that they meticulously conserve various customs of the time of that dynasty even though they were abolished in China by the Manchu emperors. The latter are not loved in Korea, and in commoners' registries events are never dated by the years of their reigns[33]. Nevertheless, their yoke is not very heavy, and the idea of casting it off never occurs to anyone.

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[32] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 91

[33] Many families continued for decades to use the regnal dates for the last Ming emperor in their documents, as a sign of enduring gratitude and respect, rather than use the date for the current Qing emperor which the court was obliged to use.

It is generally believed in Korea that one of the articles of the treaty of 1637 anticipates the eventuality[34] in which the Manchu, having lost China, would be forced to retreat to their own country. Korea would then, it is said, have to furnish them with three thousand cattle, three thousand horses, pay them an enormous sum in silver, and finally send them three thousand choice maidens[35]. It is claimed that if there are always so many slave girls in various prefectures of Korea it is so that the government may, in case of need, honor this clause of the treaty. However, the missionaries have never been able to discover any official document on this subject.

Since 1636[36], Korea has not had any wars with Japan or with China. This people have had the good sense not to renew unequal fights, and to avoid tempting the ambitions of their powerful neighbors, they have always contrived to make themselves as small as possible, and to emphasize the weakness and poverty of the country and the people. The prohibition on the exploitation[37] of the gold and silver mines arises from this, as do the frequently renewed sumptuary laws, which maintain the luxury and splendor of the grandees within strict limits. From this policy, too, comes the almost absolute prohibition on communication with foreigners[38]. Peace is preserved by these means, and the history of recent centuries offers no events except some palace intrigues, which, once or twice, succeeded in replacing a king with some other prince of the same family, and which most often ended in nothing but the execution of the conspirators and their real or supposed accomplices. For the rest, there was not one change, not one serious reform. What we call political life, or progress, or revolutions, does not exist in Korea. The people are nothing, and involve themselves in nothing[39]. The nobles, who keep power in their hands alone, do not bother about the people, except to oppress them and to extract as much money as possible from the . They are themselves divided into several parties who persecute each other with an implacable hatred, but their divisions do not have different principles of policy or administration for their cause or their slogans; they dispute only honors and influence in affairs. For the better part of three centuries, the history of Korea has been nothing but the monotonous narrative of their bloody and sterile fighting.

Here, from some Korean documents and from the traditions universally prevalent in the country, is the origin of these different parties.

Under the rule[40] of King Seonjo[41] (宣祖 r. 1567 to 1592), a dispute arose between the two most powerful nobles of the kingdom on the grounds that a great honor was conferred on one of them, to which the other claimed that he had the rights[42]. The families, friends and dependents of the two competitors took sides in the quarrel; the king, out of prudence, treated both sides tactfully, and they remained divided under the names of Dong-in (Easterners) and Seo-in (Westerners). A few years later, an equally trivial cause led to the formation of two other parties, which were called Nam-in (Southerners) and Buk-in (Northerners). The Easterners soon joined with the Southerners and formed a single party under the name of the latter: Nam-in[43]. The very numerous Northerners soon splintered and formed the Daebuk and

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[34] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 92

[35] This does not figure in the text of the treaty quoted by Dallet previously.

[36] The date of the final Manchu invasion.

[37] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 144

[38] This is quite untrue. From the 17th century onward there was regular trade with both China and Japan.

[39] Nothing seems to support this claim, in the view of modern Korean historians.

[40] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 42-43

[41] Dallet writes ‘Sieng-tsong’, which should be ‘Sien-tsong’, corresponding to ‘Seon-jong’, the posthumous name by which the king was known until he received the more honourable name of ‘Seonjo’ at the inauguration of the Daehan Empire around 1898.

[42] This refers to the conflict that arose in 1575 between Kim Hyo-won (金孝元, leading the Eastern *Dong-in* faction) and Shim Ui-gyeom (沈義謙, leading the Western *Seo-in* faction).

[43] This is incorrect. The Eastern faction divided into Southern and Northern, then in the chaos after the failed rebellion by Yi Gwal (李适, 1587–1624) the Northerners lost power while the Souterners allied themselves with the Easterners.

Sobuk, which is to say Great and Small Northerners. The Daebuk, having got themselves involved in conspiracies against the king[44], were nearly all put to death, and what remained of them did not delay to join the Sobuk, so that on the accession of Sukjong in 1674, three clearly marked parties were still standing, namely the Seo-in (Westerners), the Nam-in (Southerners) and the So-buk (Small Northerners).

During the reign of Sukjong (肅宗 1674-1720), a ridiculous incident brought about some new changes. A noble young Seo-in, named Yun[45], had for his tutor a scholar of great reputation named U-am 尤庵[46]. The father of Yun being dead, the latter prepared an epitaph, but the tutor proposed another one. No agreement could be reached. Each draft had its partisans, and things became so heated that the Seo-in party was split into two new parties, that of Yun under the name of So-ron 少論, that of U-am under the name of No-ron老論[47].

Such is the origin of the four parties which still exist in Korea in our day. All the nobles must belong to of these factions, whose sole concern is to get hold of honors and to bar access to them to their enemies. Following on are continual disputes and fighting that most often end in the death of the principal leaders of the losing party. Not that there is usually any recourse to weapons or assassination, but those who succeed in supplanting their rivals force the king to condemn them to death, or at least to perpetual exile. In times of calm, the dominant party, all the while jealously keeping the influential positions for themselves, share the lesser appointments and positions with nobles of the other parties in order to avoid overly violent opposition. However, they never go near each other, and the government tolerates the fact that the members of the opposing factions never speak to each other even when the accomplishment of their administrative functions would seem to require it.

These hatreds are hereditary. The father transmits them to the son, and there is no example of a family or an individual that has changed parties, especially between the Nam-in and the No-ron, who have always been the most numerous, the most powerful, and the most implacable. One also never hears any talk of marriages between families in opposing camps. A noble who loses his position or his life leaves the duty of avenging him to his descendants. Frequently, he will give them an outward token; for example, he will give an outfit[48] to his son with the instruction never to take if off before having avenged him. The latter will wear it continually and if he dies before having succeeded, will transmit it in turn to his children with the same injunction. It is not uncommon to see noblemen dressed in these rags which, for two or three generations, have reminded them night and day of the blood debt that they must collect to appease the souls of their ancestors.

In Korea, not to avenge one's father is to deny him; it is to prove that one is illegitimate and that one has no right to carry his name; it is to violate the fundamental point of the country's religion, which consists of little more than the cult of ancestor worship. If the father is legally put to death, his enemy or the son of his enemy must suffer the same fate; if the father is exiled, his enemy must be exiled; if he is assassinated, his enemy must be assassinated, and, in such a case, the perpetrator is assured of almost full immunity, for he has the religious and national sentiment of the country in his favor.

The means most commonly employed by rival factions is to accuse each other of a plot against the king's life. Petitions multiply. False witness is borne. Ministers are corrupted with money. If, as frequently happens, the first petitioners are incarcerated, beaten, sentenced to enormous fines, or exiled,

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[44] This refers to the failed 1624 rebellion by Yi Gwal (李适, 1587–1624).

[45] Yun Jeung (尹拯, 1629-1714), the son of Yun Seon-geo (尹宣擧, 1610-1669).

[46] Dallet mistakenly writes O-nam but this is certainly Song Si-yul (宋時烈, 1607-1689) whose *ho* (호 號 pen-name) was U-am 尤庵.

[47] The division was not mainly caused by that personal quarrel. More important was the outcome of the *Gyeongsin Daechulcheok* 庚申大黜陟 incident of 1679-80, in which the *Seo-in* Western faction drove out the opposing *Nam-in* Southerners and seized power.

[48] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 79

a subscription is raised defray costs, and new initiatives are launched which, thanks to the venality of the high officials and the weakness of the king, end up succeeding. Those of the winning party scramble for places and honors, use and abuse power to enrich themselves, and ruin and persecute their enemies until the latter find a favorable occasion to supplant them in their turn.

The different parties mentioned above have subdivided themselves again into two colors or rather two nuances. Here is the cause[49]:

The king who occupied the throne of Korea in 1720 (Sukjong 肅宗 r. 1674-1720) had no son to succeed him[50]. A division set in among the grandees of the kingdom; some wanted to have the king's brother, Gyeongjong 景宗, an able and cruel prince, proclaimed; others preferred to wait, always hoping that the king would not die without posterity. The first were called Byeok or Byeokpa, the second Si or Sipa. The Byeok sent secretly to Peking to obtain the investiture of Gyeongjong; however, the Si, alerted in time, pursued the emissaries, captured them while still on Korean soil, and executed the. Nevertheless, the old king died without leaving any children[51], and Yeongjo[52] 英祖 mounted the throne[53] in 1724.

Popular opinion accused him, not without reason, of having cleared his way to power by the double felony of having used various medicines to prevent his brother from having children, then of having poisoned him[54]. Exasperated by these rumors and supported by the Byeok, the new king, only just crowned, had a large number of Si, whom he knew to be his enemies, killed. Some years later, his elder son having died at an early age[55], he declared his second son, called Sado 思悼, heir to the throne, and associated him in the government. This young prince, who by all accounts was an accomplished man, frequently sought to make his father forget his past grievances against the Si, to proclaim a general amnesty, and to make a sincere attempt at a policy of reconciliation. Yeongjo, irritated by these reproaches and pushed by the Byeok, resolved to put his son to death. A great chest of wood was made, in which Sado was ordered to lie down, then it was closed, sealed with the royal seal, and covered with grass, and after a few hours the young prince died of suffocation[56].

His death increased the animosity between the Si, his partisans, and the Byeok, who had had him condemned to death, and the quarrel still goes on. The Si want Sado, having been proclaimed crown prince and associated in the administration of the affairs of the state, to be numbered among the kings of Korea. The Byeok have always been opposed, and have until now succeeded in preventing this

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[49] What follows is taken from a letter by Fr. Daveluy addressed to an an un-named colleague, dated July 18, 1846, published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* Vol 20 1848 pp. 291-308. A copy of the same letter is found in volume 6 of the Daveluy Archive, addressed to M. Jurines, Director of the Paris Seminary of the Foreign Missions Society. The account of Yeongjo and Prince Sado is taken from Daveluy's Volume 4 ff 43-44.

[50] Actually he had had six sons, three of whom had died young.

[51] In fact Yeongjo succeeded his half-brother Yi Yun, who was only 37 when he died childless. Dallet seems confused here.

[52] Dallet calls him Ieng-tsong, Yeongjong, which was his posthumous name until 1899/1900, when the names of certain kings were changed. Yeongjong became Yeongjo, Jeongjong became Jeongjo. This translation uses the more recent forms.

[53] Yeongjo was the second son of King Sukjong, by a concubine. Before ascending to power, he was known as Prince Yeoning. In 1720, a few months after the accession of his older half-brother, Yi Yun (posthumously called King Gyeongjong), as the 20th King, Yeoning became the Crown Prince. This induced a large controversy between the political factions. Nevertheless, four years later, at the death of Gyeongjong, he ascended to the throne.

[54] It seems likely that the conflict has less to do with Yeongjo's accession than the case of Crown Prince Sado.

[55] Yeongjo's eldest son was Jinjong 眞 宗. Jinjong was born in 1719 and died in 1728.

[56] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 44; he is following a version of these events which is generally not now accepted. The Crown Prince seems to have been suffering from mental sickness that led him to rape palace women and kill others. His death only came after one whole week spent in the chest. This method of execution was considered a form of suicide, with no judicial sentence of death being delivered. That meant that Sado's son and family would not share his fate, as any official condemnation would require. The king had no other heir beside Sado's son, who duly became king in due course.

posthumous rehabilitation[57]. The distinction between Si and Byeok is scarcely to be found between the two bigger parties, the Nam-in and the No-ron. Everyone associates himself with one color or another following his own inclination, and it often happens that the father is Byeok while the son is Si or that two brothers are of different colors. These political nuances do not prevent marriages between families and it is in this above all that the Si and the Byeok differ from political parties properly speaking, as we pointed out above. In general, restless and ambitious individuals join the party of the Byeok, while the Si have always shown themselves to be more moderate and more given to compromise.

When the Christian religion was introduced to Korea[58] at the end of the last century, the greater part of the nobles who first converted were Si, and belonged to the Nam-in party. Nothing more was needed to enrage the Byeok and the No-ron against them, and we shall see in this history that these political hatreds counted for much in the first persecutions. The Nam-in party, extremely powerful up to 1801, could not sustain the blow; it was totally overthrown, most of its leaders perished, and today the No-ron, in full possession of power, have no serious competitors to fear. The Seo-ron, a numerous but subtle and compliant party, enjoy a fairly large number of posts and honors. A few are reluctantly accorded to the Nam-in and the Seo-buk. The latter, in any case, are small in number and have no influence in the country.

Here is how a caricature[59] represents the state of affairs in Korea. A No-ron, richly dressed, is seated at a sumptuously set table, savoring the choicest delicacies at his leisure. A Seo-ron is seated to the side, but a little behind, graciously performing the role of servant, and for his obsequiousness receives a portion of the meal. A Seo-buk, knowing that the feast is not for him, is seated much further away with a grave and calm air; he will have a few scraps when the others are satisfied. Finally, a Nam-in, dressed in rags, on his feet behind the No-ron, who does not notice him, glowers, gnashes his teeth, and shakes his fist like a man vowing a dazzling revenge.

[57] Partially correct still in 1874. The name Sado had been given by Yeonjo in 1736. In 1776 Sado's son, King Jeongjo, bestowed on his father the posthumous name Jangheon 莊獻. In 1899 he was given the posthumous title of king, then raised to emperor, with the name Jangjo 莊祖.

[58] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 44

[59] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 45

III Kings – Princes of the Blood – Palace Eunuchs – Royal Funerals

In Korea, as among all the other peoples of the Orient, the form of government is absolute monarchy[1]. The king has full power to use and abuse everyone and everything in his kingdom. He enjoys limitless authority over people, things and institutions[2]; he has the power of life and death over all his subjects without exception, be they ministers or princes of the royal blood. His person is sacred, he is surrounded by every imaginable mark of respect, he is offered the first fruits of every harvest with religious pomp, and he is rendered almost divine honors. Although he receives an official name from the emperor of China[3] at the time of his investiture, it is forbidden out of respect for its high dignity, and on pain of severe punishment, ever to utter this name, which is used only for official relations with the court of Peking. It is not until after his death that his successor will give him a name, by which history will subsequently know him.

In the king's presence, no one may wear the veil[4] which most of the nobles and all people in mourning habitually use to cover their faces, nor may one wear glasses. One may never touch the king, and above all no iron may ever come near his body. When King Jeongjo was dying, in 1800, of a tumor in his back, it never occurred to anyone to lance it, which would probably have cured him, and he had to depart this life according to the rules of etiquette[5]. There is also the case of another king who suffered horribly of an abscess on his lip. The doctor hit upon the happy idea of calling for a monk to pull faces, tumble and do tricks for his majesty; the royal patient began to laugh heartily, and the abscess broke. In former times, it is said, a prince who was more sensible than the others forced his physician to make a light incision on his arm, but he subsequently had all the trouble in the world to save this poor man, who had become guilty of the crime of *lèse-majesté*. No Korean may present himself before the king without being dressed in the outfit required by etiquette, and without endless prostrations. Every man on horseback must dismount when passing in front of the palace. The King may not be familiar with any of his subjects. If he touches someone, the spot becomes sacred, and that person must for the rest of his life wear an outward sign, generally a band of red silk, in commemoration of this unheard-of mark of favor. Naturally, most of these prohibitions and formalities apply only to men. Women may enter everywhere in the palace without any reference to precedent.

The king's likeness is not printed on the coins, only some Chinese characters. It is believed that it would be an insult to the king to put his sacred visage on objects that sometimes pass through the most vulgar hands, and often fall on to the ground, into the dust or into the mud. There is no portrait of the king except the one that is made after his death, and which is kept in the palace itself, with the greatest respect, in a special apartment[6]. When French ships came to Korea for the first time, the mandarin who was sent on board to make contact with them was horribly scandalized to see how casually these Western barbarians handled their sovereign's face, reproduced on coins, with what insouciance they put it in the hands of anyone who turned up without worrying in the least about whether he showed the appropriate

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[1] Korean scholars would prefer the term "despotic monarchy" rather than "absolute monarchy" for the system found in Joseon Korea.

[2] Joseon royal power was in fact subject to a variety of checks and balances by administrative ministries.

[3] Daveluy Archive Volume 4 f. 88. Much of what follows in this paragraph is not correct. The king's name was not decided by the Chinese Emperor. The kings of Korea had a number of names and titles, which were pronounced as needed. When a king ded, officials discussed and decided on the king's posthumous name five days after the king's funeral. The Ministry of Culture and Education (예조, 禮曹) was in charge of the naming. The Ministry selected three names and reported them to the next king, who chose the name he liked best.

[4] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 117

[5] Daveluy Archive Volume 4 f. 87

[6] Portraits of previous kings were enshrined in the Seonwonjeon hall 璿源殿 in Changdeok-gung 昌德宮 palace.

respect or not. The commanding officer offered a portrait of Louis-Philippe[7] to this mandarin, but he refused to take it. Perhaps he feared that he would be punished by his government for having accepted a gift from the barbarians. However, it is more likely that he thought he saw a trap in this act of politeness. He would have been hard put to transport this image with the requisite pomp, but, on the other hand, not to show the portrait of a sovereign the required deference would have been, in his mind, a grave insult to the visitors and a possible cause of war.

According to the sacred classics of China, the king's sole responsibility is to look after the general welfare. He sees to the strict observance of the law, gives justice to all his subjects, protects the people against the exactions of the high officials, etc., etc. Such kings are rare in Korea. Most often, there are weaklings on the throne, corrupted, debauched, prematurely aged, stupid and incompetent. How could it be otherwise for princes destined for the throne from their earliest years, whose caprices are indulged, to whom no one dares to offer advice, and who are imprisoned in their palaces by a ridiculous etiquette, in the midst of a seraglio, from the age of twelve or fifteen years? In addition, in Korea as in other countries in similar circumstances, there are almost always ambitious ministers who take advantage of their master's passions, and seek to distract him by over-indulgence in pleasures, so that he will not meddle in the affairs of government, and leave them a free hand to rule in his name.

It is thus rare that the king is capable of governing by himself and of supervising the ministers and the high officials. When he is capable of it, the people gain by it because then the mandarins are obliged to be on their guard and to fulfill their duties with greater care. Secret inspectors report cases of oppression, extortion, and miscarriage of justice to the king, and the guilty are punished by demotion or exile when they least expect it. Furthermore, the mass of the people, generally attached to the king, do not blame him for the acts of tyranny and oppression which they have to suffer. All the responsibility for them falls back on the mandarins. In former times, there was a box in the palace called *sinmun-go*[8] 申聞鼓, established by the third king of the present dynasty around the beginning of the fifteenth century, to receive petitions addressed directly to the King. This box still exists, but it has become more or less useless because one cannot get near it without paying enormous sums. Today, those who want to make a request or a protest to the king install themselves by the palace gates and wait for His Majesty to come out. There is a drum beat, and at this signal a page comes to take their petition, which is then handed to one of the dignitaries in the king's suite; however, this item is almost always forgotten if the petitioner lacks the money needed to secure the necessary protection. Another method sometimes employed is to light a beacon on a mountaintop near the capital, in view of the palace. The king sees the fire and then makes inquiries to find out what is wanted.

Apart from the customary largesse on great occasions, the king is charged with seeing to the support of the poor. The census of 1845 counted four hundred and fifty thousand elderly people who had the right to receive the royal alms. Each year octogenarians are given five measures of rice, two of salt, and three of fish; septuagenarians are given four measures of rice, two of salt, and two of fish. The measure of rice in question here is sufficient to feed a man for ten days[9].

The aristocracy being very powerful in Korea, it seems at first glance that the princes of the blood – the brothers, uncles or nephews of the king – must enjoy a great deal of power. The opposite is true. Despotism is by nature suspicious and jealous of all outside influence, and the princes are never called upon to fill any important position, nor to involve themselves in affairs of state. If they do not hold themselves rigorously aloof, they run the risk of being accused of attempted rebellion on the most trivial

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[7] Louis Philippe I (1773–1850) was King of the French from 1830 to 1848, and the penultimate monarch of France. He was forced to abdicate after the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1848.

[8] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 25. *Sinmungo* was a drum beaten before a petition was placed in a box beside it. It was first installed in the 2nd year of King Taejong 太宗 (1402), but was abolished during the 15th century. It was re-installed in the 47th year of King Yeongjo 英祖 (1771), but the effect was not so great.

[9] Quoted from a letter written by Fr. Daveluy dated 18 July, 1846, published in *Annales* Volume 20 1848 pp. 291-308.

pretexts, and these accusations are easily credited. It often happens that these princes are condemned to death as a result of court intrigues even when they live in quiet retirement. In the last sixty years, even though the royal family has very few members, three princes have been executed.[10]

In any case, royal power, though always supreme in theory, is now much diminished in fact. The great aristocratic families[11], profiting by several successive regencies and the occupation of the throne by two or three insignificant sovereigns in a row, have taken over almost all authority. Koreans are beginning to say that the king sees nothing, knows nothing and can do nothing[12]. They liken the present state of affairs to a man whose head and legs are completely withered up, while the chest and the stomach, swollen out of all proportion, threaten to burst at any moment. The head is the king; the legs and feet represent the people; the chest and the stomach signify the high officials and the nobility, who, at the top, ruin the king and reduce him to a cipher, and at the bottom, suck the people's blood. The missionaries have seen this caricature with their own eyes, and they say that the seeds of rebellion will multiply every day, and that the people, squeezed more and more, will readily lend an ear to the first rebels who call on them to rise up, and that the smallest cinder could light a conflagration the consequences of which are impossible to predict.

What are called royal palaces in Korea are wretched houses that a somewhat comfortably off Parisian would not want to live in. These palaces are full of eunuchs and women. Aside from the queens and royal concubines, there is a great number of servants that are called palace maids. They are recruited by force throughout the country, and once secured for court service, they must remain in it for the rest of their lives except in the case of serious or incurable sickness. They cannot marry unless the king takes them as concubines. They are condemned to perpetual celibacy, and if it is found that they have not lived up to it, their crime is punished by exile and sometimes even death. These harems, as one might well think, are the scene of licentiousness and unheard-of crimes, and it is public knowledge that these unfortunates serve the lust of the princes, and that their abode is the resort of every kind of infamy.

The eunuchs of the palace[13] form a separate corps. They submit to special examinations, and according to their knowledge or their cunning, advance a little or a lot in the attainment of the honors that are available to them[14]. It is claimed that they are generally narrow-minded, and of a violent and irascible character. Proud of their familiar, daily intercourse with the sovereign, they affront all the dignitaries with an unequalled insolence, and do not fear to insult even the prime minister, which no one else could do with impunity. They have scarcely any relationships except among themselves because one and all, nobles and commoners, fear them as much as they distrust them. What a strange thing: all these eunuchs are married, and many of them have several wives! These are poor girls of the common people that they snatch by trickery or by violence, or they buy them at quite a high price. They are even more strictly confined than the noblewomen, and guarded so jealously that often their homes are forbidden to members of their own sex, and even to their own relatives. Not having any children, these eunuchs have the countryside scoured by their agents to find eunuch children and youngsters; they adopt them, teach them and set them on the ladder to the principal appointments in the inner palace. Where are these eunuchs found? A certain number of them are born that way. They are esteemed less than the others, and

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[10] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 117-118. It is not quite clear who is meant. Prince Euneon (恩彦君, 1754–1801), personal name Yi In (李裀), was the grandfather of the 25th King of Joseon, King Cheoljong. After the death of Crown Prince Sado, he was exiled to Ganghwa Island. He was later executed by poison in the 1801 Catholic Purge, due to having a Roman Catholic wife, Sangsangun Puin (常山郡夫人, 1753-1801) who was forced to take poison during the persecution.

[11] After the death of King Jeongjo in 1800, throughout the 19th century the king's power was mainly exercised by a series of female regents (previous queens) as the new king was often still a child. High families belonging to the Andong Kim, the Pungyang Jo, the Papyeong Yun and the Bannam Park clans shared and competed for power.

[12] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 71 (also what follows)

[13] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 115

[14] The eunuchs took a specially simplified form of Confucian examinations.

sometimes, after being examined, they are rejected. On the other hand, it does not seem that the barbarous practice of mutilation by the hand of man exists in this country; the missionaries have not heard of a single case. However, it happens from time to time that young children are maimed by dogs. In Korea, as in some other countries in the Orient, it is left to dogs to deal with the tasks related to the cleaning of nursing infants, which is to say until the age or three or four years, and accidents of the kind that we are discussing are not rare. When they grow up, these children find in their infirmity a resource and a means of making a living. Sometimes, if they achieve a position that is a little higher, they even help their families.

Other than the palaces inhabited by the king, there are others dedicated exclusively to the spirit tablets of his ancestors[15]. Exactly the same service is rendered in these palaces as in the others. Each day the dead sovereigns are greeted as if they were alive, they are fed by offerings placed before the tablets in which their spirits are thought to live, and they have eunuchs and palace maids to serve them, all organized along the same lines and following the same rules as in the regular palaces.

In Korea, where religion consists of little more than the cult of ancestor worship, everything concerning the kings' funerals[16] is of the utmost importance, and the ceremonies for their burial are the grandest there are in the country. The king being considered the father of the people, everyone without exception must wear mourning for 27 months. This time is divided into two quite distinct periods. The first, from the moment of death until the burial, lasts for five months. Severe mourning is strictly observed in this period. In the meantime, all commoners' sacrifices must cease throughout the kingdom, weddings are forbidden, no burials can take place, and it is forbidden to kill animals and to eat meat and also to flog criminals or put them to death. In general, these rules are scrupulously observed; nevertheless, there are exceptions. In this way, indigent people of the poorest class do not have to keep their dead in their houses for such a long time, and a blind eye is turned to quiet, secret burials. However, the custom is sacred for everyone else. Likewise, on the death of the last king, his successor granted a dispensation to abstain because of the intolerable heat and the need to attend to the fields.

Besides these special dispositions in the first period of mourning, there are others that apply to both the five months before the burial and to the twenty-two that follow. A government order specifies which clothes to wear. All bright colors and costly fabrics are severely forbidden. A white hat, belt, gaiters, coats, shirts, etc., in raw hemp cloth –- such is the apparel for all, on pain of a fine or imprisonment, until a new ministerial ordinance permits a return to ordinary clothes. Women, however, are not subject to the rules because they count for absolutely nothing in the eyes of civil and religious law. In any case, most of them are almost always shut up inside their homes. During the whole mourning period, public celebrations, parties, stage shows, singing, and music, in short any outward sign of gaiety, is absolutely forbidden. There are even one or two provinces, it is said, where the abstinence rule is observed for all of the twenty-seven months.

We have seen that no man has the right to touch the king. This taboo continues even after death. After the king breathes his last, the body is washed, embalmed, and dressed in royal robes, all following particular procedures, without anyone's hands having the smallest direct contact with it. It is then placed in a sort of chapel, surrounded by candles or lights, and every morning and evening offerings are made to it accompanied by the lamentations that are proper to the occasion. Frequently, on fixed days, the whole court and all the great dignitaries in the area must attend these rites. The king alone is exempt because he is presumed to be busy with affairs of state. He does not preside at the ceremonies except for those in the first few days after the death, after which he delegates a prince of the royal family. At the hours of the rites, the people of the capital as well as the nobles, who, not being on duty, have no right of

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[15] The still-extant royal ancestral shrine of Jongmyo 宗廟 in Seoul where the soul-tablets of deceased kings and queens are enshrined. In Joseon times offerings of food and wine were regulary made there.

[16] From Daveluy Archive Volume 4 ff. 341 ff (a long text intervening in the flow of Daveluy's narrative history of the Church). Many of the details in what follows are inexact, as might be expected given Bishop Daveluy's distance from the royal court and its conventions.

entry to the inner chamber where the body lies, crowd around the palace shrieking and wailing for the duration of the appointed time; afterwards, everyone bows to the spirit of the deceased and goes away. In the provinces, the leading residents of each district go to the local mandarin's house on designated days and, facing towards the capital, weep and lament for a few hours. After bowing to the royal spirit, they go their separate ways. Since not everyone can go to the mandarin's house, the people of each village meet on a mountain or by the side of a road and perform the same ritual in the same manner.

Meanwhile, all the preparations for the burial are underway. The most renowned geomancers are enlisted to find an auspicious spot for the tomb. They analyze whether the essence of this piece of land, or the slope of that hill, the direction of this forest or that mountain, will bring good fortune or strike the dragon's seam. According to the Koreans, there is a great dragon in the center of the earth who can give all the riches and honors of the world to those families that place the tombs of their ancestors in a position to his liking. Locating this place is called finding the dragon's seam. To find it, the geomancers make use of a compass surrounded by several concentric circles on which are engraved the names of the four cardinal directions and the five Chinese elements: air[17], fire, water, wood and earth. Each diviner then makes his report, and after their deliberations at an equally auspicious spot have ended, the king and his ministers make a decision. A whole army is organized to make up the cortege that carries the body of the deceased. For this, every noble family in the capital furnishes one or more slaves dressed in the appropriate uniform. Originally, this very onerous custom was merely a voluntary mark of respect; nowadays, however, it is an obligation no one can abstain from. Certain merchant's guilds also furnish a fixed number of men, and the remainder is recruited from among the servants of public establishments. The number of men needed to carry the body being gathered, they are divided into companies which each have their number and banner, and they are made to practice for a period of time in order that the ceremony be carried out in the most orderly manner.

When the day of the interment finally arrives, the body of the deceased is placed into its coffin on an enormous, magnificently decorated litter, which the companies take turns carrying with great pomp to the mountain chosen as the location of the tomb. All the troops are mustered, and all the great dignitaries in mourning dress accompany the king, who almost always presides over the ceremony in person. The body is interred following the prescribed rituals, and the customary offerings are made amid the cries, tears and shrieks of a numberless crowd.

A few months later, a monument is raised over[18] the tomb, and soon after that, a residence is built to accommodate the mandarins charged with taking care of the sepulchre and making less solemn sacrifices at particular intervals[19]. All the surrounding countryside, sometimes for three or four leagues around, is henceforth annexed to the royal tomb[20], and all other burials are forbidden. Bodies previously buried in the area are even exhumed, or if no one comes forth to claim them, the little knolls that are over the graves are leveled, thus erasing every trace and memory of them.

Each king being buried separately, royal sepulchers are fairly numerous in the country. The nobles appointed to their upkeep are usually young graduates who intend to go into the public service. It is for them the first step in their career, and after several months they get a promotion and move on to other jobs. There are usually two or three of them, with a household of servants and junior employees, analogous to that of the mandarins. Other than the duty of making offerings, they are charged with

[17] Dallet is mistaken. This list should read: metal *geum* 金; fire *hwa* 火; water *su* 水; wood *mok* 木; earth *to* 土.

[18] Above the tomb was a large mound of earth covered with grass. Around this a number of sculptures of warriors and animals, inscribed stones etc. would be erected.

[19] The buildings at the grave include the T-shaped Jeongja-gak 丁字閣 for making offerings, as well as a shelter for guardians etc.

[20] By law the land annexed to a royal tomb was limited to 80 *gyeol*, an ill-defined but considerable acreage.

policing the area around the tomb because this area is not subject to the jurisdiction of the civil mandarins of the district. The keepers of the royal tombs report directly to the Council of State[21].

[21] The Uijeongbu 議政府

IV Government – Civil and Military Organization

The King of Korea has three prime ministers, whose respective titles are *Yeong-uijeong*[1] 領議政, or Admirable Councilor, *Jwa-uijeong* 左議政, or Left State Councilor – in Korea, the left always takes precedence over the right – and *Woo-uijeong* 右議政, or Right State Councilor[2].

Below them are six other ministers called *pan-seo* 判書, or judges[3], who are in charge of the six ministries[4] or high courts. Each *pan-seo* is assisted by a *cham-pan* 參判, or substitute[5], and by a *cham-ui* 參議, or adviser. The *pan-seo* are ministers of the second grade, the *cham-pan* third grade, and the *cham-ui* fourth grade. These twenty-one dignitaries are designated by the generic name of *dae-sin* 臺臣, or great ministers, and make up the King's council. In reality, however, all authority is in the hands of the supreme council of three members of the first grade, and the other eighteen only approve or confirm their decisions. The ministers of the second grade or their assistants must present a detailed daily report to keep the king abreast of affairs in their department. They take care of administrative details and handle minor matters themselves, but all matters of importance are referred to the supreme council of three.

The premiership is for life, but those who are called to it do not always exercise its duties. Of the seven or eight great personages who reach this high rank, only three at a time are in office; they are shuffled and relieve each other fairly frequently.

Here are the names, the order and the responsibilities of each of the six ministries, as found in the revised code published in 1785 by King Jeongjo[6].

1. *Yi-jo* 吏曹, the ministry or board of posts and public positions[7].

This minister is charged with selecting the most capable men among the scholars who have passed their examinations, filling positions, delivering letters patent to mandarins and other dignitaries, supervising their conduct, promoting them, demoting them, or shuffling them according to need.

He examines and puts in order the quarterly notes that each provincial governor sends about all his subordinates, and brings officials who merit some special reward to the king's attention. The promotion or shuffling of posts of mandarins can happen at any time, but they most usually happen twice a year, at the six and twelfth moons[8]. Appointments to important appointments and high honors, such as the governorship of a province, are not made by this ministry, but by the king and the council of ministers.

2. *Ho-jo* 戶曹, the ministry or board of Finance.

This ministry must take the census of the population, assess the taxes or contributions of provinces and districts, monitor expenses and receipts, keep the registries of each province in order, prevent extortion, see to the laying in of provisions for lean years, etc. It is also charged with the minting

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[1] Dallet mistakenly writes: seug-ei-cheng. Of the 18 grades of officials, these are the top, first class 正一品.

[2] The *Yeonhuijeong* 領議政 is highest, *Jwauijeong* 左議政 next, *Uuijeong* 右議政 below both.

[3] These are the second-class of officials *Jeongipum* 正二(= 2)品. The names of the different classes began with either *Jeong* 正 or *Jong* 從, the former being of higher status than the latter. We have added the arabic numerals after the Chinese numbers in these notes for clarity.

[4] The Ministry of Justice *Hyeongjo* 刑曹 and *Hanseong-bu* 漢城府 the capital authorities.

[5] The *cham-pan* was a *Jongipum* 종이품 從二(= 2)品 official. The *cham-ui* was a third-grade official *Jeongsampum* 正三(= 3)品

[6] The list is from Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 29. The text published in the 9th month of the 9th year of Jeongjo should be from the book titled *Daejeon Tongpyeon* 大典通編 but the details in Dallet differ from that.

[7] Administrations and jurisdictions were not distinguished.

[8] The process known as *Dojeong-mok* 都政目.

of coins, but this last was not mentioned in Jeongjo's Code[9] because the treaties with China do not accord the right to coin money to the Korean government.

3. *Ye-jo* 禮曹, the ministry or board of Rites.

This ministry, instituted to preserve the usages and customs of the kingdom, must see to it that sacrifices, rites and ceremonies are carried out according to the rules without innovation or any change. It is also responsible for the triennial examinations, public education, and the rules of etiquette for receptions, festivities and other official events.

4. *Byeong-jo* 兵曹, the ministry or board of War.

This ministry chooses the military mandarins and the king's guards. It is responsible for everything concerning the troops, recruitment, arms and munitions, the security of the capital's gates, and the sentinels of the royal palaces. It is also responsible for the postal service of the whole kingdom.

5. *Hyeong-jo* 刑曹, the ministry or board of Justice.

It is responsible for everything related to the observance of criminal law, the organization and supervision of courts of justice, etc.

6. *Gong-jo* 工曹, the ministry or board of Public Works.

This ministry is charged with the maintenance of the palaces and public buildings, roads, and infrastructure of all kinds, whether public, private or commercial, as well as the king's affairs, such as his marriage, coronation, etc.

Besides the twenty-one ministers named above, we must number the *seung-ji*承旨 and the *pojang* 捕將 among the great dignitaries of the court. The *seung-ji* are chamberlains, who, in addition to the usual duties of this post, are charged with writing down day by day everything that the king says or does. There are three[10] of them: the *do-seung-ji* 都承旨 or chamberlain-in-chief, and two assistants who are called *pu-seung-ji* 副承旨. The *pojang* are the commanders of the satellites, the servants and executioners of the tribunals. There are also three of them.The *pojang*-in-chief 捕盜大將 has two lieutenants, called *jwa-pojang* 左捕將 and *u-pojang* 右捕將, which is to say left and right[11]. It is these lieutenants who take charge of the satellites when an important arrest needs to be made.

The capital, where the court always resides, is called Hanyang[12]. This name, however, is hardly used, and it is usually called Seoul, which means great city or capital. It is a city of considerable size situated in the middle of the mountains next to the Hangang River, enclosed by high, thick walls, very populous, but badly built. With the exception of a few wide streets, it is composed of twisting alleys where the air does not circulate, and which are full of rubbish. The mostly tile-roofed houses are low and narrow. The capital is divided into five districts, which are subdivided into forty-nine wards[13]. The enclosure wall was built by Taejo, the founder of the present dynasty. Sejong 世宗, the fourth king of this dynasty, added new fortifications. The wall has a circumference of 9,975 feet, and an average height

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[9] The Code includes provisions for the minting of coins (Sangpyeong Tongbo 常平通寶)

[10] In fact there were at least six, *doseungji* 都承旨, *jwaseungji* 左承旨, *useungji* 右承旨, *jwabuseungji* 左副承旨, *ubuseungji* 右副承旨, *dongbuseungji* 同副承旨.

[11] According to the *Sokdaejeon* 續大典 of 1746, there should be 2 of each.

[12] The mass of information that follows fills the first 25 ff. of Daveluy's Volume 3. He introduces it by saying: "All the details below are taken from a book in vogue in this country, and have been corrected according to a chart made recently from government documents." Unfortunately, he does not give the name of his sources.

[13] Seoul had five *bu* 部 districts : East (7 *bang* 坊), West (9 *bang*), Central (8 *bang*), South (11 *bang*), North (12 *bang*), a total of 47 *bang* with 340 *gye* 契 smaller neighborhoods. The *bang* corresponds to the modern *-dong* 洞 neighborhood.

of 40 Korean feet, about 10 yards[14]. There are eight gates, four big ones and four small ones. The big gates are beautiful enough, topped by pavilions in the Chinese manner. In ancient records, this city is sometimes called Kin-ki-tao[15] (Gyeonggi-do), which is inaccurate. Do means province, so Gyeonggi-do does not mean the capital but the province around the capital.

Since the accession of Taejo in 1392, Korea has been divided into eight provinces, which are known by the following names:

To the north: Hamgyeong-do; capital: Hamheung; Pyongan-do; capital: Pyeongyang

To the west: Hwanghae-do; capital: Haeju; Gyeonggi-do; capital: Hanyang

To the East: Gangwon-do; capital: Wonju.

To the South: Gyeongsang-do; capital: Daegu; Jeolla-do; capital: Jeonju

The two provinces of the north are covered with forests and sparsely populated. It is the provinces of the south and the west that are the richest and most fertile.

At the head of each province is a governor who reports directly to the council of ministers, and who possesses very wide-ranging powers. An old Korean saying ranks the governorships thusly: the highest in rank is that of Hamgyong-do; the most sought-after for luxury and pleasure, Pyongan-do; the most lucrative, Gyeongsang-do; and the last in every respect, Gangwon-do.

The eight provinces are subdivided into three hundred and thirty-two districts, and each district is administered by a mandarin of greater or lesser rank according to its importance. It is claimed that there were at first three hundred and fifty-four, to correspond to the number of days in the lunar year, because each district is supposed to provide a day's provisions to the king and his household. Be that as it may, the present number is three hundred and thirty-two.

Here is the hierarchical order or ranks[16] of the various provincial mandarins, beginning with the highest: *gamsa* 監司 , or d*ojanggwan* 道長官 governor, *puyun* 府尹, *seo-yun* 庶尹, *daebu* 大夫, *moksa* 牧使, *busa* 府使, *gunsu* 郡守, *hyeon-ryeong* 縣令, and *hyeon-gam* 縣監. The governor resides in the provincial capital, but he has a mandarin, called *pangwan* 判官, under him[17] to administer that city, and who is also his lieutenant or substitute.

Here it is important to remark that is it is essential not to confuse ranks with posts or public offices. A post requires a rank, but the reverse is not true. Ranks are for life, but posts are temporary,

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[14] In Korean measurements, the wall is 9,970 bo 步 long (1 bo is 2 western yards or 6 cheok 尺 = western feet) and its height is 40 cheok and 2 chon 寸 (= inch).

[15] The Chinese pronunciation of Gyeonggi-do.

[16] Here is a more complete listing of the officials *gwanryong* 官隆 governing each administrative district *jibang-gwan* 地方官 (districts in diminishing size: -ju 州, -bu 府, -gun 郡, -hyeon 縣) together with their numerical grade : *gamsa* 監司 (*gwanchalsa* 觀察使) *jongipum* 從二 (=2)品; *buyun* 부윤府尹 *jongipum* 從二(=2)品; *seoyunjongsapum* 庶尹從四 (=4)品 *daedohobusa* 大都護府使 *jeongsampum* 正三 (=3)品; *moksa* 牧使 *jeongsampum* 正三 (=3)品; *dohobusa* 都護府使) *jongsampum* 從三 (=3)品; *gunsu* 郡守 *jongsapum* 從四 (=4)品; *hyeonryeonjongopum* 縣令從五 (=5)品 hyeongam 縣監 *jongryukpum* 從六 (=6)品.

[17] In the early Joseon Dynasty, there were *jongopum* class 從五 (=5)品 *pangwan* (判官) in each province and the five cities of Andong, Changwon, Gangreung, Yeongpyeo and Yeongheung (the *Daedohobu* 大都護府). However, later, this was abolished, a *suwun pangwan* 水運判官 was established in Gyeonggi-do and a *haeun pangwan* 海運判官 in Chungcheong and Jeolla-do; later except for Gyeonggi and Pyeongando, Suwon, Ganghwa, Gwangju, and Chuncheon, they were only installed in special areas such as Jeju, Cheongju, and Gyeongseong. When this administrative system was abolished in 1895 (Gojong 32), 12 *pangwan* 判官 remained nationwide.

sometimes even just for a few weeks or days. There are a dozen different ranks[18], each having many holders, but they are only on active duty at intervals.

The first grade[19] includes the principal ministers, the second[20], ordinary ministers, and so on. The provincial governors must have attained at least the fourth grade[21], ordinary city prefects, the sixth[22]. All these dignitaries, without exception, have the privilege of being exempt from arrest by the satellites of the ordinary courts[23]. When they are accused of some crime, one of the lower-ranking mandarins of their own court comes to them in person with a request to follow him, but no one can put a hand on them. Other privileges are particular to certain classes of officials. Similarly, the four highest grades alone have the right to be carried in special palanquins[24], each according to his rank.

Outside of the regular hierarchy are the four *yusu* 留守, or prefects of the four great fortresses in the neighborhood of the capital, namely, Ganghwa, Suwon, Gwangju and Songdo (Gaesong). *Yusu* is a very elevated title[25], and the prime ministers themselves can hold it. The *yusu* is not properly speaking the mandarin of the city where he resides. A lower-ranking mandarin, who is called *pangwan*[26] 判官 or *gyeong-ryeok* 經歷 fulfills that function. The *yeong* 營 or small forts established at different points on the frontiers are under the jurisdiction of the local military authorities.

In theory, all the ranks of which we have spoken until now, except those higher than *moksa*, are available to any Korean who has received a doctorate[27] in the state examinations; in fact, however, these posts are occupied with very, very few exceptions by nobles. There are, however, two lower posts in each the prefecture of each district that are given to men of the people[28]. The *jwa-su* 座首 and *pyeol-gam* 別監 are the assistants or secretaries of the mandarin. They can even stand in for him in his absence, but only for very minor matters; in the case of a more important matter, recourse is made to the neighboring mandarin. The families of the *jwa-su* and the *pyeol-gam* have a certain amount of local standing and enjoy certain privileges. When one of these posts has often been filled by members of the same family, they become, after a certain amount of time, what in Korea are called provincial nobles[29]. Below the assistants, there is no else but praetorians, satellites and other servants of the court about the mandarin. We will speak of them later.

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[18] The ranks of civilian and military yangban are divided into 18 levels, ranging from *jeongilpum* 正一 (=1)品 to *jonggupum* 從九 (=9)品 .

[19] *Jeongilpum sungrokdaebu* 正一品 崇祿大夫.

[20] *Jeongipum jaheondaebu* 正二品 資憲大夫.

[21] *Jeongipum* 從二品 *gajeongdaebu* 嘉靖大夫, *gaseondaebu* 嘉善大夫, etc

[22] *Jeongsampum* 正三品 *tongjeongdaebu* 通政大夫, *tonghundaebu* 通訓大夫, etc.

[23] Meaning the Ministry of Justice *hyeongjo* 刑曹 and the *Hanseongbu* 漢城府. Crimes committed by *yangban* 兩班 were dealt with by the *Uigeumbu* 義禁府.

[24] The monowheel chair *choheon* 軺軒 was reserved for the highest ranks.

[25] A *yusu* 留守's rank 品階 is jeongipum 正二(2)品 or jongipum 從二(2)品.

[26] A *pangwan* 判官 is normally a grade 5 position *jongopum* 從五(5)品職 but it can rise to grade 4 *jongsapum* 從四(4)品.

[27] *Daegwageupjeja* 大科及第者.

[28] Actually, they were a special rank reserved for men from Pyeongan-do and Hamgyeong-do provinces.

[29] If this term is being used to translate *hyangban* 鄕班 the implication is that they are *yangban* living far away from Seoul with no hope of obtaining a significant official position.

In each province, there are several *chal-bang*[30] 察訪, or directors of the postal service. The relay stations of the post-horses are called *yeok* 驛; they are arranged in graded lengths from place to place along all the major roads. The horses that the government maintains there are only available to officials traveling on government business. The *chal-bang*, charged with supervising this service, have under them a certain number of employees organized in miniature along the same lines as the praetorians of the mandarins. The grooms[31] who take care of the horses belong to the government almost like slaves. They are not free to leave at will, and remain chained to this job from generation to generation.

If we turn our attention from the civil organization of Korea to its military organization, the first thing that strikes one is the enormous size of the army. The official statistics count more than one million two hundred thousand men on its rolls. This arises from the fact that every able-bodied, non-noble man is a soldier; the law recognizes very few exceptions. However, the vast majority of these supposed soldiers have never touched a rifle. Their names are inscribed on public registries, and they have to pay an annual contribution[32]. These registries, too, do not inspire any confidence at all. Very often they are filled with fictive names. Names appear of family members who have been dead for one or two generations, and many of those who should be inscribed escape their obligation by giving little presents to the lower officials in charge of revising the lists.

The only somewhat serious troops of the Korean government are the ten thousand soldiers distributed among the four big military establishments[33] of the capital. It is curious to note that even though there is a Ministry of War, the generals who command this elite corps report directly to the supreme council, which alone has the right to appoint or dismiss them. Let us also bear in mind a few companies quartered in the four great royal fortresses, and the guards of the governors or other high-ranking officials in the provinces.

Here are titles of the various military mandarins in hierarchical order. A *daejang* 大將 is a general. There are several grades of them, and they all live in the capital. A *byeong-sa*[34] 兵士 is the commander of a province or a half-province. A *susa* 水使 is a maritime prefect. A *yeongjang*[35] 營將 is a kind of colonel who has three ranks of officers below him: *chunggun* 充軍, g*ammokgwan* 監牧官and *byeoljang* 別將, titles which might be said to correspond to captain, lieutenant and sub-lieutenant.

It is important to note here that the accumulation of civil and military posts is very common in Korea. Frequently it is the governor of a province who is simultaneously the *byeong-sa* 兵使 or military

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[30] These were sixth-grade (*jongryukpumgwan* 從六 (=6)品官) officials. They were also termed *magwan* 馬官 (ma = horse) or *ugwan* 郵官 (u = post).

[31] They were known as *yeokno* 驛奴 (*no* is often translated as 'serf').

[32] After the military support tax system *gunjeoksupoje* 軍籍收布制 was introduced in 1567, each registered man should provide two rolls of cloth for uniforms instead of performing active duty. After the *Gyunyeokbeop* law was passed in 1750 the amount was reduced to 1 roll.

[33] This seems to refer to the organization of the palace guards established early in the reign of King Sukjong 肅宗. In the 29th year of his reign this was divided into three garrisons, the *hullyeon dogam* 訓鍊都監, the *geumwiyeong* 禁衛營 and the *eoyeongcheong* 御營廳, which continued until the 1880s.

[34] A *byeongsa* 兵使 held the rank of *jongipum* (從二(= 2)品). There were 15 in total: 1 in Gyeonggi, 2 in Chungcheong-do, 3 in Gyeongsang-do, 2 in Jeolla-do, and 2 in Hwanghae-do. Gangwon-do had 1, Hamgyeong-do had 3, and Pyongan-do had 2, and in each one served as *gwanchalsa* 觀察使 provincial governor.

[35] This was a position held by a *jongsampum* 正三(=3)品 rank civilian official. *Yeongjang* were appointed as judges or as *busa* or *moksa* in the central area, or nearby major towns. A *yeongjang* would also be appointed to each *gamyeong* 監營 provincial office and *byeongyeong* 兵營 military barracks.

commander[36]. *Yeongjang* are everywhere also criminal judges[37], and it is by this latter title that they are almost always called. This fact, which seems strange at first glance, can be explained by the profound peace that Korea has enjoyed for more than two centuries. The army having become useless, the management of it has dwindled almost to nothing, and the current of affairs led naturally to the transformation of its officers into magistrates.

The military mandarins are only chosen from among the nobility[38], but no matter how high their rank, they have much less standing than the civil mandarins. Compared to the latter, they are almost on a level with the common people. Their manner and their language must demonstrate the most profound respect, and certain privileges, such as the right to use a wheeled chair, are never accorded to them, even if they are generals. They deeply resent this inequality, and in times of trouble when authority passes into their hands, they take revenge on the civil mandarins by humiliating and disparaging them as much as possible. This antagonism explains why, generally speaking, nobles in the civil service do not permit their offspring to seek military ranks, and why these ranks are practically the patrimony of the same families for generation after generation. There are nevertheless some exceptions to this rule, and it is not unheard of for descendants of civil mandarins to trade the prestige of civil employment for military posts that they consider to be more lucrative.

All civil and military posts are temporary. A governor can only hold office for two years, but if he has some influence at court, he can arrange to be transferred without interruption to another province. Generally, mandarins can only serve for two consecutive years, three at the most[39], after which they retire to private life until they obtain another post. Those who have held an office once keep a few outward marks of their rank forever; they never go out on foot or without a cortege, and the custom is to add the title of the prefecture where they have served, or the office that they held, to their names.

The pay of the various civil and military mandarins, above all that of the governors, is exorbitant in light of the country's resources and the considerable value of money in a country where a few cents cover a man's daily food needs. A civil servant who wanted to could very easily set aside enough to live on for the rest of his days within one or two years. However, it is rare for a mandarin to have a thrifty disposition. As soon as he takes up his office, he assumes a princely way of life, making a display of luxurious extravagance, and since, as is the custom of the country, he has to support not only his family, but all of his relations, he leaves office as poor as before, and often with debts in addition.

The dignitaries of the palace receive nothing[40]. It is claimed that their pay was stopped after the war with Japan when the government found itself without resources. Today they get nothing but a few measures of peas for each month that they are in service. This is the ration that was assigned to each one to feed his ass or his horse at the beginning of the present dynasty. How then can they be prevented from pillaging the people and committing all kinds of injustices? These court positions are nevertheless sought after because those who hold them can always, with a little cunning, soon obtain a lucrative provincial mandarinate.

The system of civil and military administration that we just described is completed by an important component, the institution of the *eo-sa* 御史 or *anhaek-eosa* 按覈御史: the royal inspectors[41].

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[36] Provincial governors *gwanchalsa* always concurrently served as *byeongsa* military officials. However, it is worth remembering that each province had at least two *byeongsa* except for Gyeonggi and Gangwon-do. Except for the *byeongsa* who concurrently held the post of provincial governor, other *byeongsa* were mostly in military positions.

[37] From early in the reign of King Hyeonjong (reigned 1659-1674), the *yeongjang* 營將 served as a *toposa* 討捕使, charged with catching thieves. Therefore, they were identified as judges belonging to the *hyeongsa* Ministry of Justice.

[38] In the early Joseon Dynasty, military officers were limited to men from the noble class. However, with the disorder of the class system in the late Joseon Dynasty, the range of classes that could be recruited as military officers widened.

[39] The term of office of a *gwanchalsa* provincial governor was limited to 360 days, while the term of office of those appointed as *suryeong* 守令 was limited to 1800 days.

[40] Actually, they received an annual stipend.

[41] A temporary position for an official sent by the king to investigate when there was a particular incident in the provinces.

These are the envoys extraordinary who visit the provinces at irregular intervals and always in secret to monitor the conduct of the mandarins and their subjects, and to examine the state of affairs with their own eyes. Their authority is absolute; they have the power of life and death; they can demote and punish all officials but the governors of provinces, and it is almost always on their reports that the government makes the most important decisions.

It is useless to add that all the offices and posts are not to the benefit of the people, except in the old books of morality in the past. Offices are sold publicly, and naturally those who buy them work to recoup their money without even trying to hide it. Every mandarin, from the governor down to the lowliest petty official, makes money as best he can on taxes, court cases, and everything else. The royal inspectors themselves trade on their authority with the most flagrant shamelessness. A missionary recounts that one day, in a district where he happened to be, a few individuals who were secretly alerted stopped two horses loaded with silver that an inspector was sending home, and, standing by the side of the road, distributed the largesse to all the passersby while loudly proclaiming the provenance of their windfall. The inspector in question did not dare protest, and immediately left the city without saying a word to anyone about his adventure.

The ordinary taxes on property, certain professions and certain types of commerce are not excessive, but these legal taxes in reality represent only a small part of the sum that the greed of the mandarins and officials of all grades snatches from the people. In any case, the census rolls on which taxation is based do not deserve any confidence. A notorious fact, which the missionaries have often witnessed, is that the mandarin's officials have the effrontery, when they come into the villages to draw up the official lists, to state publicly the sum that must be paid them by whoever does not want to be inscribed. Normally, it is a matter of a hundred or a hundred and fifty sapèques (low-value copper coins, two or three francs). If it is a question of inscription on the army rolls, it costs a bit more to get out of it, but with some money one can get through to safety.

The provisions of the public stores only exist in the account books. In the immediate neighborhood of the capital the arsenals are poorly supplied. A fort taken by the Americans in their expedition of June 1871[42] housed fifty or so breech-loading cannons of Chinese make. There were also some cuirasses and some cotton canvas helmets of forty-weight thickness, impenetrable to sabers and bayonets, which only a pointed bullet could pierce. The provincial arsenals, however, have neither items of clothing, nor munitions, nor a weapon in good condition. Everything is sold by the officials of the prefectures, who substitute a few rags and useless old pieces of scrap iron. If by chance an honest mandarin tries to alleviate these depredations, all the officials will unite against him, his initiative is paralyzed, and he is constrained to shut his eyes and let them carry on, or even to abandon his post. He is fortunate if he is not sacrificed to calumnies that make him out at court to be a revolutionary and enemy of the dynasty.

The following anecdote recounted by Fr. Pourthié[43] shows that this universal corruption originates too high up for it to be rooted out.

"Last winter (1860-61), the minister Kim Byeong-gi[44] lost the top job to his cousin Kim Byeong-guk[45], a violent man quite hostile to our holy religion. The latter came to power by a crime against the

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[42] An unfortunate, seemingly unplanned incident in June 1871 in which American forces attacked a fort on Ganghwa Island, killing some 240 Korean soldiers including the commanding general.

[43] Fr. Jean Pourthié (1830-1866) was a French missionary priest who arrived in Korea in 1856 and was martyred with 8 other missionaries during the persecution of 1866. The letter quoted here has so far not been located in the MEP Archive.

[44] Kim Byeong-gi 金炳基, 1814-1875 was the adopted son of Kim Jwa-geun (金左根, 1797-1869), who served as prime minister during the reign of King Sunjo, and served as drillmaster during the reign of King Cheoljong after passing the *gwageo* examination in 1847.

[45] Kim Byeong-guk 金炳國 (1825-1904) was the son of Kim Su-geun 金洙根, who served as Minister of the Interior Ijopanseo 吏曹判書. He in turn became Minister of the Interior for 18 years after the Daewongun came to power, after passing the *gwageo* exam in 1850. He was the cousin of the Queen of King Cheoljong.

state which made him very unpopular and which sooner or later will cost him dearly. Even though he is the king's brother-in-law, he didn't have enough money to buy the post of prime minister, for here that high position is bought and sold like all the other mandarinates. The only difference is that the literati buy the ordinary mandarinates from a favored minister, while this one is bought from the eunuchs[46]. Our little Korean majesty is, as you know, in the same position that our idle kings were in the past.

The minister in favor is the master of the palace of Korea, but he must in turn reckon with the other masters of the palace in the sense that he cannot rise to that station, nor keep it, except by the favor of the eunuchs of the court. The latter, despised and despicable men, generally small of stature, rickety, and of very limited intelligence, live alone with the numerous royal concubines and palace serving women in the interior of the royal residence. The ministers and mandarins who have business with the king enter an audience hall giving on to an outer court; the soldiers and other palace guards are posted outside. The eunuchs alone serve near the king, where the king usually has no society but women and eunuchs.

However, the Korean court is very poor, and the state treasury is even poorer; the eunuchs and their cronies the royal concubines and palace serving women would feel the pinch if they did not have the resource of being able to sell the post of prime minister, and even other honors from time to time. It is necessary, therefore, for the personage in power to accumulate gift on gift, and satisfy all these avid leeches every day, but enormous sums are needed when it is a matter of gaining their favor for the first time. If Kim Byeong-guk had not sold some mandarinates very dear, and laid claim to the ginseng monopoly, he could not have got enough money to buy all the individuals on whom the minister Kim Byeong-gi was showering riches. In the middle of the last winter, a man who owed all he was and all he had to this same Kim Byeong-gi, came to see Kim Byeong-guk and asked him if he wanted to seize supreme power. 'I coud not ask for better,' replied the king's brother-in-law, 'but only money could get it for me and I do not have enough.' 'If you put me in charge of collecting tax in the central region of the country, I will get you the required sum.' 'Gladly,' said the minister. Soon after, the man took action. The taxes of the central region consist chiefly of rice, which is transported by sea to the capital. Our man, having collected all the rice and loaded it on barges, sailed for China, where he sold it for quadruple the price it was worth in Korea. On his return, he bought the quantity of rice needed to pay the tax. The difference in the price was sufficient for the king's brother-in-law to gain the favor of the herd of eunuchs and women that filled the palace. He had his competitor dismissed and took all the power for himself. The export of any kind of grain is a crime that carries the death penalty; even more so, the sale of rice paid in tax for the king's maintenance is an enormous crime against the state. In the end, this act of fraud caused a year of want to become, for several provinces, a year of veritable famine. But what did it matter to him? The richer and more powerful he is, the less anyone will dare to demand an account of his actions."

The following table of the civil and military administrative divisions is taken from the most popular geographical treatise in Korea[47]. It was amended in about 1850 from official records published by the government. The cities are classed by rank of importance according to the grade of the mandarin who governs them.

"The kingdom is 1,280 li from east to west; from north to south, 2, 998. It is divided into eight provinces named, Gyeonggi 京畿, Chungcheong 忠淸, Jeolla 全裸, Gyeongsang 慶尙, Gangwon 江原, Hwanghae 黃海, Hamgyong 咸鏡, and Pyongan 平安.

"The city directly to the east of the capital is Yeong-hae 寧海, 745 li away, in the province of Gyeongsang. The city directly to the west is Jangyeon 長淵, 525 li away, in the province of Hwanghae.

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[46] The eunuchs were not so powerful, Dallet is surely wrong.

[47] Dallet does not specify, but he seems to be referring to the *Daedongjiji* 大東地誌 by the celebrated geographer and cartographer Kim Jeong-ho 金正浩 (1804-1866). The translation was made by Bishop Daveluy and is the first item in Volume 3 of his archive.

The city directly to the south is Haenam 海南, 806 li away, in the province of Jeolla. The city directly to the north is Onseong 穩城, 2,102 li away, in the province of Hamgyong[48].”

I Gyeonggi-do 京畿道

This province is delimited to the east and north-east by the border of Gangwon; to the south and south-east by that of Chungcheong; to the south-west by the sea (the Yellow Sea); to the west and north-west by the province of Hwanghae.

Hanyang, its capital and the capital of the whole kingdom, is divided into 5 districts. The central district contains 8 wards, the eastern one, 12, the southern one, 11, the western one, 8 and the northern one, 10. There are 49 wards in total.

The province of Gyeonggi includes 36 districts, of which 22 are in the Left part of the province (*jwa-do*), and 14 in the Right part of the province (*u-do*). Its governor or *gamsa* resides in the capital, but outside of the walls because he no jurisdiction in the King’s city. His residence is near the West gate.

Left Province (*Jwa-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin’s Grade
1. Ganghwa 江華 (island of the same name), **w.**[49] Residence of a *yusu*.	130 *li*	17	*gyeong-ryeok*[50]
2. Gwangju 廣州 or Sanseong 山城[51], **w.** Residence of a *yusu*.	50	23	*pan-gwan*[52]
3. Yeoju 驪州	170	13	*mok-sa*[53]
4. Suwon 水原 or Hwaseong 華城, **w.** Residence of a *yusu*	80	52	*pan-gwan*
5. Bupyeong 富平	50	15	*bu-sa*
6. Namyang 南陽	130	14	*ibid*
7. Icheon 利川	130	14	*ibid*
8. Incheon 仁川	80	10	*ibid*
9. Juksan 竹山	180	17	*ibid*
10. Yanggeun 楊根	120	9	*gun-su*
11. Ansan 安山	62	6	*ibid*
12. Anseong 安城	170	19	*ibid*
13. Gimpo 金浦	60	8	*ibid*
14. Majeon 馬田	125	6	*ibid*
15. Yongin 龍仁	80	16	*hyeon-ryeong*
16. Jinwi 振威	123	11	*ibid*
17. Yangcheon 陽川	40	4	*ibid*
18. Geumcheon 衿川 Or Siheung 始興	33	6	*ibid*
19. Jipyeong 砥平	150	6	*hyeon-gam*

[48] (Dallet Note 5: A glance at the map shows that these directions are approximate.)

[49] w. indicates a walled town.

[50] Ganghwa was under a *jongipum* 從二 (=2)品 grade *yusu* 留守

[51] Gwangju Sanseong 廣州山城

[52] This should be *yusu* 留守.

[53] This should be *yusu* 留守.

20. Gwacheon 果川	30	14	*ibid*
21. Yangseong 陽城	110	14	*ibid*
22. Yangji 陽智	120	10	*ibid*

Note**. w** = walled city

Right Province (*U-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Songdo 松都 or Gaeseong 開京, **w**. Capital of the kingdom during the previous dynasty. Residence of a *yu-su*.	160 *li*	17	*gyeong-ryeok*[54]
2. Paju 坡州	80	11	*mok-sa*
3. Yangju 楊州	60	33	*ibid*
4. Jangdan 長湍	120	21	*Bu-sa*
5. Gyodong 喬桐 (Island Of The Same Name), **W**.	170[55]	10	*su-sa*
6. Saknyeong 朔寧	120	7	*gun-su*
7. Goyang 高陽	40	8	*ibid*
8. Gyoha 交河	80	7	*ibid*
9. Gapyeong 加平	145	4	*ibid*
10. Yeongpyeong 永平	145	7	*ibid*
11. Pocheon 抱川	100	9	*hyeon-gam*
12. Eumjuk 陰竹	180	7	*ibid*
13. Jeokseong 積城	150	5	*ibid*
14. Yeoncheon 漣川	140	5	*ibid*

In total: 4 yu-su, 1 gam-sa, 3 mok-sa, 6 bu-sa, 10 gun-su, 4 hyeon-ryeong, 8 hyeon-gam, 1 su-sa, 2 pan-gwan, 2 gyeong-ryeok.
Outside of the capital, there are 136,000 households in this province[56].

Postal Service

There are 6 *chal-bang* 察訪 (postal directors) responsible for supervising the *yeok* 驛 (stations or postal relays) in this province. They reside in:

Yeonseo 迎曙	district of	Yangju	6	*yeok* 驛
Yeonghwa 迎曙	"	Gwacheon	12	"
Pyeonggu 平丘	"	Yangju	11	"
Jungnim 重林	"	Incheon	6	"
Dowon 桃源	"	Jangdan	5	"
Gyeongan 慶安	"	Gwangju	7	"

The number of horses maintained is 419.

Military Organization

[54] This should be *yusu* 留守.

[55] Of which 120 *li* on land and 50 on water

[56] This is the number given in the official lists. However, in Korea itself, everyone is agreed in saying that these figures deserve very little credence.

1 *Byeong-sa*. The *gamsa* fills this post.
1 *susa*, on the island of Gyodong (in the gulf near the capital). He is responsible for the marine areas of 3 provinces.
6 *yeong-jang*. The mandarins of Gwangju, Namyang, Yangju, Suwon, Jangdan and Juksan fill these posts.
4 *jung-gun*, one who resides near the governor, and one each in the towns of Gwangju, Suwon and Songdo.
5 *gam-mok-gwan*.
7 *byeol-jang*.

The number of soldiers is 106,573.

II Chungcheong-do 忠淸道

This province is bordered to the north-east by Gangwon and Gyeongsang, to the south-east by Gyeongsang and Jeolla, to the south by Jeolla, to the west, south-west and north-west by the Yellow Sea, and to the north by Gyeonggi.
It consists of 54 districts, of which 21 are in the Left part of the province and 33 in the Right part of the province. Its capital, residence of the *gamsa* (governor), was once Chungju, but in the *Im-jin* year (1592), at the time of the war with Japan, it was transferred to Gongju, by the river called Geumgang, where it still is today.

Left Province (*Jwa-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Chungju 忠州 , **W**.	200 *li*	38	*mok-sa*
2. Cheongju 淸州 , **W**.	300	23	*ibid*
3. Cheongpung 淸風	350	8	*bu-sa*
4. Danyang 丹陽	380	7	*gun-su*
5. Goisan 槐山	280	12	*ibid*
6. Okcheon 沃川	410	11	*Ibid*
7. Boeun 報恩	380	10	*ibid*
8. Cheonan 天安	213	15	*ibid*
9. Muneui 文義	330	6	*hyeon-ryeong*
10. Jecheon 堤川	320	8	*hyeon-gam*
11. Jiksan 稷山	183	12	*ibid*
12. Hoiin 懷仁	350	6	*ibid*
13. Yeonpung 延豊	320	4	*ibid*
14. Eumseong 陰城	215	4	*ibid*
15. Cheongan 淸安	280	6	*ibid*
16. Jincheon 鎭川	210	15	*ibid*
17. Mokcheon 木川	243	8	*ibid*
18. Yeongchun 永春	390	6	*ibid*
19. Yeongdong 永同	460	7	*ibid*
20. Hwanggan 黃澗	490	6	*ibid*
21. Cheongsan 靑山	430	6	*ibid*

Right Province (*U-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Kongju 公州, **w**. Capital of the province. Residence of the *gamsa*.	326 *li*	26	*pan-gwan*

2. Hongju 洪州, W.	293	27	*mok-sa*
3. Imcheon 林川	401	21	*gun-su*
4. Taean 泰安	418	6	*ibid*
5. Hansan , 韓山 **W**.	441	9	*ibid*
6. Seocheon 舒川, **W**.	461	10	*ibid*
7. Myeoncheon 沔川	313	13	*ibid*
8. Seosan 瑞山	388	16	*ibid*
9. Onyang 溫陽	233	8	*ibid*
10. Daeheung 大興	283	8	*ibid*
11. Hongsan 鴻山	413	9	*hyeon-gam*
12. Deoksan 德山	293	12	*ibid*
13. Pyeongtaek 平澤	173	6	*ibid*
14. Jeongsan 定山	351	6	*ibid*
15. Cheongyang 靑陽	323	9	*ibid*
16. Eunjin 恩津	406	14	*ibid*
17. Hoideok 懷德	381	7	*ibid*
18. Jinjam 鎭岑	351	5	*ibid*
19. Yeonsan 連山	406	8	*ibid*
20. Iseong 尼城 or Noseong 魯城	376	11	*ibid*
21. Buyeo 扶餘	386	10	*hyeon-gam*
22. Seokseong 石城	396	9	*ibid*
23. Biin 庇仁, **W**.	443	6	*ibid*
24. Nampo 藍浦	393	8	*ibid*
25. Gyeolseong 結城	323	9	*ibid*
26. Boryeong 保寧, **W**.	373	8	*ibid*
27. Haemi 海美, **W**.	358	6	*ibid*
28. Dangjin 唐津	333	7	*ibid*
29. Sinchang 新昌	233	6	*ibid*
30. Yesan 禮山	263	9	*ibid*
31. Jeonui 全義	251	5	*ibid*
32. Yeongi 燕岐	291	7	*ibid*
33. Asan 牙山	223	11	*ibid*

In total: 1 g*am-sa*, 4 *mok-sa*, of whom one is the *pan-gwan* of Gongju, 1 b*u-sa*, 13 *gun-su*, 1 *hyeon-ryeong*, 35 *hyeon-gam*. Number of households: 244,080.

Postal Service

There are 5 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Yeonwon 連原	district of	Chungju	14	y*eok* 驛
Seonghwan 成歡	"	Jiksan	12	"
Iin 利仁	"	Gongju	8	"
Geumjeong 金井	"	Hongju	16	"
Yulbong 栗峯	"	Cheongju	12	"

Number of horses maintained: 761.

Military Organization

2 *byeong-sa*, of whom one is the *gamsa*; the second resides in Chungju.
2 *su-sa;* one is the *gamsa*; the other is in the district of Boryeong.
5 *yeong-jan*, in the towns of Hongju, Cheongju, Gongju and Chungju; the fifth is the mandarin of Haemi.
1 *chung-gun*, who resides with the *gamsa*.
1 *gam-dok-gwan*.
Number of soldiers: 139,201.

III Jeolla-do 全裸道

This province shares a border to the north with Chungcheong, to the east with Gyeongsang, and to the south and west with the Yellow Sea.

It consists of 56 districts, of 21 are in the Left part of the province and 35 in the Right part of the province. The capital, residence of the *gamsa*, is Jeonju.

Left Province (*Jwa-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Neungju 綾州	776 *li*	9	*mok-sa*
2. Namwon 南原, **W**.	636	40	*bu-sa*
3. Suncheon 順天, **W**.	796	20	*ibid*
4. Damyang 潭陽	676	12	*ibid*
5. Jangseong 長城	666	15	*ibid*
6. Boseong 寶城, **W**.	831	18	*gun-su*
7. Nag-An 樂安	786	6	*ibid*
8. Sunchang 淳昌	636	16	*ibid*
9. Changpyeong 昌平	706	9	*hyeon-ryeong*
10. Yongdam 龍潭	536	4	*ibid*
11. Gwangyang 光陽, **W**.	821	12	*hyeon-gam*
12. Okgwa 玉果	666	6	*ibid*
13. Gurye 求禮	766	7	*ibid*
14. Gokseong 谷城	676	8	*ibid*
15. Unbong 雲峰	688	8	*ibid*
16. Imsil 任實	576	18	*ibid*
17. Jangsu 長水	631	7	*ibid*
18. Jinan 鎭安	586	13	*ibid*
19. Dongbok 同福	726	11	*ibid*
20. Hwasun 和順	756	3	*ibid*
21. Heungyang 興陽, **W**.	896	13	*ibid*

Right Province (*U-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Jeonju 全州, **w**. Capital of the province. Residence of the g*amsa*.	506 *li*	36	*pan-gwan*
2. Naju 羅州, **w**.	740	38	*mok-sa*

3. Jeju 濟州 (large island of the south Quelpart Island.) **w**. Residence of a *moksa*, who is governor of the island.	1936 (Of which 966 li on land and 970 on water.)	4	*pan-gwan*
4. Gwangju 光州, **W**.	726	40	*mok-sa*
5. Jangheung 長興	880	15	*bu-sa*
6. Muju 茂朱	520	12	*ibid*
7. Yeosan 礪山	436	11	*ibid*
8. Iksan 益山	430	10	*gun-su*
9. Gobu 古阜, **W**.	600	18	*ibid*
10. Yeongam 靈巖, **W**.	810	9	*ibid*
11. Yeonggwang 靈光	710	28	*ibid*
12. Jindo 珍島, (Island of the same name), W.	1026	13	*ibid*
13. Geumsan 錦山	486	12	*ibid*
14. Jinsan 珍山	456	8	*ibid*
15. Gimje 金堤	536	23	*ibid*
16. Impi 臨陂, **W**.	490	12	*hyeon-ryeong*
17. Man-gyeong 萬頃, **W**.	510	6	*ibid*
18. Geumgu 金溝	520	12	*ibid*
19. Gangjin 康津, **W**.	866	21	*hyeon-gam*
20. Yongan 龍安, W.	436	3	*ibid*
21. Hamyeol 咸悅	450	9	*ibid*
22. Buan 扶安	570	20	*ibid*
23. Hampyeong 咸平	770	4	*ibid*
24. Gosan 高山	470	8	*ibid*
25. Taein 泰仁	566	16	*ibid*
26. Okgou 沃溝, **W**.	560	8	*ibid*
27. Nampyeong 南平	740	12	*ibid*
28. Heungdeok **興德**	636	8	*ibid*
29. Jeongeup 井邑	596	8	*hyeon-gam*
30. Gochang 高敞, **W**.	649	8	*ibid*
31. Mujang 茂長, **W**.	770	16	*ibid*
32. Muan 務安	796	13	*ibid*
33. Haenam 海南, **W**.	890	12	*ibid*
34. Daejeong 大靜 (large island of the south), **w**.	2076	5	*ibid*
35. Jeongui 全羅 (large island of the south), **w**.	2066	4	*ibid*

In total: 1 g*amsa*, 4 *moksa*, 7 *busa*, 11 g*unsu*, 5 *hyeolleong*, 28 *hyeon-gam*, 1 *su-sa*, 2 *pan-gwan*. Number of households: 290, 550.

Postal Service

There are 6 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Samrye 參禮	district of	Jeonju	12	*yeok* 驛
Cheongam 靑巖	"	Jangseong	11	"
Byeoksa 碧沙	"	Jangheung	9	"
Jewon 濟原	"	Geumsan	4	"

Osu 獒樹	“	Namwon	11	“
Gyeongyang 景陽	“	Gwangju	6	“

Number of horses maintained: 506.

Military Organization

2 *byeong-sa*. One is the *gwanchalsa*, the other resides in Gangjin.
3 *su-sa*; one is the *gwanchalsa*; one in Suncheon, in the Left part of the province; the third in Haenam, in the Right part of the province.
5 *yeong-jang*, of whom 3 in the towns of Suncheon, Jeonju, and Naju, plus the two mandarins of Unbong and Yeosan.
1 *jung-gun*, with the *gamsa*.
5 g*am-mok-gwan*.
7 *byeol-jang*.

Number of soldiers: 206,140.

IV Gyeongsang-do 慶尙道

“This province is bordered to the north by Gangwon, to the north-east by Gangwon and the Sea of Japan, to the east, south-east and south by the sea, to the south-west by the sea and Jeolla, to the west by Jeolla and to the north-west by Chungcheong
It consists of 71 districts, of which 41 are in the Left part of the province and 31 in the Right part of the province. Its capital, residence of the *gam-sa*, is Daegu.

Left Province (*Jwa-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Gyeongju 慶州, **W**.	770 *li*	18	*bu-yun*
2. Andong 安東, **W**.	550	21	*dae-bu-sa*
3. YeonghaE 寧海, **W**.	745	1	*busa*
4. Miryang 密陽, **W**.	800	16	*ibid*
5. Cheongsong 青松	630	9	*ibid*
6. Daegu 大邱, **W**. Capital of the Province and Residence of the *Gamsa*.	680	33	*pan-gwan*
7. Ulsan 蔚山	850	11	*ibid*
8. Dongnae 東萊, **W**.	930	8	*ibid*
9. Indong 仁同	600	9	*ibid*
10. Sunheung 順興	470	13	*ibid*
11. Chilgok 漆谷	670	10	*ibid*
12. Cheongdo 淸道	740	13	*gun-su*
13. Yeongcheon 永川	690	20	*ibid*
14. Yecheon 醴泉	490	23	*ibid*
15. Yeongcheon 榮川	470	13	*ibid*
16. Heunghae 興海, **W**.	800	8	*Ibid*
17. Punggi 豊基	440	8	*ibid*
18. Gyeongsan 慶山	710	5	*ibid*
19. Uiseong 義城	600	19	*ibid*

20. Yeongdeok 盈德	800	5	*ibid*
21. Yangsan 梁山	890	6	*hyeon-gam*
22. Hamyang 咸陽	700	6	*ibid*
23. Yonggung 龍宮	460	10	*ibid*
24. Bonghwa 奉化	520	10	*ibid*
25. Cheongha 淸河, **W**.	830	5	*ibid*
26. Eonyang 彦陽, **W**.	830	6	*ibid*
27. Jinbo 眞寶	630	6	*ibid*
28. Hyeonpung 玄風	680	17	*ibid*
29. Gunwi 軍威	580	10	*ibid*
30. Bian 比安	550	9	*ibid*
31. Uiheung 義興	620	11	*ibid*
32. Sinryeong 新寧	630	7	*ibid*
33. Yean 禮安	530	7	*ibid*
34. Janggi 長鬐 **W**.	820	10	*ibid*
35. Yeongil 迎日, **W**.	780	8	*ibid*
36. Changnyeong 昌寧	720	8	*ibid*
37. Yeongsan 靈山	750	7	*ibid*
38. Gijang 機張	940	7	*ibid*
39. Jain 慈仁	730	7	*ibid*
40. Yeongyang 英陽	650	8	*ibid*

Right Province (*U-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Changwon 昌原, **W**.	810 *li*	16	*dae-bu-sa*
2. Sangju 尙州, **W**.	490	14	*mok-sa*
3. Seongju 星州, **W**.	610	40	*ibid*
4. Jinju 晋州, **W**.	856	70	*ibid*
5. Gimhae 金海, **W**.	880	18	*bu-sa*
6. Seonsan 善山, **W**.	560	18	*ibid*
7. Geoje 巨濟, **W**. (Island of the same name)	1020	6	*ibid*
8. Hadong 河東	836	12	*ibid*
9. Geojang 居昌	720	22	*ibid*
10. Hamyang 咸陽 **W**	746	18	*koun-siou*
11. Chogye 草溪	710	11	*ibid*
12. Haman 咸安, **W**.	810	18	*ibid*
13. Gimsan 金山	570	16	*ibid*
14. Gonyang 昆陽	906	10	*koun-siou*
15. Hapcheon 陜川	910	20	*ibid*
16. Namhae 南海, **W**. (Island of the same name)	936	7	*hien-lieng*
17. Goseong 固城 **W**.	910	14	*ibid*
18. Samgi 三嘉, **W**.	760	12	*hien-kam*
19. Euiryeong 宜寧, **W**.	795	19	*ibid*

20. Chilwon 漆原, **W**.	780	4	*ibid*
21. Jinhae 鎭海, **W**.	850	3	*ibid*
22. Mungyeong 聞慶	390	12	*ibid*
23. Hamchang 咸昌	450	6	*ibid*
24. Jirye 知禮	620	4	*ibid*
25. Goryeong 高靈	660	14	*ibid*
26. Danseong 丹城	846	8	*ibid*
27. Gaenyeong 開寧	560	8	*ibid*
28. Sacheon 泗川, **W**.	886	8	*ibid*
29. Ungcheon 熊川, **W**.	870	5	*ibid*
30. Aneui 安義	760	12	*ibid*
31. Sancheong 山淸	860	14	*ibid*

In total: 1 g*am-sa*, 1 b*u-yun*, 2 *tae-bu-sa*, 3 *mok-sa*, 13 b*u-sa*, 12 *gun-su*, 5 *hyeon-ryeong*, 34 *hyeon-gam*, 1 *pan-gwan*.

Number of households: 421,500.

Postal Service

There are 11 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Yugok 楡谷	district of	Mungyeong	18	y*eok* 驛
Angi 安奇	"	Andong	10	"
Jangsu 長水	"	Sin-nyeong	14	"
Songra 松蘿	"	Cheong-ha	7	"
Changrak 昌樂	"	Sunheung	9	"
Sageun 沙斤	"	Hamyang	13	"
Sochon 召村	"	Jinju	15	"
Hwangsan 黃山	"	Yeongsan	16	"
Geumcheon 琴川	"	Gimsan	19	"
Seonghyeon 省峴	"	Cheong-do	13	"
Jayeo 自如	"	Chang-won	14	"

Number of horses maintained: 1,700

Military Organization

3 *byeong-sa;* one is the *gamsa*; another resides near the town of Ulsan in the Left part of the province; the third in Jinju, Right part of the province.
3 *su-sa;* one is in the district of Goseong, in the Right part of the province, and is called *tong-je-sa* 統制使; he has authority over the marine areas of the three southern provinces. His title was created during the war with Japan, in 1592, to reward a general[57] who beat the Japanese in several encounters; he is very high up and very lavishly compensated. Another *su-sa* is in Busan, 20 *li* to the west in the district of Dongnae; another su-sa holds the office of gam-sa.
6 *yeong-jang*, in the towns of Andong, Sangju, Daegu, Jinju, and Gyeongju, plus the mandarin of Gimhae.
1 *jung-gun*, with the governor.
3 *gam-mok-gwan*.
10 *byeol-jang*, most of them on the islands or the coast.

[57] Admiral Yi Sun-shin (1545-1598), the great Korean naval hero, killed fighting the Japanese at sea.

Number of soldiers: 316,440.

V Gangwon-do 江原道

This province is bordered to the north and east by the Sea of Japan, to the south-east by Gyeongsang, to the south by Gyeongsang and Chungcheong, to the south-west by Chungcheong, to the west by Gyeonggï, to the north-west by Gyeonggi and Hwanghae and to the north by Hamkgyeong.

It consists of 26 districts, of which 9 are in the eastern part of the province (Dong-do), and 17 in the western part of the province (Seo-do). The capital is Wonju, residence of the gam-sa.

Eastern Province (*Dong-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Gangneung 江陵, **W**.	530 *li*	8	*tae-bu-sa*
2. Yangyang 襄陽	530	12	*bu-sa*
3. Samcheok 三陟, **W**.	670	12	*ibid*
4. Pyeonghae 平海, **W**.	880	7	*gun-su*
5. Tongcheon 通川	440	8	*ibid*
6. Goseong 高城	510	7	*ibid*
7. Ganseong 杆城	555	8	*ibid*
8. Uljin 蔚珍	820	8	*hyeon-ryeong*
9. Heupgok 歙谷	470	3	*ibid*

Western Province (*Seo-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Wonju 原州, **w**. Capital of the province. Residence of the g*am-sa*.	240 *li*	20	*pan-gwan*
2. Hoiyang 淮陽	380	6	*bu-sa*
3. Chuncheon 春川	205	11	*ibid*
4. Cheolwon 鐵原	180	9	*ibid*
5. Yeongweol 寧越	410	7	*ibid*
6. Icheon 伊川	280	10	*ibid*
7. Jeongseon 旌善	430	4	*gun-su*
8. Pyeongchang 平昌	370	5	*Ibid*
9. Gimseong 金城	270	8	*hyeon-ryeong*
10. Pyeonggang 平康	240	7	*hyeon-gam*
11. Gimhwa 金化	220	7	*ibid*
12. Nangcheon 狼川	235	6	*ibid*
13. Hongcheon 洪川	230	6	*ibid*
14. Yanggu 楊口	310	8	*ibid*
15. Inje 麟蹄	375	4	*ibid*
16. Hoingseong 橫城	230	8	*ibid*
17. Anhyeop 安峽	210	3	*ibid*

In total: 1 g*am-sa*, 1 *dae-bu-sa*, 1 *mok-sa* who is also the pan-gwan of Wonju, 7 b*u-sa*, 6 *gun-su*, 3 *hyeon-ryeong*, and 8 *hyeon-gam.*
Number of households: 93,000.

Postal Service

There are 4 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Eungye 銀溪	district of	Hoiyang	19	*Yeok* 驛
Pyeongneung 平陵	"	Samcheok	15	"
Sangun 祥雲	"	Yangyang	15	"
Boan 保安	"	Wonju	20	"

Number of horses maintained: 447.

Military Organization

1 *byeong-sa*, the *gam-sa*
1 *su-sa;* also the *gam-sa*
3 *yeong-jang*, one in Samcheok, plus the mandarins of Cheolwon and Hoingseong.
1 j*ung-gun*, with the *gam-sa*.

Number of soldiers: 44,000.

VI Hwanghae-do 黃海道

This province is bordered to the north-east by Hamgyong, to the east by Gangwon, to the south-east by Gangwon and Gyeonggi, to the south-west and the west by the Yellow Sea, to the north-west by the Yellow Sea and Pyongan, and to the north by Pyongan.

It consists of 23 districts, of which 14 are in the Left part of the province, and 9 in the Right part of the province. Its capital is Haeju, residence of the governor.

Left Province (*Jwa-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Hwangju 黃州, **W**.	465 *li*	18	*mok-sa*
2. Pyeongsan 平山	265	17	*bu-sa*
3. Seoheung 瑞興	345	13	*ibid*
4. Goksan 谷山	435	12	*ibid*
5. Bongsan 鳳山	415	15	*gun-su*
6. Anak 安岳	535	18	*ibid*
7. Jaeryeong 載寧	465	13	*ibid*
8. Suan 遂安	335	13	*ibid*
9. Sincheon 信川	495	10	*ibid*
10. Geumcheon 金川	305	16	*ibid*
11. Singyei 新溪	345	13	*hyeon-ryeong*
12. Munhwa 文化	525	9	*ibid*
13. Jangryeon 長連	575	5	*hyeon-gam*
14. Tosan 兎山	230	9	*ibid*

Right Province (*U-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Haeju 海州, **w**. Capital of the province and residence of the g*amsa*.	375 *li*	35	*pan-gwan*
2. Yeonan 延安, **W**.	255	22	*bu-sa*
3. Pungcheon 豐川	535	8	*ibid*
4. Ongjin 甕津, **W**.	485	5	*ibid*
5. Jangyeon 長淵	525	11	*ibid*
6. Baecheon 白川	220	16	*gun-su*
7. Songhwa 松禾	495	8	*hyeon-gam*
8. Gangryeong 康翎	455	5	*ibid*
9. Eunreyul 殷栗	585	4	*ibid*

In total: 1 g*am-sa*, 2 *mok-sa*, of whom one is the *pan-gwan* of Haeju, 7 *bu-sa*, 7 g*un-su*, 2 *hyeon-ryeong*, 5 *hyeon-gam.*

Number of households: 138,080.

Postal Service

There are 3 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Geumgyo 金郊	district of	Geum-cheon	8	*yeok* 驛
Cheongdan 靑丹	"	Hae-ju	9	"
Girin 麒麟	"	Pyeong-san	11	"

Number of horses maintained:396.

Military Organization

2 *byeong-sa*, one is the *gam-sa*; the other resides in Hwangju.
2 *su-sa;* one is the *gam-sa*; the other is the mandarin of Ungjin.
5 *yeong-jang*, these are the mandarins of Pongsan, Pungcheon, Anak, Goksan and Pyeongsan.
1 *jung-gun*, with the *gam-sa*
3 g*am-mok-gwan*.
5 *byeol-jang*.

Number of soldiers: 153,800.

VII Hamgyong-do 咸鏡道

This province is bordered to the north-east and the east by the Tumen-gang River, to the south-east and the south by the Sea of Japan, to the south-west by the province of Gangwon, to the west and north-west by Pyongan and to the north by the savages (Manchuria).

It consists of 24 districts, of which 12 are in the southern part of the province (*nam-do*), and 12 in the northern part of the province (*buk-do*). Its capital is Hamheung, residence of the gam-sa.

Southern Province (Nam-Do)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Hamheung 咸興, **w**. Capital of the province and residence of the *gam-sa*.	820 *li*	24	*pan-gwan*
2. Yeongheung 永興	685	12	*dae-bu-sa*
3. Anbyeon 安邊	510	25	*bu-sa*
4. Bukcheong 北靑	1010	19	*ibid*
5. Deokwon 德源	560	20	*ibid*
6. Jeongpyeong 定平	770	9	*ibid*
7. Gapsan 甲山	1275	3	*ibid*
8. Samsu 三水, **W**.	1365	3	*ibid*
9. Dancheon 端川, **W**.	1205	9	*ibid*
10. Jangjin 長津 or Huju 厚州	1050	5	*ibid*
11. Gowon 高原	645	6	*gun-su*
12. Muncheon 文川	595	6	*ibid*

Northern Province (*Buk-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Gilju 吉州, **W**.	1385 *li*	7	*mok-sa*
2. Gyeongwon 慶源, **W**.	2209	12	*bu-sa*
3. Hoiryeong 會寧, **W**.	1935	9	*ibid*
4. Jongseong 鍾城	2032	5	*ibid*
5. Onseong 穩城, **W**.	2102	12	*ibid*
6. Kyeongheung 慶興, **W**.	2342	7	*ibid*
7. Buryeong 富寧, **W**.	1695	9	*ibid*
8. Myeongcheon 明川, **W**.	1455	7	*ibid*
9. Musan 茂山, **W**.	1840	9	*ibid*
10. Gyeongseong 鏡城, **W**.	1595	6	*pan-gwan*
11. Hongwon 洪原, **W**.	920	6	*hyeon-gam*
12. Iseong 利城 or Iwon 利原, **W**.	1113	3	*ibid*

In total: 1 g*am-sa*, also holding the office of *bo-yun*, 1 *dae-bu-sa*, 1 *mok-sa*, 16 *bu-sa*, 2 g*un-su*, 2 *hyeon-gam*,2 *pan-gwan*, of whom the one at Gyeongseong also holds the office of *bu-sa* .

Number of households: 103,200.

Postal Service

There are 3 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Gosan 高山	district of	An-Byeon	12	*yeok* 驛
Geosan 居山	"	Buk-cheong	24	"
Suseong 輸城	"	Chung-seong	22	"

Number of horses maintained: 792.

Military Organization

3 *byeong-sa*, one is the *gam-sa*; another resides in Bukcheong, southern province, and the third in Gyeong-seong, northern province.
3 *su-sa;* the three *byeong-sa* fill these posts.
6 *yeong-jang*, these are the mandarins of Hongwon, Gapsan, Yeongheung, Dancheon, Samsu and Deokwon.
1 *jung-gun*, who resides with the *gam-sa*.
3 *gam-mok-gwan*.
2 *byeol-jang.*

Number of soldiers: 87,170.

VIII Pyongan-do 平安道

This province is bordered to the north-east and the east by Hamgyong, to the south-east by Hamgyong and Hwanghae, to the south-west and the west by the Yellow Sea, to the north-west by the Apnok-gang or Yalu-gang River, and to the north by the lands of the savages.
It includes 42 districts, of which 23 are in the southern province (nam-do), and 19 in the northerrn province (buk-do). Its capital is Pyeongyang, residence of the *gam-sa*.

Southern Province (*Nam-Do*

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Pyongyang 平壤, **w**. Capital of the province and residence of the gam-sa.	566 *li*	36	*seo-yun*
2. Anjou 安州, **W**.	736	12	*mok-sa*
3. Seongcheon 成川	706	25	*bu-sa*
4. Sukcheon 肅川	676	14	*ibid*
5. Junghwa 中和	516	12	*ibid*
6. Jasan 慈山	656	10	*ibid*
7. Samhwa 三和	676	10	*ibid*
8. Hamjong 咸從	636	12	*ibid*
9. Gasan 嘉山	796	5	*gun-su*
10. Sangwon 祥原	676	7	*ibid*
11. Deokcheon 德川	940	9	*ibid*
12. Gaecheon 价川	791	8	*ibid*
13. Suncheon 順川	721	15	*ibid*
14. Yonggang 籠岡	656	12	*hyeon-ryeong*
15. Yeongyu 永柔	636	14	*ibid*
16. Jeungsan 甑山	656	5	*ibid*
17. Samdeung 三登	656	3	*ibid*
18. Sunan 順安	606	10	*ibid*
19. Gangseo 江西	616	11	*ibid*
20. Yangdeok 陽德	806	9	*hyeon-gam*
21. Maengsan 孟山	846	6	*ibid*
22. Gangdong 江東	656	7	*ibid*
23. Eunsan 殷山	686	12	*ibid*

Northern Province (*Buk-Do*)

District Capital	Distance from the Capital	Number of cantons	Mandarin's Grade
1. Uiju 義州, **W**.	1096 *li*	21	*bu-yun*
2. Yeonbyeon 寧邊, **W**.	796	12	*dae-bu-sa*
3. Jeongju 定州, **W**.	856	19	*mok-sa*
4. Ganggye 江界, **W**.	1316	11	*bu-sa*
5. Changseong 昌城, **W**.	1106	7	*ibid*
6. Sakju 朔州, **W**.	1036	8	*ibid*
7. Guseong 龜城, **W**.	896	12	*ibid*
8. Seoncheon 宣川, **W**.	926	9	*ibid*
9. Cheolsan 鐵山, **W**.	976	6	*ibid*
10. Yongcheon 龍川, **W**.	1006	9	*ibid*
11. Chosan, 楚山 **W**.	1196	6	*ibid*
12. Gwaksan 郭山	886	7	*gun-su*
13. Huicheon 熙川	1001	8	*ibid*
14. Byeokdong 碧潼, **W**.	1121	10	*ibid*
15. Unsan 雲山	836	6	*ibid*
16. Bakcheon 博川	776	5	*ibid*
17. Uiwon 渭原, **W**.	1236	6	*ibid*
18. Yeongwon 寧遠	891	8	*ibid*
19. Taecheon 泰川	836	6	*hyeon-gam*

In total: 2 *bu-yun*, of whom one is the *gam-sa*, 1 *dae-bu-sa*, 2 *mok-sa*, 14 *bu-sa*, of whom the one at Seoncheon also holds the title of *bang-eo-sa* 防禦使, 12 *gun-su*, 6 *hyeon-yeong*, 5 *hyeon-gam*, and 1 *seo-yun*.
Number of households: 293,400.

Postal Service

There are 2 *chal-bang*, residing in:

Daedong 大同	district of	Pyeongyang	9	*yeok* 驛
Eocheon 魚川	"	Yeong-byeoen	21	"

Number of horses maintained: 311.

Military Organization

2 *byeong-sa*, one is the *gam-sa* the other resides in Anju.
1 *su-sa;* the governor.
9 *yeong-jang*, these are the mandarins of Sukcheon, Deokcheon, Junghwa, Suncheon, Hamjong, Yongcheon, Kuseong, Gasan and Yeongpyeon.
1 *jung-gun*, with the governor.
1 *gam-mok-gwan*.
4 *byeol-jang*.

Number of soldiers: 174,538.

V Tribunals – Praetorians and satellites – Prisons – Punishments

The mandarins of the districts are the ordinary judges for all the cases that come before the civil courts. When an issue cannot be settled amicably by the village elders and the parties concerned insist on going to trial, they appear before the mandarin, who judges ordinary cases without appeal. If the case is very important, one may have recourse to the governor of the province, then to the relevant minister, and finally to the king.

Criminal cases are judged by the military mandarins. Sometimes the civil mandarins begin the investigation, the better to assure themselves of the facts, but they always refer the case to the military judges. Trials begin with the *yeong-jang* 營將, whose tribunal is vulgarly known as the thieves' court, and from there, according to the gravity of the case, it is sent to the *byeong-sa* 兵使 or to the *gam-sa* (監司 governor) of the province, then to the criminal court *hyeongsa jaepanso* 刑事裁判所 in the capital. This tribunal is composed of two distinct courts. The first, called *pocheong*[1] 捕廳, is a court of inquiry to hear the witnesses, examine the case and obtain, willingly or by force, the confessions of the accused. The second court, called *hyeong-jo* 刑曹, consists of judges who pass sentence based on the findings of the *pocheong*. Below the criminal court, only in the capital, is a lower court, which corresponds to our correctional police court; it is called *sagwancheong* 仕官廳[2]. The criminal court has jurisdiction over commoners and nobles who do not hold public office, for crimes of all kinds, except rebellion and lèse-majesté. A special tribunal, called *geumbu*[3] 禁府, the members of which are appointed directly by the king, alone has the right to judge public servants, and it alone identify acts of rebellion or lèse majesté, whoever the culprits may be. In the latter case, the family of the condemned is entirely caught up in his punishment, and his relations are all removed from their posts, or exiled, or even put to death. At the time of the martyrdom of Augustine Yu[4], in 1801, twenty-six mandarins of his family, all pagans, were removed from office, and his older brother[5] was sent into exile. When a murder has been committed in a district, the local mandarin cannot investigate and judge the case on his own; the governor appoints two others who join him to carry out the trial.

No ordinary mandarin can implement a sentence of exile or death on his own authority. The provincial governors themselves only have that right with certain restrictions, and when the death sentence is in question, they almost always first have it approved by the Ministry of Justice. On the other hand, judges are not responsible for those accused who die under interrogation, as happens fairly frequently, and they often avail themselves of this method in order to wrap up a case as quickly as possible in order to avoid the burdens of legal trial. They have still other means of simplifying the procedures of a long trial. For instance, one day, a young servant, having quarreled with the son of a nobleman, killed him with an axe blow to the lower abdomen. The killer was immediately seized and dragged before the mandarin. Among the witnesses was the father of the victim. After a few questions, the mandarin had an axe brought forth, and, placing it in the father's hands, said to him, pointing to the bound and gagged murderer stretched out on the ground, "Show me how exactly how this man struck

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[1] An abbreviation for Left *Podocheong* 左捕盜廳 and Right *Podocheong* 右捕盜廳, the police bureau.

[2] This term seems to be misunderstood by Dallet, who mis-spells it as Sa-Kouang-tseng. *Sagwancheong* 仕官廳 designates an office close to the residence of the head official *podojang* 捕將 where the satellites performed their duties, not a separate court.

[3] *Geumbu* 禁府 is an abbreviation of *Uigeumbu* 義禁府, the court in charge of crimes and acts of treason committed by *yangban*.

[4] Augustine Yu Hang-geom 柳恒儉 (1756-1801), was a leading Christian in the Jeonju region. He died during the *Shin-yu* Persecution in 1801.

[5] He had no older brother who was sent into exile.

your son." His goal was to have the accused killed on the spot by the father, and to relieve himself of a tiresome matter. Vengeance in such cases being permitted by the customs of the country, everything could have been taken care of at once. The father, however, was too timid to strike. The bystanders disparaged him as a coward, and praised the magistrate's conduct as very just and natural.

The civil mandarins are at once prefects, justices of the peace, examining magistrates, tax collectors, and inspectors of customs, forestry, water, registration, police, etc. It would seem impossible for them to suffice for such a task. Nevertheless, there is scarcely any life more idle and unoccupied than that of a mandarin. He passes his life in drinking, eating, smoking, and enjoying parties. His court is only open three or four times a week for a few hours; business is quickly dispatched by the means of a few sentences or a few blows of the stick, often without hearing the interested parties or the witnesses. The military mandarins act in a similar manner, and in courtrooms of all kinds almost everything is done by the lower officials.

Let us give some details here about these officers of the courts, who, in Korea, exercise such a large amount of authority. There are two kinds of them: those who serve the civil mandarins and those who serve the military mandarins or criminal judges. The title of the first is ordinarily translated in this history by the word praetorian, because they belong to the law court or praetorium, and are charged with assisting in its management. The second, who do the jobs of our gendarmes or police officers, and report to the Ministry of Justice, are properly called satellites. They are sometimes confused because their functions, although distinct, frequently oblige them to act in concert, and also because in districts where there is no criminal judge, the civil mandarin has under his command a certain number of satellites to act as police.

In each district, there is quite a large number of praetorians[6]. The six[7] or eight principal ones have titles analogous to the king's ministers, and fulfill, in miniature, functions of the same kind, for each mandarinate is organized on the model of the central government. They consequently have a lot of authority, and often more than the mandarin, who, while treating them as valets, allows himself to be led by them. The other praetorians are clerks, ushers or servants subject to the former. All these praetorians form a class apart in society. They almost always marry amongst themselves, their children take up the same career, and from generation to generation they fill posts of higher or lower rank depending on their cleverness in obtaining and keeping them.

It is supposed, with reason it seems, given the circumstances, that without them no administration would be possible. Versed in every kind of ruse, intrigue and stratagem, they are admirably suited to squeezing the people and protecting themselves from the mandarins. They are beaten, hounded, insulted, and caned unmercifully, but they are able to withstand everything and remain on the watch to seize any occasion to resume their places, and sometimes even to rid themselves of overly strict mandarins.

Even though they are divided into various parties mutually seeking to supplant one another, rather like the great political parties, such as the No-ron, Nam-in, etc., which were discussed above, they are capable of momentarily setting aside their quarrels and supporting each other when the interests of the whole group are threatened. One of their fundamental axioms is that they must always deceive the mandarin, and to keep him as ignorant of local affairs as possible. It is a question of life or death for them because the majority of them do not receive a regular salary, and those who do can only rarely rely on it. Forced on the one hand to satisfy the insatiable greed of the mandarins at the expense of the people, and obliged on the other hand to spend a lot on their own upkeep and that of their families, they cannot live except by fraud and exactions committed on their own account. If they allowed the mandarin to find out about the secret resources that they are able to exploit, he would immediately take them for himself, and

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[6] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 ff. 101-2

[7] There were six titles: *i-bang* 吏房, *ho-bang* 戶房, *cheol-bang* 轍房, *hyeong-bang* 刑房, *byeong-bang* 兵房 and *gong-bang* 工房.

there would be nothing for it but for them to die of hunger. "If one had the misfortune," said a praetorian one day to one of Bishop Daveluy's catechists, "to let the mandarin have a tasty morsel, he would want it all the time, and since it would be impossible for us to satisfy him[8], he would do us in."

The following adventure[9], which happened a few years ago in the province of Kieng-keï, shows what the praetorians are and what they are capable of. An honest and capable mandarin was sent to a fairly important town. Not content with energetically keeping his subordinates busy in their duties, he showed the intention of investigating and punishing the peculations of which they had hitherto been guilty. The majority of them were gravely compromised, and some were even at risk of being condemned to death. Their usual ruses, intrigues and perjuries could not deflect the blow, and consternation was great among them when they learned that some royal inspectors, in disguise, were abroad in the province. To find one and have him watched and followed was a simple matter, and they arranged their plot as follows. As it was not uncommon for bold and clever bandits to pass themselves off as *e-sa*, or royal inspectors, and to fleece entire districts, it was a matter of persuading the mandarin that the inspector who had been identified was one such bandit and obtaining permission to arrest him. Those who would tie up a royal envoy would very probably be put to death, but, on the other hand, the mandarin would certainly be demoted on the principle that if he had governed well, such disorders as monstrous as the official arrest of a great dignitary would be impossible. With the mandarin out of the way, the other praetorians would have nothing more to fear. Lots were drawn to choose those who would sacrifice themselves for the common good, and that very evening the petition was presented to the mandarin. He refused to receive it at first, but the praetorians did not stop repeating that he would incur a terrible responsibility if he let such an imposter go unpunished, and that they themselves would refrain from making such a request if they had the smallest doubt, since it would be a matter of their lives in the case of a mistake. After a few days of hesitation, he gave in and signed the order for the arrest. Armed with that paper, the praetorians chosen by lot hurried to the area where they inspector was that same evening, fell upon him and shackled him like a criminal. He revealed his name and rank, displayed his badge of office embellished with the royal seal, and gave a signal which rallied around him his assistants and a troop of his servants. The praetorians simulated surprise and consternation. Some fled and others fell at the inspector's feet and begged for death in expiation of the horrible crime that they had just committed unbeknownst to themselves. The furious inspector handed them over to his attendants to be beaten unmercifully, and, with a great train, immediately proceeded to the prefecture where he demoted and expelled the mandarin. No praetorian died, it was said. Several were crippled, and others were exiled, but their goal was achieved, and the new mandarin, horrified by the example of his predecessor, refrained from imitating his zeal for justice.

The satellites are not a class apart like the praetorians[10], filling the same posts as if by right of inheritance, generation after generation. They are servants recruited from wherever they might be found, in greater or lesser numbers according to the need or the situation, who fill their offices only for a few years or even a few months. It is not unheard of to find among them thieves or other individuals compromised in the eyes of the law, who become satellites to assure themselves of impunity. In each district, there are satellites designated by various names, but the most adroit, the most insolent and the most dreaded are those of the criminal tribunals of the prefecture of each province. Having no fixed income, they live on plunder and take whatever they please from the people. Some do the job of gendarmes, others serve the mandarin in his house, and others make up his suite when he goes out. They have incredible skill and shrewdness in recognizing thieves and other malfeasants, and it is rare that a perpetrator can escape their investigations for very long if they make a serious effort. However, they hardly concern themselves with petty thieves. Catching and punishing them, according to the satellites, would only serve to make them worse subjects.

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[8] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 103

[9] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 ff. 146-7

[10] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 50

As for real bandits or thieves, they are the confederates of the satellites, and the latter never give them up to the mandarin unless they are absolutely forced to.

In the big cities, the satellites always have some trusty rascals in hand, paid by the police to be delivered to the courts when the people lose patience, and when the mandarins are more threatening than usual. Before detaining them, a few relatively minor charges are arranged, which are registered by the satellites and confessed by the accused. A profound silence is maintained in relation to grave offences, and it is rare for the truly guilty to suffer the just punishment for their crimes. Besides, the government turns a blind eye to many notorious thieves in order to avail itself, in case of need, of unofficial accomplices who are as unscrupulous as they are determined. In the capital[11], there is a band of rascals that is more or less known to the authorities, and whose felonies go unpunished. If the owner of the stolen property can get his complaint to the mandarin, his goods are generally returned to him in the three days that follow the theft. After the three days have passed, however, the thieves become the owners of all the goods that are not reclaimed and sell them to fences at a low price. In many villages, there are thieves who are well known to the inhabitants and protected by them from the investigations of the mandarin's agents. Perhaps they sometimes act this way out of misguided commiseration, but, more often, it is out of fear of the revenge that these bandits or their associates might take on those who give them up.

One may easily deduce from the preceding story how difficult it is in Korea to obtain justice when one has nothing except one's own good cause, without money or protection. In theory, everyone may freely take his case to the mandarin; in fact, access to the tribunal is so well guarded by the praetorians or satellites that is necessary to go through them, for good or ill, and if one succeeds in putting one's petition directly in the mandarin's hands, one gains nothing by it because it would set the all-powerful influence of the lower officials against one. In addition, one ordinarily has recourse to the officers of the court first, and if the case is important, they will take confer, analyze what should be made known, what should be hidden, what can be admitted without trouble, what must be denied and finally in what manner and from what point of view the case should be presented to the judge. Then, for the consideration of a generous sum, they will take responsibility for the success of the trial. Very few mandarins have the courage to resist the influence of the praetorians or the shrewdness to foil their intrigues.

Another cause of injustice in Korean courts is the interference of great personages[12]. The families of ministers, the wives of the king, the great dignitaries, etc., have a crowd of servitors or followers who attach themselves to their service for free, and sometimes even for money, in order to obtain their protection. These individuals, in exchange for a salary, turn themselves into middlemen in a thousand affairs and obtain letters of recommendation from their masters that they present to the mandarin. The latter never dares to resist, and a cause supported in this matter, unjust though it may be, is won by main force. It is customary today that a creditor who cannot collect from a debtor need only promise half the sum to some powerful personage. He presents a letter from the latter to the mandarin, who, without checking whether the claim is well-founded or not, condemns the debtor and forces him to pay up. A mandarin who hesitated to comply in such a case would make an implacable, highly placed enemy for himself, and would certainly lose his position.

In Korea, as it was once in every country of the world, and as it still is in all the countries that are not Christian, the principal means of investigation in a criminal trial is torture. There are several types, and several degrees, but the most terrible of all is precisely that which is not mentioned among those authorized by law, which is to say a stay – whether short or long[13] – in one of the prisons. These prisons generally consist of an enclosure surrounded by high walls, against which lean wooden shanties. The open space in the middle forms a kind of courtyard. Each shanty has only a very small door for an opening, where light scarcely penetrates. The cold in winter and the heat in summer are intolerable. The floor is

[11] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 51

[12] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 107

[13] The penal code specified that imprisonment should not last more than a month, but this was largely ignored.

covered with mats woven from rough straw. "Our Christians," writes Bishop Daveluy[14] speaking of the great persecution of 1839, "were crammed into these prisons, to the point that they could not stretch out their limbs to sleep. They declared to me unanimously that the torments of interrogation were nothing compared to the suffering of that horrible incarceration. The blood and pus that seeped from their wounds soon soaked their mats. Infection became inevitable and a pestilential sickness carried off several of them every day. But hunger, and even more so thirst, were the most terrible torment of all, and many of those who had courageously professed their faith during the other tortures, were vanquished by this one. Twice a day they were given a little bowl of millet, no more than a handful. They were reduced to devouring the rotten straw that they were lying on, and finally, horrible to relate, they ate the vermin that infested the prison to such a degree that they could be seized by the handful." It would be fair to remark that Bishop Daveluy is speaking here of the prisons as they are for Christians in times of persecution, and it would be an exaggeration to apply his words to all Korean prisons, at all times. Nevertheless, one undoubted fact is that all accused criminals, pagans as well as Christians, dread imprisonment more than torture.

These tortures, however, are an appalling thing. King Yeongjo, who died in 1776, abolished a great number of them, among them knee crushing, the application of red-hot irons to various parts of the body, the dislocation of the shinbones at the top of the calf, etc. He also forbade the branding of thieves on the forehead. During the persecutions, particularly in 1839, the satellites, left to themselves, employed a number of the prohibited tortures against the Christians. In any case, there are plenty of others authorized by law and by the daily use of the tribunals.

Here are the principal ones:

1. The club (*chidogon* 治盜棍). The victim is made to lie down on the ground on his stomach, and a strong man takes up a club of very hard oak, which he uses to strike with great force on the legs, below the hamstrings. This club is four or five feet long, six or seven inches wide, an inch and a half thick, and one of its extremities is whittled to serve as a handle. After a few blows, blood spurts out and bits of flesh fly off, and after the tenth or twelfth blow, the club resounds against bare bones. Several Christians received up to sixty blows during a single interrogation.

2. The ruler, the rods and the cudgels (*hyeongjang* 荊杖). The ruler is a three-foot-long piece of wood, two inches wide, just a few lines thick, which is used to hit the victim on the front of the leg. The usual number of blows is fixed at thirty per session of interrogation, and since the executioner must break the ruler at each blow, there are always thirty prepared for each of the accused. The rods, three or four, are twisted together and make a kind of rope used to flog the victim, stripped naked, on every limb. The cudgels are the height of a man and thicker than an arm. Four assailants surround the accused, all striking him at once on the hips and thighs.

3. The dislocation and bending of the bones (*juri-jil*). There are three distinct kinds. The gawijuri consists of tying together the two knees and the big toes of the two feet, and placing in the empty space two sticks, which are pulled in opposite directions until the bones bend into the shape of an arc, after which they are allowed to return slowly to their natural position. The *juljuri* differs from the preceding in that first the toes of the two feet are tied together, a big piece of wood is placed between the legs, and two men pull in opposite directions on ropes attached to the knees until little by little they touch. The *paljuri* is the dislocation of the arms. They are attached behind the back, one against the other just above the elbows; then, with two thick sticks employed as levers, the shoulders are forced closer together. Afterwards, the executioner unties the arms, and, placing a foot on the victim's chest, pulls them forward to put the bones back into place. When the torturers are skillful, they know how to manoeuvre the bones

[14] The source of this entire section is not Daveluy but Bishop Ferréol's *Actes de quelques martyrs coréens durant la persécution de* 1839 (MEP Archives Volume 577 ff 838-842.)

in a manner that only bends them, but if they are inexperienced novices, the bones break at the first blow, and the marrow runs out along with the blood.

4. The suspension (*hakchum*). All the victim's clothes are stripped off, his hands are tied behind his back, and he is suspended in the air by his arms; then four men step forward to beat him in turn with blows of the knout. After several minutes, the foam-covered tongue hangs out of the victim's mouth, his face takes on a dark violet color, and death follows immediately unless he is taken down in order to let him rest for a few minutes, after which they begin again. The *jujangjil* 朱杖 is another type of suspension in which the victim, kneeling on shards of broken pottery, is hung by the hair from above while satellites placed on either side of him beat his legs with sticks.

5. The *topjil* or sawing of the legs. A horsehair rope is looped around the thigh, and two men, each grasping one end of the rope, alternately pull and release until it tears through the flesh and reaches the bone. At other times, the sawing is done with a triangular wooden frame on the legs.

6. The *sammojang* 三모杖, or incisions made with an axe or hatchet that take off slices of flesh, etc., etc.

The long and cruel application of these diverse tortures is left wholly to the caprice of the judges, who often, especially when it comes to Christians imprisoned for their religion, deliver themselves to an excess of wrath, and invent such refinements of barbarism as to make Nature tremble. It is rare that a victim is able even to crawl after an interrogation followed by such tortures; the torturers push him onto two poles, and carry him, arms and legs dangling, back to prison. When an accused person is thought to be guilty, and despite torture refuses to confess his wrongdoing, the presiding judge pronounces the death sentence, and from that moment it is forbidden to torture him further. The law requires that the condemned, before submitting to the sentence, sign it with his own hand in recognition of the justice of the punishment that is to be inflicted on him. The martyrs often refused to sign because the official formula of the indictment contained these words, or other, similar ones: guilty of having followed a false religion, a new and odious superstition, etc. "Our religion is the only true one," they said, "we cannot say that it is false." In such cases, their hands were seized and made to sign by force.

When the one condemned to death is a great dignitary, the sentence is carried out in secret, by poison. Generally, the victim is ushered into an extraordinarily overheated room, a strong dose of arsenic is administered, and he dies within a very short time.

There are three kinds of public executions[15].

The first is the military execution, called *gunmun-hyo* 軍門梟. It is carried out at a special location, at Saenamteo[16], 10 leagues from the capital. This place is also called Nodeul, after the name of the nearby village on the riverbank. The condemned is carried there in a litter of straw. The execution must be presided over by the commanding officer of one of the great military establishments of the capital. The troops begin by performing a series of manoeuvres and tactical evolutions around the victim; then his face is covered with lime, his hands are tied behind his back, a stick is passed under his arms and shoulders, and he is paraded several times around the site of the execution. Subsequently, a flag is raised and the sentence is read out along with all the grounds for it. Finally, an arrow or dart, the head pointing upwards, is passed through each folded ear; the victim is then stripped to the waist, and the soldiers, dancing and gesticulating around him, sword in hand, strike off his head.

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[15] Daveluy Archive Vol 5 ff. 188-190

[16] *Saenamteo* was a stretch of open ground beside the Han River also used for military manoeuvres, more or less where the railway line now passes over the river beyond Yongsan. Executions there were exeptional events, reserved for high-class traitors and foreigners. Fr. Zhou Wen-mo, Fr. Kim Dae-geon and most of the French missionaries were executed here.

The second kind of public execution is that of ordinary criminals. It takes place outside the Small West Gate[17]. At the appointed hour, a cart with a cross six feet or six and a half feet high on it is drawn up in front of the prison. The executioner goes into the dungeon, heaves the condemned onto his shoulders, and takes him out to be hung on the cross by his arms and hair with his feet resting on stool. When the procession arrives at the West Gate, where there is a steep slope, the executioner surreptitiously removes the stool, and the driver whips the bullocks, which then quicken their gait downhill. As the road is bumpy and full of stones, the cart lurches violently, and the victim, now hanging only by his arms and hair, is tossed from left to right, which makes him suffer terribly. Once arrived at the place of execution, he is stripped of his clothes, the executioner makes him kneel, places a block under his chin, and cuts off his head. According to the law, a general is supposed to accompany the procession, but it is rare for him to appear at the execution ground. Sometimes, when there is a dangerous criminal or when orders from the court press the matter, the execution takes place inside the city near the West Gate[18].

For rebels and those guilty of lèse-majesté, there is a third type of public execution. Everything proceeds as we have just said, but after the head is separated from the trunk, the four limbs are cut off, which, together with the head and the trunk, make six pieces. In earlier times, the axe and the sword were not used to separate the limbs; rather, they were attached to four bullocks, which, driven in opposite directions, quartered the body.

The military execution is only carried out at the capital, but the other two are also carried out in the provinces, with the difference that the victims are taken to the place of execution without cart or cross.

The corpses of the victims are usually given to their families, and when several are executed at once, metal placards or other signs are fastened to the bodies so that they may be recognized. Sometimes they are buried secretly, in an unmarked grave in remote locations, making them impossible to find. As for the big criminals, whose bodies are cut into six pieces, the custom is to send the limbs to different provinces to frighten the people and discourage conspiracies. Some vile satellites parade these hideous remains on the highways, and take money from all those that they encounter. No one dares to refuse them since they are traveling in the king's name and on his business. Bishop Ferréol recounts[19] that, during the persecution of 1839, the satellites guarded the martyrs' corpses for three days in order to prevent the Christians from retrieving them. Afterwards, beggars stole them, tied ropes under the arms, and dragged them past all the houses of the village. The horrified inhabitants hastened to give them money in order to be relieved of the appalling spectacle sooner. Later, not able to withstand it any longer, they begged the mandarin to designate another place of execution for Christians.

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[17] Seosomun 西小門 Small West Gate lay to the south of the main West Gate of Seoul. The open land outside it was used as a marketplace and as the execution ground for common criminals. Many Korean Catholic martyrs were beheaded there.

[18] There is no record of such an execution ground.

[19] Bishop Ferréol (1808-1853) was already serving in Manchuria when he was appointed the third Apostolic Vicar for Korean in 1843. He entered Korea with Fr. Daveluy and Fr. Kim Dae-geon by ship in 1845. He died a natural death in 1853 and was succeeded by Bishop Berneux. He translated the Korean accounts of those executed in the 1839 persecution as *Actes de quelques martyrs coréens durant la persécution de* 1839.

VI. Public Examinations – Degrees and Offices – Special Schools

Everyone knows that in China there is legally no aristocracy other than that of the literati. In no other country does one profess such a great admiration for knowledge, and hold in such high esteem the men who possess it. Study is the only road to office, and study is accessible to all. Under the present dynasty, it is true, the Manchu alone occupy nearly all the military offices of the empire, and the military mandarinates of the highest order are reserved to those of that line who have a hereditary title of nobility. The Manchu emperors wanted thus to counter balance the influence of the Chinese office holders. However, it is the only exception. To have access to the highest offices of the civil service, to obtain positions, places, and favours, it is necessary and sufficient to have passed the public examinations. Neither the origins nor the fortune of one who has thus given proof of his learning are enquired after. Only those who have exercised a profession considered ignominious are excluded. In theory, any individual, as poor and humble as he may be, can, if he has scaled the heights of the highest literary degrees, become the first mandarin of the empire; however, he who fails the examinations, whether he be the son of a minister or a merchant who is a millionaire ten times over, is legally incapable of exercising any public function. No doubt this fundamental law is very often evaded in practice, but all espouse it, and is the basis of the administrative organization of the Celestial Empire.

Korea having been for several centuries the humble vassal of China, and having never had relations with any other people[1], it is easily understood what a powerful influence the Chinese religion, civilization, ideas and morals exercise there. We also find in Korea the same respect for knowledge, the same enthusiastic veneration of the great philosophers, and, at least in theory, the same system of literary examinations for positions and offices. First-rate scholars are considered the tutors of the entire people, and are consulted on all the most difficult matters. The highest offices are at their disposal, and if they renounce them, their credit is only greater, and their influence with the king and the ministers the more real. When Christianity was introduced into Korea, the majority of the converts were famous scholars[2], and King Jeongjo 正祖 had such a high opinion of them that despite all the intrigues of their political and religious enemies, he could never bring himself to sacrifice them. It was only after his death in 1800, and during the subsequent minority of his successor, that they could be condemned to death. It is not uncommon even now to meet pagans led to the faith by the literary and scientific renown of those early converts.

Nevertheless, there are two notable differences between China and Korea on the subject of literary studies and the public examinations. The first is that in Korea these studies have nothing national about them. The books that are read are Chinese; the language that is studied is not Korean, but Chinese; the history that is learned is that of China, to the exclusion of Korean history; the philosophical systems that find adherents are Chinese, and it follows naturally that, a copy being always inferior to the original, Korean scholars are far from being the equals of Chinese scholars[3].

Another much more important difference is that while China is an egalitarian democracy[4] under an absolute ruler, there is in Korea a numerous nobility, excessively jealous of its privilege and well-

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[1] Dallet simply had no access to accurate information about Korea's relationships with its neighbors.

[2] Such as Gwon Cheol-sin, the three Jeong brothers, in particular Jeong Yak-yong Dasan, and at the very beginning Yi Byeok.

[3] Dallet is excessively negative. There were many exchanges between Korean and Chinese scholars on a basis of mutual respect and admiration. One celebrated example is the reputation enjoyed in China by Wandang Kim Jeong-hui 阮堂金正喜. Also, in the case of Lee Su-gwang 李粹光, his poetry and prose were admired not only by the scholars of the Qing Dynasty but also by the natives of Vietnam.

[4] Dallet here seems to have been influenced by things he read in Duhalde.

placed to preserve it, between the king and the people. The examination system in China arises naturally from the social conditions; in Korea, on the other hand, it is repugnant to them. In addition, in its implementation, we see what always happens in such cases, namely a kind of compromise between contrary influences. In principle, and according to the letter of the law[5], any Korean can compete in the examinations, and, if he obtains the requisite literary degrees, be promoted to the public service. In fact, hardly anyone outside the nobility presents himself, and he whose licentiate or doctorate[6] is not coupled with a noble title will only with difficulty obtain some insignificant post without any hope of advancement. It is unheard of that a Korean, even a noble, should be named to an important mandarinate without having received a diploma of higher education, but it is even more unheard of that a non-noble Korean with every possible diploma should be honored with any high military or administrative office[7].

The examinations[8] that take place in each of the provinces are of no use except to obtain minor prefectural posts. Those who aim to rise higher must, after having passed this first test, come to take another examination in the capital[9]. No academic certification is required; everyone studies where he wishes, as he wishes, under whichever master he pleases. The examinations are held in the government's name, and the examiners are appointed by the minister, whether for the literary examinations proper which open the door to the civil service, or for the military examinations.

This is how things usually transpire[10]. Once a year, at a fixed time, all the provincial students take the road for the capital. Those from the same city or district travel together, almost always on foot, in larger or smaller bands. As they are ostensibly convoked by the king, their insolence knows no bounds. They commit every kind of excess with impunity, and treat the innkeepers of the villages as subject peoples, to the point that their passage is dreaded as much as that of the mandarins and satellites. Once arrived in the capital, they disperse and each finds lodging where he can.

When the day of the contest comes, the first priority is to install oneself in the designated cell, which is as narrow and badly laid out as possible. As a result, from the previous evening, each candidate makes some provisions, takes with him one or two servants if he has some, and hurries to take his place. The frightful tumult that results during the night, with several thousand young men in that tight and unclean space, can be imagined. A few dedicated workers, it is said, continue to study and to prepare their answers; others try to sleep; the greater number eat, drink, smoke, sing, shout, gesticulate, rough house, and make an abominable racket.

The examination over[11], those who obtained degrees put on the uniform corresponding to their new title, then, on horseback, accompanied by musicians, they call on the principal officers of the state, their sponsors, the examiners, etc. Once this first ceremony is finished, there is another that, without being prescribed by law, is nevertheless absolutely necessary if one wishes to be recognized by the nobility, and later to hold public office. It is a kind of ridiculous initiation that recalls the grotesque scenes of the ceremony of ducking in crossing the line at sea, of which one still finds the analogue in the most famous schools and universities of Europe. One of the relatives or friends of the new graduate, himself a

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[5] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 33

[6] Licenciate *haksa* 學士 refers to those who have passed the first exam, *sogwa* 小科, and gained the title *jinsa* 進士; doctorate *baksa* 博士 refers to students who have passed the highest level of the *gwageo* state exam, *daegwa geupje* 大科及弟者.

[7] However, there was also the *eumsa* 陰仕, an appointment system that did not involve passing the *gwageo* 科擧. However, this was only accessible to the descendants of *jeongipum 2* (正二 (=2)品) or higher officials, and although those accepted might be promoted to *chamsang-gwan* 參上官 or higher (正六 (= 6)品) they were subject to restrictions.

[8] Exams known as *hyangsi* 鄕試.

[9] The exam known as *sogwa* 小科.

[10] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 35

[11] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 36

doctor, and belonging to the same political party, serves as godfather and presides over the ceremony. On the designated day, the young bachelor or doctor presents himself before his godfather, greets him, takes a few steps backwards, and sits down. The godfather, with all the requisite gravity, paints his face, first with ink, then with flour. Each of the attendees takes a turn performing the same operation. All the graduate's friends and acquaintances have the right to attend, and none would miss such an occasion. The crux of the joke is to let the victim believe several times that there is no one else to torture him, and when he has washed, scraped and cleaned himself for the tenth or fifteenth time, to usher in new personages to begin his torture again. During all this time, those who come and go eat, drink and enjoy themselves at the expense of their victim, and if he does not comport himself generously, he is tied up, hit and even hung upside down in order to force him to loosen his purse strings. It is only after this vulgar farce that his literary title is validated in society.

The degrees that are obtained in the public competitions are three in number: *chosi*[12] 初試, *jinsa*[13] 進士, and *geupje*[14] 及第, which might be compared to our bachelor's, master's and doctor's university degrees, with the difference that they are not sequential and one may earn the highest without first passing through the others. There are doctors (*geupje* 及第) who do not have the master's degree (*jinsa* 進士), and a master's degree holder has no advantage over another individual in obtaining the doctoral diploma. As everywhere else, the examination includes a written composition and oral responses. The diplomas are awarded in the king's name, that of the *jinsa* on white paper, and that of *geup-je* on red paper ornamented with floral garlands[15].

The *jinsa*, according to law and custom[16], are destined first and foremost to fill administrative posts in the provinces. A few years after their selection, they are made ordinary district mandarins[17], royal tomb guardians, etc., but they cannot aspire to the highest offices of the state. The *geupje* have a position apart. They are tied to the state, and immediately begin to fulfill, step by step and in turn, responsibilities in the palace and in the higher administrative functions of the capital. They are frequently sent to the provinces as governors or mandarins of the big cities, but only temporarily for a few years. Their place is in the capital, in the ministries and about the king.

The military examinations[18] are very different from the literary examinations properly speaking. Nobles of illustrious family never present themselves, and if by chance one among them wishes to take up a military career, he finds a way to obtain a diploma without going through the formality of the public competitions. Poor nobles and commoners are the only aspirants. The examination has mainly to do with archery and other martial arts; an insignificant literary composition is added to it. There is only one degree, called *geupje*[19]. He who obtains it can, if he is noble and if he also has sponsors, aspire to all the ranks of the army; if he is not noble, he is usually left with just the one title. At most, a measly, low-ranking officer's commission will be offered to him after years of waiting.

For the rest, whatever may have been the value of the examinations and the public competitions in earlier times, it is certain that today the institution is in a state of full decadence[20].

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[12] This refers to the local first examinations conducted in each province, the Hanseong exams conducted in the capital, and official examinations conducted in the Seonggyungwan. All first examinations were conducted in the autumn.

[13] This refers to those who have passed the jinsa exam in the *sogwa* 小科 or *saengjingwa* 生進科. The *jinsa* 進士 was granted the right to enter the Seonggyungwan 成均館 or to be hired as a low-level official.

[14] This refers to those who have passed the *mungwa* 文科 or main examination *daegwa* 大科.

[15] Known as the *hongpae* 紅牌 "red card".

[16] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 33

[17] For example: *chalbang* 察訪, *hyeongam* 縣監, and *gyosu* 教授.

[18] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 34

[19] Those who passed the military examination *mugwa* 武科 were called *seondal* 先達.

[20] Many of the Silhak scholars proposed reforms to correct this problem.

Diplomas are now awarded not to the most learned and capable, but to the richest and those who are supported by the most powerful sponsors. King Gyeongjong (景宗 1720–1724) began the sale of literary degrees, as well as offices and titles, and since then the ministers have continued this trafficking to their profit. This practice was once protested and resisted, but today it prevails and no one objects[21]. With everyone's knowledge, young men who take part in the annual contest buy ready-made compositions from mercenary literati, and it is not unheard of that the list of future master's and doctoral degree laureates is known even before the examinations have started. Literary studies are abandoned, most of the mandarins hardly know how to read and write Chinese, which still remains the official language, and the truly learned are falling into a more and more profound state of discouragement.

The study of the exact sciences, linguistics, the fine arts, etc., is far from being as prestigious as the study of literature and philosophy. Few of the learned nobles turn their hand to it, and when they do it is purely out of curiosity. This type of study is the almost exclusive purview of a certain number of families who make up a separate class in Korea, which, being in the service of the king and the ministers, has special privileges and enjoys a good deal of consideration in the country. It is frequently called jungin 中人 the 'middle' class[22], given its intermediate position between the nobility and the common people. The individuals of this class ordinarily marry amongst themselves, and pass their jobs to their offspring from generation to generation. Like the nobles, they can be demoted or promoted. They are exempt from the poll tax and military service; they have the right to wear the cap of the nobles[23], and the latter treat them with a semblance of equality. They are expected to pursue a certain course of study, and undergo special examinations[24] to obtain various qualifications as interpreters, physicians, astronomers, etc., and once they are received into a particular field, they cannot change to any other. Before their qualifications are conferred, inquiries are made, as for the nobles, into their background and family history. Their appointments are decided by the relevant minister, assisted by two other dignitaries. Like all other Koreans, they have the right to compete in the public examinations, both civil and military, and if they succeed, they can be appointed to mandarinates up to the rank of *mok-sa* and *bu-sa* inclusively, but not higher. Most of the *pyeoljang*[25] (別將 minor military mandarins or sub-lieutenants), *cheomsa*[26] (僉使 maritime sub-prefects), and *bijang* (裨將 secretaries of governors and other high-ranking mandarins) belong to the *jungin* middle class.

The functions exclusively filled by the members of this class are attached to eight establishments or departments[27].

1. The corps of interpreters *sayeok-won* 司譯院. This is the first and most important, and the most sought after. Their studies focus on four languages: Chinese (Han-hak 漢學), Manchu (Yeojin-hak 女眞學), Mongolian (Mong-hak 蒙學) and Japanese (Oehak 倭學); when they have received their diploma in one of these languages, they cannot attempt another. There is always a certain number of interpreters with the embassy to China. For the Japanese embassy, which has long since lost any importance, it is an interpreter who himself fills the office of ambassador. In addition, another interpreter,

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[21] In fact, discussion of the problem continued throughout the later 18th and 19th centuries.

[22] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 26

[23] Actually, the hat called 'gat' worn by the 2 classes differed slightly in the size of the brim.

[24] Known as *japgwa* 雜科, in which there were various sections: translation, medicine, law and geomancy.

[25] The *pyeoljang* with high positions in the capital garrison etc. were not *jungin* but *jeongsampum* (正三 (=3)品) or *jongipum* (從二 (=2)品) high-ranking officials. Dallet is referring to those with lesser responsibilies in hill fortresses, by waterways or on islands.

[26] *Cheomsa* 僉使 is an abbreviation of *cheomjeoljesa* 僉節制使, third-ranking officials attached to land-based or naval barracks. They were *yangban*, not *jungin*.

[27] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 27

who has the title of *hundo* 訓導, resides continuously in Dongnae, in the vicinity of the Japanese concession of Fusan-gae, for the sake of the habitual relations between the two peoples.

2. The *Gwansang-gam* 觀象監, or School of Sciences, subdivided into three branches, where astronomy, geomancy and the art of determining auspicious dates are studied separately. This school is only for the service of the king.

3. The *Uisa* 醫司 or School of Medicine. There are two subdivisions depending on whether the students are destined to serve the palace or the public. In fact, however, physicians from either division are admitted to the palace equally and appointed to official positions.

4. The *Saja-gwan* 寫字官 or School of Records, of which the students are employed in the keeping of the archives, and the preparation of the official reports that the government sends to Peking.

5. The *Dohwa-seo* 圖畫署 or School of Graphic Arts, for maps and especially for royal portraiture.

6. The *Yulhak* 律學 or School of Law. This establishment is annexed to the criminal court. The penal code is studied above all, and its graduates serve on certain tribunals advising judges on the precise penalties required by the law in this or that case, according to the conclusions of the trial.

7. The *Gyesa* 計士 or School of Accounting, from which come the clerks of the Ministry of Finance. Other than the usual accounting of receipts and expenses, they are charged with evaluating the costs of the various public works, and sometimes even with presiding over their execution.

8. The *Heumgyeong-gak*[28] 欽敬閣 or School of the Clock. It is there that the directors and supervisors of the government's clock, the only one in Korea, are trained. This clock is a hydraulic machine that measures time by letting drops of water fall at regular intervals.

The palace musicians are also often counted among the middle class, but barely so. These musicians make up a group apart, and of a slightly inferior status.

[28] Heumgyeonggak 欽敬閣 was the name given to the water-clock invented in 1438, there was no such school.

VII The Korean Language[1]

All the examinations of which we have just spoken are taken in Chinese, and have for their sole topic Chinese characters and literature. Only Chinese literature and sciences are taught in the eight great government schools, while the national language is neglected and disdained. This strange fact is explained by the country's history. For more than two centuries, Korea has been such a loyal vassal to China that Chinese has become the official language of the government and the Korean ruling class. All the bureaucrats must write their reports in Chinese. The annals of the king and the kingdom[2], proclamations, mandarins' edicts, legal judgements, academic texts, inscriptions on monuments, correspondence, registries and merchants' account books, shops' signs, etc., all are in the Chinese script.

In addition, not only literate and educated people, but a large number of the common people know how to read this script. They are taught by their families and in schools, and one can say especially for the children of the aristocracy that it is their only object of study. There are no Korean dictionaries, so that if one wishes to understand a Korean word of which one does not know the meaning, it is necessary to know the corresponding Chinese character, or to consult someone who knows it. In China, the books in which children begin to learn the characters are printed in very large type, much like our primers. Most often, study begins with the *Cheonja-mun* 千字文 the Book of a Thousand Characters[3], which dates from the time of the emperors of Jin 晉 and Han 漢. In Korea, the same book is used, only under each Chinese character is found: to the right, its Korean pronunciation; to the left, the corresponding Korean word. Plate I, opposite, is a reproduction of the first page of the Tchouen-ly[4], such as it used in Korean primary schools.

The manner in which the Koreans pronounce Chinese makes it, so to speak, a separate language. For that matter, we know that even in China the inhabitants of different provinces have very different ways of speaking their language. The characters are the same and have the same meaning for all, but their pronunciation varies so much that the people of Fokien, for example, or Canton, are not understood in other provinces. There is no occasion for surprise, then, that the Chinese of the Koreans would be incomprehensible to the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, and that the two peoples can usually only communicate in writing by drawing the characters on paper with a brush, or in the palm of the hand with a finger.

Before the Chinese conquest led to the current state of things, did the Koreans have a national literature? And what was that literature? The question is difficult to answer[5] because the old Korean books, having fallen into almost complete oblivion, have almost all disappeared. During the long years of his apostolate, Bishop Daveluy succeeded in collecting a few very curious examples, which perished in a fire. Today, only a few new books are being written. Some novels, a few anthologies of poetry, and stories for children and women are just about all there is.

Children learn to read Korean, in spite of themselves so to speak, by the translations that are given in the elementary books in which they study Chinese. However, they only recognize the syllables out of habit because they do not know how to spell or how to deconstruct the syllables into separate letters. Women and people of low station who do not have the time or the means to learn Chinese

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[1] In this section, the Korean words transliterated in Dallet's French text are usually given in Hangeul and in the modern romanization. The archaic characters of the Hangeul used in Dallet's time are difficult to reproduce using modern computer fonts.

[2] For example, the *Joseon Wangjo Sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* or the *Gukjo Bogam* 國朝寶監.

[3] Composed by Xingsi Zhou (周興嗣, 469-521) of the Chinese Lyang 梁 dynasty.

[4] It is not clear what the term *Tchoùen-ly* used by Dallet derives from, it should be *Cheonja-mun* 千字文.

[5] Dallet and his sources clearly knew virtually nothing about the history of literature in Korea.

characters are forced to study Korean letters; they use them for their correspondence, their account books, etc. All the religious books printed by the missionaries are in Korean characters. Similarly, almost all the converts know how to read and write their language in phonetic letters, which children learn very rapidly.

The scarcity of Korean books, the little interest that the literati take in their national language, and above all the barbaric legislation that bars access to the country to all foreigners on pain of death are the cause of the Korean language being completely unknown to Orientalists. For almost forty years, there have been French missionaries in Korea. Only they, of all the Earth's people, have lived in the country, and spoken and written this language for long years. Nevertheless, it is strange to relate that no researcher has ever thought of consulting them in order to obtain the precise information that only they could communicate to him[6]. It is not part of our plan here to give a detailed grammar of this language, but since it is absolutely unknown in Europe, a few explanations might interest the reader due to the novelty of the subject, and would be of some use to the professional scholar. We will see in the course of this history that the missionaries devoted themselves with some ardor to the study of Korean. Bishop Daveluy worked for a long time on a Chinese-Korean-French dictionary; Fr. Pourthié compiled a Korean-Chinese-Latin one; Fr. Petitnicolas made a Latin-Korean dictionary that includes more than thirty thousand Latin words and nearly a hundred thousand Korean ones. These various dictionaries, as well as a grammar written by committee, had been completed and were being copied at the college in order to conserve a copy of each one at the mission while another one would be sent to France to be printed there, when the persecution of 1866 broke out. Everything was seized and consigned to the flames. Since then, Bishop Ridel, vicar apostolic of Korea, and his new colleagues, have reconstituted in part the work of their martyred predecessors, and prepared, with the help of some well-educated native converts, a Korean grammar and a dictionary of the Korean language. These works will soon be published if circumstances permit[7].

Korean Alphabet

Vowels
Form + Romanization RR 2000

ㅏ a

ㅑ ya

ㅓ eo

ㅕ yeo

ㅗ o

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[6] Dallet, of course, knew nothing about the Korean language. On January 6 1870 Fr. Féron wrote to Dallet saying that he had heard that Fr. Guerrin had sent him a copy of Bishop Ridel's Korean Grammar and expressing concern because of doubts as to the quality of Ridel's knowledge of Korean, which he considered "very suspect". Ridel had only arrived in Korea in 1861 and had little time in which to master the language. Féron offered to help since he had been preparing a similar text and asked him to send him what he had. On January 28 he wrote again, stressing the need for Dallet to be careful. In February 1870 Fr. Féron was still waiting for Dallet to send him Ridel's text, eager to help prepare as accurate an analysis as possible. In March 1871 Bishop Ridel was hoping to meet Dallet in Paris very soon, before leaving for China. In August 1873 Fr. Calais wrote a short note to Dallet about the pronunciation of 'ㄹ' and referring to "the grammar prepared by these two gentlemen" which suggests that Féron had been able to help improve Ridel's text for use by Dallet. In June 1874 Bishop Ridel wrote to Dallet about his Grammar and Dictionary, which Dallet had offered to have published, making no link with the text found in Dallet's Introduction. The letters thus preserved in MEP Archive Volume 579 do not tell us how Dallet's text was finally composed.

[7] *Dictionnaire coréen-francais* (Yokohama, 1880); *Grammaire coréenne* (Yokohama, 1881). These books and the summary of the Korean language which follows below are assumed to be mainly the work of Félix Clair Ridel, who entered Korea as a missionary in 1861, escaped to China during the 1866 persecution, was appointed Apostolic Vicar of Korea in 1869, managed to enter Korea late in 1877 but was expelled in 1878 and finally died in France in1884 after a long illness.

ㅛ yo

ㅜ u

ㅠ yu

ㅡ eu

ㅣ i

ㆍ ă

Diphthongs
Form Composition Romanization 2000

ㅐ a + i ae

ㅔ eo + i e

ㅖ yeo + i ye

ㅘ o + a wa

ㅚ o + i oi

ㅝ u + eo w(e)o

ㅞ u + o + i ouei

ㅟ u + i oi wi

ㅢ eu + ui

Consonants
Form Romanization 2000

ㄱ k, initial g
ㄴ n
ㄷ d t
ㄹ l, r
ㅁ m
ㅂ b / p
ㅅ s / t
ㅇ ng (nasal)
ㅈ j
ㅊ ch
ㅋ k
ㅌ t
ㅍ p
ㅎ h

Special signs

1. ㅇ which is also written ㅿ. This sign, which is not pronounced, is used only to designate the vowel that begins a syllable or word. It is distinguished from the final consonant by the place it occupies. ㅇ, nasal ng, is always placed under the vowel it accompanies; example: 앙, ang; 옹, ong; 웅, eung, etc... The initial sign ㅇ, on the other hand, is placed to the left of horizontal vowels.

Ex: 아, a; 어, eo 오, o; 우, u; 으, eu.

Observations

The four consonants ㄱ, ㄷ, ㅅ, ㅂ, are sometimes repeated to produce a drier, more incisive sound. This renewal is indicated; either by writing them twice: ㄲ, ㄸ, ㅆ, ㅃ; or by preceding them with the letter ㅅ: ㅅㄱ, ㅅㄷ , ㅅㅂ.

Euphony requires various pronunciation changes:

ㄱ before ㄴ is pronounced ng.

ㄴ before ㄹ is pronounced l.

ㄹ between two vowels is pronounced r. At the beginning of words, it is pronounced n.

ㅅ before ㅁ is pronounced n; before ㄷ, is pronounced t; at the end of syllables or words, always t.

ㄷ before vowels: ia, iŏ, io, iou, is pronounced ts or ch.

ㅇ, followed by an unaspirated vowel, is pronounced ng.

Lord’s Prayer: Dallet’s spelling

텬쥬경

하ᄂᆞᆯ에 게신 우리 아비신 져여
네 일홈의 거륵ᄒᆞ심이 나타나며
네 나라히 림ᄒᆞ시며,
네 거륵ᄒᆞ신 뜻이 하ᄂᆞᆯ에셔 일움갓치
따희셔 또ᄒᆞᆫ 일우여지이다
오ᄂᆞᆯ날 우리게 일용ᄒᆞᆯ 냥식을 주시고
우리 쇠ᄅᆞᆯ 면ᄒᆞ야주심을,
우리가 우리게 득죄ᄒᆞᆫ쟈ᄅᆞᆯ 면ᄒᆞ야 줌 갓치 ᄒᆞ시고
우리ᄅᆞᆯ 유감에 빠지지 말게 ᄒᆞ시고,
또한 우리ᄅᆞᆯ 흉악에서 구ᄒᆞ쇼셔. 아멘.

Ave Maria: Dallet’s spelling

셩모경

셩총을 ᄀᆞ득이닙우신 마리아여 네게 하례ᄒᆞ나이다
쥬 너와 ᄒᆞᆫ가지로 계시니, 녀인즁에 너 총복을 밧으시며,

네 복즁에 나신 예수이 또ᄒᆞᆫ 총복을 받아 계시도소이다.
텬쥬의 셩모 마리아ᄂᆞᆫ, 이제와 우리 죽울 때에
우리 죄인을 위ᄒᆞ야 비ᄅᆞ소셔, 아멘

§. 1. — Letters, Writing, Pronunciation.

Letters. — We see in the attached table that the Korean alphabet consists of twenty-five letters: eleven vowels and fourteen consonants.

Of the eleven vowels, seven are simple: ㅏ a, ㅓ eo, ㅗ o, ㅜ u, ㅡ eu, l i, ㆍ ă; the other four are palatalized, that is to say, preceded by the sound i, which is pronounced with the following vowel in a single voice emission: ㅑ ia, ㅕ ieo, ㅛ io, ㅠ iu. This modification of sound is indicated in writing by doubling the characteristic sign of the vowel.

There are nine simple consonants: ㄱ g/k, ㄴn, ㄷd/t, ㄹ l, ㅁ m, ㅂ b/p, ㅅ s, ㅇ ng, ㅈ j, and five aspirates: ㅊ ch, ㅋ k, ㅌ t, ㅍ p, ㅎ h. — The four consonants ㄱ g, ㄷ d, ㅅ s, ㅂ b, are sometimes doubled to indicate a drier, more incisive sound than that of the simple consonant.

The composition and value of diphthongs is shown in the table. We will only notice that in Korean the sound of ㅖ e (closed) or ㅐ ae (open) can only be written by a diphthong.

All vowels or diphthongs can start or end a syllable. All consonants except ㅇ ng can also begin a syllable, but only the first eight can end it, i.e. a syllable or a word can never end in ㅈ j or in one of the aspirated letters.

The sounds that are missing in Korean are: for the vowels, the French u, although the sound of one of the diphthongs is a little close to it; for consonants: b, g hard, f, v, j, ch, d, z. Sometimes ㄱ takes the hard g sound, ㅁ m and ㅂ p take the b sound, but Koreans cannot pronounce the other letters. Likewise, although they pronounce r very well between two vowels, they cannot pronounce this letter, neither at the beginning of a word, nor when it is joined immediately to another consonant: for pra, tra, etc., they will be forced to say pira, tura.

Writing. — Korean letters, like those of all languages, have two forms: the ordinary form which we have given in the table (pl. II), and which is used for printed books (pl. III), and the cursive form or that of current writing (pl. IV). Since printed books are first written by hand, before being transferred onto a block, it is not uncommon to encounter certain letters that move away from the first form and approach the second.

Each line is written from top to bottom, syllable by syllable, in a perpendicular column, starting on the right side of the page. The pagination is also counted from right to left, so that the end of a Korean book is where the beginning is for us. When a syllable begins with a vowel, this initial vowel is always preceded by the sign ㅇ. Vertical vowels are placed on the same line, to the right of the consonants that precede them; the vowels of horizontal form are placed below (pl. II). Thus we will write 가 ga, 겨 gyeo, 고 ($^{g}_{o}$ go), 규 ($^{g}_{iu}$ giu). If the syllable ends with a consonant, this consonant is always written below the preceding vowel: 압 ($^{a}_{p}$ ap), 각 ($^{ga}_{k}$ gak), 밭 ($^{ba}_{t}$ bat)…

— Korean could also be written on a horizontal line, from right to left, syllable by syllable, as seen, (Plate I), for Korean words of two syllables. But this system is never employed in a purely Korean book. Missionaries and Christians, to correspond with each other with security, write in horizontal lines. Even if their letters were intercepted, pagans, accustomed to reading from top to bottom, would see only a succession of incoherent syllables.

There are no punctuation marks in Korean: comma, period, colon, etc. We will see later how to compensate for this.

The abbreviative sign (pl. II) indicates that the superimposed syllable must be repeated. If it is written two or three times, it means that the two or three preceding syllables must be repeated.

Certain euphonic laws modify the sound of such and such a final before such and such an initial. Most often these changes are not written. Sometimes, however, they pass into writing. For example: the final l being almost always elided, in the pronunciation, in front of an initial consonant, it is not rare that one allows oneself to delete it while writing.

Pronunciation. — No written rule can teach the exact pronunciation of a foreign language. This axiom is especially true for the Korean language, because of the indeterminate vowels 어 eo, 으 eu, ㆍ ă, which represent all shades of sound, from our mute e, through closed eu (as in little), to open eu (as in in fear), up to the open o (as in or). These vowels are easily taken, in certain cases, for each other, and the Koreans themselves are mistaken.

There are short and long vowels and diphthongs. Use alone can make them recognizable, because no particular sign distinguishes them in writing.

The consonant ㅈ j (written by Dallet as tj, ts) has sometimes been transliterated as dj or tch. In fact, it has a middle value between these various pronunciations, and cannot be represented exactly by any one.

The consonants referred to in the table as aspirated should instead be called expirated. The correct term would be: spat consonants, because the sound that a Korean throat produces when pronouncing them resembles that of sputum.

For more details, see Plate II.

§ 2. — Grammar (Parts of Speech).

Nouns, declensions. — There are a very large number of monosyllabic nouns in Korean. Example: 코 ko, nose; 입 ip, mouth; 눈 nun, eye; 니 ni, tooth; 문 mun, gate; 갓 kat, hat; 벽 byeok, wall, etc. Most are two syllables. Examples: 사람 saram, man; 니마 ima, forehead; 사자 saja, lion; 기동 gidong, column, etc. — Those of three or more syllables are almost always compound nouns.

Chinese words abound in the Korean language. The people of the countryside use them very little, but the scholars, the inhabitants of the cities and especially those of the capital, use them profusely. These words follow the ordinary rules of Korean grammar.

Nouns have no gender. The difference of the sexes is indicated by different names; or we put the words: 수 su, male; 암 am, female, before the name of the species. The young of animals are designated, according to the species, by the words 새끼 saekki, 아지 aji, etc., added to the ordinary name.

The names of trades, professions, etc., are formed with the particle -군 gun which corresponds to the Latin ending -ator Ex.: 일 il, work, 일군 il-gun, worker; 나무 namu, wood; 나무군 namu-gun, lumberjack; 짐 jim, burden, 짐군 jim-gun, porter; 노룸 norum, game, 노룸군 norum-gun, gambler. Korean being one of the languages that are called agglutinative to distinguish them from inflected languages, has only one declension. It is made up of nine cases, or, if you will, of ten. Indeed, by a rather odd peculiarity, the nominative has a special ending which distinguishes it from the noun pure and simple. Here are the endings of the different cases:

Nominative:	−이 i,	the, the, quidam.
Instrumental:	-로 ro,	by, quo, quâ.
Genitive:	-의 ui,	of, of the.
Dative:	-에게 ege,	to.
Accusative:	-을 eul,	the.
Vocative:	-아 a,	Oh.

Locative:	-에 e,	in, on, in, ubi.
Ablative:	-에셔 eseo,	from, ex, ab, unde.
Determinative:	-은 eun,	as to.

These various cases are added to the radical of the noun in the following manner:

When the noun ends in a vowel, the euphonic letter ᄅ r is inserted before the accusative ending; before that of the vocative, the letter ᄋᆡ i; before that of the determinative, the letter ᄂ n, and this last case is then written năn[8] instead of neun는, the two sounds being almost identical.

Ex. :

	(modern form: 소 so)	(Dallet 쇼 sio,) Ox.
Nominative:	쇼ᄋᆡ sio-i,	the ox.
Instrumental:	쇼로 sio-ro,	by the ox.
Genitive:	쇼의 sio-ui,	of the ox
Dative:	쇼에게 sio-ege,	to the ox.
Accusative:	쇼를 sio-(r)-eul,	the ox.
Vocative:	쇼아 sio-(i)-a,	Oh ox.
Locative:	쇼에 sio-e,	in, on the ox.
Ablative:	쇼에서 sio-eseo,	from the ox.
Determinative:	쇼는 sio-neun	as to the ox.

Note. — 1º If the final vowel is ᄋᆡ i or one of the diphthongs formed by i, the ending of the nominative is not added, which, in this case, is only the noun pure and simple.

2º Often words ending in a insert between this ending and the case endings the euphonic consonant ᄒᆞ h. They then decline like words ending in a consonant, except for the vocative in which the h disappears, and the vocative becomes (i)-a, according to the ordinary rule.

3º Nouns ending in a vowel sometimes make their nominative by adding -가 ga instead of –ᄋᆡ i, the other cases remaining the same.

When the noun ends in a consonant other than ᄅ l, the euphonic letter ㅡ eu is inserted before the ending of the instrumental. Ex. :

	사람sarăm,	man.
Nominative:	사람ᄋᆡ sarăm-i,	the man.
Instrumental:	사람으로 sarăm-(eu)-ro,	by the man.
Genitive:	사람의 sarăm-ui,	of the man.
Dative:	사람에게 sarăm-ege,	to the man.
Accusative:	사람을 sarăm-eul,	the man.
Vocative:	사람아 sarăm-a,	Oh man.
Locative:	사람에 sarăm-e,	in, on the man.
Ablative:	사람에서 sarăm-eseo,	from the man.
Determinative:	사람은 sarăm-eun,	as for the man.

Note. — 1º Words ending in ㅇng sometimes insert a euphonic ᄒᆞ h before the case endings, except in the vocative. With euphonic ᄒᆞh, the dative is indifferently 혜게hege or 희게heuege, the ablative 헤져 heseo or 희져heuiseo.

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[8] Dallet uses ă to indicate the now-abandoned vowel ㆍ which cannot easily be represented using modern fonts.

2º The greatest number of words ending in ㅅ s and some ending in ㅂ p, insert a euphonic ㅅ s or ㅈ j before the endings of cases other than the vocative, which involves certain euphonic changes: inst. -로 (să)-ro, dat. 세게 (s)-ege, accusative. 살 (săl), etc.

When the word ends in the consonant ㄹ l, the ending 로 ro of the instrumental becomes by affinity 로 lo. Ex. :

	발 bal,	foot.
Nominative:	발이 bal-i,	the foot (pronounced: bar-i, v. pl. II, Obs.)
Instrumental:	발로 bal-lo,	by, with the foot.
Genitive:	발의 bal-ui,	of the foot (pronounced: bar-ui)
etc., etc.		

The plural of all words is formed by adding the ending –들 -deul, and is declined according to the previous rule.

Ex. : 사람 sarăm, man, 사람들 sarăm-deul, men, 사람들이 sarăm-deur-i, 사람들로 sarăm-deul-lo, 사람들의 sarăm-deul-ui, 사람들에게 sarăm-deul-ege, etc. (Pronounce: sarăm-deur-i, sarăm-deur-ui, sarăm-teur-ege, etc.)

Two remarks will complete this exposition of the rules of Korean declension. 1º In a certain number of words ending either in a consonant or in a vowel, usage has replaced the ending –에게 -ege of the dative, by the contraction -께 kke. 2º In Korean, as in most agglutinative languages, certain shades of meaning are indicated by superimposing the endings of various cases on top of each other. Thus we encounter compound endings: -게로 ge-ro (dat. instr.), -게로셔 ge-ro-seo (dat. instr. abl.), etc.

Adjectives. — In Korean, there are no proper adjectives. They are replaced by nouns or verbs. When an adjective indicates the material of an object, its nature, its distinct essence, and it can, in French, be replaced by a noun in the genitive, as in the expressions: human soul (of man), spring breeze (of spring), this adjective is rendered in Korean by a noun that is placed before the qualified noun.

Examples: Korean language, 조선말 (죠숀말) jo-seon-mal (Korea-language); the human ear, 사람귀 sarăm-gui (man-ear). The first noun always remains invariable, and only the second is declined.

Qualifying adjectives, such as: good, great, powerful, are replaced by verbs, as follows. If the adjective is alone with the noun, the relative past participle is used, which is placed before the noun and remains invariable. If, on the contrary, the adjective is the attribute of the proposition, the verb is placed after, at the appropriate time.

Example: the neuter verb 크다 keu-da means: to be large; its relative past participle is 큰 keun, which has been large, which is large. The expressions: a large house, large houses, to a large house, etc., will be said: 큰집keun jip, 큰집들 keun jip-deul, 큰집에게 keun jip-ege, etc. If, on the contrary, we want to translate: the house is big, the house will be big, the house was big, we will say: 집이 크다 jip-i keuda, 집이 크겠다 jip-i keu-get-ta, 집이 크더니 jip-i keu-tŏni, etc. .., by conjugating the verb 크다 keu-da of which 집 jip is the subject.

We almost always use the relative past participle as an adjective, because the quality exists in the object prior to the affirmation we make of it. With the expressions: worthy of, proper to, probably, etc., we would use the relative future participle, because these expressions imply a nuance of futurity.

All Korean words can become adjectives, using the participles of the verb to be 이다 or the verb to do 하다. (See various examples in the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria.)

Relative participles used as adjectives sometimes become real nouns and are declined as such. Just as we say in French: an equal, the little ones, etc., we will say in Korean: 같은에게 gateun-ege, to an equal; 조근으로 jogeun-eu-ro, by a small, etc.

The comparative is expressed by the words: 더 deo more, or 덜 deol, less, placed before the adjective (participle or verb). Ex.: 더 높다 deo nop-da, to be higher; 덜 붉은 것deol bulkeun geot, the less red thing (lit., less red-being thing). We can also use the verb 보다 bo-da, to see. Ex.: 이 사람이 나 보다 크다 i sarăm-i na bo-da keu-da, this man is bigger than me (lit. this man see me being-big). — Finally, 보다 bo-da can be used before the words 더 deo and 덜 deol. Ex.: 해 달 보다 더 높다 hae dal bo-da deo nop-ta, the sun is higher than the moon (lit. sun moon see higher being-high); 해 별 보다 덜 높다 hae byeol bo-da deol nop-ta, the sun is less high than the stars.

The relative superlative is rendered by the word 즁에 (중에) jung-e (tsioung-e), between, among, which precedes the adjective. — Eg: 모든 사람즁에 크다 modeun sarăm jung-e keu-da, to be the greatest of men (lit. all men between being-great).

The absolute superlative is formed with the adverbs 지극히 jigeuk-hi, very, extremely; 온전히 onjeonhi, entirely, etc., placed before the adjective. Ex.: 지극히 높다 jigeuk-hi nop-da, very high (lit. extremely being-high).

Numerals. — The Korean language only has names for units and tens.

1, 하나 hăna; 2, 둘 dul; 3, 셋 set; 4, 넷 net; 5, 다섯 daseot; 6, 여삿 yeoseot; 7, 일곱 ilgop; 8, 여닯 yeodalp; 9, 아홉 ahop; 10, 열 yeol; 11, 열하나 yeol-hăna (ten-one); 12, 열둘 yeol-dul (ten-two), etc. 20, 스물seumul; 30, 솔흔 sorheun; 40, 마혼maheun; 50, 쉰suin; 60, 예순 yesun; 70, 일흔 irheun; 80, 여든 yeodeun; 90, 아픈aheun.

The names: hundred, thousand, ten thousand, etc., are taken from Chinese, and when they are used in the plural, their number must be indicated by the Chinese names of the units. Ex.: three hundred and sixty-five years, the word 백 baek, hundred, being Chinese, one cannot use the Korean word 셋 set, three, and say 셋백 set-paek; you have to take the Chinese word 삼sam, three, and say 삼백 sam-baek. Then, if the name of the thing counted is Korean, sixty-five will be said in Korean; if this name is Chinese, sixty-five must also be in Chinese; consequently, according to whether one uses for the word: year, the Korean expression 해 hae, or the Chinese expression 년 nyeon, one will say: 삼백 예순다 다섯 해sam-baek yesun-taseot hae, or else 삼백 육십오 년 sam-baek-yuk-sip-o nyeon, three hundred and sixty-five years.

The names of cardinal numbers are placed before the word whose quantity they designate. Example: 스물 사람seumul-sarăm, twenty men.

These nouns used alone can be declined like all other nouns; but, placed before a noun to qualify it, they become adjectives, and consequently remain invariable.

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the ending -재jae to Korean cardinal numbers. Ex.: 둘재 dul-jae, second; 일곱재 ilgop-jae, seventh. Just as in French we do not say the oneth, in Korean we do not say 하나재 hăna-jae, but 첫째 cheot-jjae, the first. Chinese ordinal numbers are obtained by prefixing cardinal numbers with the word -제 je. E.g.: 제삼je-sam, third; 제십 je-sip, tenth; 제백je-baek, hundredth. They are used with Chinese words, according to the rule explained above.

The nouns of ordinal numbers precede the noun and are invariable. Used alone, they can be declined.

Pronouns. — Korean has only two personal pronouns: 나 na, I, me; and 너neo, you, you. As in the other languages of the same family, it is one of the demonstrative pronouns that is used for the third person: he, him. The most commonly used is 저 jeo, that one, that one, that.

나 na and 너 neo are declined according to the general rule. Only two cases are exceptions. The nominative, which is formed with the ending -가 ga, is for the first person: 내가 ne-ga instead of 나가 na-ka; for the second: 네가 ne-ga instead of 너가 neo-ga. The instrumental of the first person is 날로 nal-lo, that of the second is 널로 neol-lo. Finally, we find in the dative, in addition to the regular form, the contracted forms: 내께nae-kke, 네께ne-kke.

The plural of the first person is: 우리 uri, we; that of the second: 너희 neohui, you. Other plurals derived from the previous ones are also used: 우리들 uri-deul, we; 너희들 neohui-deul, you. All these plurals are declined according to the general rule.

In all nations, but especially in Asian countries, the use of personal pronouns is restricted by the rules of politeness. In Korea, a man of the people, addressing a mandarin, will never think of saying: I or me, he will say, speaking of himself: 小人 소인 so-in, little man. With all the more reason he will not say to his interlocutor: you or you; he will use the desired title, as we say ourselves: Your Excellency, Your Highness, etc. But these are rules of civility, and not of grammar.

There are no pronouns, or, if you will, possessive adjectives; the personal pronouns take their place. 내 nae, 네 ne, 우리 uri, 너희 neohui, placed before a noun, become adjectives by position, and mean: my, mine, your, yours, our, yours. It goes without saying that they then remain invariable. The noun alone is declined and takes, if necessary, the mark of the plural.

We could also use the personal pronoun in the genitive, and say, for example: 나의 죄na-ui joe, my sin, instead of 내 죄 nae-joe, my sin.

The demonstrative pronouns and adjectives are: 이 i, 저 jeo, 그 geu, 쟈 ja, 바 pa, which all mean: this, this, that, that, those, those, those.

이 i designates people or things close together, and corresponds to: this, this, etc. — 저 jeo is used for people or distant things, and means: that one, that, etc. — 그 geu indicates the person or thing we just talked about. — 자 ja and 바 ba are used with the relative participles of verbs. Ex.: 구쇽한 자 gusok hăn ja (salvation having made the one), the one who saved; 부모 사랑하는 바 bu-mo sărang hănăn pa (father-mother love making one), the one who loves his parents. — 쟈 ja refers to people, 바 ba refers to people and things.

All these pronouns, when they are not joined to a noun, are declined according to the general rule. When they precede a noun, they become adjectives and remain invariable.

The interrogative pronouns and adjectives are: 뉘 noui, 누구 nugu, who? for people ; 무엇mueot, what? for things; 어느 eoneu, 어떤 eotteon, which? for people and things, 어느□ eoneu properly means: which one? among several (quis); 어떤eoteon, what? of what species? (qualities). Ex.: 어느□사람이냐 eoneu sarăm inya, which man is this? 요한이 올세다ioan-i olsieta (Jean being), it is Jean, 어떤 사람이냐 eotteon sarăm inya, which man is he? 고약한 사람이 올세다koéak hăn sarăm-i olsieta (badly having done, badly making man to be), he is a bad man. These pronouns are declined when they are used as pronouns, that is to say in isolation. As adjectives, they remain invariable.

The reflexive pronoun is 자기 jagi, oneself, which declines regularly. We also use 저 jeo, 제 je which is declined as the second person pronoun 너 neo, 네 ne, etc…

There are no relative pronouns in Korean, they are replaced by relative participles attached to substantives or demonstrative pronouns, as we have just seen.

Verbs, conjugation. — There are, in Korean, active verbs and neutral verbs, but these denominations do not have exactly the same meaning as in our languages. An active verb, in Korean, is one that expresses an action, whether it is done or received by the subject, whether it takes place inside

him or outside him; which includes the transitive, intransitive and passive verbs of our grammars. To do, to grow pale, to sleep, are active verbs. Neutral verbs, which would perhaps be better named qualifying verbs or adjectival verbs, are those that express a quality or a way of being: to be tall, to be beautiful, etc.

It follows from this that Korean verbs do not have a passive voice. This is supplemented by the various modes of the active verb, especially by relative participles, or else by an inversion in the construction of the sentence.

In contrast, Korean verbs have at least seven different voices. In addition to the active voice or affirmative verb, there is the eventual verb, the interrogative verb, the negative verb, the honorific verb, the causative verb, the motivating verb, etc.

Like several other languages of the same family, Korean has two substantive verbs: 있다 it-da, which means pure and simple existence, and 일다 il-da, which means the essence, the nature of the subject. 있다 it-da means: to exist; 일다 il-da means: to be such a thing.

Compound verbs are excessively numerous. They are formed by the union of a noun and a verb, or two verbs together. — All nouns can become verbs by adding the verb 일다 il-da, to be: man-be, father-be, etc. ; or from the verb 하다 hă-da, to do: work-do (to work), joy-do (to rejoice), etc. — When two verbs are joined, the first is in the verbal past participle, or past gerund, and only the second is conjugated. It is in this way that the Korean language supplements these prepositions which play such a large role in the verbs of our languages. Ex.: to bring will be translated by the verbs to take and to come: having taken, come (bring); to take away will be constructed in the same way: having taken, goes (takes away).

The Korean conjugation is of a very primitive simplicity. There are no numbers or people. The same expression means: I do, you do, he does, we do, you do, they do. If the meaning of the sentence is not sufficient to indicate the subject, the verb is preceded by a personal pronoun. — The modes are: the indicative, the imperative, the infinitive and the participles. There is no subjunctive or optative.

In each form of the verb, three things must be distinguished: the root, the tense sign, the ending. — The root, or stem of the verb, purely and simply indicates the state or action that the verb signifies. It is therefore immutable. — The sign of time indicates whether this state or action took place before, takes place now, or will take place later. — The ending marks the difference between the principal times and the secondary times. It usually changes with the various voices of the verbs.

Korean stems are of two kinds: those which make the consonant immediately following them aspirated, and those, much more numerous, which do not require this aspiration. The ending of the infinitive, which is 다 ta in the latter, becomes, in the former, 타 tha. Ex.: 하다 hă-da, to do; 노타 no-tha, let go[9].

The signs of time being nothing other than verbal participles, it is important, above all, to clearly determine what these participles are, and to distinguish them from relative participles. In our languages, the same word plays both roles; we say: controlling his anger, he kept silence, and: the man controlling his passions will triumph. In the first example, contolling is not a real participle since it does not participate in the nature of the adjective, it would rather be a kind of gerund. In the second case, contolling plays the role of an adjective, and replaces the verb with a relative who. Now, in Korean, there are two different forms of participles, to express these two different meanings. The former are the verbal participles, and the latter the real participles, or relative participles.

Now, how are verb participles formed? — The future participle is formed by adding to the radical the particle -게 ge which in verbs in 타 tha becomes -케ke. Ex.: 하다 hă-da, to do, 하게 hă-ge, having to do; 노타 no-ta, to let go, 노케 no-ke, having to let go. — The past participle is formed by

[9] Revisions in Korean spelling have abolished some of these provisions.

adding one of the vowels ㅏ a or ㅓ eo to the radical. In –타 ta verbs, this particle becomes -하 ha or –허 heo Ex.: 노타 no-ta, to let go, 노하 no-ha, having let go; 너타 neo-ta, to place, 너허 neo-heo, having placed. In –다da verbs, the vowel ㅏ a or ㅓ eo joins the stem either directly or with the help of a euphonic letter. Ex.: 하다 hă-da, to do, 하여 hă-ieo, having done; 저다 (절다) jeo-da, to limp, 저러jeoreo, having limped; 신다 sin-da, to put on, 신어 sin-eo, having put on. Verbs whose radical is in ㅏ-a, do not add anything. Ex.: 자다 ja-da, to sleep, 자 ja, having slept.

Note. — The euphonic rules to be observed in the formation of the verbal past participle, being rather complicated, the dictionary, while giving the verbs in the infinitive, always indicates this participle.

There is no present tense participle in Korean. It is the pure and simple radical that takes its place. Indeed, if the way of being or the action affirmed by the verb is not related either to the past or to the future, it relates, by that very fact, to the habitual present. This present suffices for neutral verbs, since they only express a state, a way of being; it suffices, for the same reason, for the two substantive verbs; also all these verbs have no other indicative present than the infinitive itself. — But this usual present tense, which is too vague, is insufficient for active verbs, where it is necessary to specify more clearly that the action is taking place at the very moment of speaking. The sign of the present is then formed in the following way. In –다 -da verbs: if the root ends in a consonant other than ㄹ l, we add 는neun; if it ends in a vowel, only ㄴ -n is added; if it ends in the consonant ㄹ l, we delete this letter and add ㄴ -n to the remaining vowel. E.g.: 깍다 kkak-da, to prune, stem with present sign: 깍는 kkak-neun; 하다 hă-da, to make, stem and present sign: 한 hăn; 풀다 pul-da, to sell: 푼 pun. In verbs in 타 tha: if the stem ends in a vowel, -는neun is added, and as there is no aspirated n in the Korean alphabet, this is made up for by interposing between the stem and this particle the letter ㄷ t; if the stem ends in ㄹ l, -는 neun is added, which, according to the Korean rules of pronunciation, gives l-leun. E.g.: 너타 nŏ-tha, to place, radical and present tense sign: 넏는 neo-t-neun; 일타 il-tha, to lose: 일는 il-neun (pron. il-leun).

The third element of a verb form is the ending which, as we have said, serves to distinguish the main tenses from the imperfect. Koreans count four main tenses, the present, the perfect, the future and the future past. The latter is formed by adding the sign of the future to the sign of the past. The secondary tenses, which can be considered as the imperfect of the previous ones, are: the imperfect, the past perfect, the conditional, and the past conditional. In the ordinary verb (affirmative voice), the ending of the main tenses is –다 -da, that of the secondary tenses is 더니 deoni. Between the verb participles and these endings we insert a euphonic t.

The following table summarizes all the rules we have just given and shows their application[10].

INFINITIVE.	
하다 hă-da, do.	잇다 it-da, be.
PAST VERBAL PARTICIPLE.	
하여hă-yeo, having done.	잇셔 it-syeo, having been.
FUTURE VERBAL PARTICIPLE.	
하게 hă-ge, having to do.	잇게 it-ge, having to be.
PRESENT.	
한다 hăn-da, I do, you do, etc.	잇다 it-da, I am, you are, etc.
IMPERFECT.	
하더니 hă-tŏni, I was doing, you… he…	잇더니 it-tŏni, I was, you… he…
PERFECT.	
하엿다hăyeot-da, I did, you… he….	잇셧다itsyeotda, I was, you… he….

[10] Using Hangeul spellings closer to the romanization used by Dallet but without the archaic letters.

PLUPERFECT.

하엿더니 hăyeot-teoni, I had done… you…. 잇셧더니 itsiŏ-t-tŏni, I had been.

FUTURE.

하겟다 hăget-da, I will do, you… he…. 잇겟다itget-da, I will be.

CONDITIONAL.

하겟더니 hăget-tŏni, I would do…. 잇캣더니 itké-tŏni, I would be.

FUTURE PAST.

하엿켓다 hăiŏt-ké-t-ta, I would have done. 잇셧켓다itsyeot-get-da, I shall have been.

PAST CONDITIONAL.

하옛켓더니 hăiŏt-ké-t-tŏni, I would have done. 잇셧켓더니itsyeot-get-tŏni, I would have been.

The imperative is formed from the past participle by adding the ending 라 ra: 하여라 hăyeo-ra, do. — (There are only two exceptions. We say: 오너라onŏ-ra, come, instead of 와라 oa-ra, and: 가거라gageora, go, instead of 가라 ga-ra).

Note. — There is another form of imperative which does not belong to the regular conjugation, and which is only used for the plural imperative of the first person. It is obtained by adding –자 ja to the radical of verbs in 다 da, and –차 cha to the radical of verbs in -ㅌt. E.g.: 하자 hă-ja. let's do; 너차 nŏ-cha, let's place.

The present relative participle is formed by adding 는 neun to the stem. In the verbs in 타 ta, we intercalate ㅅ 't', for the reason stated above. Ex.: 하는 hă-neun, doing, who does, who is done; 놋는 no-t-neun, letting go, letting go, letting go. — The relative past participle is formed as follows. In verbs in -다 da: if the radical ends in a consonant other than ㄹl, we add -은 eun; if it ends in a vowel, simply add ㄴ n; if it ends in ㄹ l, this consonant is deleted, and ㄴ n is added to the remaining vowel. In the verbs in -타 ta we add 흔heun to the radical. Ex.: 숨은 sum-eun, hidden, having hidden, who has hidden, who has been hidden; 한 hăn, done, having done, who did, who was done; 푼pu-n, sold, having sold, who sold, who was sold; 너흔neo-heun, placed, having placed, etc. ; 일흔 il-heun, lost, having lost, etc… — The future relative participle is formed from the relative past participle by changing ㄴ n to ㄹ l, 숨을sum-eul, 할 hăl, 풀 pul, 너흘 neo-heul, etc… (having to do, who will do, who will be done, etc.)

The verb is very often used as a noun. It then takes a particular form which is obtained by changing the final ㄴ n of the relative past participle, to ㅁ m, and which is declined in all cases: 함hăm, to do, 힘이 hăm-i, to do, 함으로 hăm-eu-ro, par le faire, etc. Besides this form which is found above all in books, there is another much more used in conversation. It is obtained by adding -기 gi to the radical, and to each of the verbal participles, 하기 hă-gi, to do; 하엿기 hăyeot-gi, to have done; 하겟기 hăget—gi, the duty to do. These three new nouns are declined.

A few words about other verb voices will complete the Korean conjugation theory.

The eventual verb is the one that is conjugated with the condition if, if I do, if I did, if I must do, etc… it only has the indicative mode. The present is formed by adding to the stem: if it ends with a consonant other than ㄹl, the ending -으면 eumiŏn; if it ends in a vowel, or in ㄹ l (which is subtracted), the ending -면 myeon. In -타 ta verbs, the ending becomes 흐면 heumyeon. Ex.: 숨으면sum-eumieon, if I hide; 하면 hă-myeon, if I do; 너흐면 nŏ-heumiŏn, if I place. The other tenses are formed like those of the ordinary indicative, changing -다 da to 시면 simyeon, and -더니 deoni to 더면 deomyeon. Ex.: 하더면 hă-deomieon, if I did; 하엿더면 hăyeot-deomieon, if I had done; 하겟시면 hăget-simieon, if I have to do (lit. if I will do), etc…

The interrogative verb is formed in a similar way. The endings 다 da of the affirmative verb change into -는냐 neunya, the endings -더니 deoni into -더냐 deonya. In the present, the ending joins the stem directly, leaving out the present sign. Ex.: 하는야 hă-neunia, am I doing? are you doing etc… 하더냐 hă-deonya, was I doing? 하겟는냐 hăkét-neunia, will I do? 하엿겟더냐 hăiŏtkét-tŏnia, would I have done? etc…

There are only two negative verbs properly speaking, which correspond to the two substantive verbs, of which we spoke above, 없다eop-da, negative of 잇다 (있다) it-ta, means: not to be, not to exist; 아니다 ani-da or 아닐다 anilda, negative of 일다 il-da, means: not to be such a thing. All verbs can become negative by adding to the stem the ending 잔다 (잖다) jan-da which is conjugated according to the general rule. Naturally, in -타 ta verbs, this ending sucks out its first consonant and becomes –찬다 chan-da. — 잔다 jan-da is a contraction of -지 아니다 ji-anida, -지 ji particle which implies doubt and which calls for a negation, and the negative verb 아니다 ani-da of which we have just spoken. — Another form of the negative is obtained by adding to the radical the ending -지 못하다 ji-mot-hăda, composed of the particle 지 tsi, of the word 못 mot which means: impotence, and of the verb 하다 hă-da, to do. This last form of the negative literally means, I am powerless to..., I cannot...

The honorific verb is formed by adding -시다 si-da to stems ending in a vowel, and –으시다 eusi-da to those ending in a consonant. For verbs in -타 ta, add to the stem 흐시다 heusi-ta. Ex.: 하다 hă-da, to do, 하시다 hă-si-da, if we are talking about a person elevated in dignity; 집다 jip-da, take, 집으시다 jip-eusi-da; 깊다 gip-da, being deep, 깁흐시다 kip-heusi-da, etc. The honorific of substantive verbs is: 잇다 (있다) it-da: 계시다 gyesi-da; and for 일다 il-da: 실다 sil-da, 이실다 isil-da, or 이시다 isi-da. The verb in the honorific is conjugated according to the general rule, in the affirmative, in the eventual, in the interrogative, in the causative, etc.

The causative verb is formed by adding 하다 hă-da, to do, to the future verbal participle. Ex.: 하게 하다 hăge-hăda, to cause to be done (lit. to do what will be done); 자다 ja-da, to sleep, 자게 하다 jage-hăda, to make sleep (lit. to make that will sleep).

The motivating verb indicates the reason, the why of what will follow. It responds to our active verb conjugated with the preposition because. It is formed by adding to the stem the ending 닛가 (in modern Korean -니까) nitga, and to the verbal participles, the ending -시닛가 si-nitga. Ex.: 하닛가hă-nitga, because I do, 하엿시닛가hăiŏt-si-nitka, because I did, 하겟시닛가hăkét-si-nitka, because I will do. We can also use the following expression: 하는고로hă-năngoro, 하엿는고로 hăiŏt-năngoro, 하겟는고로hăkét-nănkoro, which has the same meaning. — Let us pause for a minute to analyze this last form, which gives us a clear idea of the way in which agglutinative languages proceed. We first have the verb in three primitive tenses: the present, represented by the radical; past and future, represented by verb participles. By adding 는 neun, we obtain present participles which mean: to be currently having done, to be currently doing, to be currently having to do. The particle -고 go implies the meaning of affirmation: yes, really. Finally we add to the whole the ending -로 ro of the instrumental case, which means: by, by means of: 하겟는고로 hăkét-nănkoro, because I will do, because you will do, etc., thus literally means: by the really being having to do.

There are still a few other forms of conjugation indicating different shades of meaning. Those which precede are the most used, and give a sufficient idea of the peculiar genius of the Korean language.

The verb endings that we have listed so far are often modified or replaced by other endings that can be assigned to three different classes. — 1º Honorific endings. The Korean who speaks to another will change or modify the ending of the verb, depending on whether the individual to whom he is speaking is his superior, his equal, or his inferior. Moreover, it will have different shades for the superior more or less elevated in dignity, for the equal whom he does not know or whom he knows with more or less intimacy, for the inferior whom he treats with friendship, with indifference or with contempt. Finally, if he speaks of a third person, his language must indicate whether he is superior, or equal, or inferior to his interlocutor. We see that the rules of civility terribly complicate the rules of grammar. — 2º Many endings are used, to indicate certain shades of meaning: affirmation, possibility, doubt, probability, hope, reproach, etc… etc… — 3º Finally, there are special endings for indicate that the meaning of the sentence is suspended or terminated, in a word, to replace punctuation.

These various terminative particles are added: some to the radical, others to the verbal participles, others to the regular ending, others finally to one or the other form indifferently. Moreover, they very often superimpose and agglutinate one another, to form a complex meaning, which is the resultant of the meanings of each separate fragment. It is conceivable that with such a system, applicable to the various tenses and to the various voices of each verb, the sum of all the simple or compound endings that a radical can have rises to an enormous figure. The Koreans count several thousand of them, but in the lists that they give of them, it is necessary to subtract many compounds which are, not endings, but real sentences. Thus, for example, they count among the verb endings the word -때ttae, time (or its locative 때에 ttae-e), which joins the relative participles to signify: when: 한때에 hăn-ttae-e, when he did; 할때에 hăl-ttae-e, when he does.

A word only of the endings which constitute the punctuation and replace the comma, the period, the semicolon, the colon, signs unknown in Korean writing. — The comma is usually indicated by the ending –고 go, sometimes by -며 myeo, or by –이오 io (from the verb 일다 il-da), or -이시오 isio (from the honorific verb 이시다 isi-da). The conjunction: and, in Korean 와 oa, 과 gwa, 화 hwa, the forms of the vocative 아 a, 야 ia, 여 ieo, can also indicate a comma. — The semicolon is rendered by the endings -며 myeo, 하니 hăni, 이니 ini. — The colon is indicated by the endings 아 a, 야 ia, 여 ieo of a past participle, when an enumeration must follow, and by the particle 대 dae, when one is going to quote the words of someone. — The period is expressed by all the combinations of particles which end in 다 da or 라 ra: 니라 nira, 이니라 inira, 나니라nanira, 난도다 nandoda, 도다 doda, 도소이다 dosoida, and by still others such as 셔쇼 (서소) syeosyŏ, etc. (See the Pater and the Ave Maria in Korean, pl. III and IV).

Adverbs. — Simple adverbs are relatively few in number. E.g.: 더 deo, more; 덜 deol, less; 또 tto, again; 몇 myeot, how much; 만 man, only, etc. These words were or still are real nouns, meaning: the most, the least, etc. Among the compound adverbs, some are nouns, adjectives, or pronouns put in the desired case, most often in the ablative, in the locative and the instrumental. Most are more adverbial phrases. Ex.: 어느 때 eonă-ttae (what time) when? 저 때jeo-ttae (that time), lately; 전에 jeon-e (before), front; 후에 hu-e (in the back), after; 여기 ieo-gi, here; 여기서 iŏ-gi-seŏ, from here; 저기 jeogi, there; 저기서 jeo-gi-seo, from there; 또한 tto-han, too; 한가지토han-gaji-ro, together; 어떻게 eotteo-ke, how; etc The other compound adverbs are formed from neuter verbs by adding 이 i, 히 hi, 게 kei, 케 khei to the radical, Ex.: 밝이palg-i, evidently; 가득히gadeuk-hi, fully; 크게 keu-ge, greatly; etc

Postpositions. — They take the place of our prepositions. The main ones are those used for the declination, there are one or two others. E.g.: 기리 giri, with. Koreans have a number of them, which are actually postpositive phrases. Ex. ; 보다 bo-da, in comparison with (lit. see); 중에 jung-e, in, among;

인하여 in-hă-ieo, by; 위하여wi-hă-ieo for. These last two are verbal participles that govern the accusative.

Conjunctions. — The conjunction and is translated by -와 oa when the preceding word ends in a consonant, by 화 hoa when it ends in a vowel. Often also -고 go is used, alone or with the radical 하 hă of the verb to do: 하고 hă-go. These particles being rather continuative participles than true conjunctions, are placed after the word, and must be repeated after each of the words or (the propositions that one wants to link together. E.g.: 글 쓰고 책 보고 geul-sseu-go chaek-bo-go, write-and read-and. The other conjunctions are: 혹 hok, or 마는 manăn, but; 비록birok, though, etc. We also encounter conjunctive phrases, eg 연고로 yeongoro, therefore (lit. by being thus).

Interjections. — The main ones are: 애고 (아이고) aigo, alas! ; 에 e, 애 ae, fie! ; 아나 ana, 여보 yeobo, eh! ; 야ia, ho! etc. We can also attach to interjections the two ordinary forms of affirmation: 오냐onia, yes (from superior to inferior), 예 ye, oui (from inferior to superior).

§ 3. — Grammar (Syntax).

The fundamental principle of Korean syntax is this: the word which governs is invariably placed after the word which is governed. Whence it follows that: — in the declension, the preposition indicating the case changes place, and becomes postposition because it governs the noun; — the noun in the genitive precedes the one who governs it; — the adjective or relative participle precedes the noun to which it is attached; — the adverb precedes the verb; — the noun precedes the verb by which it is governed, etc. The invariable form of a Korean sentence is therefore: 1º the subject preceded by all its attributes, if any; 2º the indirect regime where appropriate, also preceded by its attributes; 3º the direct regime preceded by everything related to it; 4º finally the verb, preceded by adverbs, etc., which necessarily ends the sentence.

This general rule will be sufficiently supplemented by the following observations.

Often the plural sign is omitted, especially in ordinary conversational language. Eg: 스무 사람seumu sarăm, twenty men, for 스무 사람들 seumu sarăm-deul.

The genitive sign is also readily omitted. Ex.: 나무잎 namu-ip, tree leaf (lit. tree-leaf), instead of 나무의 잎 namu-ui ip. In words taken from Chinese, this exception becomes the absolute rule. Ex: 天主經 cheon-ju-gyeong, prayer to the Lord of Heaven (lit. sky-lord-prayer)

When various nouns are connected by conjunctions, the last alone takes the sign of the case, the others remaining invariable. Ex: 나귀와 말과 개게 주엇답나다nagoui-oa măl-goa kae-ege jueottăpnăida, I gave to the donkey, the horse and the dog.

Chinese words are much used, with the exception of Korean words, by people of the upper class and by the inhabitants of cities; the peasants themselves sometimes use them. In such a case, adjectives, nouns, adverbs, etc., which accompany a Chinese noun or verb, must also be Chinese. You never put a Korean adjective on a Chinese name, and vice versa.

When several adjectives relate to a single subject, the last adjective alone takes the ordinary form (relative participle); the others are in the stem with the conjunction –고 go. Ex: 검고 희고 풁고 플은 빗geom-ko heui-go pulkgo peur-ăn pit. Colors: black, white, red and blue.

In an enumeration, contrary to our ideas of politeness, the pronoun je or moi is placed first. Ex.: 나하고 아버지하고 어머니하고 동생하고 누님하고 아기하고 잘듈잇다na-hăgo abeoji-hăgo eomeoni-hăgo tong-săing-hăgo nunim-hăgo agi-hăgo jal-teuritta. Which literally means me-and, father-and, mother-and, brother-and, sister-and, little child-and, well (well) to be.

When the terms of an enumeration are verbs in the infinitive, only the last is conjugated, the others are in the radical followed by the conjunction ko. Ex: 발로도 싸오고 손으로도 싸오고 니로도 싸왔다 ballo-do ssao-go, soneuro-do ssao-go niro-do ssaoat-da. They fought with their feet, hands and teeth. (Lit. by foot also fight-and, by hand also fight-and, by tooth also they fought).

Generally inanimate things cannot be the subject of a verb. In such a case, the sentence is turned in another way.

Although the active verbs govern the accusative, the sign of this case is very often omitted after the direct regimes, especially in conversation.

§ 4. — Which family does the Korean language belong to?

In the classification of languages, the fundamental element is the resemblance or the difference of grammatical structure. The resemblance or the difference of words has only a secondary importance. Now, the rules that we have just given a summary of demonstrate in an obvious manner that Korean belongs to that family of languages generally known as Mongolian, Ural-Altaic, Turanian, etc., and which would be better characterized by the term Scythian or Tartar, since the words Scythian, among the ancients, and Tartar, among the moderns, have always designated the whole of the peoples of upper Asia[11].

What are in fact the principal characteristics of the Tartar languages, in contradistinction to the Indo-European languages?

The Indo-European languages have words of different gender not only for living beings who are distinguished by sex, but also for inanimate things and abstract ideas; in the Tartar languages, on the contrary, almost all the nouns are neutral, or rather have no gender at all.

The Indo-European languages have various declensions for singular nouns; the plural is always distinct and declines in a different manner; the case endings, whatever their primitive origin, have become modifications or inflections of the word itself, hence their designation as inflected languages. in the Tartar languages, there is only one declension; the cases are made by adding postpositions which remain distinct and separable from the noun; the plural is indicated by a special particle joined to the radical, to which are added the same postpositions as for the singular to make the declension; finally, by a curious resemblance, the dative postposition is characterized in a certain number of these languages by the guttural k, which is found in the languages of the south of India and also in Korean.

The Indo-European languages have adjectives that decline like nouns, and afree with ehm in gender, number and case. In the Tartar languages, adjectives properly speaking are very rare, and always invariable; nouns or verbs of quality and relation take their place, and become adjectives by their position in front of the noun, and are invariable as such.

The Indo-European languages have pronouns for the three persons. The Tartar languages, especially the most primitive, lack a third person pronoun, which they replace with a demonstrative pronoun.

The Indo-European languages are all abundantly supplied with relative pronouns. In most of the Tartar languages, we find no trace of the existence of such pronouns, and they are replaced by relative participles, which include in a single word the idea expressed by the verb and the idea of relatedness.

In the various conjugations of the Indo-European languages, the various moods, tenses or persons are indicated by changes or inflections of the verb itself. In the Tartar languages, the sole

[11] Dallet is writing at a time when the study of the history of East-Asian languages was still in its infancy. His text is of historic interest but of course does not correspond to modern ways of seeing the topic.

conjugation is constructed through agglutination, by adding particles, and sometimes particles on particles, which always remain distinct.

Prepositions separate from or prefixed to nouns and verbs to modify their meaning play an important role in the Indo-European languages. The Tartar languages replace the isolated prepositions with postpositions, and do not form compound verbs except with the help of nouns or other verbs.

The Indo-European languages all have a passive voice that is conjugated in a regular manner, with different endings than the active voice; they lack negative verbs, which they replace with a distinct negation used adverbially. In the Tartar languages which have the passive, it is made by the addition to the radical of a special particle to which the endings of the usual conjugation are added. In the others, the passive voice is absolutely absent. On the other hand, the existence of distinct negative verbs, and a negative voice common to all verbs, are particularities peculiar to the Tartar languages.

Finally, not to prolong this comparison fruitlessly, in the Indo-European languages, the governing word generally precedes the word that it governs, whereas in all the Tartar languages, it is invariably placed after it.

These characteristic features of the Tartar languages that we have just enumerated are all found without exception in Korean grammar; therefore, Korean belongs to the Tartar family of languages. This fact is beyond doubt. Now, to which group of this family does it belong specifically? This is a question which will have to be cleared up much later when the grammar and the dictionary are published. One curious fact that is worth noting in passing is the resemblance between Korean grammar and the grammar of the Dravidian languages, or the languages of the south of India. In many cases, the rules are not only similar, but identical. The resemblance between certain Korean and Dravidian words is no less striking. Deeper study of these similarities would shed a great deal of light on some important points about the early history of the Indic peoples, and also on various ethnographic questions that are little known.

VIII Social Conditions – Different Classes – The Nobility – People – Slaves

Five centuries ago, in the early days of the present dynasty, Korean society was divided into only two[1] classes: the nobles and the serfs or slaves[2]. The nobles[3] were the partisans of the founder of the dynasty, those who helped him take his place on the throne[4], and who, in recompense, had obtained riches, honors, and the exclusive right to titles and public offices. The mass of the population, placed under their authority, was composed of serfs bound to the land, and slaves. The descendants of the first nobles, and of those who rendered significant services to the kings in other periods, still make up the Korean aristocracy at present. But by the natural way of things, the same thing that happened in Europe in the Middle Ages happened to the serfs; a great number of them won their freedom little by little, and, over time, created the class of laborers, soldiers, merchants, artisans, etc., as it exists in our time. As a result, there are now three distinct classes in Korea, subdivided into various categories: the nobles, the people, and the true slaves. These last are a fairly small number[5].

Nobility is hereditary, and since offices and titles are the patrimony almost exclusively of the nobles, each family preserves its genealogical tables jealously, complete with detailed and frequently revised lists of all its living members. The latter take great care to maintain close relations among themselves, and with the head of the chief branch of their line, in order to find support and protection in time of need.

In former times and for several centuries, the law only recognized the legitimate descendants of noble families as noble. There was no exception except for the bastards of kings, who were treated as nobles by right. But for more than a century, the natural children of the nobles, who formerly made up a separate and inferior class, have become so numerous and powerful that they have little by little usurped the privileges of the true nobles[6]. In 1857, a royal decree overturned the last barriers that separated them from legitimate children, by recognizing their right, like the latter, to aspire to the highest dignities of the kingdom. Some among them are still excepted, by a residue of respect for ancient customs, but the exception will not be slow in disappearing completely. Nevertheless, the true nobles, in their heart of hearts, still harbor a great disdain for these upstarts, a disdain that manifests itself fairly frequently, even if in the intercourse of daily life they are obliged to treat them with all the customary forms of respect and etiquette.

The dissoluteness of morals was not the only cause of this important revolution in the customs of the Korean aristocracy. The violent disputes between the political parties, and by consequence the enormous advantage for the great families in having as many partisans as possible, contributed to it powerfully. Noble bastards, even though they marry without regard to civil status, are always counted as belonging to the family of their father. It is this family that advances them in employment and protects

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[1] Dallet is unaware of the existence of *yangin* 良人 who were neither *yangban* nor *nobi* but somewhere in between.

[2] *Nobi* 奴婢 must not be confused with the slaves in the Roman period in the West. Although *nobi* in the Joseon Dynasty were subordinated to masters in terms of the law and were obliged to perform unpaid civil service or labor, they were no different from ordinary farmers who had independent rights in socioeconomic terms. Most *nobi* lived independently, and were quite similar to serfs in the Western feudal Middle Ages.

[3] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 37

[4] Among the small and medium-sized landowners at the end of the Goryeo Dynasty, members of the rising aristocracy *sinjin sadaebu* 新進 士大夫, those with some degree of power *pumgwan* 品官 in the rural areas, were recruited as noblemen of the Joseon Dynasty.

[5] According to the demographic statistics by class in the Daegu region, slaves accounted for only 1.7% of the total population of the region in 1854.

[6] In earlier centuries, the *yangban* protected their identity strictly but since the 18th century increasing numbers obtained *yangban* status by various means, including purchase.

them against vindictive mandarins when they have committed some infraction, and in return, these men, rebellious by nature, audacious and volatile, are a source of powerful support in times of trouble and political upheaval.

All the nobles have certain privileges in common, such as not being inscribed on the rolls for army service, inviolability of their persons and property, wearing the wide-brimmed hat that is the distinctive sign of their rank, etc. Nevertheless, there are various degrees of rank within the nobility. The families of those who have rendered important service to the state, or have performed some great act of devotion to the person of the king, or have acquired an exceptional reputation for learning, or filial piety, etc., are much more influential than the others, and monopolize the principal posts at court. The princes of the blood and their descendants, since they belong to the royal family, have very impressive honorific titles, but never any important posts. The kings of Korea, like all absolute kings, are very jealous of their authority, and too concerned about plots, real or imagined, to allow the princes of the blood even the smallest degree of participation in the exercise of power.

It is much the same for the relatives of the queens. The first wife of the king is always chosen from some great family, and by the fact of her marriage to the sovereign, her father and brothers obtain the highest dignities, sometimes even lucrative employments, but almost never the positions that would give them real power. It is only by indirect ways, by the influence of the queens, by all manner of intrigue, or in times of the minority of the occupant of the throne, that they exercise any powerful influence.

Nobility is lost in various ways, namely by legal judgement, by misalliance, and by proscription. When a noble is executed as a perpetrator of rebellion or lèse-majesté, his parents, children, and relations to a fairly distant degree, are all demoted, deprived of their offices and titles of nobility, and relegated to the rank of commoners. When a noble legitimately marries a widow or a slave, his descendants lose the privileges of their caste little by little, and access to public office is closed to them. Similarly, when a noble family has been excluded from public office for a considerable time, its titles are annulled by virtue of that fact alone, and the tribunals refuse them the privileges of their rank.

The Korean aristocracy is relatively the most powerful and the proudest in the universe. In other countries, the sovereign, the magistracy, and various public bodies are forces that keep the nobility within limits and counterbalance its power. In Korea, the nobles are so numerous, and, despite their internecine quarrels, so well able to close ranks in service of preserving and augmenting the privileges of their caste, that neither the people, nor the mandarins, nor the king himself can resist their authority[7]. A noble of high rank, supported by a certain number of powerful families, can bring down ministers and defy the king in his own palace. A governor or mandarin who took it upon himself to punish a highly placed and well-protected noble would inevitably be ruined.

The Korean noble acts as master and tyrant everywhere[8]. When a great lord needs money, he sends his men to seize a merchant or laborer. If this individual behaves with good grace, he is released; if not, he is taken to the noble's house, imprisoned, deprived of food, and beaten until he pays the sum that is demanded of him. The more decorous among these nobles disguise their thefts as voluntary loans, but no one is fooled because they never return what they have borrowed. When they buy a serf, a field or a house, they often dispense with payment, and there is no mandarin capable of stopping this brigandage.

According to law and custom, a noble, whether rich or poor, learned or ignorant, is owed every possible mark of respect. No one dares to touch his person, and a satellite who dared to lay a hand on him, even in error, would be severely punished. His residence is a sacred place; even entering the courtyard would be a crime, except for women, who, whatever their rank or status, can penetrate everywhere. A man of the people traveling on horseback must dismount when passing a noble's house. In inns, no one dares to ask him any questions, or even to look at him; one may not smoke in front of

[7] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 38

[8] Much of what follows is taken from the letter by Fr. Daveluy to Fr. Jurines dated July 15, 1846 (Daveluy Archive Volume 6).

him, and one is obliged to leave the best seat for him, and to put oneself out so that he might be comfortable. On the road, a noble on horseback makes plebeian riders dismount; ordinarily, they do it themselves, but in case of need, they are beaten, and if they resist, they are thrown head over heels into the dust or the mud. A noble cannot go out alone on horseback; he needs a groom to lead the animal by the bridle, and according to his means, one or more followers. In addition, he always goes at a walk, never at a trot or a gallop.

The nobles are very punctilious about their privileges, and sometimes avenge themselves cruelly for the slightest lack of respect. The story is often told of one among them who, reduced to misery and poorly dressed, was passing through the neighborhood of a prefecture. Four satellites, sent in search of a thief, encountered him and, suspicious of his appearance, recklessly asked him if he were their man. "Yes," he answered, "and if you would like to accompany me back to my house, I will point out my henchmen and show you where the stolen objects are hidden." The satellites followed him, but hardly had they arrived at his house when the noble called his slaves and some friends, had them seized, and after covering them with blows, had the eyes of three of them gouged out, as well as one eye of the fourth, and sent them off crying, "This is to teach you to see more clearly next time, and I leave you one eye so that you can find your way back to the mandarin." It goes without saying that this act of savage barbarism went unpunished. Similar episodes are not rare, and the people, especially in the countryside, fear the nobles like fire. Children are frightened by being told that the nobleman is coming; they are menaced by this malevolent being, just as in France they are threatened with the bogeyman. Most often, their injustice and insolence is suffered with bovine resignation, but in many common people they inspire a fierce and bitter hatred which, at the first favorable opportunity, will lead to bloody reprisals.

Since the foundation of the present dynasty, and by consequence since the origin of the Korean aristocracy as it exists today, there have been sixteen or seventeen generations[9]. In addition, the number of nobles, which was considerable to begin with, has multiplied in enormous proportions. It is this that is today the great plague of the country, and from this that the abuses of which we have spoken come. For, at the same time as the aristocratic caste has become more powerful, a great number of its members, having fallen into destitution, are reduced to living off pillage and extortion. In effect, it is absolutely impossible to give employment and titles to all; nevertheless, everyone seeks them, all prepare themselves from infancy for the exams that give access to them, and almost all have no other means of living. Too proud to earn their living honestly by commerce, or agriculture, or some kind of manual labor, they vegetate in misery and intrigue, crippled by debts, always waiting for some little official post to come their way, stooping to every form of lowness to obtain it, and if they do not succeed in getting it, they finish by dying of hunger. The missionaries have known those who only eat rice once every three or four days, pass the coldest winters without fire, and almost without clothes, and nonetheless obstinately refuse to take up some work, which, while procuring them a certain comfort, would derogate their nobility, and render them ineligible for the post of mandarin. The Christian nobles, who, especially since the last persecutions, obtain public offices with great difficulty, are the most unfortunate of all. Some of them have tried to be laborers, but not knowing the work, and not having the strength for long hours of physical labor, can barely provide for their most pressing needs.

When a noble comes into some post, he is obliged to support all his relations, even the most distant. By the simple fact of being a mandarin, the morality and custom of the country give him the duty of sustaining all the members of his family, and if he does not show enough haste, the more greedy ones will put into practice various means to make money at his expense. Most often, they will present themselves to one of the lower-ranking accountants of the mandarin in the latter's absence and demand a given sum. Naturally, the accountant protests that he does not have a single coin in his cashbox; he is threatened, his arms and legs are tied, he is hung from the ceiling by his wrists, a brisk bastinado is inflicted on him, and the malfeasants succeed in extorting the desired sum. Later, the mandarin learns of

[9] Daveluy Archive Vol 3 f. 38

the affair, but he is obliged to close his eyes to this act of pillage, which perhaps he himself committed before becoming a public servant, or which he is prepared to commit on the morrow if he loses his place.

Public office being for the Korean nobility the only honorable career and often the only means of making a living, it is easy to understand what a mob of flatterers, parasites, petitioners, importunate candidates, and place seekers must day and night choke the anterooms of the ministers and other great dignitaries who have the power of appointment. This crowd of greedy mendicants speculates on their passions, flatters their pride and constantly practices, with a greater or lesser degree of success, but always without the smallest scruple, every form of flattery, stroking, and ruse of which the dregs of humanity is capable.

Fr. Pourthié, one of the missionaries martyred in 1866, amused himself by describing in detail in one of his letters[10] the most common of this type of petitioner, called the *mungaek* 門客. His narrative, though a little long, throws into relief various interesting aspects of the Korean character so well that we will give it in full:

"The *mungaek*, as he is called, is a guest who has entry to the outer rooms of a house, but this name is also applied more specially to poor and idle individuals who come to pass their days in the houses of the great, and who by groveling and giving away their service, manage to obtain some title or honor as recompense. There are different categories of *mungaek*, according to the rank of nobility to which they pretend. Others haunt the king's palace, and still others surround minor mandarins; however, they all resemble each other.

"Once the *mungaek* has found a plausible pretext to insert himself in the household of the minister, or mandarin, or noble whose favor he seeks, a single care preoccupies him: how to plumb the depths of the character, desires and the whims of his protector, and to win his good graces by wit, subtlety and protestations of devotion. He carefully studies the dominant tastes of the circle he frequents, and, putting a good face on misfortune, he bends to the wind with incomparable skill. He is by turns talkative when he would rather be silent, happy and radiant when the poor state of his family and finances fills him with sadness, or transported by fury or sad and tearful when his heart is filled with feelings of well-being and joy. If his wife and children succumb to the pangs of hunger, or he himself endures long days of fasting, he must nevertheless laugh with those who laugh and play with those who play once he has crossed the threshold of a salon. It is his duty to have neither manners, nor colors, nor a temperament of his own. The expression – joyful or afflicted, passionate or calm, lively or abashed – that is to be seen on his master's face must be reflected on his own as in a mirror. He must be no more than a copy, and the more faithful the copy, the more his prospects improve.

"To limitless flexibility, the *mungaek* must also add a full assortment of what are called social talents. He is always the one who takes the lead in jollying the gaiety of the company, in supporting and taking an interest in the conversation. A living repository of every story and fable, he contrives to recount them frequently and with interest; he is the first to know all the news of the capital and the provinces, all the anecdotes of the court, all the scandals, and all the accidents. Around dignitaries, he is a one-man rumor mill, a veritable walking gazette. He penetrates every design, the secret plans, and the intrigues of the different parties; he counts off on his fingers the number, name, position and prospects of all the mandarins rising and falling in the government; he can easily recite the inventory and financial state of all the nobles of the kingdom.

"A new two-faced Janus, without conscience, and a true political chameleon, the *mungaek* takes care to show his best face to the rising sun of favor. All his courtesies are exclusively directed to the quarter whence benefices might come, but to all who are not useful to him, or hostile, or inferior, he reveals his base and greedy soul, solely governed by instincts of the coldest egoism. He turns with Fortune, flattering those whom she flatters, ignoring those she abandons, always calculating whether it is in his interest to show himself firm or flexible, avaricious or generous, traitorous or faithful. Drawing lines

[10] Daveluy Archive Volume 5 ff. 173-180

where they serve best, separating relations and friends, inciting hatred and mortal enmity among the families in power, exploiting by turns the resources of truth and lies, of praise and calumny, of devotion and ingratitude, such are his habitual means of action.

"Knowing that in Korea the hearts of the grand only brighten up at the sight of cash, he is in search of people engaged in lawsuits, criminals, and the ambitious of low estate, to offer them his mediation and to promise them the use of his influence, in exchange for a goodly sum for himself, and an even bigger one for his master, whose power he will have to call upon. Once the money is paid, rustics become great scholars, commoners become noble, criminals become innocent, and thieves become magistrates. In brief, there are no difficulties that a *mungaek* and money cannot overcome, no dirt that they cannot succeed in washing away, no crime that they cannot justify, and no infamy that they cannot manage to disguise and ennoble.

"Nevertheless, the *mungaek* never loses sight of the fact that his present profession is only a means to the end of his ambition. Always vigilant, always on the lookout, he thinks only of a favorable moment when he might extract from his protector the gift of some office or position. Unfortunately for him, his influence is not the only factor. Money, family connections, competing interests and various solicitations turn the minister's eyes elsewhere, and often the unfortunate man passes long years in pained waiting. In this case, the *mungae*k evinces admirable constancy. In any case, the dominant virtue of the Korean examination candidate is patience. It is not uncommon to see white-haired old men dragging themselves to the baccalaureate examinations for the twentieth, fortieth or even fiftieth time. Our *mungaek* is also armed with heroic patience. Rather than giving up and abandoning the game, he continues indefinitely to live through misery and disappointment. Finally, if he cannot carry the day with sweetness and caresses, he sometimes arms himself with impudence and perpetrates a kind of violence on his protector.

"A bachelor of Hwanghae province had attended the salon of a certain minister very assiduously for three or four years, and since he was a resourceful man, he had not neglected any means of attracting Fortune's smile. Nevertheless, no glimmer of hope had yet gleamed. One day, finding himself alone with the minister, the latter, occupied in finding a mandarin for a particular district, said aloud "Is this district a good mandarinate?" The bachelor promptly got up, prostrated himself at the minister's feet, and replied in a choked up voice, "Your Excellency is really too good, and I thank you humbly for thinking of giving your lowly servant a district of any sort." The minister, who had had no intention of doing anything other than asking for information, was speechless at this response, and, not daring to dash the poor *mungaek*'s hopes, gave him that prefecture.

"At other times it is a stroke of wit, or even buffoonery, that will give the *mungaek* a leg up. The example that I am about to give is still famous in the country. A military bachelor very faithfully paid court to the Minister of War. Fifteen years had passed since he had taken up this difficult occupation, and yet nothing seemed to indicate that he was any further ahead than he had been on the first day. Every day appointments were made before his eyes, but he had never been able to catch any sign or word to indicate that he had ever been thought of. His storytelling talent had made him the life of the minister's salon, and his absences, when they occurred, produced a noticeable void in the company. A time came when he suddenly ceased to appear in the salon, and even though the great in this country generally pay no attention to such things, our minister noticed that his assiduous mungaek had disappeared, but thinking that he had fallen ill, or had left town on personal business, gave it no further thought. This absence of the *mungaek* had gone on for nearly three weeks, when, one fine day, he reappeared beaming with joy and hastened to greet the minister. The latter, happy enough to see him back and having no more pressing business, asked why he had suddenly fallen out of the sky after such a long disappearance. "Ah!" replied the *mungaek*, "Your Excellency, you speak more truly than you know." "Well then," responded the minister, "tell us, have you been ill?" "A bachelor who has been on the streets for fifteen years cannot help but have a malady of kind that Your Excellency knows very well, but nevertheless it's not that. Oh! There are such strange occurrences in this world!" "But explain yourself then, why keep us in suspense?" "Me, keep you in suspense? Never. I have just had the experience, which I would not wish to have again,

and which I would not wish on anyone else, of being suspended in mid-air." The minister, more and more intrigued, and impatient to hear a story that promised to be curious, said grumpily, "If your story is strange, it must be said that you are even more so yourself; once again, explain yourself without delay." "Since Your Excellency commands it, I shall tell all, but it is so extraordinary that nothing less than an order from Your Excellency could make me tell a story that no one would believe."

'About twenty days ago, wanting to escape the boredom that was plaguing me, I thought of amusing myself by going fishing. I took my fishing line and settled myself on the bank of large pond near the capital. My line had hardly touched the water when thousands of storks came down nearby. Thinking that one of these birds might well want to take the bait, and foreseeing that my wrist would not be sufficiently robust to restrain its frolicking, I hurried to grasp the end of the long cord of my line, and I girded it firmly around my loins. I had scarcely taken this precaution when a fat stork that was greedier than the others threw itself on the bait and swallowed it in the blink of an eye. It occurred to me to let my captive enjoy the bait peacefully; I did not budge, and the stork for his part remained calm and immobile in the manner of one stunned by a strong blow. These birds have such a hot stomach, and a digestion so rapid, that my bait reappeared at the other end within a minute and a half. While I was still in a state of stupefaction at this marvel, another stork seized the bait, swallowed it and digested it. A third followed suit, then five, twenty, fifty more storks in turn were threaded on my line. They would all, to the last one, have followed suit, but not being able to contain myself at such a strange spectacle, I broke out laughing and moved. Suddenly, the alarmed squadron took to the air, and as I was attached by the loins, I was carried away into the skies. The further we went, the more the storks took fright. It might have been agreeable to fly around like that, hanging at an enormous distance above the earth, dragged to the right, to the left, higher, then lower, through endless zig zags, but I had no choice in the matter and clung to my cord as tightly as I could. Finally, tired of dragging me around like that, the storks landed in a vast deserted plain. I hastened to liberate them by liberating myself. I revived, but was I still in Korea, or had they transported me to the ends of the earth? That is what it was impossible for me to know. Furthermore, having departed so unexpectedly for such a long voyage, I had not made any provisions, and, having just come back down to earth, I found myself devoured by hunger. However, solitude surrounded me in every direction. Cursing myself and the storks, I plodded mechanically towards an enormous rock that dominated the whole plain and the summit of which seemed to touch the sky. As I drew near, to my great surprise, I saw that what I had taken for a rock was nothing other than a colossal statue whose head stretched upward as far as the eye could see. What was even more impressive, was that a large pear tree had taken root and was growing majestically on the head of the colossus. The very sight of that fruit made my mouth water like some sweet liquor that promised to do me a world of good, and stimulated my appetite even more. But how to get at it? How to scale that unscalable height? Necessity, it is said, is the mother of invention. The plain was covered with reeds. The thought came to me to cut a large quantity of them, then stringing them end to end, I could fabricate a pole long enough to reach the head of the statue. Then, sticking it into the nostrils of the colossus, I poked it so much and so hard that the gigantic head of the statue, overcome by an almighty sneeze, and shaken by terrible convulsions, unbalanced the pear tree so strongly that all the pears fell at my feet. The quantity equalled the beauty of them; I took my fill of that succulent fruit, and then I set off to explore the country. I soon learned that the place where I found myself was the district of Eunjin (in the province of Chungcheong, four hundred leagues from the capital), and, tarrying no longer, I took the road for Seoul, and here I am, back again. Nevertheless, I must admit that although I was somewhat giddy after the rapid succession of so many extraordinary events, I did not for an instant forget Your Excellency, and as proof, here is one of the pears, which I carefully saved for you to appreciate its sweetness, rather than to lend credence to my strange story.'

"At the same time, the *mungaek* placed an enormous pear in the minister's hands. The minister wanted to taste it on the spot, and found it delicious. The following day the *mungaek* was named a mandarin. "

IX The Status of Women – Marriage

In Korea, as in other Asiatic countries, morals are frightfully corrupted, and as a natural consequence, the ordinary condition of woman is a shocking state of abjection and inferiority. She is not at all a man's companion; she is nothing more than a slave, an instrument of pleasure or work, to whom the law and morality accord no rights[1] and, so to speak, no moral existence. It is a generally avowed principle, upheld by the tribunals, which no one dreams of disputing, that any woman who is not under the power of husband or family, like an animal without a master, is the property of the first comer.

Women do not have names[2]. Most young girls, it is true, receive some name or other by which older relatives or friends of the family call them during their childhood. As soon as they attain the age of puberty, however, the father and mother only can use this name. The other members of the family, as well as strangers, use periphrases, such as the daughter of so-and-so, the sister of such-and-such. After marriage, a woman no longer has a name. Her own relations most often refer to her by the name of the district where she was married, and her husband's relations by the name of the district where she lived before her marriage. Sometimes she is simply called 'the house of (husband's name)'. When she has sons, good manners demand the use of the designation 'mother of so-and-so.' When a woman is forced to appear before a tribunal, the mandarin assigns a name to her for the duration of the trial to facilitate the proceedings.

In the upper classes of society, etiquette requires that the children of both sexes be separated from the age of eight or ten years. At that age, the boys are placed in the outer quarters where the men live. It is there that they must pass their time, studying, and even eating and sleeping. It is incessantly repeated to them that it is shameful for a man to be in the women's quarters, and they soon refuse to set foot there. The young girls, on the other hand, are shut up in the inner rooms, where their education must take place, or where they have to learn to read and write. They are taught that they should never play with their brothers and that it is unbecoming for them to let themselves be seen by men, so that little by little they themselves seek to hide away.

These customs are observed for life, and the exaggeration of them has completely destroyed family life. A Korean of quality almost never has a meaningful conversation with his own wife, whom he regards as infinitely beneath himself. Above all, he never consults her on any serious matter, and even though they live under the same roof, it can be said that spouses are always apart, the men conversing and relaxing together in the outer rooms, and the women receiving their relations or friends in the quarters that are reserved for them. The same custom, based on the same prejudice, prevents the common people from staying at home when they want to enjoy a moment of recreation or rest. The men seek out their neighbors, and, on their side, the women gather apart.

Among the nobles, when a young girl arrives at a nubile age, her own relations, except those of the closest degree, are no longer allowed to see or speak to her, and those who are exempt from this law do not address a word to her except with the most ceremonious reserve. After their marriage, noblewomen are unapproachable. Almost always confined to their apartments, they cannot go out or even toss a glance into the street without the permission of their husband; from this, for many Christian ladies, especially in times of persecution, arises the impossibility of participating in the sacraments. This jealous incarceration is carried so far that one sees fathers kill their daughters, husbands their wives, and women themselves because a stranger has touched them with the tip of a finger. Very often, too, this exaggerated reserve or prudery produces ill consequences that a woman is unable to avoid. If some shameless lecher succeeds in secretly penetrating the private apartment of a noblewoman, she dares not utter a sound, nor offer the least resistance that might attract attention because, guilty or not, she will be dishonored forever

[1] Not so, women had various rights, including the right to inherit.

[2] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 32

by the mere fact that a man has entered her room, while if the matter remains secret, her reputation is saved. In any case, if she resists, no one will be grateful to her, not even her husband, because of the shameful scandal that will be occasioned.[3]

Even though women in Korea count for absolutely nothing in society or in their own family, they are nevertheless surrounded by a certain outward respect. Honorific formulae are used in speaking to them, which no one would dare to dispense with, if not perhaps towards one's own slaves. In the street, the right of way is ceded to all respectable women, even the humblest of them.The women's quarters are inviolate. The agents of the law themselves cannot set foot in them, and a nobleman who retreats to that part of the house will never be seized there by force. The only exception is in cases of rebellion because the women are supposed to be complicit with the suspect. In other circumstances, the satellites are forced to use a ruse to lure their prey outside to a place where they can legally arrest him. When a buyer comes to visit a house for sale, he gives warning of his arrival so that the doors of the women's quarters can be closed, and he only inspects the outer rooms that are open to all. When a man wants to go up on his roof, he warns his neighbors so that the doors and windows can be closed.

The mandarins' womenfolk have the right to two-horse carriages[4], and they are not obliged, within the capital precincts, to prevent their grooms from shouting to make way for them, which the highest civil servants, even governors and ministers, must do. Women genuflect to no one, except to their relations, to the required degree and according to fixed rules. Those who have themselves carried in chairs or palanquins are dispensed from getting down when passing before the palace gates. These customs seem to be dictated by the notion of good behavior, but there are others that evidently come from the disdain that men have for the weaker sex, or from licentiousness. In this way, women, whatever class of society they belong to, are almost never called before the tribunals, whatever infraction they may have committed, because it is supposed that they are not responsible for their actions. For the same reason, they have the right to penetrate everywhere in houses, and to circulate in the streets of the capital at all hours, even at night, while from nine o'clock at night, the moment when the clock strikes the hour of withdrawal, until two o'clock in the morning, no man can go out, except in cases of absolute necessity, without risking a stiff fine.

When children attain the age of puberty, their parents betroth them[5] and marry them off without consulting them, without concerning themselves about their inclinations, and often even against their will. On both sides, only one consideration matters: the compatibility of rank and position between the two families. Little importance attaches to the aptitudes of the future spouses, their characters, their physical qualities or defects, or their mutual repugnance. The boy's father opens communication with the girl's father, face to face if they live in the same neighborhood, by letter if they live too far apart. The various conditions of the contract are discussed, everything is settled, a date is chosen that seems the most auspicious according to the calculations of the fortune tellers or astrologists, and the arrangement is fixed.

One or two days before the day fixed for the wedding, the young lady will invite one of her friends to come and put up her hair; the young man for his part calls one of his relations or acquaintances to render him the same service. Those who are to perform this ceremony are chosen with care; they are called *boksu*, which is to say "hands of good fortune." Here is what this custom is founded upon. In Korea, children of both sexes wear their hair in a single plait that hangs down the back. They always go bareheaded. As long as one is not married, one remains categorized as a child (*aegi*), and one must keep this hairstyle. One can indulge in all kinds of infantile games and fancies without such behavior drawing any consequence; one is not thought to be capable of thinking or acting seriously, and young men, even if they are twenty-five or thirty years old cannot take their place at any table where important affairs are discussed. Marriage, however, brings civil emancipation at whatever age it is contracted, even twelve or

[3] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 64

[4] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 100

[5] The source for this section is unclear.

thirteen[6]. From then, one becomes an acknowledged man (*eoreun*), children's games must be given up, the newly-wed wife takes her place among the matrons, and the young husband has the right to speak up in the meetings of men and to wear a hat. After their hair has been put up for the wedding, men wear it knotted on top of their heads, slightly to the front. After the old traditions, they must never cut a single hair of it, but, in the capital especially, young men who want to highlight their personal attractions and do not want to have too large a packet of hair on their pates have the tops of their heads shaved in such a way that the knot of hair is no bigger than an egg. Married women, in contrast, not only keep all their hair, but add false hair to it in order to enlarge as much as possible the two tresses that are considered strictly required for them. Women of all ranks in the capital, and noblewomen in the provinces, make these two tresses into a fat bun which, held in place by a long needle of silver or leather placed crosswise, rests on the back of the neck. Women of the common people in the provinces wind the two tresses around their heads like a turban and knot it them in the front. Young people who refuse to marry, and men who arrive a certain age without having been able to find a wife, secretly and fraudulently put up their hair themselves in order not to be treated eternally as children; this a grave violation of custom, but it is tolerated.

On the appointed day, a somewhat elevated dais, decked out in all possible luxury, is erected in the young girl's home. Relations and friends are invited, and come in crowds. The future spouses, who have never seen each other or ever exchanged a word, are led onto the dais and seated facing each other. They stay there for a few minutes, bow to each other silently, and then each retires to his or her own side. The young wife returns to the women's quarters, and the young husband remains with the men in the outer rooms, where he celebrates with his friends and shows them as good a time as he can. As considerable as the expense may be, he must bear it with good grace; if not, all imaginable means, including trussing him up and hanging him from the ceiling, will be employed to force his generosity.

It is this reciprocal bow in front of witnesses that signifies the consent of the newlyweds and constitutes the legal marriage. From that point on, unless he has repudiated his wife by the proper forms, he can always and everywhere claim her. If he does repudiate her, he is forbidden to take another legal wife during the lifetime of the first, but he is free to take as many concubines as he can feed. As for the concubines, it is sufficient for a man to prove that he has had intimate relations with a girl or a widow for her to become his legal property. No one can take her from him and her relatives themselves do not have the right to reclaim her. If she flees, he can have her brought back to his domicile by force.

The following incident, which happened a few years ago in a village where a missionary was staying, will help us understand the various laws and customs related to marriage better. A nobleman had his own daughter and his deceased brother's to marry off, both the same age[7]. He wanted the most excellent husband he could find for both girls, but especially for his daughter, and in his desire to make the best possible choice, he had already refused several very suitable parties. One day, at last, an offer came to him from a rich and powerful family. After having hesitated for some time over whether he would give his daughter or his niece, he decided in favor of his daughter, and without ever having seen his future son-in-law, gave his word and agreed to a wedding date. However, three days before the ceremony, he learned from some shamans that the young man was a simpleton, very ugly and very stupid. What to do? There was no way to back out. He had given his consent, and in such a case the law is inflexible. In his despair, he thought of a way to soften the blow that he could not dodge altogether. On the day of the wedding, he betook himself to the women's quarters early in the morning and gave the strictest orders that his niece and not his daughter was to be coiffed, dressed and conducted onto the platform to bow to her future husband. His daughter, stunned, had no choice but to obey. The two cousins

[6] The *Gyeongguk Daejeon* 經國大典 State Code setting out the rules for such things says: When the age of the man is 15 years old and the woman is 14 years old, marriage is immediately allowed. If the children are 13 years old discussions of marriage is permitted. If one of the parents of either family is ill or has reached the age of 50, if the girl is 12 years of age or older, it may be reported to the authorities and there may be marriage.

[7] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 140-142

being more or less the same size, the substitution was easily made and the ceremony took place with the due forms properly observed. The newlywed husband, according to custom, spent the afternoon in the men's quarters, and great was the stupefaction of the old nobleman when he saw that far from being the booby that the shamans had made him out to be, he was handsome, well built, very intelligent, very learned and very lovable! Desolate at having lost such a son-in-law, he came up with a way to make up the loss, and secretly ordered that in the evening his daughter and not his niece was to be introduced into the nuptial chamber. He knew very well that the young man would suspect nothing because during the official ceremony brides are so made up and loaded with ornaments that it is impossible to make out their faces. Everything took place as he desired. During the following two or three days that they spent together as a family, the old nobleman, delighted by the success of his stratagems, congratulated himself on having such a perfect son-in-law. The newly-wed, for his part, showed himself to be more and more charming, and won the heart of his father-in-law to the extent that the latter, in an excess of affection, finally confessed everything that had happened, the rumors that he had heard about him, and the successive substitutions of niece for the daughter, and the daughter for the niece. The young man was speechless at first, but then, recovering his composure, said, "That's all very well, and very adroit on your part. But it is clear that both of the young ladies belong to me, and I claim both of them, your niece who is my sole legal wife because of the official bows that she made to me, and your daughter because you yourself introduced her into the nuptial chamber, where she became my concubine in law and in fact." There was nothing to more to say; the two young women were conducted to the house of the new husband, and the old man remained alone to be ridiculed for his ineptitude and bad faith.

On the wedding day, the young girl must show the greatest reserve in her speech[8]. On the dais, she does not say a word, and in the nuptial chamber that evening, etiquette, especially among people of the high nobility, commands her to be absolutely silent. The young husband peppers her with questions and compliments; she remains as mute and impassive as a statue. She sits in a corner, wearing as many layers as she can. Her husband undresses her if he wishes, but she does not get involved. If she were to utter a word or make a gesture, she would become the butt of mockery and jokes among her companions, for the female slaves of the house lurk near the doors to listen, peering through every chink, and hastening to report what they can see and hear. A young husband one day made a wager with his friends that he could snatch a few words from his wife at their first interview. The latter had been warned. The young man, after vainly trying various sallies, thought to tell her that the astrologers, in casting the horoscope of his future, had affirmed to him that she had been mute since birth, that he could see that such was the case, and that he was resolved never to take a mute wife. The young woman could have maintained her silence with impunity, for once the legal ceremonies were over, that one of the two spouses might be blind or deaf, or impotent, did not matter, the marriage existed. However, stung by his words, she replied bitterly, "Alas! The horoscope cast for my new family is even more true. The fortune teller told me that I would marry the son of a rat, and he was not mistaken." That is the grossest insult for a Korean, and her barb had struck not only the husband, but also the father. The burst of laughter from the female slaves by the door discountenanced the young man even more. He had won his wager, but the mockery of his friends made him pay dearly and for a long time for his untoward bravado.

This state of reserve and restraint between the newlyweds must be prolonged for a long time according to the laws of etiquette. For months at a time, the young woman hardly opens her mouth for even the most necessary things; there are no sustained conversations with her husband, no confidences, never a shadow of cordiality. Towards her father-in-law, the custom is even more severe. Often whole years pass without her daring to lift her eyes to look at him or to speak to him, except to give him some brief response from a distance. With her mother-in-law, she is slightly more at ease, and sometimes permits herself some little conversations; however, if she is well brought up, these conversations are rare

[8] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 110

and of short duration. Needless to say, the Christians of Korea have set aside most of these ridiculous observances.

In light of all that we have just said, it will be readily understood how rare happy marriages and well-matched unions must be in Korea. The wife has nothing but duties towards her husband, while he has none towards her. Conjugal fidelity is obligatory only for the wife[9]. As insulted or disdained as she may be, she has no right to show any jealousy; even the idea of it does not occur to her. In any case, mutual love between the spouses is a phenomenon that the prevailing morals render almost impossible. Propriety tolerates a husband who respects his wife and treats her fittingly, but one who gave her a mark of true affection, and loved her as his companion for life would be cruelly mocked. For a man with any self-respect, she is not and must not be anything more than a slave of somewhat more elevated rank, destined to give him children, supervise his inner household, and to satisfy his passions and natural appetites when it pleases him. Among the nobility, a young husband must leave his new wife alone for quite a long time after having spent three or four days with her in order to prove that he does not make too much of her. He leaves in her in a state of anticipatory widowhood, and disports himself with his concubines. To act otherwise would be in bad taste. Examples are cited of noblemen who were obliged to absent themselves for several weeks from their friends' homes, where they were incessantly persecuted with gibes for having shed a few tears at the death of their wives.

Among the women, a certain number accept this state of things with exemplary resignation. They show themselves to be devoted, obedient, and solicitous of the reputation and well-being of their husbands. They do not rebel much against the often tyrannical and unreasonable exigencies of their mothers-in-law. Habituated to the yoke from infancy, and to regarding themselves as an inferior race, it does not even occur to them to protest the established customs, or to challenge the prejudices of which they are the victims. Many other women, however, give themselves over to their defects of character, are violent and insubordinate, sow division and ruin in their households, fight with their mothers-in-law, take revenge on their husbands by making their lives unbearable, and incessantly provoke scenes of anger and scandal. Among the common people, in such cases, the husband asserts himself with blows of the fist or staff; in the upper classes, however, custom forbids the beating of one's wife, so the only recourse is divorce, and if it is not easy for him to arrange one and to take on the expense of another marriage, he must resign himself. If his wife, not content with tormenting him, is unfaithful to him or flees the marital home, he takes her before a mandarin, who, having had a bastinado administered to the lady, gives her to one of his satellites or menservants as a concubine.

Sometimes, nonetheless, even in Korea women of tact and energy are able to make themselves respected, and rise above their legal position, as the following example, an extract from a Korean treatise on morality in action for young people of both sexes, proves. Towards the end of the last century, a nobleman of the capital, quite highly placed, lost his wife, who had given him several children. His already advanced age made a second marriage difficult; nevertheless, after a long search, the matchmakers employed in such cases arranged his union with the daughter of a poor noble of the province of Gyeongsang[10]. On the appointed day, he presented himself at his future father-in-law's house, and the betrothed were led onto the dais to make the customary obeisances. Our dignitary, seeing his new wife, was speechless for a moment. She was very small, ugly, hunchbacked, and seemed to be as little possessed of gifts of the mind as of the body. However, there was no way out, and he played his part, resolved never to bring her into his house and to have no relations with her. The two or three days customarily spent in the father-in-law's house having crept by, he departed for the capital, and sent no further news of himself. His abandoned wife, who was a person of great intelligence, resigned herself to her isolation, and remained in the paternal home, informing herself from time to time of what was happening to her husband. She learned, after two or three years, that he had become a minister of the

[9] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 63-4

[10] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 112-115

second grade, and that he had married off his two sons very honorably, then, several years later, that he was preparing to celebrate his sixtieth birthday with all the requisite pomp.

Promptly, without hesitating, despite the opposition and remonstrances of her parents, she set off for the capital, and had herself carried to the minister's house and announced as his wife. She descended from her palanquin in the vestibule, assumed an assured air, passed a tranquil gaze over the ladies of the family gathered for the party, seated herself in the place of honor, called for a light, and with the greatest calm lit up her pipe in front of the stupefied guests. The news was promptly taken to the men's quarters, but out of decorum no one showed any emotion. Soon the lady called the slaves and said in a severe tone, "What sort of household is this? I am your mistress and no one has come to receive me. Where were you raised? I should have you all severely punished, but I will let you off this time. Where is the apartment of the lady of the house?" She was hastily conducted there, and there, amidst all the ladies, she asked, "Where are my daughters-in-law, how is it that they have not come to greet me? They have no doubt forgotten that on my marriage I became their husbands' mother, and that they owe me all the courtesy due to their own mother." The two daughters-in-law, ashamed, promptly presented themselves, excused themselves as best they could on the grounds that such an unexpected visit had taken them by surprise. She reprimanded them gently, exhorted them to be more punctilious in the performance of their duties, and gave various orders as mistress of the house.

Several hours later, seeing that none of the masters of the house had appeared, she summoned a slave and said to him, "My two sons have certainly not gone out on a day like this; go see if they are in the men's quarters, and have them come here." They arrived, very embarrassed, and stammered some excuses. "How is it," she said to them, "that you learned of my arrival several hours ago, and yet you didn't come to greet me! With such a poor upbringing, and such ignorance of the rules, what will you do in the world? I pardoned the slaves and my daughters-in-law for their lack of courtesy, but as for you men, I cannot leave your error unpunished." So saying, she called a slave, and had him give them a few whacks of the rod on the legs. Then she added, "As for your father the minister, I am his servant, and I have no orders to give him, but you, from now on be sure not to forget the proprieties."

In the end, the minister himself, stunned by all that was happening, was obliged to bestir himself and came to greet his wife. Three days later, the celebrations over, he returned to the palace. The king graciously asked him if everything had gone off as successfully as possible; the minister recounted in detail the story of his marriage, the unforeseen arrival of his wife and the manner in which she had skillfully conducted herself. The king, who was a man of sense, replied to him, "You acted very badly towards your wife. She seems to me to be a woman of wit and extraordinary tact; her behavior is admirable, and I cannot praise her enough. I hope that you will make good the injustice you have done her." The minister promised to do so, and a few days later, the sovereign solemnly conferred on the lady one of the highest honors of the court.

A legally married woman, as long as she is not a widow or a slave, shares her husband's social status completely and forever. Even if she is not noble by birth, she becomes so if she marries a noble, and her children will be noble, too. If two brothers marry an aunt and a niece, and the niece falls to the elder brother, she duly becomes the elder sister, and the aunt will be treated as her younger sister, which in this country makes an enormous difference.

In all classes of society, the principal occupation of women is the raising, or rather the suckling, of their children. A mother rarely dispenses with this duty, even more sacred in this country where there is no notion of using animals' milk to suckle infants, and where, consequently, children who lose their mothers in their early years almost all die. The Koreans do not know how to raise animals and never use cow's or goat's milk. The only exception is for the king, who sometimes takes some. In that case, milk is obtained through a rather complicated operation. The cow is laid down on its flank, in the presence of the entire court, then its teats are pressed with planks or staffs, and the milk, which the milkmen extract by the sweat of their brows, is carefully collected for the use of His Majesty.

When there are no younger children, the mother suckles her offspring until the age of seven or eight years, sometimes even until ten or twelve years. This disgusting custom is apparently so natural in

this country that the thing is done publicly, and one sees children almost as big as their mothers being given the breast without anyone being scandalized. For the rest, the education of children requires little effort. It usually consists of indulging all the wishes of the child, especially if it is a son, of accommodating all its whims, and laughing at all its faults and vices, without ever correcting it. Outside of caring for their offspring, noblewomen have nothing to do but direct their servants and maintain order in the inner chambers. Their lives play out almost entirely in a state of complete inaction. The women of the common people, however, have a heavy burden. They must prepare the food, weave the linen, make clothes out of it, wash and bleach them, look after everything in the house, and in the summer, additionally, help their husbands in the fields. The men work at sowing-time and harvest-time, but in the winter they rest. Their only occupation then is to cut the necessary firewood on the mountains. The rest of their time is spent playing, smoking, sleeping or visiting their relatives and friends. The women, like veritable slaves, never rest.

The unjust inequality between the sexes continues even after the marriage is finally dissolved by the death of one of the spouses. The husband wears half-mourning[11] after the death of his wife for only a few months[12], and can remarry as soon as it is over. The wife, in contrast, especially in the upper classes, must bewail her husband and wear mourning for the rest of her life. It would be infamous for a well brought up widow, no matter how young, to remarry[13]. King Seongjong, who reigned from 1469 to 1494, prohibited[14] the taking of the public examinations for the children of noblewomen's second marriages, and prohibited them from being admitted to the civil service. Still to this day, they are considered to be illegitimate children under the law.

Serious disorders necessarily result from this unrighteous prohibition on second marriages among a people as brutishly passionate as the Koreans. Young noble widows never remarry, but nearly all of them are, publicly or secretly, the concubines of those who wish to provide for them. In any case, those who stubbornly persist in living chastely in solitude are very vulnerable. Sometimes they are drugged without their knowledge by narcotics put into their drinks, and they awake dishonored next to a villain who has abused them in their sleep; sometimes they are abducted by force in the night with the help of hired brigands; when, in one way or another, they have been victims of the violence of one who lusted after them, there is no possible remedy: they belong to him by law and custom. One sometimes sees young widows take their lives as soon as their husband's funeral is over, the better to prove their fidelity, and to put their reputation and their honor beyond any doubt. The nobles spare no means to celebrate these model women, and they almost always petition the king to raise a public monument, a column or a temple, dedicated to conserving the memory of their heroism. Twenty years ago, vague rumors of an imminent civil war having spread throughout the country, some Christian widows asked for permission from their missionary to commit suicide if any armed bands approached their homes, and the priest had a great deal of difficulty to make them understand that, even in such a case, suicide is an abominable crime before God.

For the common people, second marriages are not prohibited by law or custom.In rich families, great store is set, out of pride, by imitating the nobility in this as in other things. Among the poor, however, the necessity for the men of having someone to prepare their food, and the necessity for the women to avoid dying of hunger, render this kind of marriage fairly frequent.

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[11] Daveluy Archive Volume 5 f. 184

[12] Mourning for a deceased wife should normally last for one year (*ginyeonsang* 朞年喪), but for the higher classes it was only permitted to remarry (*gaechui* 改娶) after three years, according to the *Daejeon Tongpyeon* 大典通編.

[13] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 64

[14] This law, *Jaeganyepja Songeumdongbeop* 再嫁女子孫禁銅法 dates from 1478

X Family – Adoption – Ties of Kinship – Legal Mourning

The Korean is crazy is about his children[1], above all the boys, who in his eyes are worth ten times as much as the girls, and even they are dear to him. One almost never sees instances of abandoned or exposed children. Sometimes, in times of great famine, people dying of hunger are pushed to that extremity, but even then they try to give them away or sell them, and the first resources they can scrape together thereafter are used to repurchase them if possible. They never think their family is too numerous, and, it may be said in passing, that the conduct of these poor pagans will be, on Judgement Day, the condemnation of those infamous parents who in our Christian lands do not fear to violate the laws of God and to outrage nature by sparing themselves the cares and fatigue of bringing up children. A Korean, poor as he may be, is always happy to be a father, and even in destitution is able to find the means to feed and raise the family that God sends him.

The first thing that is inculcated in a child from the earliest age is respect for his father. Any kind of insubordination towards him is immediately and severely reprimanded. It is not the same with the mother. She, according to the morals of the country, is nothing and counts for nothing, which the child learns only too soon. He hardly listens to her and disobeys her almost with impunity. In speaking of the father, the epithets *eom-jin* or *eom-bu-hyeong* are frequently added, which mean severe or formidable, and which imply a profound respect. In contrast, the words *ja-chin* or *ja-dang*, which mean good or indulgent, who is not to be feared, etc., are added to the mother's appellation. This difference certainly has its roots in nature, but, exaggerated as it is in this country, it has become a deplorable abuse.

A son must never play with his father, nor smoke in front of him, nor assume an overly relaxed posture in his presence. In comfortably off families, there is a special apartment where one can be at ease and play with one's friends. The son is his father's servant; he often brings him his meals, serves him at table, and prepares his bed. He must salute him respectfully when leaving or coming back to the house. If the father is old or sick, the son never leaves him for an instant, and sleeps not far from him in order to be able to take care of all his needs. If the father is in prison, the son comes to install himself in the neighborhood in order to communicate with him easily, and bring him some comforts. When this prison is the *gum-bu* 禁府, the son must remain kneeling in front of the gate, in a designated spot, to wait day and night until his father's fate is decided. When a culprit is sent into exile, his son is bound to accompany him at least along the whole route, and if the family's financial state allows it, he installs himself in the same place where the father is serving his sentence. A son who encounters his father on the road must prostrate himself in the dust or the mud. When writing to him, he must use the most honorific formulas known to the Korean language. The mandarins frequently obtain long leaves in order to visit their parents, and if it happens that they lose their father or mother while on duty, they must then tender their resignations in order to devote themselves solely to rendering their final duties to the deceased, and they cannot exercise any official function for the duration of the mourning period. No virtue in Korea is esteemed or honoured as much as filial piety, none is taught with more care, and none is rewarded more magnificently, by tax exemptions, by the erection of monuments or even temples, and by titles and public offices. Extraordinary examples of this virtue are also fairly frequent, especially on the part of a son or a daughter towards their father. They are more rarely met with towards the mother, which is caused by the prejudices of their upbringing, of which we have just spoken.

The adoption of children is quite common in Korea[2]. He who has no sons of his own must choose one from among his relations, and the main reason for this custom can be found in the religious beliefs of the country. In effect, it is the descendants who must maintain the cult of the ancestors by

[1] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 96

[2] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 134-5

keeping their spirit tablets, observing the numerous ceremonies of the funeral and of mourning, offering sacrifices, etc. The preservation of the family is only a secondary goal of adoption. In addition, girls are never adopted because they cannot perform the prescribed rites. On the other hand, the consent of the adoptee or of his parents is not at all necessary because it is about a religious and social necessity of which the government, in case of need, imposes acceptance by force.

To be legally valid, an adoption must be registered at the *Ye-jo* 禮曹, or tribunal of rites, but this formality has fallen into disuse. It suffices for it to be done publicly in a family council, and recognized by all the relations. The adopted child must be taken from among the relations on the father's side, which is to say among those who bear the same name, and, in cases where the family is very numerous, among those belong to the same branch. It is necessary further that the adoptee be related in the unequal collateral line, but unequal by only one degree. That is to say that a man may adopt his brother's son, or the son of his first cousin, and so on, but he cannot adopt his brother or a cousin, or their grandsons. He who had a married son who died without children cannot adopt in his own name, but in the same of his dead son, and consequently, by virtue of the preceding rule, he must choose the grandson of one of his brothers or cousins, which is to say someone who could be the son of his son. Most often, the adoptee is still a suckling infant, but there is no age requirement. The adopted child owes his new parents all the duties of a son, and he has all the rights and privileges of a son without exception. These adoptions, for the most part forced, lead to divisions within families and are the cause of a host of miseries. It is quite difficult for the adoptive parent to love as his own the son of another, and for his part the adoptee, unsatisfied with his position, often misses his own parents. In the upper classes, all the outward marks of the most lively affection are observed out of decorum in front of strangers, but among the common folk, disagreements and quarrels break out every day. A legal adoption can only be broken by special permission of the tribunal of rites, and is quite difficult to obtain it. When an adoption has been annulled, one is free to make another. Adoptions, though covered by all the official forms, have never been recognized by the Church in Korea because they are most often imposed by force on the parents and the children.

There is another type of adoption which is not recognized by the law, and which does not confer any rights or privileges on the adopted child. It takes place above all among the lower classes when people who do not have children, or have only daughters, raise someone else's child in order to have someone to support them in their old age and infirmity. This kind of adoption is accomplished without any outward formalities, and without restriction of name, relationship or family. Only those who because of their poverty cannot find someone to adopt by the formulas that the law requires have recourse to it, and when they die, their property in the form of their house, their furniture and other objects of petty value pass uncontested to their adopted child.

In Korea, as in most of the countries of the Orient, family ties are much closer and reach much farther than among the European peoples of our epoch. All relations to the fifteenth or twentieth degree, whatever their social position, be they rich or poor, learned or ignorant, public officials or mendicants, make up a clan, or a tribe, and, to put it more accurately, a single family of which all the members have mutual interests and must support each other reciprocally. On the father's death, the eldest son takes his place, and he conserves the proprieties. The younger sons receive donations of greater or lesser amounts from their parents at the time of their marriage, and in certain other circumstances, according to the custom, rank and fortune of their families, but otherwise all of the property stays with the eldest son, who is bound to take care of his brothers as his own children. His brothers, for their part, regard him as their father, and if he is sentenced to prison or to exile, render him the same services that they would to their father. In general, relations between relatives are very cordial. The house of one of them is the house of all, the resources of one are more or less the resources of all, and all support the one among them who stands a chance of obtaining a job or of making money because all will profit. That is the universal custom, and the law recognizes it, because one must pay not only the taxes and levies of one's nearest relations if they are in arrears, but also the private debts that they are unable or unwilling to pay. The tribunals always find in this way, and it never occurs to anyone to complain or protest.

"Recently," wrote Bishop Daveluy[3] in 1855, "a young man of more than twenty years of age was brought before a mandarin for the sake of a few coins due to the treasury on his private account, and that he found himself in the impossibility of paying. The magistrate, warned in advance, handled the affair in a manner that was much applauded. 'Why have you not paid up?' he asked the young man. 'I barely get by on my daily wages, and I have no resources.' 'Where do you live?' 'On the streets.' 'And your parents?' 'I lost them when I was a baby.' 'Is there no one left of your family?' 'I have an uncle who lives in such-and-such street, who lives off a small piece of land that he owns.' 'Does he not help you?' 'Sometimes, but he has his own expenses and he can only do a little for me.' The mandarin, knowing that the young man was speaking this way out of respect for his uncle, and that in fact the latter was an old miser, very comfortably off, who had abandoned the poor orphan, continued to question hiM. 'Why, at your age, are you not married yet?' 'Is it so easy then? Who would give his daughter to a young man without parents and living in misery?' 'Do you want to marry?' 'It's not the desire I lack, but the means.' 'Well, then, I'll take care of it. You seem like an honest boy to me, and I hope to get to the bottom of this. Think about how you are going to pay the small sum that you owe to the government, and in a little while, I will recall you.'

"The young man withdrew, without quite knowing what it all meant. The news of what had happened in open court soon reached the uncle, who, ashamed of his conduct and fearing some public reproach from the mandarin, hastened to take steps to get his nephew married. The affair was quickly concluded, and a date was fixed. On the very eve of the wedding, just when the groom's hair was being put up, the mandarin, who had secretly been keeping abreast of everything, recalled him to the tribunal and demanded the money for the tax. The young man paid immediately. 'What!', said the mandarin, 'You hair has been put up. Are you married already? How did you accomplish that so quickly?' 'A good match was found for me, and since my uncle was able to help me a little, it's all settled, and I'm getting married tomorrow.' 'Very good, but how will you live? Do you have a house?' 'I haven't looked that far ahead. First I'll get married, and then we'll see.' 'But in the meantime, where will you lodge your wife?' 'I will find a little corner at my uncle's or elsewhere to stash her while waiting for the time I have a house of my own.' 'And if I had the means to give you one?' 'It's very good of you to think of me, but things will take care of themselves little by little.' 'But look here, how much would you need to establish yourself comfortably?' 'That's no small matter. I would need a house, some furniture, and a little plot of land to cultivate.' 'Would two thousand nhiangs (about four hundred francs) be enough?' 'I think I could get by all right with two hundred nhiangs.' 'Fine, I'll think about it. Get married, settle down, and in future be prompt about paying your taxes.' Every word of this conversation was repeated to the uncle, who saw that he had to take steps to avoid becoming the laughingstock of the whole town, and a few days after his wedding, the nephew had at his disposal a house, some furniture and the two hundred nhiangs that the mandarin had spoken of."

If this system of common interests and reciprocal obligations between members of the same family has its advantages, it does not lack grave drawbacks. We have already pointed out several of them in speaking of public officials. It is rare that in a numerous family there are not a few idlers, a few black sheep, who are incapable of keeping a job or earning an honest living, and who live off their near relations, stealing an ox from this one, a dog from that one, some linen from another, not to mention money and provisions, borrowing but never paying back, and taking by force what is not given to them in good grace. Sometimes they go so far as to steal title deeds that they sell to their profit, or they even make counterfeit deeds that they mortgage to outsiders. They are almost assured of impunity because not only do the morals of the country not permit giving a relative up to the law, but they oblige all of his relations to support and defend him if he falls into a mandarin's hands. The neighbors, when they are not personally involved, cannot intervene; in fact, they are told to mind their own affairs. The mandarins can hardly do

[3] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 130-132

anything about them, since there is no formal charge, and it would be impossible to find any witnesses in the culprits' families. In any case, as a general rule, a mandarin is a man who only, and with difficulty, bestirs himself to investigate and settle affairs when he cannot avoid them. Where then to find one who for the pure love of justice would, out of the goodness of his heart, create difficulties or enemies for himself? The only recourse for families in such cases is to take the law into their own hands. One of the elders gives the necessary orders, others seize the culprit, confine him and give him a sound beating. The latter does not have the right to defend himself, and if a little firmness is shown, he is obliged to change his behavior or to flee the province. Unfortunately, it is rare for families to have the required perseverance, and these punishments, usually insufficient, only palliate the evil.

Everything we have just said about kinship, its ties and obligations, should only be understood as germane to kinship through the father, which is to say between people who have the same name. It extends as far as the twentieth degree, and does not, so to speak, have a legal limitation, while kinship on the mother's side amounts to almost nothing. From the second generation, one is no longer acquainted, does not help any more, and does not wear mourning.

The number of family names is very small[4], a hundred and forty-five or a hundred and fifty at most[5], and many of those are not at all prevalent. They all consist of a single Chinese character, except for six or seven that consist of two characters. To distinguish the different families that have the same name, the name is added to what is called the *pon* 本, which is to say the name of the place the families originally came from. If the *pon* is different, people are not considered to be related, but if it is the same, they are related in the eyes of the law and marriage is forbidden. There are names like Kim and Yi that have more than twenty *pon*, which is to say that they are common to about twenty families of different origins. We have indicated them in this history as being 'of the branch of this or that place.' The family name is never used alone; it is followed either by a given name, or by the word *seobang* 書房 for young men, or the title *saeng-won* 生員 for older noblemen, the heads of families, etc. These expressions correspond more or less to our words 'mister' and 'milord'.

Other than these family names, there are the given names of each individual. There are usually three of them, namely *a-myeong* 兒名 the childhood name, *sok-myeong* 俗名 the common or vulgar given name, and *gwan-myeong* 冠名 the legal given name[6], to which must be added the nick name or sobriquet *ho* 號 , and for Christians, the baptismal name. The childhood name is given some time after birth, and everyone, except slaves and servants, uses it to address the person until his marriage; this name is a word in the vernacular language. It is used alone or following the family name. After marriage, it is never used again for men, except sometimes by their father, their mother, their tutor or other such people. The common given name is given at the time of marriage. It is used by superiors and equals. Friends and acquaintances do not use any other, and it the most generally known.

Women's given names do not change at their marriage. They keep their childhood name, or rather they no longer have a particular name. They are generally designated by the name of their husband followed by the word, *daek* 宅, madam, or *gwa-daek* 寡宅, madam dowager. The legal given name is assigned sometimes at birth, but more often at the time of marriage. It consists of two Chinese characters, and among the nobility, all those who descend from the same branch or stock must insert a shared character that changes in each generation so that by that character alone the number of generations of descent in the direct line from the founder, and the degree of relationship in the collateral line, are known. This name is not used in everyday life, unless for dignitaries or highly placed men, but it is the only one that appears in public affairs, in civil contracts, in examinations, in legal proceedings, etc. It is also used

[4] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 31-32

[5] The *Jeungbomunheonbigo* 增補文獻備考 lists 496 surnames current in the late Joseon Dynasty.

[6] The name given at the coming of age ceremony *gwanrye* 冠禮.

as the signature when writing an important letter. Often this name, though inscribed in the genealogical records, or in the official registries of the state, is unknown to people who do not belong to the family, or who do not have frequent contact with the individual. Ordinarily, the common people do not have a legal name. Sobriquets are very common in Korea, and everyone can use them.

Let us remark here that Korean etiquette forbids not only calling one's father, or mother, or uncles or any other superior by their name, but it forbids even uttering that name. In such a case, well brought up people have recourse to various paraphrases. The King's name, composed of two Chinese characters assigned by the court of Peking when it invests him, must never be uttered, and the people do not even know that name. After the King's death, his successor gives him the name by which history will know him.

A few words, finally, on legal mourning as it is observed in Korea[7], especially among the upper classes. When a nobleman loses his father, his mother, or one of his near relatives, he is not free to grieve as he pleases; with regard to the time, the place, the method, and the duration of the mourning, he must conform to the conventions that are explained in detail in an official treatise published by the government. To miss any important point would be to lose face, in other words to be dishonored to the point of not daring to show one's face anywhere. One begins by placing the body of the deceased in a coffin of very thick wood, which is kept for several months in a special apartment, prepared and decorated for that purpose. The common people who do not have the means for a special room for the corpse keep the coffin outside their house, and cover it with straw matting to protect it from the rain. It is in the apartment of the deceased that one must grieve at least four times a day, and to go inside one must don a particular outfit. It consists of a large grey linen redingote, shredded, patched and as dirty as possible. It is belted with a rope the thickness of a fist, partly of straw and partly of yarn. Another rope of a similar type, as thick as a thumb, is wrapped around the head, which is covered by a bonnet of grey linen. The two ends of this rope fall forward onto each cheek. Special shoes and stockings, and a thick knotted stick complete the outfit.

In this garb, one goes into the mortuary chamber in the morning on getting up, then before each meal. A small table loaded with various dishes is brought in and placed on an altar by the side of the coffin; then the one who is presiding over the ceremony, bent and leaning on his stick, intones funereal lamentations. For a father or mother these lamentations are composed of the syllables *ai-ko*, which are repeated without interruption in a lugubrious tone for a quarter hour or half hour. For other relatives, oi, oi is chanted. The louder the lamenting voice and the longer the session, the more the mourner rises in public estimation. Once the lamentations are completed, the mourner withdraws, the dishes are carried away, the mourning outfit is taken off, and he takes his meal. On the new moon and the full moon, all the relatives, friends, and acquaintances are invited to take part in the ceremony. These practices continue even after the burial, for two or three years, and, during this time, a self-respecting noble must frequently go to weep and wail on his parents' tomb. Sometimes he passes the whole day and even the night there. Examples are cited of those build a little house near these tombs in order to stay there for several years, and who thus acquire a saintly renown and universal veneration.

[7] The source of this section is unclear.

XI Religion – Ancestor Worship – Monks – Popular Superstitions

According to local traditions, Buddhism, or the doctrine of Buddha, penetrated Korea in the fourth century of the Christian era, and spread with some success through the three kingdoms that shared the peninsula at that time. When the Goryeo 高麗 dynasty united these various states into a single monarchy[1], it protected the adherents of this doctrine, which became the official religion. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Goryeo dynasty having been overthrown, the princes of the Joseon 朝鮮 dynasty, which succeeded it, ceded to the influence and perhaps the formal orders of the emperors in Peking, and adopted not only Chinese chronology and the imperial calendar, but also the religion of Confucius[2]. They did not proscribe the old religion[3], but they left it to itself, and, in the natural way of things, the number of Buddhists steadily diminished, and their doctrine as well their monks have today fallen into a state where they are held in contempt. The doctrine of Confucius, in contrast, established in law, is the dominant religion; his cult is the state religion, and any contravention of his tenets in any serious matter can be punished by the ultimate penalty, as proved by excerpts from the trial of Paul Yun and James Gwon[4], and other documents that we will give in full in this history.

We will not speak here of this doctrine of Confucius in itself. The works of our missionaries and sinologists over the last two centuries have exhausted the topic, and through the opposing exaggerations of praise and disapproval, we have today arrived at a fairly accurate understanding of it. Let us only look at how it is in Korea. For the great mass of the people, it consists of ancestor worship, and of observing the five great duties[5]: to the king, to parents, between spouses, to elders, and between friends. To this is joined a rather vague understanding of *Shangdi / Sangje* 上帝 which the majority confuse with heaven[6]. For the literati, we must also add: the cult of Confucius and the great men, the veneration of the sacred books of China, and finally an official cult of Sa-jik 社稷, or the tutelary spirit of the kingdom. Sometimes, also, in the public acts of government, mention is made of benevolent spirits and of destiny.

The missionaries have often interrogated very learned Koreans on the meaning that they attach to the word *Sangje* (the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese *Shangdi*) without ever obtaining a clear and precise response. Some believe that it means the Supreme Being, creator and protector of the world, and others claim that it is purely and simply heaven, to which they ascribe the providential power to produce, preserve and ripen the harvest, to keep illness away, etc.; the greatest number avow that they do not know and that they are scarcely concerned about it. When public sacrifices[7] are offered to obtain rain or peace, or to conjure against various calamities, the prayer is addressed either to the Supreme Being or to heaven, according to the text that the mandarin in charge of the ceremony writes up.

Here are some details about these sacrifices, which are fairly infrequent. When districts or provinces are suffering from drought, the government sends an order to the mandarins, and each one of them goes to the place appointed for him on the appointed date early in the morning with his entourage,

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[1] As noted previously, the unification of the Three Kingdoms was done by Silla, long before Goryeo. Unified Silla is usually dated from 668.

[2] Of the different schools of Confucianism, it was the Neo-Confucianism of Chu Hsi (朱熹, 1130-1200) that was influential in the Joseon Dynasty. Neo-Confucianism was not accepted by order of the Ming Dynasty, but was voluntarily introduced at the request of the late Goryeo society.

[3] Dallet could hardly be expected to know about the strict anti-Buddhist policies of early Joseon.

[4] Paul Yun Ji-chung 尹持忠 and James Kwon Sang-yeon 權尙然 were martyred in 1791 for refusing to perform ancestral rites.

[5] *Samgang Oryun* 三綱五倫, the Three Bonds and Five Relationships in Confucianism

[6] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 54-55

[7] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 159-161

his praetorians and his satellites. Once there, he waits patiently without taking any refreshment, without even smoking any tobacco, until the propitious hour arrives. This is ordinarily towards midnight, and in any case, the mandarin not must go back home until after midnight has passed. At the precise moment, he burns pigs, sheep, and goats, of which the blood and the charred flesh are offered to the divinity. The next day he rests, in order to start again the next day, and so on, every second day, until rain is obtained. In the capital, the mandarins bestir themselves so that the sacrifices may take place every day. If after two or three sacrifices nothing is achieved, the location is changed to another more propitious spot. The various stations that are to be occupied in this way are determined by ancient custom. If the prayers are useless, the ministers come to officiate in place of the mandarins, and finally, when neither the mandarins nor the ministers are able to achieve anything, the king himself comes in great state to sacrifice and to obtain the salvation of his people. When the rain arrives, neither he who sacrifices nor the people of his entourage may take shelter; they must wait until just after midnight to go back to their homes. All the people imitate them, for it is believed to be insulting to heaven to seek shelter from the rain that is so ardently desired, and if any individual has the unlucky idea of putting on his hat or opening his umbrella, these objects will be seized and shredded to pieces, and he himself covered with blows and insults.

The mandarin after whose sacrifice the rain arrives is regarded as having done very well by the nation, and the king rewards him by promoting him or giving him some valuable present. Several years ago, a mandarin of the capital was immediately demoted for having carried out the ceremony before the appointed hour. However, that very night the rain began to fall. He was reinstated and shared the reward with the mandarin of the following day, during whose sacrifice the rain fell in great abundance. Each of them received from the king a deer hide, which was carried to their home with the greatest possible pomp.

In the capital, the sacrifices for good weather[8] take place on the Great South Gate. The hour is the same, the officiant observes the same abstinence, and during the whole time that the sacrifices take place the gate remains closed day and night, and traffic is stopped. Sometimes the transportation of the dead is also forbidden during this time. Those who take up a dead body and set off on the road despite the prohibition, whether because they do not know of it, or because they hope to slip by unnoticed, or because the day of the procession has been fixed by the soothsayers and cannot be changed, are pitilessly arrested at the gates of the city. As they cannot go back home before the burial, they must remain in the rain, they and the coffins that they are carrying, often for several days, until the return of the serenity that lifts the prohibition.

Sometimes, in great disasters such as times of cholera, private citizens underwrite or take up collections to raise money for more numerous sacrifices, and the king, for his part, seeks to appease heaven's anger by according partial or general amnesties.

Other than the official cult of *Sangje* or heaven, the government maintains a temple in the capital and regularly offers sacrifices to the Sa-jik 社稷. "I have often asked," writes Bishop Daveluy[9], "what this Sa-jik is. The answers are very obscure. Most claim that Sa is the spirit of the earth, and Jik the inventor of agriculture in China, today placed among the tutelary deities. Whatever the case may be, the people hardly bother about Sa-jik, and in the provinces, his name and cult are unknown. In the capital, however, his temple is the most sacred there is, the temple where the tablets of the ancestors of the reigning dynasty rest coming only in second place."

The principal part of the religion of the literati, the only one known and faithfully practiced by the great majority of the population, is ancestor worship -- hence the importance of the mourning laws, and of the location where graves must be placed, and of the keeping in each family of the tablets of deceased parents. On the subject of royal funerals and the obligations of kinship, we have already given the details of the mourning and the royal tombs; to finish off, here let us now give a few notices of ordinary graves and tablets.

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[8] The ceremony known as *Gicheongje* 祈晴祭, praying for rain or for an end to excessive rainfall.

[9] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 55

The choice of a burial site is for every Korean a major affair; for highly placed people, it can be said that it is their principal preoccupation[10]. They are convinced that the fate of their family and the prosperity of their line depends on this choice, and they spare nothing to find a propitious spot. To that end, geomancers and diviners who specialize in this type of research abound in the country. When the gravesite is fixed and the body has been deposited there, it is forbidden for anyone to bury another body there, for fear that fortune will never come his way again, and this prohibition extends for a considerable distance, according to the authority of who establishes it. For the tombs of kings, the reserved land extends for several leagues all around and includes the surrounding mountains from which the tomb can be seen. For their part, the great and the nobles take as much space as possible. They plant trees there which it is forbidden ever to cut down, and which in time become veritable forests. If anyone succeeds in furtively burying another corpse on a mountain already occupied by others, this mountain becomes the property of the last burier in the eyes of the law, and in this case, when the earlier tombs belong to nobles or rich people, they have the bodies disinterred, or if not, they content themselves with razing the tombs and wiping out every trace of them by leveling the ground. From this arise quarrels, brawls, and violent hatreds which, like all the Korean's hatreds, transmit themselves from generation to generation.

The law forbids the disinterment of the body of an individual belonging to another family; only the relatives of the deceased have the right to touch it. Some years ago[11], behind a mountain where a missionary lived, a rich merchant who had just lost his father found a gravesite to his liking. Near it were some noblemen's tombs. The distance being legally sufficient, the merchant had the right to bury his father there, but might is almost always right in Korea, and the nobles opposed him. The merchant persisted, secretly hired a hundred determined men to vanquish any resistance on the part of the tomb keepers, carried out the burial according to the rules, and retired with his forces. It was about six o'clock in the evening. The nobles, first owners of the land, lived three leagues away, and even though they had been warned since the morning, were not able to get there, with two or three hundred men, until half an hour too late. The mountain had been taken from them. Not daring to touch the freshly buried cadaver, they launched themselves and their men in pursuit of the merchant, battered his followers, seized him, tied his hands and feet, and took him, amid the most frightful cries, to his father's tomb. The unfortunate man, half dead with fright and fatigue, took the first spadeful of earth. The others were then able to disinter the body, which was accomplished in a few minutes, and the merchant had to look elsewhere for a burial site.

The common people have recourse to every means to protect their graves. One day, some praetorians wanted to buy one of their own in a spot already possessed by a poor family. The head of this family, seeing that all protests were futile, calmly attended the burial carried out by the praetorians, and after the ceremony offered some wine to the grave diggers, who accepted it. Then, with the greatest sang-froid, he cut some flesh from his own thighs, and offered the bleeding bits to them to complete their meal. The mandarin, learning the fact, and hearing the execrations loaded on his praetorians by the people, had them severely punished, and forced them to disinter their corpse and to return the spot to the previous owner. Another time, a butcher of oxen was dispossessed of his father's grave by a very powerful noble who buried his mother in the same place, two feet away. The poor man, far from resisting, put himself out with the best grace to help those who were performing the ceremony, and, as a reward for his good will, was appointed guardian of the new tomb. After several days, he planted a hedge between the two cadavers. The noble, having come to make his habitual visit to his mother's tomb, demanded an explanation. "I was forced to act this way," replied the guardian, "but it is impossible for me, even if I must die, to tell you the reason." the nobleman, very intrigued, flattered him, caressed him, and made him many assurances of impunity. "How to speak of such things?" said the other. "A few nights ago, I saw the body of my father get up, walk straight to the tomb of madam your mother...I dare not continue, but in the morning I planted this hedge to prevent such a scandalous profanation." The nobleman, half

[10] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 58

[11] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 58-59

dead of shame, did not say a word. That very evening he had the coffin of his mother dug up and transported elsewhere.

As soon as a death has occurred, a tablet is made[12] in which the deceased's soul should come to reside. The tablets are generally made of chestnut wood, and the wood must be taken from forests very far from any human habitation, which the Koreans express in these words: "The tablets require wood that in its lifetime never heard the barking of a dog or the crowing of a rooster." The tablet is a small, flat plank that is painted with white lead, and on which is inscribed the name of the deceased in Chinese characters. Holes are drilled on the side through which the soul must enter. The tablet, placed in a square box, is kept by rich people in a special room or hall, by the common people in a kind of niche in a corner of the house. The poor make their tablets out of paper. One prostrates oneself before them, forehead in the dust, and offers various carefully prepared dishes, tobacco for smoking, and incense. In the fourth generation, the tablets are interred, and the worship of them definitively ceases, except for extraordinary men whose tablets are kept in perpetuity.

Other than this ancestor worship, common to all Koreans, the literati and the nobles have the cult of Confucius and other great men, to whom they offer sacrifices in special temples, not that they regard them as gods, but because in their view they have become tutelary spirits. What is meant by that? It is difficult to know. "In this country," writes Bishop Daveluy, "there are no exact notions of the distinction between the soul and the body, nor of the spirituality of the soul. The words hon, sin, lieng, etc., consecrated in our Christian books to designate the soul and its nature, are not applied by the pagans but to the spirits and souls of the deceased. A pagan, otherwise quite learned, to whom I said that every man has a soul, did not want to concede the point. For you others, said he, that which moves and animates us dissipates with the last breath of life, but for certain great men, it still exists after their death. Was he speaking of their soul, or was he claiming that they were transformed into spirits? I do not know, and he himself did not know." In each district there is a temple of Confucius[13]. They are small buildings, handsome enough for the country, with extensive outbuildings. They are called *hyang-gyo*[14] 鄕校. One many not pass in front of these temples on horseback, and boundary stones placed at the edges of the consecrated ground mark the place where one must dismount. It is in these temples that the literati have their meetings and offer their sacrifices at the new moon and at the full moon. When the revenues of the temple do not suffice for its expenses, the treasury of the district must supplement themThe literati elect one among themselves who must exercise the functions of the officiant of the sacrifices for a given period of time.

The *seo-won* 書院 are temples raised to great men with the king's authorization[15]. Their portraits are kept there, and these portraits are rendered a veneration almost equal to that rendered to the tablets of the dead. If these great men have left descendants, they are by right the keepers of their temples; if not, the literati of the neighborhood fill in turn the role of officiating at the sacrifices. Some of these *seo-won* are very famous in the country, and the governor or minister who refused to allocate the sometimes enormous sums from the public purse that are demanded by the keepers of these temples to cover the cost of the sacrifices would gravely compromise his position.

The sacred books of China are also the sacred books of the Koreans. There are official translations of them in the vernacular in which it is forbidden to change a single word without permission from the government. A literatus or doctor who permitted himself to give a different interpretation of an important point could well pay with his head for such audacity. Some years ago, a nobleman, persecuted for having published a few attacks on a sage, a disciple of Confucius, nearly perished in a disturbance raised among the literati, and the king had a great deal of trouble saving his life. Other than these books,

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[12] The source of this section is uncertain.

[13] The *Munmyo* 文廟 Confucian shrine attached to the *Hyangyo* 鄕校 local school.

[14] Daveluy Archive Volume 5 f. 184

[15] Daveluy Archive Volume 5 f. 185

there is in Korea a collection of prophecies[16] or a Sibylline book, prohibited by the government, and which circulates secretly. Great antiquity is attributed to this book. It clearly announces, it is said, a holy year, the establishment of a religion which is not that of the Buddha, nor that of Confucius. But what is this holy year? No one knows.

Alongside the official religion we find, as we have said, Buddhism, or the doctrine of Fo, which is now in a state of full decadence[17]. Before the current dynasty, the Korean Buddha, sometimes called *Seok-ga* 釋迦 (scion of the Seok family), was held in great honor, as were his monks. It was at that time that the great pagodas, some of which still exist today, were built. Some were to be found in every district, and the generosity of the people and the kings maintained them in prosperity. When voluntary donations were insufficient, the public purse took care of them. Several kings of the Goryeo dynasty, out of devotion, were buried in these pagodas in the Buddhist manner, which consisted of burning the body and collecting the ashes in a vase, which was kept in a special place or thrown into water. One of these kings even issued a decree obliging each family that had more than three children to give one over to become a monk[18]. At the end of the fourteenth century, the new dynasty that installed itself on the throne of Korea, without prohibiting Buddhism in any way[19], completely set it aside, and since that time pagodas, monks and nuns have not ceased to sink in public esteem. Sometimes still, even today, the government officially invokes the Buddha's name, and queens or princesses in certain circumstances give some small present to this or that pagoda, but no more, and everyone, even Buddhists themselves, admit that in a few generations nothing will be left of their religion but a memory.

The Buddhist pagodas, built in the Chinese manner, generally have nothing remarkable about them. The sanctuary that shelters the statue of Buddha is fairly narrow, but it is always surrounded by numerous apartments which serve as residences for the monks, as study halls, and as meeting places. Of the greater number of them, nothing remains but ruins. These pagodas are ordinarily situated in the mountains or in deserts, and often the sites are admirably chosen. In the summer especially, the literati often meet there to give themselves over to study and literary discussions. They find tranquility, solitude and good air there, and the monks, in exchange for some small compensation, act as their servants.

These monks are now almost without resources. Except in the province of Kieng-sang, where they have preserved some influence, they are obliged to beg for a living or to do manual labor, such as making shoes or paper. Some cultivate the small parcels of land that belong to the monasteries. As a consequence of the discredit that has fallen upon their religion, they can only recruit with difficulty, and have had to abandon any form of study. Those who become monks today are, for the most part, vagabonds who seek refuge in the pagodas, individuals who have not been able to marry, widowers without children who do not want to live alone, etc. The people disdain them, regarding them as brawlers, charlatans, and hypocrites. Nevertheless, out of habit, perhaps also out of a certain superstitious fear, they are fairly readily given alms.

We also find, as in all the other Buddhist countries, nuns living together in the monasteries, not far from the pagodas, where they are forbidden to live. Like the monks, they are enjoined to guard their chastity during their residence in the monasteries, and there is a death sentence for those who bear children; we are also assured that they are very well versed in the infamous art of abortion. Their morals are held to be abominable. In any case, monks or nuns are perfectly free to leave their convents when they please to return to communal life, and this happens every day. One enters these religious houses

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[16] Such secret books of prophecy circulated since the latter half of the 17th century. The most representative example is *Jeonggamrok* 鄭鑑錄.

[17] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 46 (for some portions only, the source for much of this section is unclear)

[18] This has no basis in fact.

[19] The anti-Buddhism policies of King Taejong 太宗 and King Sejong 世宗 in the early Joseon Dynasty were very thorough.

because one does not know what else to do, and after a stay of greater or lesser duration, if one is bored, one leaves to seek one's fortune elsewhere.

Such is the present state of the religion of Confucius and the religion of Buddha in Korea. These two doctrines, as we have frequently remarked, and with much justice in our view, are nothing, at bottom, but two different forms of atheism. From their legal co-existence, and the inevitable mixing of them in the spirit of a people who hardly take a reasoned view of their religious faith, arose these incredible practices, this insouciant view of the future life that characterizes almost all Koreans. All prostrate themselves and make sacrifices before the tablets, but few seriously believe in their efficaciousness. They have a confused notion of a superior power and the existence of the soul, but they do not worry about it, and when one speaks to them of what will come after death, they answer as stupidly as our free thinkers of higher and lower levels: "Who knows? Nobody has ever come back from there; the important thing is to enjoy life as long as it lasts." However, if nearly all the Koreans are practically atheists, they are on the other hand, and by inevitable consequence, the most superstitious of men.

They see the devil everywhere; they believe in lucky and unlucky days, and in propitious and unpropitious places; everything is a sign of good or bad fortune to them. They continually consult fortune tellers and diviners; they multiply the number of conjurations, sacrifices and sorceries before, during and after all their important actions and enterprises. In each house there are one or two clay jars to hold the household gods: *Seong-ju*, the protector of birth and life, and *Ga-sin* 家神 the protector of dwellings, etc., and from time to time prostrations are made before these jars. If some accident happens while traversing a mountain, it is expected that some offering should be made to the spirit of the mountain. Hunters have special observances for days of success or failure; sailors, even more, for they make sacrifices and offerings to all the winds, the stars, the earth, and the water. On the roads, and especially at the summit of hills, there are little temples or just piles of rocks; every passerby hangs a piece of paper, a ribbon, or another sign on the temple, or throws another stone on the pile. The serpent is here, as everywhere and always among pagans, the object of superstitious fear; very few Koreans would dare to kill one. They sometimes even provide food in abundance, and regularly, to snakes that lodge in the roofs or walls of their hovels. A man in mourning can put no animal to death; he dares not even rid himself of the vermin that devour him. The women, who in this country do every possible sort of work, never want to kill a chicken, or even drain it of its blood after it has been killed by someone else.

Most families preciously guard the household fire[20], and see to it that it is never allowed to go out. If such a misfortune happened, it would be for that family an omen and the cause of great misfortune. To avoid it, every day, after having prepared the morning or evening repast, what is left of the glowing charcoal is deposited with the ash in a clay jar, in the shape of a chafing-dish, and the necessary precautions are taken to conserve the spark that will serve to relight the fire on the next occasion. One day, a nobleman who had a large company in his drawing room, saw a slave leaving with a handful of straw at a moment that the preparations for the meal should have been underway. "Where are you going?" he shouted at him. "I am going to the neighbor's to get some fire," answered the slave, "There is none left anywhere in the house." "Impossible," said the master, turning pale, and so saying left his guests to run to the vases in which fire was conserved in various rooms, and knelt tearfully to turn over the cinders with feverish attention. In the end, he perceived a faint glow; he blew on it and succeeded in lighting a match. "Victory!" he crowed on returning to the drawing room, "the destiny of my family has not yet ended; I have recovered the fire that my ancestors have faithfully transmitted for ten generations, and that I will be able in my turn to leave to my descendants."

We have said above how terrible smallpox[21] is in Korea. When it is expected to arrive in a village, men and women alike wash their hair with a good deal of water in new vases, and frequently repeat these ablutions in order to prepare themselves to receive the visit of this illustrious guest suitably.

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[20] Daveluy Archive Volume 5 f. 195

[21] Daveluy Archive Volume 5 ff. 180-181

If seawater can be had in such a case, it is much more efficacious than fresh water. At the same time, a table loaded with fruit is placed is placed by the vestibule or the door of each house. When infection is declared in a house, a small flag is hung, or the door is streaked with yellow earth, to prevent strangers from troubling or aggravating the terrible guest by their presence. Every effort is made to treat her well in order to get in her good graces; prostrations are made, prayers are chanted, songs are sung, and sacrifices are offered in her honor; rice cakes are made to feast all the neighbors in her name, and if the rice is distributed from door to door, the effort is even more meritorious. The *mudang*, or sorcerers, are summoned with all their superstitious paraphernalia, and each according to his means finishes with a great ceremony to escort the lady away with all the desirable pomp. Everyone is convinced that during the sickness infected children are in communication with spirits, that they have the gift of second sight, and that they can see through the walls what is happening even at great distances. Some years ago, while a child of twelve or thirteen years was lying sick in a house, a nobleman of the village quietly entered the courtyard outside without attracting attention, his horsehair hat on his head. The child, who held a grudge against him for some blows of the walking stick that he had received from him, saw him coming and cried out, "This noble who is coming with his hat will irritate the lady, double my suffering, and be the cause of my death. You must beat him on the backside to appease the lady's fury." The noble, frightened, recognized his error, and to deflect the misfortunes with which the lady's terrible anger menaced him, consented to receive forthwith the expiatory spanking.

These superstitions and a host of others that would take too long to list in detail are very widespread in the country. A few men of the learned class disdain them and have no faith in them, but the women of all classes cling to them for dear life, and their husbands, in order not to compromise the peace of their households, tolerate them even without taking part in them, so that they are universally practised from the palace to the humblest hut. It can be judged thereby how numerous charlatans, astrologers, diviners, tricksters and fortune tellers of both sexes there must be who live off the public's credulity in Korea. They are to be met with everywhere, and they will, for a consideration, come to analyze land for building or burying, determine auspicious days for undertakings, cast horoscopes of future spouses, predict the future, conjure against misfortunes or accidents, expel bad air, recite formulas against this or that sickness, exorcise demons, etc., and always with great ceremonies, a great deal of racket, and a great quantity of food, for the gluttony of fortune tellers is proverbial in Korea.

Those who have the most success and the highest reputation in this profession are the blind[22], nearly all of whom practice it from an early age and transmit their secrets to children afflicted with the same infirmity. It is so to speak their natural occupation, and often their only means of subsistence. In remote districts, each of them operates separately, at his own risk and peril, but in towns and especially in the capital, they have formed a powerfully organized guild, which is recognized in law, and which pays taxes to the government. They alone have the right to be on the streets during the night. During the day, they are to be met with, two or three together, uttering a distinctive cry to attract the attention of those who might have need of their services. In order to be definitively accepted as members of the guild, they must undergo a noviciate of at least three years. This time is dedicated to studying the secrets of their art, and especially the streets and alleys of the capital. It is a prodigious thing, and seemingly inexplicable, their skill in finding their way in the maze of tortuous streets, dead-ends and impasses that make up the city of Seoul. When summoned to some house or other, they get there, tapping a bit with their sticks, almost as quickly and assuredly as anyone else.

They are summoned to predict the future, discover secrets, and cast horoscopes, but above all to drive away demons. In the latter case, it is useful that they there are always several of them together; their ceremonies are therefore quicker and more effective. They begin by chanting various incantations in a grave, slow voice, then little by little raising the tone, accompanying themselves by the monotone but faster and faster rolling of their sticks on the floor and on vases of clay or leather. They soon enter a sort

[22] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 122-123

of strange frenzy; the rhythm of their chanting becomes more and more jerky, and in the end it is a frightful racket of shrieks and diabolical cries. “What lungs!” exclaims Bishop Daveluy, from whom we borrow these details; “I assure you that it is really something to make the devils of hell flee. Each exorcism lasts three of four hours, and sometimes they begin again, always louder, three times in the same night, and for several nights in a row. How unfortunate the neighbors of houses in which such antics are going on! It is absolutely impossible for them to get any sleep, as I have experienced myself several times.” In the end, nevertheless, they succeed in vanquishing the devil; they drive him into a corner, surround him, and finish by forcing him to take refuge in a pot or bottle that one them is holding in his hands. This bottle is immediately stoppered and sealed with the greatest care, and, the house rid of its unwelcome guest, the victory song is struck up. During the ceremony, the devil is continually offered all kinds of dishes as bait; these dishes become the property of the blind, to whom a fairly tidy sum is also given.

As for the real activity of the demon in these and other, similar cases, it is difficult to determine. That there is often trickery and charlatanism, no one doubts. However, the fact that, from time to time, the demon really manifests his presence and his activity in men or in things through phenomena contrary to the laws of nature, and that there are true sorcerers, sorceresses especially, who by magical rituals put themselves in direct communication with infernal powers, is absolutely certain. The missionaries attest that true possessions are sometimes encountered; similarly, obsession by evil spirits, though not frequent, is not rare, even among Christians.

For the rest, events of this kind that happen in Korea, are like those that have happened and still happen among all the pagan peoples. All the pages of the Bible, in the New as well as in the Old Testament, are full of similar examples, and today, now that the history of the world is better known, no scholar would seriously dare to deny the possibility.

XII Character of the Koreans: Their Moral Qualities, Their Faults, Their Habits

The great virtue of the Korean is the innate respect for and daily practice of the laws of daily fraternity. We have seen above how the various guilds, and families above all, form intimately united bodies to defend, support, lean on, and help each other reciprocally, but this feeling of confraternity extends well beyond the limits of blood relationship and association; mutual assistance and generous hospitality towards all are distinctive traits of the national character, qualities, it must be admitted, that put the Koreans well above the selfish peoples of our contemporary civilization[1].

On the important occasions of life, such as a marriage or funeral, everyone takes on a task to help the family directly concerned. Everyone brings an offering and renders every service in his power. Some take on the responsibility of doing the shopping, and others organize the ceremonies; the poor, who cannot give anything, go to notify the relatives in villages near or far, spending day and night on the march, and voluntarily do all the drudgery and necessary chores. It would seem that it is a question not of a personal matter, but rather of the highest order of public interest. When a house has been destroyed by a fire, a flood or some other accident, the neighbors hasten to bring stones, wood and straw to rebuild it, and they all donate two or three days work in addition to the building materials. If a stranger comes to live in the village, everyone helps him to build a small dwelling. If someone is obliged to go deep into the mountains to cut firewood and make charcoal, he is sure to find a bed in the nearest village; he has only to bring his rice, and it will be cooked for him with the necessary seasoning added. When an inhabitant of the village falls ill, those who have a remedy in the house do not tarry to give it if it is asked of them; most often, they hurry to take it themselves, and do not want any payment for it. Gardening tools and other implements are at the disposal of anyone who comes to ask for them, and often even oxen are lent quite readily except during the ploughing season.

Hospitality is considered by all to be the most sacred of duties. According to the dictates of morality, it would be not only a shame, but a grave failing to refuse a measure of rice to anyone, known or unknown, who appears at mealtime. Poor laborers who eat their food by the side of the road are often the first to offer to share it with passersby. When, in a given house, there is a small party or formal meal, all the neighbors are always invited by right. A poor man who has to go to a distant place on business, or to visit relatives or friends far away, has no need to make long preparations for the trip. His stick, his pipe, a few rashers of bacon in a little packet hung from his shoulder, a few coppers in his purse, if he even has a purse and coppers to put in it, and that is all. Come nightfall, rather than going to an inn, he goes into a house whose outer apartments are open to all comers, and he is sure to find food and shelter for the night. When the dinner hour arrives, he is given his share; he has a corner of the mat that covers the floor to sleep on, and the end of the piece of wood set against the wall that serves as the common pillow. If he is tired, or if the weather is too bad, he will pass one or two days in this manner, without anyone dreaming of reproaching him for his indiscretion.

In this fallen world, the best things always have a bad side, and the highly patriarchal habits that we have just described produce some ill consequences. The most serious is the encouragement that they give to the laziness of a whole crowd of bad eggs who speculate on the public hospitality, and swan about from one end of the country to the other in a state of total idleness[2]. Some of the most brazen come to stay, sometimes for weeks on end, with rich or well-off people, and even extract gifts of clothing, which one dare not refuse them for fear of being slandered and calumniated by them afterwards. It is said that especially in the province of Pyongan, these cases occur pretty frequently. In the mountains of Gangwon, whole bands of them establish themselves in a village, live there for two or three days at the expense of the inhabitants, then move on to another, and so on, for months on end, while the government dares not

[1] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 75-6

[2] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 52; Volume 5 f. 182

intervene to protect the people. Itinerant peddlers, actors and astrologers take the same liberties; it is the custom, and no one claims the right to rid himself of these inconvenient guests by force, or even dreams of it. In addition, there are mendicants properly speaking. These are the infirm, the crippled, and the indigent elderly, to whom everyone gives a little rice or a few coppers. In Seoul, there is a female beggars' cooperative which shares out the different districts of the capital and go from door to door every day. They are generally detested for their mean-spiritedness and insolence; however, the fear of attracting the mischief of the whole group forces the hand of the peaceable residents, and they collect abundant alms. Among the proper mendicants, we must also count the Buddhist monks. Some beg out of necessity, others out of virtue; the latter are called *San-lim* 山林. Although the Buddhist religion has now fallen into universal discredit, they are almost always given a few handfuls of rice, whether out of pity or out of residual superstition.

Visits, evening parties, and other common social events[3] are very numerous, and the greatest liberty reigns in them. The women never show themselves in these meetings; they pass their lives in the inner rooms, and only call on each other. The comfortably off men, however, especially the nobles, who are naturally talkative and lazy, continually move from drawing room to drawing room to kill time, telling or inventing the news. These drawing rooms or outer rooms are at the front of the house, and are open to all comers. The master of the house makes his usual abode there, and prides himself on receiving and providing lavish hospitality for as many friends as possible. Naturally, conversations hardly turn on politics; no one bothers himself about it, and in any case, such a subject would be dangerous. One does, however, recount the latest stories from the court and the town, retail the gossip of the day, quote the witticisms of this or that grand personage, recite fables, or talk of science and literature. In the summer especially, these meetings between literati turn into little academies, where they assemble three or four times a week to discuss questions of literary criticism, deepen their knowledge of famous works, and compare different poetic compositions. The common people, for their part, meet in the streets, by the roadside or at inns. When they are two or three together, the conversation starts up immediately and never lags. They ask each other the most indiscreet questions about topics such as their names, their age, where they are from, their occupations, their business, the latest news they have heard, etc. A Korean cannot keep a secret of anything he knows; he has an incredible itch to learn all the latest news, even the most insignificant, and to communicate it immediately to others, ornamented with every possible exaggeration and lie.

In Korea one always talks at a very loud volume[4], and these meetings are extraordinarily noisy. Shouting as loudly as possible is to show good manners, and he who spoke at a ordinary volume in a gathering would be ill-regarded by the others, and would be seen as an original type who sought to set himself apart. The love of noise is innate to them, and in their view nothing can be done expediently without a lot of racket. The study of letters consists of the full-throated repetition, every day for hours on end, of one or two pages of a book. Workmen and laborers distract themselves from their fatigue by competing to see who can shout the loudest. Each village has a drum, horns, flutes, and a few cauldron lids that double as cymbals, and often during the hard work of the summer, there is a pause for a few moments and the laborers divert themselves with a concert at full blast. At the prefectures and tribunals, the orders of the mandarins are relayed in the first instance by one crier, then by many others stationed on all the street corners in such a way they echo through all the surrounding areas. If a public official leaves his house, the piercing cries of a multitude of valets clears his path. In the rare circumstances that the king shows himself in public, a crowd of people is posted at intervals to raise the loudest clamor, and they share this duty alternately among themselves to ensure that there is never a moment's silence. The smallest interruption in such a case would show a lack of respect towards the King's majesty.

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[3] The source of this section is a long note in Daveluy's Volume 4 prior to the account of the arrest of Kim Beom-woo..

[4] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 123-4

Koreans of both sexes are very passionate by nature[5], but true love is hardly to be found in the country because passion with them is purely physical, and the heart counts for nothing. They only know the animal appetite, the brute instinct that in need of satisfaction hurls itself blindly at the first object within reach; the corruption of morals accordingly surpasses everything that can be imagined. It is such that it can be affirmed boldly that half of the people do not know who their real parents are. Several times, Christian ladies on the point of being raped by pagans stopped them with these words: "Do not come near me, I am your own daughter." The pagans retreated, knowing that the fact was, if not probable, at least highly possible. In any case, how could it be otherwise in a country where no religious restraint controls the passions, and where the customs and necessities of material life often forces poor women, which is to say half the population, to forget the laws of decency? In effect, the houses of the poor are nothing but miserable earthen huts. They do not have the means to have two rooms, or if they do have two, they cannot heat both of them during the winter. Accordingly, father, mother, brothers and sisters all sleep together, under the same blanket if they have one, and if they do not have one, pressed one against the other to warm themselves a little.

Nearly all children[6] up to the age of nine or ten years, sometimes even more, live absolutely naked in the summer, or dressed only in a little jacket descends just to the waist. Christian children are generally dressed in a more decent manner, but the missionaries had a lot of trouble obtaining this concession. Every man, married or not, is free to have as many concubines as he can support in his household. When a woman arrives in a village, she always finds a berth. If no one is rich enough to keep her with him, everyone will take her into his house in turn and feed her for a few days. A woman traveling alone who spent a night at an inn would inevitably be the prey of the first comer; sometimes even the company of a man, at least if he is not well-armed, does not suffice to protect her. It is useless to add that prostitution[7] is perpetrated in broad daylight, and that sodomy and other crimes against nature are fairly frequent. All along the roads, especially at the entry to villages, prostitutes of a tender age install themselves with a bottle of rice liquor, which they offer to passersby. Most stop to have the girls sing or chat with them; if someone passes without looking at them, they are not at all shy about pulling at their clothes to stop them and even blocking their path.

But let us avert our eyes from this sad spectacle, and hasten to move on to another subject. The Koreans generally have an obstinate, difficult, choleric and vindictive character. It is the fruit of the semi-barbarism into which they are still plunged. Among the pagans, moral education is non-existent; among the Christians themselves, it cannot bear fruit but in the long term. The children are almost never corrected, and one is content to laugh at their continual tantrums; they grow up this way, and later men and women incessantly give in to an excess of fury that is as violent as it is blind. In this country, to express a firm resolution, one pricks a finger and writes one's oath in blood. In a paroxysm of fury, people hang or drown themselves with inexplicable ease. A small sign of displeasure or an unkind word drives them to suicide. They are as vindictive as they are irascible. Out of fifty conspiracies, forty-nine are betrayed in advance by one of the accomplices, almost always to obtain satisfaction for some specific rancor, or to take revenge for a word that was a little too sharp. It matters little to them that they themselves will be punished if they can bring punishment down on the heads of their enemies.

They cannot be accused of softness or cowardice. On occasion, they endure rods, sticks and other torments with great composure, and without showing the slightest emotion. They are patient in their illnesses. They have a great taste for physical exercise, archery and hunting, and don't shy away from fatigue. And yet, extraordinarily, with all this they generally make very poor soldiers, who, at the first serious danger, think only of throwing down their weapons and fleeing in all directions. Perhaps it's simply lack of habit, and lack of organization. The missionaries assure us that with capable officers, the

[5] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 95

[6] There is no clear source for this section.

[7] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 f. 118

Koreans could become excellent soldiers. In 1871[8], the Americans met with desperate resistance, and the various accounts of their expedition do justice to the courage of the elite troops sent against them.

Hunting[9] is considered a servile activity, and nobles, with the exception of a few poor families in the provinces, almost never indulge in it. Hunting is completely free: no weapons are carried, no bows are reserved, no seasons are forbidden. The only animal forbidden to kill is the falcon, whose life is protected by strict laws. Woe betide anyone who injures one of these birds! he will be dragged to the capital before the court of crimes. Hunting takes place only in the mountains, as the valleys and plains, almost all rice paddies, offer no game to tempt the hunters. Their rifle is the Japanese flintlock, very heavy and very inelegant. With this inadequate weapon, even a lone Korean will shoot a tiger, although this animal, when not killed on the spot, always rushes straight at the enemy, who then easily becomes its prey. When the tiger wreaks havoc in a district, the mandarin gathers together the hunters and organizes a drive into the nearby mountains, but almost always to no avail, since in such cases the animal's hide goes to the government, and the mandarin keeps for himself the bounty due to the hunters. The hunters prefer to risk their lives by hunting alone, because they then have the benefit of the skin, which they sell secretly. They eat the flesh, which they claim is very succulent. The piled and boiled bones are used to make various medicines. They are mainly sold to the Japanese, who buy them at very high prices to make secret remedies.

Tigers are excessively numerous in Korea, and the annual accident rate is very high. When a tiger enters a village with well-sealed houses, it will go round and round some hovel for nights on end, and if hunger presses it, it will finally get inside by leaping onto the thatched roof and cutting a hole through it. Most of the time, he doesn't need to resort to this expedient, for the villagers are so carefree that, despite his presence in the vicinity, they usually sleep during the summer with the doors of their houses wide open, and sometimes even under sheds or in open fields without thinking of lighting a fire. It may be that, with well-planned drives in the right season, many of these animals could be destroyed, and the rest driven back into the great mountain ranges, which are almost uninhabited; but everyone thinks only of getting rid of the present peril, without worrying about the future or the general good. Tigers are sometimes caught in traps, in deep pits covered with foliage and earth, in the middle of which a sharp stake is driven; but this simple method, with no danger to the hunter, is rarely used. During the winter, when the snow is half-frozen and strong enough to resist a man's foot, it still yields to the tiger's paws, which sink into it up to their stomachs and cannot get out. Often, tigers are killed with sabers or spears.

Korean hunters never shoot on the fly. They clothe themselves in skins, feathers, straw, etc., and lurk in some hole to fool the animals that come within range. They know how to perfectly counterfeit the calls of various birds, especially the call of a pheasant to its female, and in this way manage to catch many of the latter. But their main hunt is deer. This only takes place when the antlers are developing, i.e. during the fifth and sixth moons (June and July), because only then can they be sold at a very high price. The hunters, no more than three or four in number, scour the mountains for several days in a row, and when night forces them to stop for a few hours, they have an admirable instinct for finding the animal's trail, unless the ground is too parched. They usually reach the animal before the end of the third day, and kill it with their rifles. When successful, this hunt provides them with enough to live on for part of the year, and some individuals are said to have made a small fortune from it.

Koreans are greedy; they will use any means to make money. They know very little about, and respect even less, the moral law that protects property and forbids theft. Nevertheless, avaricious people are few and far between[10], found only among the wealthy middle class or merchants. In this country, a rich man is one who has two or three thousand francs to his name. In general, they are as prodigal as they

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[8] In 1871 an American naval expedition that had been intending to negociate a trade treaty with Korea was fired on as it approached Ganghwa Island and this provoked a violent reponse in which several hundred Korean soldiers were killed.

[9] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 124-126

[10] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 66-67

are greedy, and as soon as they have money, they throw it away. All they think about then is living high on the hog, treating their friends well, satisfying their own whims; and when indigence returns, they endure it without complaining too much, and wait for the wheel of fortune to turn and bring them back to good times. Often, money is earned quickly enough, but disappears even faster. You've won someone a lawsuit, found a ginseng root, a small piece of gold, a vein of crystal, whatever, you're afloat for a few days, and then it's all over! the future will take care of the future. That's why so many people are always on the road, looking for a lucky break, hoping to find over there what they lack here, to find some treasure, to discover some untapped source of wealth, to invent some new way of minting money. In some provinces especially, half the inhabitants have no fixed abode, so to speak; they emigrate to escape misery, stay a year or two, and emigrate again, to start again later, always seeking the best, and almost always encountering the worst.

Another great fault of the Koreans is their voracity[11]. On this score, there is not the least difference between the rich and the poor, the nobility and the common people. To eat a lot is an honor, and the great merit of a meal consists not in the quality, but the quantity of the dishes served to the diners. Accordingly, one talks very little while eating because each sentence could cause one to miss one or two mouthfuls. From childhood, the stomach is trained to be as elastic as possible. Mothers often take their little children on their knees, stuff them with rice or other food, tap them on the stomach from time to time with a spoon to see if it is sufficiently extended, and do not stop until it becomes physically impossible to inflate them further. A Korean is always ready to eat; he falls upon whatever he encounters and never says, “It is enough.” People in comfortable circumstances have regular meals, but if in the interval an opportunity arises to swallow some wine, fruit, pastry, etc., in whatever quantity there may be, they profit by it, and when the hour of the regular meal comes, they seat themselves at table with the same appetite as if they had fasted for two days. The ordinary ration of a worker is about one liter of rice, which after cooking amounts to a good bowl. This, however, does not suffice to satisfy them, and many among them take three or four portions when they can. Certain individuals, it is said, absorb up to nine or ten portions with impunity. When an ox is killed and meat is served liberally, a heaping bowl of it does not intimidate any one of the diners. In decent households, ox or dog meat is cut into enormous slices, and as each diner has a small table to himself, it is possible to show generosity to this or that diner while not giving to the others any more than is strictly necessary. If fruit is offered, for example peaches or small melons, the most moderate eaters will take up to twenty or twenty-five of them, which they will very quickly make disappear without peeling them.

It is useless to add that the inhabitants of this country are far from taking in the quantities of food every day that we have been speaking of. All are ready to do it, and in fact do when they have occasion to, but they are too poor to do it often. Ox meat, especially, is quite rare. We have mentioned above that the butcher is a kind of public servant named by the government, and who pays a considerable amount of tax for the exclusive right to slaughter oxen. Some highly placed nobles permit themselves to have personal butchers. This is an abuse that is tolerated in default of being able to stop it. Sometimes, also, in extraordinary circumstances, the king permits the slaughter of an ox in each village, and then it is a universal holiday, and his name is blessed from one end of the kingdom to the other.

One excess leads to another, and the abuse of food leads naturally to the abuse of alcohol. Drunkenness is also a great honor in this country, and if a man drinks rice wine to the point of oblivion, no one will regard it as a crime. A mandarin, a great dignitary, even a minister, can roll onto the floor without consequences at the end of a meal. He will be left to sleep it off quietly, and the other attendees, far from being scandalized by this disgusting spectacle, mentally congratulate him on being rich enough to procure such a great pleasure for himself.

As for the preparation of food, the Koreans are not difficult to please; everything is good to them. Raw fish, raw meat, especially intestines, pass for delectable dishes, and among the common people,

[11] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 86-88

they are hardly seen on their tables because such morsels are devoured as soon as they appear. Raw meat is usually eaten with pimento, pepper or mustard, but often no seasoning is used. On the banks of streams and rivers, large numbers of fishermen are to be met with, of whom the greatest number are noblemen without means who do not want to or cannot work for a living. Beside them is a small jar containing diluted pimento powder, and as soon as a fish is caught, they seize it between two fingers, dip it in the sauce and swallow it without ceremony. The bones do not bother them; they eat them with the rest of the fish, as they also eat the bones of chickens or other fowl in order not to waste anything.

Let us say a few words, to finish this chapter, on the differences of character between the inhabitants of the various provinces[12]. Those of the two northern provinces, Pyongan particularly, are stronger, wilder, and more violent than the other Koreans. There are very few nobles among them, and consequently few dignitaries. It is believed that they are secret enemies of the dynasty; the government, while treating them tactfully, watches them closely, and always fears an insurrection on their part that would be very difficult to quell. The people of Hwanghae are thought to be shallow and narrow-minded. They are accused of being very greedy and of bad faith. The population of Gyeonggi, or the capital province, is light-minded, fickle, and given over to luxury and pleasure. It is the one that sets the tone for the whole country; it is to this population that what we said above about the ambition, rapacity, prodigality, and ostentation of the Koreans applies. Dignitaries, nobles and literati are excessively numerous there. The people of Chungcheong resemble those of Gyeonggi in all points; they have their vices and good qualities in a lesser degree. In the province of Jeolla, few nobles are to be found. The inhabitants are regarded by other Koreans as coarse, hypocritical, deceitful people, only looking out for their interests, and always ready to commit the most odious treachery if is to their profit. The province of Gyeongsang has a character apart. Habits are much simpler there, morals less corrupted, and the old customs more faithfully conserved. There is little luxury, and little wild spending; small inheritances are also transmitted from father to son for many years in the same families. The study of letters flourishes there more than elsewhere, and one often sees young men, having worked in the fields all day, giving the evening and part of the night over to study. Women of quality are not confined as strictly as in the other provinces; they go out during the day, accompanied by a slave, and do not have to fear any insult or disrespect. It is in Gyeongsang that Buddhism holds on to the most believers. They are very attached to their superstitions and difficult to convert, but once they become Christians, they remain firm and constant in the faith. The nobles, very numerous in this province, almost all belong to the Nam-in party, and since the recent upheavals[13] about which we have supplied the details in this history, have no part in public office or dignities.

[12] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 136-137

[13] The power struggles and 1801 anti-Catholic persecution following the death of King Jeongjo.

XIII Games – Theatricals – New Year's Celebrations – The *Hoan-Kap*

The game of chess[1] is very popular in Korea, and it is claimed that there are players who are capable of holding their own with the most able Chinese players. They also have a kind of draughts, much more complicated than ours, backgammon, the game of the goose, and various other games of skill or chance. However, the one that is most in vogue is the game of cards, which is forbidden by law. It is only permitted to soldiers on watch in order to prevent them from falling asleep, and it is claimed that in wartime it is the surest safeguard of encampments against surprises and nocturnal attacks. Despite the prohibition, this game is widely played, especially among the common people, for the nobles regard it as beneath their dignity. It is played at night, in secret, in defiance of the fines and punishments that the tribunals inflict daily. There are groups of gamblers who spend their whole lives playing it, and who have no other occupation. There are almost always arrant cardsharps about who swindle their dupes out of considerable sums and live in great style without giving a thought to the law. The praetorians and other agents of authority close their eyes to their contraventions of the law, sometimes because they are secretly paid to keep quiet, often also because they fear the vengeance of these individuals, whom they know to be unscrupulous, determined and capable of anything.

In the capital and some other large cities, many idle people spend their time flying kites, especially during the one or two months of the winter that the north wind blows. Crowds mass for this spectacle; everyone analyzes the aerial leaps and bounds of the kites, and prognosticates as to the good or bad chances of success of the affairs in which he is engaged. Frequently, mutual challenges are mounted to see who will wear out or most quickly cut his neighbor's line by making the kites collide in the sky, and sometimes considerable bets are made thereon.

Koreans, both nobles and commoners, readily amuse themselves by shooting their bows. This exercise is encouraged by the government, which sees therein a means of training good archers. At certain times of the year, towns and larger villages give prizes in competitions for the most skillful archers, and sometimes the mandarins send other prizes at the public expense. Often there are also boxing matches or fights between selected champions, or village against village, or certain wards of a city against others. Each year in Seoul, during the first moon, there is the spectacle of one of these fights, which generally degenerates into a desperate combat. It starts with fists, but it then goes on to sticks and stones, lasting for several days, during which it is impossible to walk the streets without danger. Usually, four or five dead are left on the ground, and the wounded and crippled are countless, but the government never intervenes and lets things follow their course under the pretext that it is all just a game.

Groups of musicians and female singers[2] are to be found in all the cities and towns. These singers, elegantly dressed, perform songs and dances for the amusement of the spectators in pleasure parties given by the mandarins or other highly placed people. These are either prefectural slaves or women whom misery cast into debauchery, and they all unite the professions of prostitute and musician. It is said, nevertheless, that their public performances have nothing indecent about them.

It is not uncommon, either, to meet with jesters or itinerant actors who go to and fro putting on shows in the houses of those who pay them, whether on the occasion of a wedding, an auspicious anniversary, or a party of any kind. They are acrobats, musicians, puppeteers, and jugglers, do a thousand tricks of strength and skill, and are often considered to have a marvelous talent. When benevolent admirers are lacking, they impose themselves on villages, and since they have the reputation of being bandits capable of every sort of crime and violent act, they are accommodated out of fear, and they are paid out of the public funds during their stay.

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[1] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 69-70

[2] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 67-69

The theater[3] properly speaking does not exist in Korea. What comes closest to our dramatic pieces is the mimed recitation of certain stories by a single individual who plays all the roles in turn. If, for example, the story calls for a mandarin, a man receiving a bastinado, a husband arguing with his wife, etc., he will alternately imitate the grave and solemn tones of the magistrate, the lamentations and cries of the man being beaten, the husband's voice, the wife's falsetto, the laughter of this one, the strange gestures of that one, the surprise of another, seasoning the lot with compliments, witticisms, buffoonery and lampoons of all kinds. There are many books or collections of anecdotes that these artists study continually, but those who have some talent do not limit themselves to scenes prepared in this way; they change them and mix them with skill, introducing remarks, allusions and jokes appropriate to the audience, and in this way gain a reputation that can make their fortune. They are invited to gatherings of friends and family parties, and they never fail to accompany new dignitaries on their official visits, as well as successful candidates of the public examinations, and in each house they are given some money. Only men fill this occupation.

New Year's Day[4] is one of the biggest celebrations for every class of Korean society, and the manner of celebrating it offers a certain analogy to our European customs. Most work is interrupted from the third day before the end of the year, in order to give time to everyone to reach the paternal home or to rejoin his family. Very few people spend this time outside of their homes, and if some poor porter or messenger is forced by vexing delays to spend New Year's Day at an inn, the innkeeper will as a rule feed him for free. At this time, the mandarins avoid making arrests and their tribunals are closed. There is more: many prisoners detained for minor offences obtain a leave of varying duration in order to do their duty to their parents living or dead. The holidays over, they are supposed to come back, which in fact they do, and become prisoners again.

Usually, according to the rules and to etiquette, people make two bows to each other: the first on New Year's eve, which they call the farewell for the year that is ending, and the second on the morning of the first day of the year, which is the bow for the year that is beginning. Only this latter bow is absolutely required, and no one omits it. It is made to all parents, superiors, friends and acquaintances. To omit it would be to provoke an inevitable rupture, or a marked coldness in relations. The principal ceremony of the New Year is the sacrifice to the tablets of the ancestors. Everyone deploys the greatest pomp that his station permits, and it is, in the general opinion, the most indispensable sacrifice of the whole year. If the tombs of the parents are nearby, one goes to them one after another to perform the prostrations and requisite ceremonies; if not, one is bound to visit them in the course of the first moon. After the sacrifice comes the distribution of the gifts, which are generally not very considerable. They consist of a few clothes given to children or inferiors, and pastries sent to superiors, friends and acquaintances. In the capital, parents often make a present to their children of a few toys of small value. The following days are spent in exchanging civilities, visits, gatherings and evening parties. Public works, commercial transactions, court hearings, etc., cannot begin again until the fifth day of the new moon, which makes eight days of rest in total. In fact, this rest is prolonged much more, and fifteen or twenty days are spent in games and parties without anyone saying anything against it.

Rich families also celebrate the birthdays of each one of their members with a gathering and a party. Among the poor, only the birthday of the head of the household is taken notice of. On that day, the neighbors are invited to a little treat. Among all the birthdays, the most celebrated is the sixty-first. The Koreans follow the Chinese cycle of sixty years, and each of the years has a particular name, as for us the days of the week or the months of the year have names. Once this period of sixty years has runs its course, the years of the same name begin again in the same order, and the year of one's birth reappears after a full revolution of the cycle. This birthday, called *hwan-gap* 還甲, is in this country the most solemn time of one's life. Rich and poor, nobles and commoners, all have at heart the wish to celebrate

[3] The source of this paragraph appears to be Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 67-9.

[4] The description of the New Year celebrations is taken from Daveluy Archive Volume 4 ff. 96-8.

in a worthy manner this day when mature age ends and old age begins. He who attains this age is thought to have fulfilled his duty and finished his career; he has drunk long draughts from the cup of life, and it only remains for him to remember and to rest.

The preparations for the party are made a long time in advance. What better occasion to show filial piety? How better to prove publicly how much one appreciates the inestimable good fortune of still having one's parents at such a respectable age? The rich squander their resources on bringing, even from distant provinces, everything that could embellish the party; the poor tax their ingenuity to collect some savings. For their part, the literati compose verses in praise of this fortunate day. The noise echoes through the surrounding areas, and it is an event not only for the village, but for the whole district. Inside each house, one is continuously occupied. All the suits should be as white as snow, the skirts as blue as azure; a new suit of silk will be the garb of the sexagenarian. Wine and meat must be gathered in abundance to satisfy and inebriate relatives, friends, neighbors, acquaintances and strangers. The women of the household are loaded with chores, but then, as on other great occasions, their neighbors and friends hasten to come to their aid. If necessary, the neighbors contribute generously in silver or in kind to the cost of the presents. They are invited by right, and what they do today for someone else will tomorrow be done for them.

The happy day having arrived, the hero of the hour is conducted to the seat of honor with great ceremony. He takes his seat and first receives the salutations and congratulations of all the members of his family, and then a table loaded with the best dishes that it was possible to find is placed in front of him. Then come the friends, neighbors, acquaintances, parasites, etc., all with the most beautiful compliments on their lips and a ferocious appetite in their stomachs. No one is turned away, and no one goes away hungry; passersby and travelers benefit from the bounty, and if one forgets to invite them, they invite themselves without any further formality. Going even further, abundantly decked tables are sent to all the neighbors when resources permit it. The most deafening music delights the guests; troupes of musicians and dancers are summoned, also actors, in short everything that could enhance the party or add to the splendor of the proceedings. It is the most rigorous obligation of well-brought up children, and even if it means bleeding themselves white, starving for the rest of the year, or spending their last penny, they must do honor to the occasion with the most extravagant lavishness on pain of being forever dishonored.

If commoners have to engage in such prodigality, one can imagine with what pomp, what state, and what mad spending great personages celebrate the *hwan-gap*.

When the queen mother, the queen, and above all the king attain their sixtieth birthdays, the whole kingdom must take part in the festivities. All the prisons are opened by the proclamation of a general amnesty, and there is an extraordinary session of the public examinations to confer literary degrees. All the dignitaries of the capital come in person to pay homage and express their best wishes to the king. In each district, the mandarin, preceded by music, escorted by his praetorians and satellites, and followed by the whole population, goes to the place of assembly, where the tablet that represents the king has been set up in great state, and humbly prostrates himself to offer his personal congratulations and those of his subordinates. This day is for all a holiday of the first order. All the soldiers of the capital receive some mark of the royal munificence. Richly laden tables and expensive presents are sent to the ministers, the palace functionaries, the great noble families, and all those who have some credit at court.

Unfortunately for the people, these great parties are given at their expense. Most often, it is by means of rape, concussions, and extortion of all kinds that the relations of the king, the ministers and other great people procure the necessary resources. One such *hwan-gap* was a scandal in this connection: that of Kim Mun-geun (金汶根, 1801-1863), father-in-law of King Cheoljong, celebrated at the end of 1861. From the first days of autumn, all the rarest produce of the provinces flowed to his house. Hundreds of oxen, thousands of pheasants and enormous quantities of fruit were sent. The mandarins, as much to conform to custom as to curry favor with a man of such influence, competed to see who could make the richest offerings in silver or in the produce of their districts or prefectures. The governor of the province of Chungcheong was dismissed a few days after the party for having sent the miserable sum of one

thousand nhiangs (about two thousand francs), while others, more generous, had sent eight, ten or in some cases even twenty thousand francs. Fr. Pourthié recounts that one old mandarin of his acquaintance, crippled by debts and without a penny to his name, could send absolutely nothing. Kim Mun-geun wanted him to be severely punished. "Do not lift a finger against this man," the ministers said to him, "for having dared to insult you like this, it is certain that he is very determined, and that he must have secret means with which to brave your anger; it would be prudent to leave him alone." The poor mandarin kept his post. The common people, even the poorest, were forced by veiled and open threats to pay a considerable tax under the guise of voluntary contributions. A report has it that one unfortunate man in rags, looking wan and emaciated, had to bring his last resource, a few balls of silk thread, in person. The great personage had the baseness to receive them with his own hand, and the cruelty to give his thanks with a smile.

The sixty-first anniversary of marriage is equally the occasion of extraordinary celebrations, more or less of the same type as those of the *hwan-gap*; these are, however, naturally much rarer.

XIV Lodgings – Garments – Diverse Customs

The following extract of a letter from Fr. Pourthié[1] summarizes various notices of daily life in Korea, on lodging, dressing, eating, etc., in the most interesting manner.

The missionary writes:

"Would you like to take a tour of the country with me? I believe you would scarcely have the courage. First, you would have nothing on your feet but straw sandals, which let, rain, snow, mud, and all manner of uncleanliness in; then, since no one in Korea bestirs himself to maintain the roads, you will soon be tired of jumping from stone to stone; you will wear yourself out in continual ascents and descents, often very sudden; finally, if you do not pay scrupulous attention, your toe will pass over the end of your sandal and stub against a stone or a bramble, which will elicit a cry of pain from you, and make you give up the enterprise. Let us rather stop and examine those houses that you see sheltering form the wind in all the valleys, and which from afar resemble big black blots on the snow.

"You have perhaps seen some miserable huts: well, reduce the beauty and solidity of the poorest hovels you know still further, and you will have an exact notion of these sorry Korean habitations. It can be said as a general hypothesis that the Korean lives under thatch, for houses roofed with tile, whether in the cities or in the countryside, are so rare that not more than one in two hundred can be counted. The art of building stone walls[2] for houses is unknown, or rather, most of the time, the money is lacking for such an expense. Some rough-hewn wood, some stones, some earth, and some straw are the common materials. Four posts stuck in the ground support the roof. Some small transversal beams, against which other pieces of wood are crossed on the diagonal, form a net and hold up a wall of earth eight to ten inches thick. Small openings enclosed by trellised woodwork and covered by paper, for lack of glass, serve as both doors and windows. The bare earthen floor of the rooms is covered with mats that are quite humble if you compare them to the mats of China or India; misery will often even force people to conceal the floor under a bed of straw of varying thickness. Rich people can cover the mud walls with paper, and in place of the floorboards and flagstones of Europe, thick sheets of oiled paper are laid over the floor. Do not look for houses with upper stories, for they do not exist in Korea.

"But let us go inside, and first take off your sandals; manners and cleanliness demand it. The rich keep only their socks on, and peasants and workers are usually barefoot in their rooms. Once inside, try not to bang your head against the adobe and tree branches that make up the ceiling; you had better squat on the mat, and stop yourself from looking around for a seat, for the king himself, when he receives the prostrations of his court, sits on a carpet with his legs crossed in the manner of our tailors. Perhaps you would like to take some notes about the curious things you see? It would be useless to ask for a table. The Koreans only have them for the ancestor worship ceremonies and for meals. Put your notebook on your knees, and write as if it were your habit to do so, and you find it completely natural and convenient.

"We are in November, and the wind from the northwest, while providing a dry and serene autumn, will make you shiver with cold on your mat. You want to close the door, but the numerous holes poked in the old paper of the windows will render such a precaution nearly useless. In any case, the skill of the Korean joiner will have assured enough crevices that there is no danger of asphyxiation. Not all the blame for this is his, for in the end can a door worth twelve or twenty coppers, most often made with only an axe and a chisel, be a work of perfection? The only thing for it, then, is to resort to a fire, but there is chimney, and how to light a fire on the mat? The difficulty has been foreseen. Outside the house, to one side, is the kitchen, from which various conduits pass under the floor of the room. These conduits or pipes are covered with big stones of which the chinks and irregularities have been covered with adobe; that is what your mat is spread over. The smoke and the heat pass through these pipes to go out on the

[1] This letter in the MEP Archives is dated November 15, 1862.

[2] The use of bricks for the walls of houses was familiar from Unified Silla times onward.

other side of the house and make a pleasant warmth reach you, which, thanks to the thickness of the stones, will last for a fairly long time. You see that the Koreans knew long before us about the use of hot air. It is true that the smoke rises up in abundant puffs through the crevices in the floor, but one must not be too delicate, and, in any case, what good thing in this world does not have its drawbacks?

"You will be eager to have a look at the furniture. First of all, as far as far as beds go, do not think to discover one of those grand heaps of mattresses with a baldachin and draperies. Nearly all of Korea sleeps on mats. The poor, which is to say the great majority, stretch out on them without any covering other than the rags that they wear day and night. Those who have a few coppers purchase for themselves the luxury of a blanket, to which, in the comfortably off class, a small mattress of one or two decimeters' thickness is often added. Everyone, rich and poor, has in a corner of the room a little stump of triangular wood which serves as a bolster. As for other furniture, the poor do not have any; the common people have a transversal rod on which is hung a change of clothing; well off individuals have a few baskets stowed on beams or hung from the ceiling; in the households of the rich some rather crude trunks are to be found; the literati and the merchants are usually seated near a small casket that contains ink, brushes and a roll of paper. Young ladies have a small black casket garnished with two skirts, one red and the other blue, an indispensable wedding present. Finally, in the houses of the great functionaries and the high nobility, one finds some Chinese books and varnished armoires of modest dimensions.

"Now how will you be dressed? I have already mentioned the straw sandals, but I will not try to describe them to you; you have to see them to get an idea of what they look like. They are the usual footwear of the country, especially for journeys. The sole of woven rice straw offers a little protection to the foot against stones, but that is its only utility. Is it not also a small mortification, in the rigorous winters of Korea, to tramp in old shoes with one's feet in the snow or in glacial mud? In the summer, the only inconvenience is taking the occasional footbath, but when there is no water to be feared, your footwear has the advantage of being less hot than our shoes. With these sandals, you can do up to ten leagues in a row, sometimes much more. It is therefore necessary to get new ones all the time, which, however, can be done without much expense, for their price runs from three to eight sapeques (two and a half sapeques are worth a French sou). Other sandals of the same form that are a bit prettier and more expensive, are made of hemp or the bark of the paper mulberry shrub (morus papyrifera), but the latter are done for at the least contact with water. There are also some rather bizarre shoes made of leather, both ugly and uncomfortable, but, other than the fact that ninety percent of the population cannot afford such a luxury, this footwear is only good for walking around the house; no one would dare set out on the road with such impediments on his feet.

"But at least you will have stockings because every Korean, when he is not busy with fieldwork, can give himself this satisfaction unless he is reduced to extreme misery. Do not go so far as to believe that there is any question of elastic stockings of silk, linen, cotton or any other fabric which is used in Europe for this purpose; two simple pieces of course cloth sewn together in such a way that they end in a point and follow the contours of the foot will chafe you often, but in the end they will cover your feet and these will be your Korean stockings. Breeches as simple as a zouave's, but in a much less graceful shape, replace trousers in a way that could not be more modest; narrow cloth gaiters are tied under the knee and keep the legs of the breeches folded against the calves. To cover the upper body you will have a vest that, in shape and length, corresponds to the carmagnole that French peasants in certain provinces wear. Well off landowners who do not work usually add a coat provided with wide sleeves, split at the sides, and which falls down to the knees in front and behind, rather in the manner of the great scapular of the Carmelites; the peasants, on the contrary, do not wear this coat except when they are traveling or on a visit. The fashion has started of replacing it in winter with a redingote that, among dignitaries, must always be split at the back like our French redingotes, while ordinary people cannot wear it split. Finally, a ceremonial overcoat, which does not differ from the one we have just described except that it has even wider sleeves, crowns the whole and serves for trips or grand occasions.

"Neither razor nor scissors ever pass over the head or the beard of a Korean. In these recent times when everything has been degenerating, in Korea as elsewhere, young men sometimes allow

themselves to shave part of the head in order that their hair does not make a disgracefully thick topknot when it is put up, but this is a violation of the rules. All the same, do not believe that thick hair or strong beards are common in the country. Children of both sexes plait their long hair and pull it behind in the form of a queue. A husband, before going to fetch his betrothed, makes his queue disappear by putting up his hair and knotting it at the top of his head. The betrothed, for her part, and according to her means, buys false hair, which is added to her queue, and makes up a long, thick rope which is rolled on the head in several thick loops. This mass of heavy and misshapen hair cannot be other than very awkward in the eyes of foreigners; for a Korean, on the other hand, it is the height of fashion and in the best taste. Women and children always go bareheaded; a married man keeps his hair coiled on top by means of a headband woven from thin threads.

"Finally, a ridiculous hat completes the costume. Imagine an enclosed tube, round like European hats, but much straighter and slightly conical, which settles on the top of the skull, and in which the knot of hair alone can fit inside. This tube has a brim like the hats of Europe, but the brim is so out of proportion that often the whole forms a circle of more than sixty centimeters' diameter. The framework of this hat is made of pieces of bamboo cut lengthwise into very thin threads; onto this framework woven openwork linen is hung. Since this hat cannot stay fixed on the topknot by itself, the cords that public officials embellish with globules of yellow amber or other precious beads according to their fortune and their rank secure it under the chin. This hat keeps out neither rain, nor cold, nor even the sun. On the other hand, however, it is very uncomfortable, especially when the wind makes it oscillate on the head.

"All garments are commonly of coarse cotton cloth, and made Lord knows how. Four or five hundred years ago, Korea did not cultivate the cotton plant (gossypium herbaceum), of which such great use is made now. The Chinese government, in order to conserve the cloth monopoly, rigorously prohibited the export of the seeds of this plant; nevertheless, a Korean ambassador named Mun Ik-jeom (文益漸, 1329-1398), succeeded during his journey to Peking in procuring a few of these seeds, hid them, in the tube of his pipe say some, in a feather say others, evaded the vigilance of the frontier guards, and gifted his country with this precious shrub. If the cloth of Korea is so coarse, it comes from the fact that there are few artisans properly speaking here, or rather that everyone is an artisan. In each house, the women weave and sew the cloth and make the clothing, with the result no one habitually exercises this occupation, and no one becomes skilled at it. Much the same can be said for nearly all the arts, in which the Koreans are also very far behind in everything; things are not more advanced today than they were yesterday, nor are they any more so than they were on the morning after the Flood, when all the arts and occupations began again.

"Flax is not used. I have often seen it among the gramanaceae of the mountains, but the Korean confuses it with plants of no value, fit only to be thrown into the fire. With hemp, nothing is made but a linen of clear thread suitable for people in mourning, and which otherwise is only used for summer clothes. The species of nettle called utica nivea is cultivated with success in the southern provinces, but due to a lack of knowledge of spinning and weaving, only cloth with irregular and widely-spaced stitches is gotten from it, and it is also used only in the summer.

"Korea could raise immense flocks of sheep on all the mountains, but the government forbids commoners to raise them. In certain prefectures, the mandarins keep a few, for the sole purpose of offering their flesh in the sacrifices to Confucius. The Koreans have also never tried to make wool; it is at great expense that a few foreign bolts, mostly of Russian manufacture, make it as far as Seoul. The indigenous silk is very coarse and in small quantities. Nevertheless, seeing the mulberry tree sprouting spontaneously in the mountains, and silkworms thriving despite the little care that is taken of them, I am convinced that, under the impetus of an intelligent government, this branch of industry could attain great size.

"European cotton cloth, imported from China, is beginning to be sold in Korea, but its price is very high and its fragility necessarily hinders its use."

For his part, Fr. Féron[3] writes in 1858:

"I live in the prettiest house in the village: it is that of the catechist, a rich man; it is estimated to be worth a good 20 francs. Do not laugh: there are some worth 15 sous. My room, of sufficient size, considering the furnishings, has a sheet of paper for a door, a sheet of paper for a window, and two other sheets of paper make a large set of double doors, which communicate with the neighboring room. My servant's residence and the two rooms put together make up the parish church; it is possible that a belfry will be added later. For the time being, it is raining inside my house just as it is outside, and two large cauldrons do not suffice to catch the water as red as Korean pickles that filters through the thatched roof of my presbytery.

"The prophet Elisha, staying with the Shunamite, had for his furniture a bed, a table, a chair and a candlestick, 4 pieces in total. That was not luxurious. As for me, looking hard, I can perhaps also find four pieces; let's see: a wooden candlestick, a trunk, a pipe and a pair of shoes, for a total of four. No bed and no chairs. 'Considering,' say the Koreans, 'that the earth does not have holes, and that it must be very tiring to sit on a seat, it is evidently not the natural position…' I have no table, either: I am writing to you on my knees in the position mentioned above -- excuse me if my handwriting is not the best. I have not yet become Korean enough to find that this is better than a desk. When it is time to eat, a table is brought already laid: it is a small, round table about a foot high, on which are placed in an order as perfectly regulated as our finest desserts two bowls with three to five saucers. Do not think that one would ever put a bowl or saucer on the left that should be on the right. Someone who would do such a thing would by that fact alone be considered a coarse person, and never would a Korean permit such an impropriety.

"My furnishings being such, would I be richer or poorer than the prophet? That is the question. His room was more comfortable than mine, but it must also be said that nothing in it was his; for me, on the other hand, if it is true that the candlestick belongs to the chapel, and the trunk is the one that Bishop Berneux lent to me, I cannot deny that the pipe and the shoes are mine; I only use the latter for the mass. I did use to possess another pair, it is true, but having had the misfortune to put them on to go out, they can no longer reappear in my room, as propriety and the cleanliness of the mat that serves as my seat, bed and floor would have it. Therefore, I merely have some cotton stockings on my feet. As for the pipe, it serves as a useful prop when traveling in this country where everyone smokes; nevertheless, I have not yet been able to arrive at an appreciation of its charms, as much as I have tried, and have even made myself sick twice, which relieved me of any desire to start up again. My servants are astonished that the Father smokes less than the good woman who cooks his rice."

Let us complete these details with information gleaned from various letters[4] of other missionaries. Korean houses are generally very small and offer little comfort. They are slightly raised above the level of the ground to give space underneath for the pipes that conduct smoke from the kitchen. In the capital, nonetheless, this custom is not always followed. It is fairly comfortable in winter, but in summer the heat becomes an insupportable torture and most of the inhabitants sleep outside. The rich often have summer rooms, under which such pipes are not laid. In ordinary houses, there are two contiguous rooms, rarely three, not counting the kitchen situated to one side, which is open to every wind. All around the house, the roof of rice thatch overhangs the walls by three or four feet in such a way to make small covered galleries. The walls of rich houses are covered with white paper on the interior, and sometimes also on the exterior. Otherwise, these houses almost always have a dirty, dilapidated, miserable look to them, even in the capital, and are always and everywhere full of vermin of all kinds.

The inns along the highways are disgusting hovels where almost nothing is to be had; the great majority of travelers carry their provisions with them if they have the means. Barns and stables are

[3] Stanislas Féron (1827-1903) joined the Foreign Missions Society in 1854 and entered Korea in 1856. He escaped to China during the 1866 persecution and became a missionary in Pondicherry, India, where he died.

[4] Among others, the letter by Fr. Daveluy to Fr. Jurines dated July 15, 1846 (Daveluy Archive Volume 6) published in *Annales* Volume 20 pp. 291-308.

unknown; large hangars open on all four sides replace them, and in winter, when the cold is violent, the oxen and horses gathered inside are dressed in straw.

Dining tables[5] are thirty to fifty centimeters high and equally wide, and of a more or less round shape. Whatever the number of diners, each must have his own. The crude porcelain or copper service consists only of bowls of different sizes, a pair of chopsticks in the Chinese manner, and a copper spoon. The usual meal consists of rice, peppers and vegetables; comfortably off folk add a bit of meat or salted fish. These staples are prepared with sesame oil, castor oil, mint, or brine, because milk and butter are unknown, and the use of animal fats is not understood. Beef can only be found with difficulty, and only in the capital. There is no mutton, which is replaced by dog, of which all the missionaries agree in saying that the taste is not at all disagreeable. In terms of vegetables, there are hardly any but the turnip, the Chinese cabbage, and leaves of the cress and fern, which are consumed in great quantities. The usual drink is the water in which the rice was cooked. Wine is made from wheat or fermented rice. In summer, the nobles drink a lot of rice spirits and honey water. Tea is not unknown in the houses of the rich, but its use is very limited.

"Hardly has a meal ended when the tables are whisked away and everyone lights his pipe, for the Koreans are great smokers. It is rare in this country to find a man who goes out without his pipe. The shape is the same as that of the Chinese pipe: a long tube of bamboo with a copper bowl and a mouthpiece of the same metal. Every Korean always carries with him a tinder-box which he uses exclusively to light his pipe. When he needs a light at home, he uses a sulphur match. On the road, a torch made of three or four sticks twisted together take the place of our lanterns. Sometimes, in summer, instead of a lamp inside the house, a fire is lit in the courtyard, and all the members of the family work by the light of this fire while a heap of dried herbs burning at a distance envelops them in a cloud of smoke intended to keep mosquitoes and other insects at bay.

"Korean clothes are always of an exaggerated amplitude. The body very easily fits into each leg of the trousers or each sleeve of the jacket. For going out, good taste requires that one should wear as many clothes as possible – to wit, two or three trousers, two or three shirts, and four or five linen redingotes, according to the solemnity of the occasion and one's means. The redingote is attached under the arms by two bands that replace buttons, which are unknown in the country. Garments are supposed to be white, but it costs too much to keep them sufficiently clean, and most often the original colour has disappeared under a thick layer of dirt, for uncleanliness is a great fault of the Koreans. It is not uncommon to see even rich people wearing clothes that are torn and full of vermin. To wash laundry, it is soaked in lye-wash prepared with ash, then it is beaten with paddles that are straighter than the washerwoman's beetles of Europe. After that, it is coated with a layer of gum intended to prevent spots. The majority of garments being made of pieces tacked together or simply glued, the pieces are separated and bleached individually. Only the nobles wear garments that are sewn.

"The ordinary hat is of very respectable dimensions, but in rainy weather, the Koreans put a different hat on their heads, a veritable umbrella three feet wide, of straw and very light, that shelters them tolerably well. If they have to work in a heavy downpour, they also put on a cloak of straw, and, so dressed, they can face a diluvian rain.

"Other than the different types of footwear described above, we must mention the wooden shoes that the peasants use: these sabots have excessively thick soles and heels, which make them resemble skates. The Korean never wears his shoes or sandals indoors; he always takes them off at the door. From this, some quite curious scenes arise in Christian communities when a missionary arrives on a visit. In the evening, the neophytes present themselves for the common prayer, and also, as they say, to see the Father's long nose. At the end of the visit, everyone must find his shoes by torchlight, and while waiting one and all stamp about in the mud and dust amid loud cries and debates, but without coming to blows.

[5] From a letter written by Bishop Berneux, dated September 15, 1857, published in *Annales* Volume 39 pp 427-438.

"The use of eye glasses, though it hardly dates back further than 1835 or 1840, is very widespread among the upper classes. Towards 1848, it was a real mania; today more moderation is employed. People of the old school ask permission of the company before putting on their glasses, but young folk dispense with this formality.

"Other than trousers, which are straighter than those of the men, the women wear a camisole of linen or silk, of which the color varies by age: it is pink or yellow for young women or newly married women, violet for women over thirty, and white for those of a more advanced age. By way of a dress, they encircle themselves with a wide blue cloth that they attach under the arms by means of a belt. For the women of the common people, who go out as they please, this skirt stops above the feet; for noblewomen, whom etiquette does not permit to leave their apartments, it is ample and drags on the ground. Widows, however young they may be, must always be dressed in white or grey linen. Korean women do not emulate the stupid folly of the Chinese and do not bind themselves in order to have small feet; they let nature take its course. The women of the people almost always go about barefoot. Their hair, coiled in braids around the skull, serves as a cushion for the water jars and other heavy objects that they customarily carry on their heads.

"To put a finishing touch on this sketch, let us add that men in mourning must confine their hair in a band not of horsehair but of grey linen, covered by a bonnet of the same fabric in the shape of a large sack. In the street, instead of a hat, they wear an immense roof-like structure of straw in the shape of a truncated cone that hangs down to the shoulders. Vivid colors are so forbidden to a man in mourning that even his walking stick and the tube of his pipe must be white. If he does not want to buy new ones, he covers his usual cane and pipe with paper, which is as easy to do as it is cheap. The type of clothing does not change for a woman in mourning, but the color that is rigorously prescribed is white or grey; any other is prohibited. In the eyes of Koreans, a man in mourning is a dead man. He must be completely absorbed in his grief, not seeing and not hearing anything that might distract him. When he goes out, he always has a fan or a small veil of grey cloth fixed on two sticks with which he covers his face. He no longer goes out in society; he hardly allows himself to look at the sky. If one asks him a question, he may forego answering it. He may not kill an animal, even a venomous serpent; it would be an unpardonable crime. On the road and at inns, he retires to his room or to an isolated corner, and refuses to communicate with anyone. All these customs are strictly observed only in the upper classes of society.

"The missionaries have frequently repeated that this costume and these manners of a nobleman in mourning seem to have been invented by Providence in order to procure for them an easy and complete disguise, without which their sojourn in Korea, and especially their travels among the Christians, would have been almost impossible. Unfortunately, since the last persecution, it is known that they habitually used this device, and there is talk of reforming the costume and laws of mourning. God will provide."

XV Science – Industry – Commerce – International Relations

Despite the official protection that the study of certain sciences enjoys in Korea, and despite the special schools established by the government to foster progress in them, these studies are almost non-existent. The titular astronomers barely have sufficient understanding to make use of the Chinese calendar that is sent to them every year from Peking; apart from that, they only know a few ridiculous astrological formulae. The knowledge of the principal accountants of the Ministry of Finance hardly goes beyond the ordinary arithmetical operations necessary for book keeping. That of the pupils of the *Yul-hak* 律學, or law school, is limited to a more or less mechanical understanding of the official law books and royal decrees. Medicine[1] alone seems to be an exception. While they have adopted Chinese medicine, the Koreans, it seems, have introduced serious improvements to it, to the point that in Peking it was seen fit to compose the galleys for the printing of the most famous Korean book of medicine, the *Dong-ui-bo-gam* 東醫寶鑑. No other Korean book has ever had this honor.

Really learned doctors are hardly to be found except in the capital. These are nobles who studied out of curiosity, or individuals of the middle class who have worked to to create the position of court doctor for themselves. Otherwise, one can encounter at long intervals a few capable practitioners whom long experience has taught the true use of local remedies, but these men are rare exceptions, and the immense majority of provincial doctors are nothing but charlatans without knowledge or conscience who always prescribe a special drug, and always the same one, for every possible malady, and never take the trouble to see the patients that they treat.

It is claimed in Korea, as in China, that there are certain very effective remedies for various maladies, among others a potion that can dissolve bladder stones and cure that terrible malady without any surgical operation. Bishop Ferréol, the third apostolic vicar of Korea, after long suffering which reduced him to extremity, was cured of the stone in a few hours by a Chinese doctor. However, the formula of this remedy is a secret that is carefully guarded by those who possess it. The general rule is that remedies are given in the form of a potion; exceptions are rare. Up to twenty or thirty species of plants are boiled together, and then various dirty and repulsive ingredients are mixed into the concoction, the name of which no one at all seeks to disguise by giving it the cover of a scientific-sounding name. Comfort remedies are in continual use. The most common is meat broth, which the Koreans are excellent at preparing. There are two others that merit a particular mention: ginseng, which we have discussed above, and deer antler.

Deer antler, it is said, has a more lasting restorative effect than ginseng. Its potency depends on the area where the animal lives. The Koreans have little esteem for that which comes from China or the northern provinces (Hamgyong and Pyongan). The best, they say, is that which comes from Gangwon; even so, a distinction is made between the different districts of that province. The deer must be killed at the time that the antlers are just emerging, and before they harden, otherwise the efficacy of the remedy will be nil. The head of the animal is cut off and kept upside down for ten or twelve hours in order for all the potency of the blood to pass into the antlers, which are then dried over a low fire as carefully as possible. For use, a bit is scraped off, mixed with the juice of a few plants and administered to the patient. Bishop Daveluy attests that he frequently used this remedy during long years of enervation, and that he felt excellent effects from it. The blood of the deer, taken hot, is also thought to give the limbs extraordinarily vitality and strength. “When one has drunk some of it,” said some Christian hunters to a missionary, “the steepest mountains seem like a plain, and one can go from one end of the kingdom to the other without the least fatigue.”

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[1] Daveluy Archive Volume 3 ff. 73-75

Another curative method about which we should say a few words is acupuncture. For Korean doctors, it consists of pushing a lancet into various points of the body in order to re-establish the machine in its natural equilibrium. There are special treatises on this part of the surgical art, the only one that is known to the Koreans; they even know how to make models of the human body out of metal wire in order to show students the places where the lancet must be inserted. In the hands of a skilled practitioner, the instrument, which is extremely thin, penetrates up to a depth of four or five centimeters, drawing scarcely a few drops of blood. The missionaries assure us that they have often seen remarkable and always very prompt effects of this kind of treatment.

The Koreans, little advanced in scientific studies, are hardly any further ahead in their understanding of industry. Among them, the useful arts have made absolutely no progress in centuries. One of the principal causes of this state of inferiority is that in each household almost every trade must be practiced, and even items of the first order of necessity must be made by oneself. The harvest gives the laborer everything he needs, and during the winter he becomes in turn a weaver, a dyer, a carpenter, a tailor, a mason, etc. He makes rice wine, oil, and brandy at home. His wife and daughters spin hemp, cotton, and even silk if he has been able to raise a few silkworms. They make coarse but solid fabric out of them, which suffice for everyday use. Every peasant knows and collects the grains required for dyeing, as well as those that are used to make remedies for ordinary ailments. He himself makes the clothes, straw shoes, sabots, baskets, hampers, brooms, rope, string, mats and tools that he needs. In case of need, he repairs the walls, roof and framework of his house. In other words, he is self-sufficient, but as may easily be understood, he only works at each thing to the measure of present necessity, contents himself with the simplest and most primitive proceedings, and never arrives at any remarkable skill.

There are special tradesmen only for occupations that require particular tools, and an apprenticeship to learn how to use them. However, even in that case, established tradesmen working in a fixed manner out of their own workshops are very rare. Usually, each of them goes where he is employed, carrying his tools on his back, and when he is finished somewhere, he looks for work elsewhere. Even those who need a certain infrastructure do not definitively settle anywhere. Potters, for example, establish themselves today in a place where wood and clay are conveniently available; they build their cabin and their kiln there, and make crude crockery, quite solid earthenware, sometimes of a monstrous capacity, for the people of the neighborhood; then, when the wood is used up, they seek their fortune elsewhere. Blacksmiths act in the same way, and leave when the extraction of the minerals becomes too difficult. Similarly, there are no great factories, no serious investment, no workshops worth the name: badly joined wooden barracks, easily blown down by the wind or sunk by rain, flimsy ovens, and furnaces that may explode at any moment, that is all. Accordingly, the profit is almost nil. Individuals who have money never think of putting it into such enterprises, and of those who want to risk a few hundred francs, half ruin themselves within a few months.

The Koreans claim that they make and export to China large knives, sabers and daggers of the highest quality, but the missionaries have not had occasion to verify sufficiently the accuracy of this assertion. They also make matchlock muskets that seem to be fairly sound. Although they have very beautiful copper in their own country, they get all that they use from Japan. They mix it with zinc to make vases and cooking pots. So combined, it oxydizes only with great difficulty, and despite the continual use of these vessels in well off households, there is no known instance of verdigris poisoning. All jewelry, adornments, and luxury items come from China; in Korea, no one knows how to make them.

There is, nevertheless, one industry in which the Koreans out-do the Chinese, which is paper making. Using mulberry bark, they make paper that is much thicker and more solid than the Chinese kind; it is like linen and one can hardly tear it. Its use is infinitely diverse. Hats, bags, candle wicks, shoelaces, etc., are made from it. When it is prepared with oil, it compares to advantage with our waxed paper, especially with regard to price, and is used to make umbrellas and raincoats. Doors and windows have no other panes than oiled paper glued to the frames. There is, all the same, one exception. “When a Korean,” says Bishop Daveluy, “finds a small piece glass of half an inch square, it is great luck. From the moment he inserts it in a chink of his door, he can, by squinting, see what happens outside, and he is

more proud of it than an emperor admiring himself in the mirrors of his palace. Lacking such a piece of glass, he would make a hole in the paper with his finger, and so put himself in touch with the exterior world."

It can easily be concluded from the foregoing that internal commerce is little developed in Korea. There are very few merchants who run shops out of their houses, and nearly all transactions take place at fairs or markets. These fairs take place in different cities or market-towns designated by the government, to the number of five per district. In each of these localities, the fair takes place every five days, today in one, tomorrow in another, and so on, always in the same order, so that each day there is a fair somewhere in the district. Tents are prepared for the merchandise.

The measures that merchants use are: the handful, for grains; a hundred handfuls make a bushel, and twenty bushels make a sack. For liquids, cups are counted. The measure of weight is the Chinese pound, and only Chinese scales are used. The measure of length is the foot, which varies according to the province, one could even say according to the merchant. The foot is divided into ten inches, and the inch into ten lines.

One of the great obstacles to the development of commerce is the imperfection of the monetary system. Gold or silver coins do not exist. The sale of these metals, in ingots, is hindered by a host of meticulous regulations, and it would be gravely compromising, for example, to sell silver in China, even it were smelted into Korean-style bars. This silver would unfailingly be recognized, and the merchant, other than the confiscation of his bars, would risk a stiff fine, and perhaps a bastinado. The only coin that is legal tender is the sapeque. It is a small piece of copper, alloyed with zinc, with a value of two to two and a half cents. It is pierced in the middle with a hole designed to let a string pass through, which allows a number of coins to be tied together, from which the expression ligature or half-ligature is frequently employed in accounts of the Far East to designate the currency. To make a large payment requires a troop of porters, for a hundred nhiangs or ligatures (about two hundred francs), is a load for a man. In the northern provinces, this coinage is not used; everything is done by bartering, subject to certain customary conventions. It seems that in the past, grains served as money, for, even in the current language, one who takes his wheat to market to sell it, says that he will buy it, and he who will buy it says that he will sell.

The interest on silver is enormous in Korea. Someone who lends it at thirty percent is thought to be giving it away. More usually fifty, sixty, sometimes even a hundred percent is demanded. It is fair to say that income from land, which must be the starting point to appreciate the interest rate, is in this country relatively considerable. In good years, a cultivator can get about thirty percent of his fields' value out of them.

Following the ancient traditions of the country, it seems that the kings of the preceding dynasties had paper money, in the shape of an arrowhead, worth about three sheets of paper. After the subjugation of Korea by the Manchu dynasty of Peking, the right to mint money was taken away from the Korean kings. The first who dared to do it anyway, despite the treaty terms, seems to have been Sukjong, who died in in 1720 after a reign of forty-two years. Today the right has been acquired by a long set of regulations, which the government uses and abuses. In recent years, the government has minted money continually, but it is more and more diluted. While the old sapeques were of copper with a minimal amount of alloy, the new ones are almost all lead, and are deteriorating rapidly. It is not the government that gains by it, for it provides the desired quantity of copper to the smelters, but they replace the copper with lead and share the profit with either the minister of finance or the functionary specially charged with verifying the coinage.

Another hindrance to commercial transactions is the sad state of the communication routes. Navigable rivers are rare in Korea; only some carry boats, and then only in a very limited part of their course. In addition, the art of making roads in a country of mountains and valleys is almost unknown.

Almost all the transportation of goods is done on the backs of oxen, horses or men. Bishop Daveluy writes[2]:

"The roads are divided, at least theoretically, into three classes. The first-class ones, which I translate as royal roads, are generally of sufficient width for four men abreast. As there are few vehicles in the provinces, that is all that is needed for pedestrians and riders. They are good or bad according to the season. However, it often happens that they are diminished by three quarters because of some big stone or piece of rock, or because the rain has washed away part of the surface. No one, naturally, thinks of remediating these little inconveniences, and often one needs to climb over these rocky obstacles with one's mount at the risk of breaking one's neck or rolling into the ditch. Still, in the environs of the capital, the roads are a bit better maintained. The principal one is the one that goes from Seoul to the frontier with China. There is another one, quite beautiful it is said, only eight leagues long, that leads from the palace to a royal tomb.

"As for those of the second class, their beauty, width and convenience varies by the quarter hour. When I see nothing more than a poor track, I ask if it is indeed the main road; one answers in the affirmative; the rest is understood. Stones, rocks, mud, rivulets, nothing is lacking except for the road surface. But what to say about the third class roads: a foot wide, more or less, visible or not according to the sagacity of the guide, often covered by water when they cross rice paddies, and grazing the precipices in the mountains.

"About the bridges, I know of two kinds. One kind consists of some big stones thrown down at intervals across streams; these are the most common. The others, made of piles driven into the river and supporting a kind of plank covered with earth, form a useable viaduct, though too often showing daylight. When the water is abundant, which it frequently is in summer, all the bridges are swept away or submerged by the flood, and it is left to the traveler to take a bath on the way over. Great lords can remove this inconvenience by climbing on the backs of their guides. Finally, there is a stone bridge in the capital, no doubt magnificent, and one of the marvels of the country. The more considerable rivers are traversed by boat."

The commercial relations of Korea with the neighboring nations are almost nil[3]. In order to better preserve its independence against its two powerful neighbors, China and Japan, this country enclosed itself in an almost complete isolation. Any communication with foreigners, except in cases provided for by law, is a crime punishable by death. According to international conventions, no Chinese or Japanese can establish himself in Korea, and the same reciprocally for Koreans. The Chinese ambassadors who come to Seoul leave their suite at the frontier, except for one or two body servants, and while they are in the capital do not leave the palace that is assigned to them as their residence. The Korean ambassadors, on the contrary, can enter China with all the people in their suite, and circulate freely in the streets of Peking during their stay. When the ambassador passes through Pien-men[4], on the way out and on the way back, there is a fair that lasts for several days. The mandarin of Uiju, the last Korean town on the Chinese border, alone has the right to keep in touch by letter with the authorities of Pien-men at all times of the year. Every two years, another fair is held in the extreme north of the province of Hamgyong between Hunchun 琿春, a Tartar village of the part of Manchuria which was recently ceded to the Russians, and Gyongwon 慶源, the nearest Korean town. This is a considerable fair, but it only lasts for two or three days, and only for a few hours each day from noon to sundown. When the signal is given, everyone hurries to get back over the frontier, and soldiers prod the laggards with their lances. We have

[2] What follows is taken from a letter by Fr. Daveluy addressed to an an un-named colleague, dated July 18, 1846, published in *Annales* Vol 20 1848 pp. 291-308.

[3] This is far from being the case, particularly regarding trade with Japan.

[4] Pien-men 變文, which is frequently mentioned in this history, is the last Chinese town on the approach to Korea, on the north side of the Yalu River. Its name means 'Frontier Gate'.

already mentioned above the monthly markets between the Koreans and some Japanese soldiers stationed at Busan-gae. There is the limit of the relations that Korea has, by land, with other nations.

By sea, it has even fewer. Chinese and Japanese ships are permitted to fish for the *hae-sam* (holothuria) along the shoreline of Pyongan, and the herring along the coast of Hwanghae, but on two conditions: never to set foot on land, and never to address the people of the country at sea, on pain of confiscation of the ship and the imprisonment of its crew. The first condition is generally observed, but there is a fairly considerable amount of contraband trafficking between the Korean barques and Chinese junks in the shelter of innumerable rocks and islets of the Korean archipelago. The mandarins, for some secret profit, close their eyes to it. If a storm casts a Chinese ship on the Korean coast, or a Korean ship on the Chinese coast, the survivors of the shipwreck are gathered up, taken care of by the government, guarded carefully to prevent any contact between them and the local inhabitants, and taken by land to the first town of their country. Returning by sea is forbidden to them. Between Japan and Korea, repatriation is done by sea, but with similar precautions.

Let us give here some details on the difficulties that the missionaries had to overcome to penetrate Korea; we will, thereby, have an idea of the meticulous severity with which the Korean government maintains its absolute isolation. The land and sea borders are guarded by a cordon of military posts charged with the sole task of preventing the ingress of foreigners and the egress of locals. Police agents, chosen from among the finest and most experienced, reside in the most important of these posts, and they are assisted in the day and night surveillance by specially trained dogs, so that it is almost impossible to cross the frontier unnoticed.

By land, there are but two roads: the one from Tartary via Hunchun and Gyeongwon, and the one from China via Pien-men and Uiju. Elsewhere, the frontier that separates the Korean peninsula from the continent is made up of mountainous deserts and impassable forests. Now one cannot attempt to cross at one of those two points but on the days of the legally constituted fairs; at all other times, it would be folly even for the locals, and even more so for foreigners. It is therefore necessary to join one of the caravans that go to the fair at Hunchun, or to join the Korean embassy that is returning from China. The great difficulty, in both cases, is the manner of arranging one's hair. The Chinese shave the head, keeping only a tuft of hair on top that is plaited and hangs down the back in a queue; the Koreans keep all their hair. If one shaves oneself in the Chinese manner, one will be recognized and arrested on entering Korea; if one follows the European fashion, one will be recognized in China before even reaching the frontier. During the fair at Gyeongwon, it is forbidden to the Chinese to enter Korean houses, and numerous satellites are distributed at the gates of the town and in the streets to enforce this prohibition. A missionary who wanted to take this route, even supposing that he would not have been discovered by his travel companions, whether on the road or during the days of waiting that precede the fair, would have to speak with the Korean couriers and change clothes in the open air, in the middle of thousands of people, without being seen by anyone, which is manifestly impossible. In any case, once inside, he would have to walk for a month before reaching any Christian villages in little-traveled country, where, consequently, travelers are rare and easily recognized. The couriers that would serve as his guides would have to re-pass through the inns along the way with one person more than on the way out; that alone would immediately raise suspicion, which the difference of appearance and pronunciation would soon change into certainty.

The difficulties are hardly less via Pien-men. Every one of the Koreans in the suite of the embassy, in whatever capacity, is interviewed and thoroughly searched at the border gate. If his person and his baggage raise no suspicion, he receives a passport in which everything is detailed minutely. Let us suppose that the couriers have obtained their passports. They are bringing a missionary back with them, and have got through the Chinese customs; however, from there to the Korean customs is another fifteen leagues of desert. On the left and right of the only road stretch impenetrable forests. If during the journey one thinks of making a fire to prepare some food, the other travelers will hurry over to cook their rice, which one could not refuse them, and the danger for the missionary is great, given the insolent curiosity of Koreans. One arrives on the banks of the river, where guards are stationed, and one gets into

a Korean barque which conducts the travelers to the customs post situated on the other bank. There, everyone must present his passport, submit to a search and be meticulously questioned. The missionary can obviously not risk this customs procedure, and will also have taken care to remain hidden on the other bank. He must wait for night in order to attempt a crossing on the ice, for it is always winter when the embassy comes back from Peking. On the Korean bank, however, guard units are stationed at intervals, each one with a picket of soldiers and a pack of dogs. The only chance of success is to creep through the darkness between two body guards, and to scale the snowy mountains of the area in order to rejoin the road towards the interior from there. The first missionaries entered the country by this route, but soon, following the persecutions, all the Christians' ruses were known, not only to the mandarins, but also to the customs officers, the innkeepers, and all the pagan inhabitants, and this route had to be abandoned as it was henceforward impossible.

There remains the sea route. We have seen the maritime conventions in force between China and Korea, the result of which is that no ship of either country can legally approach the coast of the other. This prohibition is violated by neither the Koreans, nor the Chinese. The thousands of Chinese junks that leave Liao-tong, Kiang-nan and Chantong, and go to fish on the Korean coast, always anchor far from shore. If they approach too near, they are subjected to the most severe searches, and no consideration, not offer of money would persuade their crew to make landfall. As for the Koreans, it would be difficult to find among them a pilot capable of steering a barque, in open water, to a given point. They know the compass, which they call the iron that marks the south, and a certain number of Chinese manufacture are to be found, but they do not use it except in the superstitious search for the most favorable location for tombs. The use of this instrument for navigation is unknown to them, for their barques never leave sight of land. In any case, the Korean ships are very badly constructed. Destined solely for coastal fishing, they are flat-bottomed in order to conveniently rest on the sea bed at low tide. A strong wave would break the rudder; a stiff breeze would topple the masts, which are always very high. To build one otherwise would attract attention, provoke special surveillance and expose one to the risk of prison for violation of custom. Even if one triumphed over these obstacles, the success of a return trip from China would be highly doubtful. A ship that arrives from the open sea is for that reason alone placed under suspicion; the sailors of other vessels hasten to come aboard, the authorities do not tarry to visit, and if some object of suspicious origin is found, the barque is burned and the crew is put to death.

The only feasible method of penetrating Korea by sea is the one that the missionaries had adopted in recent times: leave China on a Chinese junk after having agreed in advance with some Korean fisherman on the place and time of a rendez-vous, spend the night a fair distance from the coast in the shelter of one of the islands of the Korean archipelago, transfer to the fishing boat in haste, and reach the shore before dawn. However, this way, employed without unfortunate accidents up to 1866, is now closed. Fathers Ridel[5] and Blanc[6] tried it in vain in 1869; the surveillance is so severe that they only escaped death through the special protection of Providence.

Effectively, since the expedition of Rear-Admiral Roze, Korea is more sequestered than ever from the rest of the world. In 1867, the annual fairs that used to take place in Pien-men on the passing through of the ambassadors has been suppressed; the Chinese junks that came, as per usual, to fish off the coast, were boarded and searched down to the bilge, and sent back without permission to stay. The following year, 1868, more than seventy of these junks were burned, and three hundred men of their

[5] Félix Clair Ridel (1830-1884) arrived in Korea as a missionary in 1861. Having escaped to China during the 1866 persecution, he alerted the French authorities to the killing of the 9 missionaries and accompanied Admiral Roze on the ensuing expedition. In 1870 he was consecrated in Rome as the 6th Apostolic Vicar of Korea and in 1876 re-entered Korea but was soon captured and expelled. Falling sick during a visit to Nagasaki in Japan, he returned to France, where he died.

[6] Marie Jean Gustave Blanc (1844-1890) was the first French missionary to enter Korea after the 1866 persecution, in 1876. In 1884, after the death of Bishop Ridel, he became the new Apostolic Vicar and oversaw the first steps of the liberated Church. He died after only a few years and was succeeded by Bishop Mutel who served until 1933.

crews massacred, on no one knows what pretext. One or two American ships[7] having suffered the same sort of experience, the United States in its turn, in 1871, mounted an expedition as fruitless as the French one in 1866. Since then, herring fishing on the Korean coasts has been forbidden to Chinese ships, which hardy dare to venture there anymore.

Yet the Korean people nevertheless are not at all by nature inimical to foreigners. Perhaps they are even better disposed towards them than the Chinese are. They are less arrogant, less inimical to every kind of amelioration and progress, and less fanatical about their supposed superiority over the barbarians who populate the rest of the world. However, the government preserves with exacting care that isolation that it believes to be necessary to its security, and no consideration of interest or humanity will make it abandon it. During the years 1871 and 1872, a terrible famine desolated Korea. The misery was so great that the inhabitants of the west coast sold their young girls to Chinese smugglers for a bushel of rice per head. A few Koreans, having arrived in Liao-tong across the forests of the northern frontier, painted a horrifying picture for the missionaries of the state of the country, affirming that cadavers were to be encountered on all the roads. However, the Seoul government let half the people die rather than buy provisions from China or Japan. Only force will be able to impose a change on the system. The various expeditions, or rather demonstrations, mounted in the last thirty years, badly coordinated, without follow through, without any serious policy behind them, have had no effect up to the present other than to irritate and exasperate the country's pride without conquering it. If they had been seen through, they would have been, from all points of view, in the interest of free trade as well as freedom of religion, much more detrimental than useful.

It is evident that such a state of things cannot last, and that an excess of evil will bring on a remedy. The civilized nations, forced to protect their shipping and their commerce, will not tolerate indefinitely that a miserable little kingdom, without a navy, and without a serious army, burns ships that touch its shores, massacres foreigners because they are foreigners, and keeps itself by force apart from humanity. Very likely, the affair will be settled by the Russians, whose conquests in northeast Asia take on a more developed character every day. Since 1860, their possessions have bordered Korea. There have already been several difficulties between the two countries over questions of the frontier and trade; these questions cannot fail to renew themselves, and one day or another, they will end in the annexation of Korea to Russian territory. Perhaps even the English or the Americans, pushed to the limit by some new insult, will impose commercial liberty by force.

Even better would certainly be for France herself to take up the responsibility of intervening in order to efface the humiliation of the failure of 1866. This expedition should have been intended by the government to punish the murder of the French missionaries, and to render the repetition of such barbaric acts impossible. In fact, it completed the ruin of the Korean church, and caused the massacre of thousands of Christians. What other way to make up for this disaster than to assure for the brothers and children of these martyrs complete liberty of conscience, and to force Korea to conclude treaties with the civilized peoples, and, these treaties once concluded, to respect them scrupulously? Without doubt, in the present circumstances, an expedition of this kind seems almost impossible, but France is not dead, the future has not had its last word, and the future is God's.

[7] In 1866 the *General Sherman* attempted to sail up the Daedong River leading to Pyongyang, perhaps mistaking it for the Han River, but ran aground and when the crew began to shoot at the approaching Koreans, they were all killed.