

A GENERATIONAL SHIFT IN THE  
CATHOLIC MISSIONARY GROUPS:  
CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES' STRUGGLE CONFRONTING PROTESTANT  
POWER IN P'YŎNGAN PROVINCE

Sun Young Choi

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF  
THE REQUIRMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

(Asian Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

April, 2014

© Sun Young Choi, 2014

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores the situation of the Catholic missionaries in P'yŏngan Province from 1896 to 1936. In this region, Protestants won exceptional success. Confronting this challenge, French missionaries moved into that province and carried out missionary work in this region up until 1922. From 1923, American missionaries replaced them and assumed responsibility for Catholic activities in the same region. French missionaries who witnessed how successful Protestants were in that area saw them as competitors. Conflicts between them over land ownership (the P'yŏngyang Land Affair) reveal how serious that competition was. This study also investigates the difference between the Catholic community and the Protestant community in the use of medical services in missionary activities. Catholic missionaries had only medical clinics while Protestant missionaries had physician specialists and hospitals. I also examine the shortage of resources for the Catholic Church. They did not have enough funds or missionaries and this shortfall had a negative effect on their missionary work in this Province. French missionaries found themselves unable to handle the various mission tasks in the region and they finally decided to invite another missionary group to support mission work for this region, the Marynollers, an American missionary order. Those American missionaries also recognized the success of Protestant missionaries in P'yŏngan Province. Their missionary achievements stimulated American Catholic missionaries to try even harder to promote Catholicism in that part of Korea.

The American missionaries attempted to cultivate Korean seminary students, publicize Catholicism to non-Catholics and encourage those who were already Catholic believers by publishing a local magazine. Their style of missionary work was different from that of French missionaries. Both the local Catholic believers and the American missionaries had a strong sense of belonging to a minority even in their own home country. This shared sentiment of the American missionaries and the Catholic believers in P'yŏngan Province helped them understand each other and work together effectively.

## **PREFACE**

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Sun Young Choi

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract.....]</b>	<b>]</b>
<b>Preface.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>List of Tables.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Falling Behind in the Mission Competition in P’yongan: the MEP, a French Missionary Group.....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1. The Isolated Catholic Mission Station: P’yongan Province.....	11
2.1.1. Different Backgrounds, Different Results: The Aftermath of Persecutions of the Catholic Church.....	14
2.2. Conflicts Surrounding Limited Resources: The P’yongan Land Affairs.....	17
2.3. Protestants’ Strong Identity as Medical Workers.....	26
2.4. The Catholic Community and Health Services .....	28
2.5. Foundation of Parochial Churches.....	29
2.6. Foundation of Schools.....	31
2.7. Land and the MEP.....	33
2.8. A Shortage of Missionaries and Suspended Missionary Work.....	35
2.8.1. The Remaining 24 missionaries in the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul.....	36
<b>3. Communicating with Each Other with a Strong Sense of Community: the Maryknolls, an American Missionary Group.....</b>	<b>39</b>
3.1. The Big Question: the Source of Funds for building Churches.....	40
3.2. The Maryknolls Stimulated by Protestant Achievements.....	42
3.3. Educating Seminary Students.....	45
3.4. Communicating with their own Magazine.....	49
3.5. Different Dispositions of Different Missionary Groups.....	52
3.6. Advertising Catholicism for Surviving in the Protestant-centered Atmosphere...53	
3.7. Bishop Morris’ Emphasizing a Sense of Community.....	56
3.8. Immigrant Catholic Family Group in the United States.....	59
3.9. Strong Solidarity of Irish Catholics.....	61
3.10. Deep-rooted Contempt Driving Solidarity among Koreans in P’yongan Province .....	61
3.11. Amplification of Similar Sentiment between American Missionaries and the People of P’yongan Province.....	62

<b>4. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>71</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number of Catholic and Protestant Missionary Workers in P'yŏngyan Province.....	24
Table 2. List of Catholic Churches.....	30
Table 3. List of Catholic Schools.....	31
Table 4. List of Catholic Missionaries Entering Korea by Year.....	39
Table 5. The Number of Presbyterians in 1932.....	42
Table 6. The Number of Catholic Believers.....	50
Table 7. Place of Birth of Missionaries.....	60
Table 8. The Number of Presbyterian Churches.....	67
Table 9. Missionaries' Personal Background (1).....	69
Table 10. Missionaries' Personal Background (2).....	71

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Number of Catholic and Protestant Missionary Workers in P'yŏngan Province.....	24
Figure 2. Places of Birth of Maryknoll Missionaries.....	60
Figure 3. The Number of Presbyterian Churches.....	67
Figure 4. The Number of Presbyterians in 1932.....	67

# 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the situation of the Catholic Church in the northwestern area of Korea.<sup>1</sup> To be more specific, I shall touch upon the reaction of the Catholic missionary groups to the powerful Protestant presence<sup>2</sup> in this region and the specific situation they faced from 1896 to 1936.<sup>3</sup>

## Research Tendency of the Korean Catholic History

A survey of previous scholarship reveals that Catholicism in P'yŏngan Province has received relatively little attention from scholarship until now. According to both Chang Dong-Ha and Yun Sŏn-Ja, studies of Korean Catholic history from the late 19th century to the middle of the 20th century (the Japanese colonial Period)<sup>4</sup> fall into three types<sup>5</sup>: (1) How the Catholic

---

<sup>1</sup> Basically, this study is influenced by Kim, Sun-Joo, who is the representative scholar on the history of the north Korea arguing that researchers need to focus on the history of P'yŏngan Province Kim, Sun-Joo ed, the *Northern region of Korea*(Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2010), 3-13.

<sup>2</sup> Protestants had huge success in this region and many scholars of Protestantism have focused on this topic in their studies. Don Clark, "The Missionary Presence in Northern Korea before WWII : Human Investment, Social Significance, and Historical Legacy" in the *Northern Region of Korea* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2010):234-253, 234.

<sup>3</sup> The reason why I deal with P'yŏngan Catholicism especially during this period is that from 1896, French missionaries built a Catholic church there for the first time, stayed and started missionary tasks for Catholics in P'yŏngan Province. Before 1896, MEP missionaries visited and helped Catholic believers' religious life in P'yŏngan Province. However, P'yŏngan Province did not have their own priest until Father Le Gendre (1866-1928) began missionary work in P'yŏngyang in 1896. In this thesis, Catholic missionaries' activities until 1936 are dealt with. This is because primary sources regarding American missionaries' activities were related to mission works through the time of Bishop James Morris (r.1930~1936). Missionary action was suspended in 1942 when American missionaries were exiled by the Japanese colonial Government. Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn guso [Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History], *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa* [P'yŏngyang Diocese History] (Seoul: P'undo Book, 1981). 47, 549, and 552. ; MEP, *Compte Rendu* [*Seoul Kyogu Yŏnbo*( / ) (1878~1903) (The Annual Reports of the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul)], Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso[Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History] Trans. and ed., (Seoul: Myŏngdong Catholic Church, 1984). 35. 67. 83. 88-89, 107 127-128,187.

<sup>4</sup> I touch upon P'yŏngan Catholic Church from 1896 to 1936. For this reason, I present the tendency of studies on Catholicism during this period.

<sup>5</sup> Chang, Dong-Ha, "Ilche Kangjŏmgi Ch'ugyotdŭl ŭ Kyŏljŏng Sahang kwa Sŏn'gyo Ch'ŏngchaek," in



mission activities contributed to the modernization of Korea (2) How the Catholic community responded to Korean society and the Japanese Colonial Government (3) How the Catholics related to the independence movement of Korea Studies on P'yŏngan Province were not found in these categories. In addition, there were just four research works on P'yŏngan Catholicism, to date.<sup>6</sup> Researchers have paid scant attention to P'yŏngan Province.

Things are quite different in the studies of the Catholic history in another northwestern region, Hwanghae Province. Numerous studies have tried to shed light on the Catholic history of this area.<sup>7</sup> Research on the Catholic history of Hwanghae Province falls mainly under the categories 2 and 3 above<sup>8</sup> : Haesŏ Conflicts between the local community and the Catholic missionaries, and the figures with ties to the independence movement such as An Chung-Gŭn, his family, and the French priest Wilhelm (1860-1938). Even in the leading monograph on modern and contemporary Catholic history in Korea, 3 out of 5 sections regarding the modern Catholic history were related to An Chung-Gŭn.<sup>9</sup>

This being the case, why were scholars not interested in the Catholic history of P'yŏngan Province? I think that ostensibly, there were no Catholic stories that could be discussed in terms of volatile political issues. If Catholic history could be associated with political issues, stories of

---

*Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae 100-yŏn sok ūi Kat'ollik kyohoe* (Seoul: Kunhyŏndae Han guk Kat ollik Yŏn'gudan, 2005) ; Yun, Sŏn-Ja, "Kaehwagi Ilcheha Chŏnju Kyohoesa Yŏngu," in *Han'guk Ch'ŏnju Kyohoesa ū Sŏngchal* (Seoul: Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏnguso, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> I shall discuss these works in the literature review section.

<sup>7</sup> Recently, Catholicism in Hwanghae also attracted attention of scholars in North America. For these studies, see Moon, Yu-Mi and Franklin Rauch as the representative scholars. Their research focuses on Catholic figures and movements of Hwanghae Province. For these studies on Hwanghae Catholicism, see Cho, Kwang, *Han'guk kŭnhyŏndae Ch'ŏnjugyosa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kyŏngin Munhwasa, 2010) ; Moon, Yu-mi, "From Periphery to a transnational Frontier: Popular movements in the northwestern provinces, 1896-1904" in *the Northern Region of Korea*(Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2010):181-215 ; Franklin Rauch, *The ambiguity of violence : ideology, state, and religion in the late Chosŏn dynasty* (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 2010) :350.

<sup>8</sup> Chang, Dong-Ha, *Ibid.*, 14-15; Yun, Sŏn-Ja, *Ibid.*, 113-117.

<sup>9</sup> Cho, Kwang, *Ibid.*

the Catholic Church could be dealt with in the context of political discussion, and finally could expand the scope of religious history to political history. Interestingly, Kim Sŏn Joo, the leading specialist on P'yŏngan Province in North America, points out the problem of similar tendencies of studies of P'yŏngan Province.<sup>10</sup> She stressed that several large issues, such as modernization, have been the main topics regarding research on the history of the modern period.<sup>11</sup> I think that studies of modern Catholic history can hardly be free from this kind of criticism. Finally, as seen in the categories above, most of Catholic stories converged towards just a few topics: modernization or political topics. Given this context, P'yŏngan Catholicism could not be discussed due to the fact that studies of the Catholic Church of P'yŏngan are still in an early stage. It seems that even in the context of pure religious history, P'yŏngan Catholicism was not examined. In my opinion, one of the important causes of this phenomenon is the fact that this province had been an isolated district in the history of the Korean Catholic Church for a long time. Specifically, I think that this province was not the main stage in the Korean Catholic history and was not included in the main stream of Korean Catholic discussion. Korean Catholicism originated from literati residing in Hanyang, the capital of Korea during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910).<sup>12</sup> It is thought that this religion spread predominantly outside of P'yŏngan Province. Hwang, Sa-Yŏng (1771-1801), one of the representative Catholic literati, described the spread of Catholicism in his famous Silk Letter.<sup>13</sup> According to him, very few Catholic believers resided in P'yŏngan and Hwanghae in 1801, and accordingly, the persecutions of Catholic

---

<sup>10</sup> Kim, Sun-joo, ed., *The Northern Region of Korea : History, Identity & Culture* (Seattle:Center for Korea Studies, University of Washington, 2010) 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> Ryu, Hong-Nyŏl, *Han'gukŭi Ch'ŏnjugyo* (Seoul: King Sejong Memorial Society:2000). 68-71.

<sup>13</sup> Don Baker and Frank Rausch, *The Silk Letter of Hwang Sayŏng: Catholics and Anti-Catholicism in Chosŏn dynasty Korea*, 290. This monograph will be published soon.

believers barely arose in these regions.<sup>14</sup> This means that we barely find any Catholic persecution in P'yŏngan. For this reason, in the current Catholic histories, people can find just one martyr saint was from P'yŏngan Province, named Yu Chŏng-Nyul (1837- 1866).<sup>15</sup>

Does this mean, then, that P'yŏngan Catholicism was not worth studying? I have to keep in mind the Protestant presence in P'yŏngan previously mentioned. On the surface, this topic seems interesting just to researchers on Protestantism. However, I would like to say that this success was also an exceptional phenomenon for the Catholic Church. Therefore, if I examine the P'yŏngan Catholic Church within the context of this kind of Protestant power, this study will reveal the circumstances and characteristics of the Catholic community in P'yŏngan Province. This study finally could contribute to completing the topographic map of the religious story of the northern regions.

## Literature Review

I think that the limitation of previous studies is that P'yŏngan Catholic histories were introduced or discussed just in the Catholic contexts. To date, studies of the P'yŏngan Catholic Church are still in a preliminary stage. In fact, there are only four articles and one monograph that shed light on the P'yŏngan Catholic Community.<sup>16</sup> In *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, I can find

---

<sup>14</sup>Don Baker and Frank Rausch, *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Kim Chang-Seok Thaddeus, *Lives of 103 Martyr Saints of Korea* (Seoul: Catholic Publishing House, 1983). 130.

<sup>16</sup> Based on my research on the literature, Kim Su-Tae was the almost only scholar who paid attention to the Maryknoll missionaries and cast light on this topic from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. --

--Kim, Su-Tae, "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ŏn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ul gwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsimŭro," *P'usan K'yohoesabo* 22 (1999):22-38.

---. "1930nyŏndae P'yŏngyang K'yogu ūi K'atollik Undong," *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu* 19 (2002):207-229.

---. "1930nyŏndae P'yŏngyang K'yogu ūi Sinsa Ch'ambae Kŏbu Undong," *Han'guk Minjok Undongsa Yŏn'gu* 38 (2004):195-226.

---. "1930nyŏndae Maerinol Oebang Ch'ŏn'gyohoe ūi Sŏn'gyo Hwalt'ong," *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu* 29

detailed Catholic histories of P'yŏngan in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and my thesis received great help from this book.<sup>17</sup> This book attempts to introduce whole histories of P'yŏngyang Diocese and this work is helpful to access P'yŏngan Catholicism. Nevertheless, just accepting the perspective applied to this book hinders me from understanding the real situation of Catholic missionary groups, the MEP and the Maryknoll. For example, in Chapter 2 titled *the works of the MEP in P'yŏngan Province*, most histories were related to activities of French missionaries, nuns and Catholic believers. I could not find their difficulties or hardships.<sup>18</sup> However, I think that focusing on French missionaries' ordeals facing protestant power is important to study P'yŏngan Catholicism to understand the characteristics of the P'yŏngan Catholic community fully.

In the case of the Kim Su-Tae, he attempted to introduce the Catholic Church in P'yŏngan in three articles.<sup>19</sup> In his articles, he discusses the major activities of the P'yŏngan Catholic community in terms of Bishop James Morris during the 1930s.<sup>20</sup>

---

(2007):97-132.

There is also a book focusing on P'yŏngan Catholicism titled *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa* which is the only monograph introducing the Catholic history of P'yŏngan Province. Han guk K'yohoesa Yŏn guso, *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, (Seoul:P'undo Book, 1981).

<sup>17</sup> This book deals with works in chronological order during the French-led period in the Chapter 2 titled *the works of the MEP in P'yŏngan Province* (42-64), the American-led period in the chapters 3 and 4 (70-143) titled *the Maryknoll Foreign Missionary community and the Foundation of P'yŏngan Diocese and the Progress of P'yŏngang Diocese*. In the case of my thesis, my first chapter is titled the MEP and my second chapter is titled the Maryknoll. However, unlike *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, my study tends to focus on the failure of the French missionary group and the success of the American missionary group while mentioning the differences between the MEP and the Maryknoll.

<sup>18</sup> Surely *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa* also deals with ordeals of the French missionary group. However, they mentioned about this shortly.

<sup>19</sup> Kim, Su-Tae, "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ŏn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ul gwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsimŭro," *P'usan K'yohoesabo* 22 (1999):22-38.

---. "1930nyŏndae P'yŏngyang K'yogu ūi K'atollik Undong," *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu* 19 (2002):207-229.

---. "1930nyŏndae Maerinol Oebang Ch'ŏn'gyohoe ūi Sŏn'gyo Hwalt'ong," *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu* 29 (2007):97-132.

<sup>20</sup> One of his articles examined the anti-Japanese shrine worship movement. It appears that he defined this movement as kind of the nationalistic movement against Japan. However, as stated, P'yŏngan Catholicism was in the embryonic stage and I think that for examining this movement, more overall studies of Catholic history are necessary. Kim, Su-Tae, "1930nyŏndae P'yŏngyang K'yogu ūi Sinsa

My thesis also draws on the chronological accounts of P'yongan Catholicism and, ultimately, has to rely on the historical facts from these works. For example, previous works mentioned Catholics' 150th anniversary parties, the publication of a vernacular magazine, and Catholic Action (the movement for Catholics).<sup>21</sup> These are also discussed in my study. Nevertheless, to comprehend the religious history of this region better, it is necessary to address P'yongan Catholic issues from a different point of view. Putting it bluntly, parenthetical remarks in previous studies were crucial for exploring this regional form of Korean Catholicism and, in my opinion, the overwhelming success of Protestant mission works had to be taken into account.

Kim Su-tae surely examined the relationship between Protestants and Catholics in his articles.<sup>22</sup> In his studies, he stresses cooperation or competition between Protestants and Catholics, stating the perspectives of Bishop Morris (r.1930-1936) on Protestants or the anti-Japanese Shrine worship movement. I also acknowledge that scholars need to take this movement, and its ties to Protestants, into account. In addition, Bishop Morris is an important figure and I also have to recognize him. Yet his arguments still overlooked one pivotal fact; the power of the Protestants. This fact was just briefly described<sup>23</sup> but I think that a short description cannot fully reveal the situation facing Catholic community there. To broaden the perspective to the dominant Protestants and how the Catholics tried to counteract this phenomenon could be

---

Ch'ambae Kōbu Undong," *Han'guk Minjok Undongsa Yōn'gu* 38 (2004):195-226.

<sup>21</sup> Han'guk K'yohoesa Yōn'guso, *P'yōngyang K'yogusa*, 91-98. 107-116. 117-128. Kim, Su-Tae, "1930nyōndae P'yōngyang K'yogu ūi K'atollik Undong," 209-21. 212-216-223.; "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ōn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ul gwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsimūro," 28-38.; "1930nyōndae Maerinol Oebang Ch'ōn'gyohoe ūi Sōn'gyo Hwalt'ong, 103-118.

<sup>22</sup> Kim, Su-Tae, "1930nyōndae P'yōngyang K'yogu ūi K'atollik Undong," 209-21. 212-216-223.; "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ōn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ul gwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsimūro," 28-38.; "1930nyōndae Maerinol Oebang Ch'ōn'gyohoe ūi Sōn'gyo Hwalt'ong, 124-128; "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ōn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ul gwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsimūro," 24-28.; "1930nyōndae P'yōngyang K'yogu ūi Sinsa Ch'ambae Kōbu Undong," 207-214.

<sup>23</sup> Kim, Su-Tae, *P'usan K'yohoesabo* 22, 25.

taken as a key point. I would like to highlight the formidable Protestant barrier and the Catholic's response to this phenomenon.

For understanding of the overall situation, both French and American groups should be discussed. Just focusing on American groups' outcomes cannot fully highlight the meaning of the change of French to American mission groups. Kim's articles mainly touch upon the theme of the activities of the Maryknoll foreign missionaries. However, it also seems necessary to examine French missionaries-led Catholicism in the same region before American missionaries entered Korea. To some degree, previous articles also mentioned the Catholic community when French missionaries led it.<sup>24</sup> While explaining the background of American missionaries' coming to Korea, the authors briefly presented the circumstances of the Catholic churches. Yet, in order to explore the northern Catholic churches in depth, it is required to examine how P'yŏngan Catholicism unfolded in those days before the Maryknoll, too. If the situation of two different flows of Catholicism—French missionaries and American missionaries—are analyzed, this study could contribute to research helping us understand Catholicism in this region as a whole.

In this thesis, two things are considered in analyzing P'yŏngan Catholicism. Firstly, as of 1923, the Catholic community in this region changed from one under the direction of the French missionary community to one under the American missionary community. Secondly, the Catholic community had to contend with the fact that Protestants expanded their community successfully in the northern region.

To begin with, it is noteworthy that two different groups of foreign missionaries took responsibility for the mission territories here. Before 1923, the Paris Foreign Missions Society

---

<sup>24</sup> Kim, Su-Tae, *Ibid.*, 25.

[eSociété des Missions 'Etrangères de Paris; the MEP] was responsible for missionary work in this region. From 1923, Maryknoll Missionaries [the M.M., The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America] carried out missionary work in the same region until 1942. P'yŏngan Province was the only mission station where Catholic missionaries from the U.S. were invited to take charge of missionary territories in Korea. For this reason, examining this phenomenon of the change with regard to the missionary community is beneficial to understanding the northern Catholic history.

Secondly, I shall touch on Catholics' circumstances in terms of Protestants' 'exceptional' success in P'yŏngan Province. The Catholic community could not but help witness and keenly feel the success of Protestantism. This circumstance would affect Catholic missionary work in the same region. How missionaries reacted to this peculiar circumstance-Protestants' thriving--unveils the appearance of P'yŏngan Catholicism at that time. How missionaries reacted to this formidable neighbor indicates the distinctive style of P'yŏngan Catholicism.

## **Research Method**

I mainly utilize the following two primary sources; the diary of Bishop Mütel (1854-1933) from the MEP and the diary of Father John Morris (1889-1987) from M.M. In addition, letters of Father Morris and his other writings such as his diary, letters, and contributions to the Catholic magazine will also be examined.<sup>25</sup> Basically, these two figures shall support my research. I think

---

<sup>25</sup> All the contents of the Diary of Bishop Mütel have been translated into Korean by the Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso. An English translation of all the parts of the Diary of Bishop Mütel, MEP's annual report, and a letter from a priest of the Taegu diocese used in this thesis was done by me and supervised by Professor Don Baker. Mütel, Gustave Charles Marie, *Mwit'el Ch'ugyo Ilgi*. Vols. 1-8. Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso, Trans. and ed. (Seoul: Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso), 1986~ 1998.

All the primary resources related to Father John Morris were from the book titled *Father John E. Morris, M.M. the Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang*. Lee, Chŏngsoon [Sr. Lee, Caterina] from Sister

that they were the head of the Catholic community and what they discussed affected the direction of missionary work. Surely, it is also important to look at the records of an average French or American missionary. However, I think that in reality, it was not so easy for the average French missionaries to keep such diaries. For this reason, in my current thesis, I shall mainly present the records of two figures I mentioned. By presenting and analyzing these materials, readers of my thesis can access the down-to-earth reality of P'yŏngan Catholicism at that time. Yet these sources are not the only sources that will back up my research. Apart from these materials, I also attempted to make a use of other data and figures which back up this study. In addition, prior literature on Catholic history during this time will be an important rudder when interpreting these primary sources.

Fortunately, several official records on French missionaries and American missionaries exist now and my research is chiefly based on this kind of data.

### **The Outline and Scope of This Study**

This research consists of two parts. In the first part, I shall shed light on French missionaries' activities before 1923. In the second part, American missionaries' work since 1923 will be examined. This structure will be helpful for comparing two different circumstances of two different Catholic communities. In each part, key incidents that reveal the missionaries' situations will be explored. As for the limitation of this paper, the relationship between the Japanese colonial period and the Catholic communities shall not be studied in depth separately

---

of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Seoul Korea and Lee, Tae Ho [Robert A. Lilly] from M.M. edited this book together. Lee Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed., *Father John E. Morris, M.M. The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help* (Seoul: Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, 1994).



here. Further, I did not do an in-depth study comparing the circumstances of P'yŏngan Catholicism with those of other regions.

## 2. Falling Behind in the Mission Competition in P'yŏngan: the MEP, a French Missionary Group <sup>26</sup>

I think that in P'yŏngan Province, Catholic missionaries' mission policy sharply contrasts with that of Protestant missionaries. In addition, the shortage of resources, such as missionaries, within the Catholic community reveals the reality of the difficulties facing the Catholic Church there. First, I have to start this part with the records of Bishop Mütel. His words reveal that the Catholic community already fell behind the Protestant community.

### 2.1. The Isolated Catholic Mission Station: P'yŏngan Province<sup>27</sup>

On October 20, 1897, Bishop Mütel, the head of the Vicariate Apostolic of Chosŏn, reached P'yŏngyang.<sup>28</sup> While visiting mission stations in this city, he noted that Protestants had already

---

<sup>26</sup>It is also important to research the average French missionaries' records. However, it was not easy to gain access to their stories. For future research, finding and analyzing their stories would be crucial. Nevertheless, I will try to include some personal information about French missionaries.

<sup>27</sup> Kim Sun-Joo is one of the leading scholars of the history of Northern regions. She points out that P'yŏngan Province needs to be explored for understanding the history of modern Korea. For this reason, she edited a book about northern Korea. However, the Korean Catholic history in this region was not dealt with fully in this book. Catholicism of this region also should be examined to understand the religious history of Korea. Kim, Sun-Joo, ed., *The Northern Region of Korea : History, Identity & Culture* . (Seattle:Center for Korea Studies, University of Washington, 2010). 2.

Thanks to Bishop Berneux(1814-1866), the MEP, French missionary group, started their missionary work in Hwanghae and P'yŏngan in 1867 for the first time. Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, 33.

It appears that around the time when Catholicism first spread to the P'yŏngan region, there were no Sŏwon, Confucian schools, in this region. It is likely that there were 27 Sŏwon in P'yŏngan Province before 1865. From 1865 to 1871, many Sŏwon were abolished under the command of the T'aewŏngun. After 1871, no Sŏwon existed in P'yŏngan Province. K'ungnip Munhwajae Yŏn'guso, *Pukhan Munhwajae Haesŏljib3:Ilban 'gŏnch'ukp'yon* (T'aejŏn: K'ungnip Munhwajae Yŏn'guso, 2002). 252.

<sup>28</sup> During his tenure (r.1890-1932) Mütel intermittently visited mission stations nationwide to examine the condition of mission stations and Catholics' religious life. Mütel's diary mentioned his pastoral visit to P'yŏngan Province for the first time in 1897. I need to keep in mind that this record, however, does not

occupied advantageous places for missionary work and built their facilities there. Starting in 1896, one French Missionary was stationed in P'yŏngan Province and there was just one Catholic Church there.<sup>29</sup> Protestants had already started building churches in 1893 and had ten places to worship by 1895.<sup>30</sup> By 1910, the number of Presbyterian churches there had reached ninety-six [Table8, Figure3].<sup>31</sup> However, the Catholic community had just four churches there at that time [table.2 in this thesis]. Here is what Mütel saw in 1897:

(...)After offering Mass, I took a break, and went sightseeing around the city. Protestants had facilities that were located in great places. They had a couple of places that were located inside and outside the city wall. Yet we [Catholics] have just one parish church outside the city wall. I hope we build our church at the hilltop behind the palace for Chinese envoys. This is where Father Poisnel(1855-1925) stayed just 15 years ago (...) - October. 21, 1897<sup>32</sup>

Bishop Mütel's visit encapsulated the reality of Catholicism at that time in the northern region. The Catholic facilities were quite undeveloped, in contrast to the Protestant Church which had erected buildings in several places in P'yŏngyang in 1897. This was the result of Protestants' earlier start of missionary work exclusively for this region. The Protestant community designated Samuel Moffett (1864-1939)<sup>33</sup> as a missionary in charge of mission work in this

---

guarantee that he visited this Province for the first time in 1897. Kim, Chŏng-Hwan, "Mwit'el Ch'ugyo Ch'aeimki ūi K'yose P'yŏnhwa," *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu* 37 (2011):5-39. 16-18.

<sup>29</sup> Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, 49. I could not find out how many churches in total were in P'yŏngan, except for Catholic churches.

<sup>30</sup> The Korean Repository (1895:10) quoted from Han guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏn guso, Han guk chonggyo yŏn gam,(Seoul:Han'guk Chonggy Sahoe yŏn'guso) 122.

<sup>31</sup> Chun Taek-Pu,*Hanguk Kiddokkyo Palchŏnsa* (Seoul:Taehan Kiddokkyo Chulpansa,1987), 129, quoted from Han guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏn guso, Ibid.,122.

<sup>32</sup> Mütel, Charles Marie Gustave, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 2:220.

<sup>33</sup> Samuel Moffett was very important in terms of Protestant missionaries in P'yŏngan Province during that time. He stayed in Korea from 1890 to 1934. He was the founder of Sungsil School, and P'yŏngyang theological school. Mütel, Charles Marie Gustave, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*,4:44

northern region from 1893.<sup>34</sup> Two years later, he had purchased land and began to build missionary stations there.<sup>35</sup> This history is in contrast with that of Catholicism. As Mütel delineated above, there was just one Catholic Church outside the city wall in 1897 in this region. P'yŏngan Catholics did not have their own priest and Church until 1896.<sup>36</sup> In the end, in 1897, Mütel realized Catholicism was falling behind in the mission competition by witnessing Protestant facilities first hand.

Mütel was motivated by these Protestant buildings and ordered the construction of a new Catholic church on the hilltop named Ch'angdaehyŏn.<sup>37</sup> That was located in the central area of the city.<sup>38</sup> This reaction to Protestantism had symbolic meaning. If this parish church was erected on the top of the hill in the center of the city, presumably this church could draw people's attention.<sup>39</sup> People passing by probably would look up at this church. Their posture of looking up to see the church could imprint a sense of awe in people's minds. What is more, this church was built in the Romanesque style.<sup>40</sup> Most people would find this style of the Catholic building strange. It is probable that this unusual and foreign appearance of the Catholic structure could stimulate people's curiosity. This curiosity might have led to people's interest in Catholicism.

In fact, when Mütel visited the northern region, he noticed that non-Catholics gathered to see him administering the Sacrament to Catholics.<sup>41</sup> This French man in black and his actions

---

<sup>34</sup> Clark, Donald N., *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience 1900-1950* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003) 123.

<sup>35</sup> Clark, Donald N., *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>36</sup> Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, 45.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>41</sup> Mütel, *Ibid.*, 2:221.

would stimulate people's curiosity. Presumably, the decision to build a church on a hilltop was similar in intent to this case; just as people were curious about this foreigner and gathered around him, it might have been the case that people would also be curious about the strange church, and subsequently become interested in this church, and then, finally Catholicism. By building unfamiliar architecture at a high elevation, the Catholic community attempted to call non-Catholics' attention to Catholicism and proclaim its existence.

In the following section, I will examine the condition of the Catholic community in terms of the persecution of Catholics of 1866. This is necessary to facilitate understanding of the background of the Catholic group.

### **2.1.1. Different Backgrounds, Different Results: The Aftermath of Persecutions of the Catholic Church<sup>42</sup>**

To understand the delay in the arrival of Catholicism in Pyŏngan, it is necessary to look back at the history of Catholicism. Catholicism was not welcome by Chosŏn authorities for a long time. Numerous Catholic believers and priests were executed.<sup>43</sup> It is estimated that the Taewŏngun administration (r.1863~1873) executed about 2,000 Catholics up through 1868.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Kim, Chŏng-Hwan discussed briefly in his paper the Catholic community's circumstances regarding the aftermath of persecutions. I agree with his opinion, and I draw on his work for this part. In this part, I tried to delineate the circumstances of the Catholic Church based on his research. Also, I attempted to compare Catholics' circumstances with the Protestant community and tried to understand these circumstances by myself. For Kim, Chŏng-Hwan's opinion, see Kim, Chŏng-Hwan, "Hanmal Ilch'e Kanjŏmgi Han'guk Ch'ŏnju K'yohoe ūi Ch'epyŏn: Mwit'el Ch'ugyo ūi Ch'aeimki rŭl Ch'ungsim ūro [The Reorganization of the Korean Catholic church During the Late Chosŏn Dynasty and Japanese Occupation—with a Focus on the Activities of Bishop Mütel]," *History and Discourse* [Yŏksa wa T'amnon] 57(2010):411-447. 437.

<sup>43</sup> Hongnyŏl, Ryu, *Han'gukŭi Chŏnjugyo*[Catholicism of Korea], (Seoul:King Sejŏng Memorial Society: 2000), 138.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

Surviving believers left their villages and holed up in the mountains.<sup>45</sup> After this last huge persecution, two French priests entered Korea in 1876.<sup>46</sup> What they saw were impoverished Catholic believers.<sup>47</sup> Most of them were still withdrawn from society and had financial problems. In this situation, they probably could not focus on mission work, such as evangelization targeting non-Catholics. Above all, they—French missionaries— had to find hidden Catholic believers, give them the Sacraments, and encourage them to resume their religious life. Considering that Catholicism was fairly weak in the northern regions,<sup>48</sup> restoration work must have been concentrated on southern regions. This circumstance implies that Catholic missionaries could not afford to be involved with mission work in P’yŏngan mission stations. Protestant groups, on the other hand, did not have mission experience in Korea before 1884 at all. They started their mission work from 1884.<sup>49</sup> In this year, Horace Allen (1858~1932) reached Korea.<sup>50</sup> Three years later, in 1887, Protestantism began to be propagated in the northern regions.<sup>51</sup>

Histories of Catholicism and Protestantism were different from each other in this way. Catholic groups began their history earlier than Protestant groups in Korea. However, since they had begun propagating their religion during the pre-modern period, Catholics had been persecuted by the Chŏson state and most Catholics had to scatter to avoid this persecution.<sup>52</sup>

Metaphorically speaking, the Catholic Church appears to be in the minus territory on a graph of

---

<sup>45</sup> Chŏng-Hwan, Kim, *History and Discourse* 57, 437.

<sup>46</sup> Hongnyŏl, Ryu, *Han’gukŭi Chŏnjugyo*, 148.

<sup>47</sup> Chŏng-Hwan, Kim, *History and Discourse* 57, 437.

<sup>48</sup> As I already mentioned above, Catholicism at first tended to spread in places other than P’yŏngan Province. This did not mean that there were no Catholics in the northern region. However, it is thought that the number of Catholics there were very few.

<sup>49</sup> Ahn, Katherine H. Lee, *Chosŏn ūi Ŏdum ūl Palk’in Yŏsŏngdŭl: Ŭnja ūi Nara e Ch’ŏŭm P’asongdoen Sŏn’gyosa Iyagi* [Awakening the Hermit Kingdom], Kim, Sŏng-ung, trans. (Seoul: P’oieama, 2012). 29.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>51</sup> Lee, Ch’in-Ku, “P’yŏngando Ch’iyŏk ūi Kyohoesa [Church History in P’yŏngan Province],” *Han’guk Kidokkyŏ Yŏksa Yŏn’guko Sosik* [Bulletin of Research Institute for Korean Christianity History],” 16(1994):21-29.

<sup>52</sup> Chŏng-Hwan, Kim, , *History and Discourse* 57, 437.

church health in 1876 when French missionaries were dispatched. In other words, French missionaries could not expand their congregation. Their first priority was to find remaining Catholics who had survived the persecution. If they had spent most of their time searching for hidden Catholics, they might have had no time to increase the number of Catholics. They had to normalize Catholics' circumstances to the zero point from the minus territory. Many Catholic believers might have been killed by persecutions. This means that French missionaries lost their believers and had to expand the number of Catholics again. On the other hand, Protestant missionaries had not acquired any believers. Therefore, Protestants did not need to find hidden believers. They could concentrate on their own missionary work such as enlarging the number of Protestants.

Compared with the history of Catholics in P'yŏngan, Protestants had no existing believers who feared persecution and faced severe financial problems. This suggests that Protestants were at the zero point, on the graph of missionary work. In other words, they had no believers at that point and what they had to do was build a congregation. They had no history of persecution and no believers to tend to in 1884. They could focus on their missionary work. On the other hand, the Catholic Church's top priority was to find existing Catholics, support them, and care for their religious life again. The different backgrounds of the two different religions surely cannot fully explain the delay in the start of Catholic missionary work in P'yongan. However, this could be one of the important factors that gave rise to the delayed Catholic missionary work in this region.

Next, I shall address the conflict between Protestants and Catholics. Once the Catholic Church dispatched their missionary, and built their parish church in P'yŏngyang, they soon got involved in a land dispute with Protestants, which lasted a long time. This church was the first Catholic Church built in the region. In the central area of P'yŏngyang, Catholics attempted to

expand their land holdings, but Protestants were anxious about Catholics' advance into this city. Soon they collided with each other over lands [The PLA].

## 2.2. Conflicts Surrounding Limited Resources: The P'yongan Land Affairs

After relocating to the hilltop, Ch'angdaehyŏn, the Catholic group became involved in the so-called the P'yŏngyang land affair [hereafter PLA]<sup>53</sup>. Under orders from bishop Mütel, Father Le Gandre in P'yŏngyang bought land and erected a church in 1898.<sup>54</sup> For Protestant missionaries who hoped to expand their congregation, Catholics were unwelcome neighbors.<sup>55</sup> Protestants had already bought land and had been building institutions such as churches, schools and hospitals near Ch'angdaehyŏn.<sup>56</sup> If Catholics had taken more land near Ch'angdaehyŏn, Protestants would have had fewer opportunities to expand their own territory. Now this city of P'yŏngyang became the arena of competition between Catholics and Protestants.

A Frech acting consul at Shanghai, Camere, came by to see me. During the absence of Gamni, he [Camere] did not solve any problems in P'yŏngyang. He just got a promise from K'amnik'wan that [Protestants] would not build new buildings during the time when Father Le Gandre<sup>57</sup> was absent. He promised to take full responsibility [for this matter, PLA]. The ownership of the property is definitely ours [The Catholic Church]. To sum up, the contents of lawsuits [regarding land] are so trivial. I will let K'amni's cousin Sŏngk'yun convey my words to K'amni. The day before yesterday, K'amni conveyed his words to me that he would deal with the affair after returning [to P'yŏngyang] soon in a

---

<sup>53</sup> Through this PLA, finally, the MEP lost a lot of their land to Protestants. The Catholic community acquired land to erect their buildings. It is thought that this land was no man's land before the MEP acquired the land. However, later it emerged that the Catholic community had not taken care of all the legal formalities thoroughly when they registered their land. It is likely that this provided some reasons for Protestants to get land which the MEP thought was MEP land. Han'guk K'yohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang K'yogusa*, 48.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 281.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 292.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 291.

<sup>57</sup> He entered Korea in 1891, and worked in Hwanghae until 1894. In 1901, he stayed in Hwanghae and Pusan. From 1909 to 1919, he worked in Kaesung. From 1896 to 1898, he stayed and worked in P'yŏngan. Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 5:18, Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 55.



satisfactory manner even though Ch'oe and Kil were supported by Protestants [...] -October. 22, 1904<sup>58</sup>

This record implies the circumstances of the PLA. Protestants constructed a building on a site claimed by the Catholic community. Father Le Merre (1858~1928) left this church for a while before this happened. This means that no other priests stayed at the Catholic site and that this Catholic mission station was vacated. Protestants probably thought that it was a good opportunity for them to erect their building on the Catholic community land and block them from extending their land. This is because they did not want Catholics to broaden their territories to where current Protestant institutions existed. For this reason, they had to quickly construct their building. After returning to the church and learning of this affair, Father Le Merre sent a telegram to bishop Mütel.<sup>59</sup> Now this land affair developed into a more complicated issue. This was not just an issue between people directly involved. Other figures got involved to settle this problem. A French diplomat, a P'yöngyang official, and Bishop Mütel were also caught up in this dispute. Given that Gamli promised that he would deal with this problem, on the surface, things worked out for the Catholic community. This conflict, however, was merely the start of a series of long and complicated property conflicts with Protestants in the years ahead.

Records of PLA appeared for the first time in Mütel's diary on October 7 1904.<sup>60</sup> After March 8, 1913, the PLA was no longer mentioned in this diary. In the light of these facts, conflicts surrounding land between Protestants and Catholics continued for a long time. These two communities had to vie over the finite resources of land for about 9 years. For erecting buildings, possessing their own land was a very important and fundamental work for these two

---

<sup>58</sup> Mütel, Charles Marie Gustave, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 3:387.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:384.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:284.

groups. However, in reality, good sites were limited and they had to compete to occupy these sites.

I will discuss this detailed dispute of this affair by introducing Mütel's records about this long-running feud surrounding land:

I went to the legation to deliver a letter from Father Le Merre (1858~1928)<sup>61</sup> [to the legation]. He relayed the news that Moffett insisted that the house built on our [Catholics] territory was his house. I left the legation and visited the American consul Paddock. He was not in his office and I dropped by again in the afternoon. He said that he got a long letter standing his ground from Moffett. [The American] consul was extremely kind to me. And he openly told that he very much regretted this type of work. -May 1, 1905<sup>62</sup>

I received letters from Father Le Merre this morning. This letter reported that between 10 April and 15 April Protestant believers finally surrounded the house<sup>63</sup> with the fence. So I prepared a report again, and let French minister De Plancy read the report in advance and deliver the report to the American consul Paddock. - May 3, 1905<sup>64</sup>

[...]Father Poisnel who went to P'yöngyang last Monday came back to [Gyeongsung]. He told me that he witnessed that Moffett and his people built a brick wall where sorghum fences were now. He was continuously invading more and more of our northern territory [...] -May 18, 1906<sup>65</sup>

According to Mütel's records, in 1905, Moffett emerged with Korean Protestant believers for the first time regarding this land affair. It appears that Moffett and Protestant believers constantly infringed on Catholics' land. By claiming the ownership of the house built on Catholics' property, Moffett attempted to hinder Catholics from expanding their domain. They revealed their strong will not to retreat from Catholic territory by building fences around their

---

<sup>61</sup> He began his mission in 1887. After mission activities in Hamgyöng, Wönju, Kangwon, he worked in P'yöngyang from 1898 to 1923. Mütel, 5:23.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 3:424.

<sup>63</sup> The building Protestants erected on Catholics' territory.

<sup>64</sup> Mütel, 3:424.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 4:47.

house. To solve this conflict, the interested parties had meetings again. The American consul also got involved in the dispute for the first time according to the record of 1905. This signifies that the problem between French Catholic missionaries and American Protestant missionaries had become a diplomatic issue between France and the U.S.<sup>66</sup> In 1905, Mütel recorded:

At 2 pm, I went to the foreign ministry with Father Le Merre and his witnesses. Already in attendance were Stevenson, Berto, Gale instead of Moffett, and Ch'ōng Ingno who had to attend this meeting. True to his words, hyōpp'an [administrative officer] Yunch'iho also was [there]. We had another unreasonable and futile meeting. Land documents were examined. Ch'ōng Ingno [Protestant] pointed out that there were no boundary lines in four directions in our [Catholics'] [land] document. So rather fierce disputes on this issue started between Father Le Merre (1858~1928) and Mr. Ch'ōng speaking in a commanding tone. We barely asked Yi Ant'ang [about this land issue]. Finally, it was decided that [we] have to bring witnesses who can verify that our property was private land -June 24, 1905<sup>67</sup>

At 2:00 pm, I came to *Oebu* [the foreign ministry] to settle the P'yōngyang Land Affair. Mr. Stevenson, Paddock, Interpreter P'ang, Moffett, and his man, Ch'ōng Ingno, and I participated in this meeting. From the beginning we were off topic, so I proposed to look through the land documents first. Mr. Berto agreed with my opinion and repeatedly requested Mr. Stevenson to do so. However, he [Stevenson] rather suggested to us that we defer this problem. At this rate, we could not solve any problems and that is what happened. In the end, each person showed their [land] documents. I saw Moffett's document. Kang sold [the land] to Ch'ōng. At the same date, Ch'ōng sold [this land] to Moffett in March in the lunar calendar. [We] decided to meet again and call witnesses in June 24 and parted. Then, both sides will surely need to submit written opinions again-June 14, 1905<sup>68</sup>

Diplomats and missionaries gathered several times to solve the PLA. Their standpoints were different with each other. They did not even concur with the procedure for solving this issue. The French consul and Bishop Mütel wanted to examine land documents. American consul

---

<sup>66</sup> For more on the topic of foreign policies and these religions around this time, see these Ryu, T'aeyōng, "Hanmal Mik'uk ūi Chōngch'aek kwa Sōnk'yo Saōp," *Han'guk K'idokkyo wa Yōksa* 9(1998):189-219; Ch'ang, Tongha, "Hanp'ul Ch'ōyak kwa Ch'ongk'yo Munch'e," *Kat'tollik Sinhak k'wa Sasang* 35 (2001):117-149.

<sup>67</sup> Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 3:439.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:436.

Stevenson, however, wanted to postpone this matter to a later date. For the American consul, this matter supposedly was the somewhat burdensome task that he hoped to escape.<sup>69</sup> This is because this affair was associated with people from other countries.<sup>70</sup> The result of this affair might have undermined diplomatic relations between the U.S. and France, putting the U.S. in a difficult position.<sup>71</sup> The concerned people's different standpoints supposedly made this affair more complicated. In addition, it seems that the affair was back to square one. In other words, it was not so easy for people involved in the PLA to solve these disputes. Based on the records of October 22, 1904, the Catholic community was about to lose their land. However, soon after, Protestants required Catholic missionaries to show that the land in question was private land that was held by the Catholic Church. Things were becoming more and more complicated and disadvantageous for the Catholic missionaries.

I read the article in the paper that Mr. Stevenson made a decision on the P'yŏngang affair while leaving for Japan. After reading this article, I went to the legation. Indeed, there was a bulky envelope for me. His arbitration is a so-called judgment made directly, not waiting for materials and information we required [from them]. This judgment is no more than Moffet's assertion. This is too much -July 31, 1905<sup>72</sup>

Father Poisnel(1855-1925)<sup>73</sup> went to see Mr. Berto to report what he examined in P'yŏngyang. Tonggambu told the French consul that they had no desire to deal with such a complicated problem- May 19,1906<sup>74</sup>

I came over to Berto to ask him to deal with the P'yŏngan Property affair again. Actually, I am concerned that this affair was so complicated that the consul general newly assigned to Korea would not understand it.-June 13,1906<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Ryu, T'aeyŏng, "Hanmal Mik'uk ūi Chŏngch'aek k'wa Sŏnk'yo Saŏp," *Han'guk K'idokkyo wa Yŏksa* 9(1998):189-219 198-199.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.,194.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 194.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.,3:449.

<sup>73</sup> He started his mission work in 1883. He worked in Hwanghae and P'yŏngan. From 1892 to 1925, he worked at Seoul. Ibid.,5:18.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 4:47.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.,4:56.

Finally, the American consul Stevenson stood up to their people. Nevertheless, based on his action, he might have been under pressure regarding his decision before notifying Mütel. In 1906, he continuously asked the French consul to solve this PLA. Unfortunately, the consul was not interested in this difficult and complicated problem anymore. Without the aid of the French diplomat, it would probably be impossible to recover their land and end the land war with Protestants.

[...] Father Meng (1874-1918)<sup>76</sup> was called to help Father Le Merre with dealing with the problem of houses and properties with Protestants and headed toward P'yöngyang to help him [..]-March 6, 1913<sup>77</sup>

At about 4 pm, I received a call from Father Le Merre. He asked me whether he could solve the [land] lawsuit with the land register. I replied that he should try to do so. That is Father Meng's and my opinion- March 8, 1913<sup>78</sup>

The Catholic community of P'yöngyang was involved in this property issue for another nine years. This could mean that, until 1913, the Catholic community could not devote its energy to regular missionary work in the northern region. They were continuously anxious about losing their lands. Yet matters were different in the Protestant community. Protestants had already founded more institutions on their own land. They also had more missionaries and Protestant believers than the Catholic Church. Considering these conditions, the Protestant group would have been relatively less vulnerable to the outcome of the PLA. To be specific, if some missionaries had taken charge of the land problems, other missionaries, who were not involved in this issue, would have dealt with other missionary work. This implies that Protestant missionaries were more continuously and stably engaged in their work than Catholic missionaries. On the other hand, Father Le Merre was the only missionary worker who stayed in

---

<sup>76</sup> He started his work in 1899 and in 1900, stayed and did work in P'yöngan until 1914. Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 5:22

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 5:217.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 5:219.

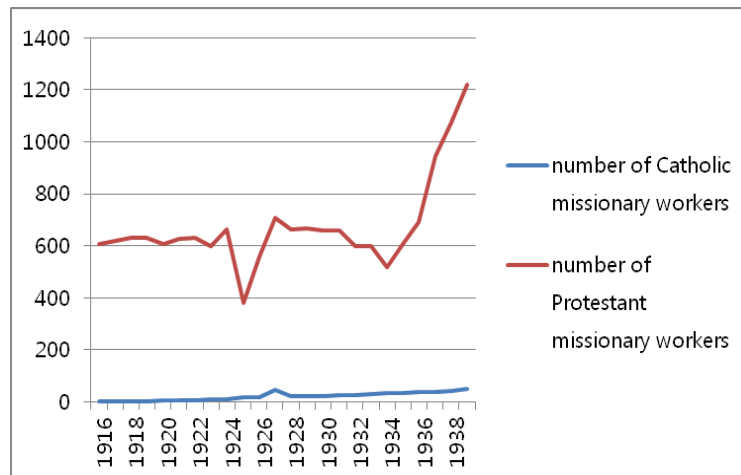
the Catholic church of P'yŏngyang during that time. This one person took responsibility for all church-related work, including the land matter. According to Mütel's report, in 1910, there was only priest in P'yŏngyang, Father Le Merre while there were 30 Protestant missionaries in P'yŏngyang.<sup>79</sup> Given this different background, it is likely that this affair had a more negative effect on the Catholic community than it did on the Protestant community in P'yŏngyang.

In addition, the following data on the numbers of missionary workers<sup>80</sup> visually reveals the circumstances of the Catholic community in contrast to those of the Protestant community [Table1 and Figure1.]. As a whole, the Catholic Church had a much smaller number of missionary workers than those of the Protestant Church. That is to say, Protestant mission workers heavily outnumbered Catholic mission workers by about 200 times during that period.

---

<sup>79</sup>MEP, *Compte Rendu* [*Seoul Kyogu Yŏnbo (I) (1878~1903)* (The Annual Reports of the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul)], Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, Trans. and ed., (Seoul: Myŏngdong Catholic Church, 1984). 92.

<sup>80</sup> It appears likely that missionary workers included not only missionaries but also other missionary staff. In this thesis, I deal with the number of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. However, how the Protestants considered the land problem and how much they focused on this problem will be postponed for future research. At this moment, I limited my research on the conflicts itself.



**Figure1. Number of Catholic and Protestant Missionary workers in P'yŏngyan Province<sup>81</sup>**

Year	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
NOC	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	8	11	16	17	45
NOP	605	621	633	633	607	628	633	598	662	379	557	709
Numerical Differences	201.6	207	211	211	121.4	125.6	126.6	74.75	60.2	23.7	32.8	15.8
Year	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
NOC	20	23	20	26	27	31	36	34	39	38	43	50
NOP	662	666	659	661	599	600	518	608	692	945	1,076	1,220
Numerical Differences	33.1	29	33	25.4	22.2	19.4	14.4	17.9	17.7	24.9	25	24.4

**Table 1. Number of Catholic and Protestant Missionary workers in P'yŏngyan Province**  
*Note.* NOC=Number of Catholic missionary workers; NOP=Number of Protestant missionary workers. NOP includes the number of missionary workers from Presbyterian, Methodist, and Seventh Adventist Church. This includes local out-reach workers as well as foreign missionaries.

*Source:* Statistics Annual Report of the Japanese Government-General of Korea on the site of KOSIS [Korean Statistical Information Service] 조선총독부통계연보  
[http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList\\_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT\\_CHOSUN\\_TITLE&parmTabId=M\\_01\\_03\\_01](http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT_CHOSUN_TITLE&parmTabId=M_01_03_01)

<sup>81</sup> *Source:* Statistics Annual Report of the Japanese Government-General of Korea on the site of KOSIS [Korean Statistical Information Service] 조선총독부통계연보  
[http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList\\_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT\\_CHOSUN\\_TITLE&parmTabId=M\\_01\\_03\\_01](http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT_CHOSUN_TITLE&parmTabId=M_01_03_01)

Given this numerical inferiority, the dispute would have disproportionately burdened Catholics. The Catholic community was continuously reminded of the Protestant presence. In some cases, as Mütel felt, many Protestant institutions made the Catholic Church envy the success of Protestants in the northern region. In other cases, as Father Le Merre experienced, conflicts over properties with Protestants made Catholics realize that they were not the only ones who could occupy the land of P'yŏngyang. Father Le Merre had to protect Catholic territories from Protestants. Setting aside the series of events discussed above, the Catholic community also began to realize that Protestants succeeded in drawing people's attention through their medical work. Mütel underlined this phenomenon in his record.

Some people might be curious about other cases of Christian confrontation and what the differences between the PLA and other cases in other regions are. It seems that conflicts in Seoul, Hwanghae, and Chunju were well known examples of this kind of confrontation.<sup>82</sup> Many confrontations between Protestants and Catholics occurred in these regions.<sup>83</sup> These cases involved more violence than the case of the PLA. This is because, in these regions, the local people already had many conflicts with the Catholic community<sup>84</sup> and I think that under the circumstances of anti-Catholicism, feuds between Protestants and Catholics would have been more violent.

Protestants also succeeded in positioning their identity as medical works while Catholics failed to reveal their identity. Rather citizens confused Catholics with Protestants as follows.

---

<sup>82</sup> Kim Su-Hwan, *Han'guk Ch'ŏngjukyo wa Kaesinkyo ūi Kaltŭng kwa Sanho Insik : Kaehangbutŏ (1876) Ilche Kangchumki(1910) Ichŏn Sikirŭl Chungsimŭro* ( M.A. Thesis, Pusan Catholic University: 2012), 79-98.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 79-98.

<sup>84</sup> Table of figures of Conflicts (from 1887~1908) in Pak, Chan-Sik, *Han'guk Kŭndae Ch'unju Kyohoe wa Hyachon Sahoe* (Seoul: Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso), 2007. *Quoted from* Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *Hank'guk Chŏngju Kyohoesa 4* (Seoul: Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, 2011) 155. The Page number of the work of Pak is not revealed in *Hank'guk Chŏngju Kyohoesa 4*



### 2.3. Protestants' Strong Identity as Medical Workers<sup>85</sup>

As noted above in 1897, Mütel encountered the reality for Catholics in P'yöngyang. He recognized the dominant portion of Protestant institutions. This gave him the impression that Protestantism was widespread in P'yöngyang. He soon looked back at the miserable situation of Catholics in this region. Mütel took measures to improve this situation by building a Catholic church at a good location. However, Mütel once again realized the fruition of Protestants' missionary work by people's reaction to him. Indeed, a Korean mistook him for a Protestant missionary. In 1897, he recorded in his diary:

[I] had to be on our way at about 9:00. Father Le Gendre(1866-1928) parted with me to return to P'yöngyang today. When [I] went 20 *li*, one old man stopped us and inquired about the case of one patient in dangerous health. After I went to 35 *li* or 40 *li*, I arrived at the Segöri marketplace. Protestants have their base here as they do in the most of the important central places. An innkeeper named Ch'oe is one of their [Protestant] followers. He welcomed me politely and was even pleased to [meet me] probably thinking that I was included in the same religion as him. So I thought that I needed to correct his errors. Nevertheless, many people gathered around us. Ch'oe said that today is Sunday so he went to the chapel in the morning and in front of the chapel, there was a flagpole on which the white flag with a distinct red cross was fastened- in November 7, 1897<sup>86</sup>

These scenes directly reveal how people in P'yöngan Province recognized Protestants at that time as Westerners who could offer medical help to Koreans. Mütel was mistaken for a Protestant missionary. According to Mütel, it seems plausible that, by providing medical services to people, Protestants were perceived as troubleshooters who could give practical assistance to Koreans.

---

<sup>85</sup> Educational works such as building schools and providing medical services were effective proselytizing tools for Protestants to spread their religion. Shin, Kwang-Ch'ul, *Ch'önjukyö wa Kaesinyö: Mannam Kwa Kaldüng üi Yöksa* [Catholicism and Protestantism: History of Meeting and Conflicts], (Seoul :Han'guk Kiddokkyo Yöksa Yön'guso) 1998. 65.

<sup>86</sup> Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 2:224.

Medical missionaries could treat people and provide medicine. For most people, these medicines would have been accepted as “realistic salvation.”<sup>87</sup> It seems that in a sense, a religious life itself was not so important issue. Rather, a matter of survival –longevity and good health— would have been a top priority for people during that time. Protestants distributed “tablets of salvation” to people.<sup>88</sup> A Red flag fluttering in front of the church symbolically repeated the image of the Protestant Church overlapping with that of medical work treating and curing sick people.<sup>89</sup>

In reality, contagious diseases were rampant around that time. In 1895, cholera swept through the entire P’yŏngan region.<sup>90</sup> It had been estimated that 60,000 people died from this infection in this area.<sup>91</sup> Seven years later, in 1902, cholera spread from China through the northern districts of Korea such as Ŭiju, Ch’innamp’o, and P’yŏngyang.<sup>92</sup> At that time, Protestants had been providing health care services at several places.<sup>93</sup> Protestants had three medical institutions in Sŏnchŏn as early as 1902.<sup>94</sup> This fact indicates that when people suffered from cholera, Protestants could treat those affected by this disease and also prevent other similar infectious diseases. What is more, there was also an all-female hospital named Kwanghaeyŏwon [Kwanghae women’s hospital] during that time. Even a Korean female doctor from the

---

<sup>87</sup> Ch’ŏn, Sŏk-Wŏn, *Kaesingyo Ŭiryŏ Sŏn’gyo wa Han’gukin ŭi Ch’ilbyŏng e Kwanhan Yŏn’gu:1884-1910nyŏn ŭi Kŏpsŏng Ch’ŏnyŏmbyŏng ŭl Ch’ungsim ŭro* [Protestant Medical Mission and the Transformation of the Concept of Disease in Korea: Focusing on the Epidemics in the Last Period of the Chosŏn Dynasty and the Early Japanese Colonial Period (1884~1910)]( M.A. Diss., Yonsei University, 2011): 158. 114.

<sup>88</sup> Ch’ŏn, *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 92. 114.

<sup>90</sup> Ki, Chang-Dŏk, “Chosŏn Sidaemal ŭi Kŭpmansŏng Chŏnyŏmbyŏngkwa Ŭiryok’igwan,” *Ŭisahak*, 4(1) (1995):1-10. 4.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*,4

<sup>93</sup> Cho, Woo-Hyŏn, et al., “Urinary Kŭndae P’yŏngwŏn ŭi T’ŭngjang: Sipkusaegimal Isipsaegich’o ŭi P’yŏngwŏndŭl [The Emergence of Korean Modern Hospitals: Hospitals in the Late Period of Chosŏn Dynasty],” *Ŭisahak* [Korean Medical History], 11(1) (2002):20-48. 33..

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*,33.

Protestant Church treated female patients there.<sup>95</sup> Customarily, men and women were separated from each other, a situation which led to the construction of all female institutions.<sup>96</sup> Protestant medical missionaries could then access and appeal to people of all ages and both sexes, all the while working to save their lives.

If so, what about the Catholic community? Why did the Catholics fail to reveal their power? This is because they could not open many medical offices at that time. I will state about this now.

#### **2.4. The Catholic Community and Health Service**

Of special interest is Mütel's reaction to people who mistook him for a Protestant missionary. When he saw Protestant buildings, he realized that the Catholic community had to build a new building at a great location. However, it appears that he did not think at this time that Catholic missionaries should also start medical work in this region. It appears that until 1901, when Mütel wrote his diary entry above, Catholics did not open medical offices in P'yŏngan Province until after 1901.<sup>97</sup> In 1909 and 1910, Sisters of Saint Paul of Chartres [SSPC] opened two medical offices in Ch'innamp'o and P'yŏngyang.<sup>98</sup> This means that when cholera was prevalent in this region, Catholics could not have offered medical care to Koreans. Even after they started their medical work later, it would have been very difficult to catch up with Protestant medical services. This is because Protestants already had medical specialists at that time as already discussed. Four Protestant medical clinics already existed in P'yŏngan Province; some of these clinics even had medical specialists.

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.,33

<sup>96</sup> Kim, Sŏng-Ŭn, "Lojettahol ūi Chosŏn Yŏuisa Yangsŏng," *Han'guk K'idokkyo wa Yŏksa*27 (2007):5-43. 8. 40.

<sup>97</sup> No, Myŏng-Sin, "Han'gukaesŏ ūi Pŭrangsŭ Yŏja Sudohoe ūi Hwalt'ong," *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu* 5 (1987):209-231. 224.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.,224

\*\*\*

Up until now I have examined the circumstances of Catholic missionaries with regard to Protestants. Catholic missionaries had to deal with the aftermath of persecutions as follows: Finding scattered Catholic believers, encouraging them to resume their religious life, giving the Sacraments to them, and holding Mass on a regular basis. Under these circumstances, creating new believers would have been almost impossible. Owing to this history, there were no resident missionaries until Father Le Gandre was assigned to P'yöngan Province in 1896. The Catholic community, the MEP, came to realize that Protestant missionaries had been successfully doing their missionary work. The MEP had no choice but to recognize Protestant success through a series of experiences: witnessing existing Protestant buildings, being involved in territorial disputes with Protestants, and people mistaking Mütel for a Protestant missionary.

The next section will examine how missionaries attempted to pave the way for Catholicism in P'yöngan. From this following part, I can find that the Catholic community could not send missionaries to P'yöngan or build their Churches in P'yöngan.

## **2.5. Foundation of Parochial Churches**

Up through 1922, seven Catholic parish churches were founded in the northern region. The first four were constructed in South P'yöngan Province and the next three were erected in north P'yöngan Province.

According to this table [Table2], there were no Catholic Churches in north P'yöngan Province until 1911. On the other hand, in the case of south P'yöngan Province, the first church was erected in 1896. Missionaries officially could not officially start their missionary work in

north P'yongan Province for the next fifteen years. Records of Mütel reflected this situation by mentioning Ŭiju Catholic believers and his reaction to them.

P'ak P'angjigö, 26 years old, residing in Ŭiju, came to make a request for a missionary to supervise his district. However, unfortunately, I could not but ask him to wait and be patient- April 17, 1906<sup>99</sup>

[...] In the afternoon the representative of Catholics came to request the settlement of one missionary in Ŭiju. They stressed that at this time many people convert to Protestantism easily. If a missionary came [to Ŭiju], [He] could attract many well-intentioned people who would enter into the Catholic Church. They also said that Ŭiju is the center of all the northeastern area reaching to Kangkye. I am not unappreciative of those words. There are grounds for all their words. [However,] what if the missionary settles in this distant place but is separated from his fellow priests? [...] -October 27, 1907<sup>100</sup>

Name of Church	Year of Foundation	Location	Reference
Kwanhuri	1896	P'yöngyang, SP	One Korean priest (1920.8. 1920.10)
Söpkaji	1898	P'yöngwon, SP	Church shutdown in 1902
Ch'innampo	1900	Ch'innampo, SP	An absence of priests (1914~1920) One Korean priest (1920.10.~1921.6)
Yöngyu	1902	P'yöngwon, SP	An absence of priests (1916~1919) One Korean priest (1919~ 1924.8)
Ŭiju	1911	Ŭiju, NP	One Korean priest (1911~1924) Two Korean priests (1920~1921) (1921~1922)
P'ihyön	1911	Ŭiju, NP	Two Korean priests (1911.9~1913.4) (1913.6~1913.12) The absence of priests (1913~1926)
Sinüiju	1922	Sinüiju, NP	Two Korean Priests before 1939 (1922~1923) (1924~1926)

**Table 2. List of Catholic Churches**

Note. SP=South P'yongan Province, NP= North P'yongan Province. The data in this table is based on information from *P'yöngyang Kyogusa* [P'yöngyang Diocese History] as well as the internet web site of the P'yöngyang Diocese<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 4:40.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 4:220.

<sup>101</sup> <http://py.catholic.or.kr/main/intro/in-a01.asp>

When the four Catholic churches had been established and were operating in south P'yŏngan Province, Catholic believers in Ŭiju visited Mütel and asked him to send missionaries to Ŭiju. Of special interest is that ordinary Catholic believers, by themselves, attempted to have their own priests first. They felt anxious that many Catholics were starting to convert to Protestantism. They needed their own priests in order to have stable religious lives. However, Mütel could not readily promise to send them missionaries. It is thought that the Catholic Church didn't have enough missionaries. Furthermore, Ŭiju was one of the northernmost cities. He was also concerned that, in this far region, a missionary would be isolated from his colleagues and struggle to live by himself. In several points, Ŭiju, the northernmost city, was a somewhat burdensome region. Finally the demand of Catholic believers in this district was outpacing the supply of missionaries.

Missionaries built schools as well as churches. From now on, I will shed light on the history of Catholic schools. This following story also backs up the fact that the difficulty in funding of the Catholic community group, the MEP.

## 2.6. Foundation of Schools

After erecting churches, the MEP built five schools soon after. All of the schools were affiliated with churches in south P'yŏngan Province.

Name of School	Year of Foundation	Affiliated Church
T'onŭi school	1900	Chinnamp'o
Kimyŏng school	1905	Kwanhuri
Sŏngmo girls' school	1906	Kwanhuri
Yŏngchŏng school	1908	Yŏngyu
Chijŏng Girls' school	1909	Ch'innamp'o

**Table 3. List of Catholic Schools**

*Note.* This table was created by me. The contents of this table were based on the information from the book *Kyogusa* [P'yŏngyang Diocese History] as well as the internet web site of the P'yŏngyang Diocese

Considering that a missionary could not independently make a decision on a major issue such as building a school, it is fortunate that the then head of the MEP, Bishop Mütel, was also interested in education and allowed missionaries to build schools in the region. French missionaries could not have decided on mission activities such as building schools. If the head of the Catholic group have not confirmed the construction of buildings, one French missionary could not have decided to build schools. If Bishop Mütel had not been interested in the education, French missionaries could not have built schools. In fact, he thought that educating Catholic children and adolescents was important.<sup>102</sup> Of particular interest is that the first school was a school affiliated with Ch'innamp'o church, not Kwanhuri Church in 1900. Kwanhuri church was built earlier than the one in Chinnamp'o, in 1896. However, about nine years later, Kwanhuri Church had its own school. On the other hand, Ch'innampo Church erected its first school, Tonüi, in the same year when Ch'innamp'o Church was erected, in 1900. For a long time, Kwanhuri Church was involved in the land conflict with Protestants. For building schools, securing land was the first priority. Yet this conflict would have hindered the MEP from protecting their land and building their schools. For this reason, Ch'innamp'o, had its school earlier than Kwanhuri church.

Next I will explore how Catholic schools of Ch'innamp'o were operated, through Mütel's words. These scenes encapsulate the financial difficulty of the Catholic school. He stated how the French missionary group ran schools in his diary in 1907 :

[...] In the afternoon, I went to see our properties of Ŭngyangdŭl with a priest and an altar body Yi T'adoo. The first property was a quite broad one where houses were built in most of the area. The second property was 200m to the west of the first property. This property was smaller than the first one but there were also several houses. On the way back, we observed senior students' practice of drill. On this occasion, I thanked the non-Catholic police for

---

<sup>102</sup> Kim, Chöng-Hwan, "Hanmal Ilch'e Kangjömki Mwit'el Ch'ugyo ũi Kyoyuk Hwalt'ong," *Han'guk Künhyöndaesa Yön'gu* 56 (2011): 7-41. 8.

teaching [our students] voluntarily –November, 8, 1907<sup>103</sup>

[...] There were approximately twenty Catholics who should receive the Sacrament of Confirmation. In the evening, Catholics came over to me again hoping that I might [financially] support their school or something. They asked me to transfer to them the smaller land among Ŭngyangdŭl properties. I finally agreed to give an income from the two lands of Ŭngyangdŭl for three years from 1908 to 1910. I told them that they have to be completely returned to [our] diocese from 1 January, 1911. My intention to transfer the lands [to them] is surely to support the school which is well run but barely maintained. Meanwhile, temporarily transferring these lands have also considerable advantages. That is, [We, the Chosŏn Diocese] could get the income out of houses which took an indefinite position regarding paying rent fee until now. Father Lereide<sup>104</sup> (1883-1917) is too inexperienced to be responsible for doing it. [Therefore], we could not lose if we can levy rent without difficulty even though we transfer these lands for two or three years—November, 8, 1907<sup>105</sup>

It seems that Catholics had difficulty in running their school, T'onŭi school. The MEP had their lands around there. Local Catholics asked to borrow some parts of that land. It would have been impossible for Catholic believers to maintain their school on their own. Finally, they visited Mütel to consult him on this issue. Considering the above records, Mütel probably agreed to rent land to Catholics in Chinnam'po. The meaning of the land here is quite different from that of the land in the context of P'yŏngyang land affair with Protestants. In this context, the land was a source of Church income. The MEP thus lent its properties to people and levied rent.

## 2.7. Land and the MEP

In order to understand the source of Church income, it is important to know about the MEP's style of generating revenue. Purchasing and renting lands was one of the MEP's distinctive methods to earn money on a regular basis in Asian countries.<sup>106</sup> For example, in

---

<sup>103</sup> Mütel, *The Diary of Mütel*, 4:206.

<sup>104</sup> He started his work in 1906 and did mission work in P'yŏngan until 1914. *Ibid.*, 5:47.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:47.

<sup>106</sup> Kim, Chŏng-Hwan, "Hanmal Ilch'e Kanjŏmgi Han'guk Ch'ŏnju Kyohoe ŭi Ch'epyŏn: Mwit'el Ch'ugyo ŭi Ch'aeimki rŭl Ch'ungsim ŭro [The Reorganization of the Korean Catholic church During the Late Chosŏn Dynasty and Japanese Occupation—with a Focus on the Activities of Bishop Mütel]," *Yŏksa*



South China, MEP missionaries bought rice fields and rented the land to Catholic believers.<sup>107</sup> French missionaries in Korea also used this method to acquire stable financial resources.<sup>108</sup> A Catholic community invested in Korea some of its contributions gathered outside Korea to purchase lands in Korea.<sup>109</sup> For French missionaries, land provided stable financial resources.<sup>110</sup> By renting land, they could help poor Catholic believers while earning rental income from the land.<sup>111</sup> It was not unusual to rent and receive revenue land and earn a profit from tenant Catholic farmers. Aside from the case of T'onŭi School, Father Kremff (1882-1946)<sup>112</sup> also attempted to find land to purchase in Ch'ungnam Province and rent this land to Catholic believers.<sup>113</sup> He did this because he required stable funds to run a seminary school.<sup>114</sup> The Catholic community thought that getting rent fees on a regular basis through lands was a suitable and realistic way of earning income. In other words, they chiefly depended on land. This means that without land, they could not support the Korean Catholic Church. I will touch upon the individual American missionaries' money power later in the chapter of the Maryknoll. Simply mentioning about the meaning of land of the Catholic community could not explain adequately the limited resource of the Catholic Church. Comparing the case of Protestants, It seems that there was no one who continuously supported the Catholic community stably. For this reason, Catholics had to rely on just one financial resource, land. I think that in the history of the Catholic history, this aspect was not discussed. To understand the financial difficulty of the Catholic community, I have to discuss this with Protestants' money power later.

\*\*\*

The Catholic community in this northern region came to realize that it had to build mission

---

*wa T'amnon* [History and Discourse] 57(2010):411-447. 430. For a detailed examination of how the MEP used land, see Kim's article.

<sup>107</sup> Wiest, Jean Paul, *Maryknoll in China: a history, 1918-1955*, (Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, c1988). 181.

<sup>108</sup> Kim, Chŏng-Hwan *History and Discourse* 57, 430.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 437.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 437.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 437.

<sup>112</sup> He started his mission work in 1906. From 1906 to 1914, he worked in Chungchŏng Province Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 5:69.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 436.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 436

stations and educational institutions. Protestants' successful mission work stimulated the Catholic Church. Catholics built their churches and educational institutions, but, in several mission stations, this mission work did not continue owing to the absence of missionaries. In the end, this situation had a negative effect on the P'yŏngan Catholic Church.

## 2.8. A Shortage of Missionaries and Suspended Missionary Work

It is well known that WWI (1914-1918) affected French missionaries in that they were conscripted and had to return to France.<sup>115</sup> Not long after the outbreak of WWI, the first group of five conscripted missionaries left Korea for France to enter the war.<sup>116</sup> With this 1914 mobilization order from France, the Catholic community, including in the vicariate apostolic of Seoul,<sup>117</sup> lost nine out of 33 missionaries.<sup>118</sup> According to Mütel,<sup>119</sup> there were 24 missionaries left in Korea, along with 9 vacant positions. Furthermore, missionaries could not be certain that they would not lose any more missionaries. As a result of the shortage of missionaries, several churches in this region had to be closed down.<sup>120</sup> To put it more concretely, after Father Lereide left for France in 1914, Chinnamp'o church was closed until 1920.<sup>121</sup>

Some people might think that Korean priests could fill a vacancy left by French missionaries returning to France. It is noteworthy that the Catholic missionary community started to produce Korean priests during that time. In 1914, the apostolic vicariate of Seoul had 13

---

<sup>115</sup> Kim, Chŏng-Hwan, *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu* 37, 20.

<sup>116</sup> Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 4:342.

<sup>117</sup> From 1911, the Korea Catholic community was divided into two mission units, the vicariate apostolic of Seoul and the vicariate apostolic of Taegu. P'yŏngyan Province was included in the vicariate apostolic of Seoul with the other Provinces except for Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang Provinces. The MEP, *Annual Reports of the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul*, 94.

<sup>118</sup> Kim, Chŏng-Hwan, *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu* 37, 20.

<sup>119</sup> Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 5:339.

<sup>120</sup> Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 346. 366.

<sup>121</sup> Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 343.

Korean priests.<sup>122</sup> However, it appears likely that they could not stay and lead Catholics in P'yŏngan Province.<sup>123</sup> For instance, Father Yi Ki-Ch'un (1884-1977) left P'ihyŏn church in P'yŏngan Province in 1913<sup>124</sup> and transferred to Geomsu church in Hwanghae.<sup>125</sup> For this reason, there was no priest there until 1926.<sup>126</sup> In the case of Yŏngyu church, after Father Bodin<sup>127</sup> (1886-1945) left in 1916, the church was vacant until 1919.<sup>128</sup> Some schools were also closed. For example, after Father Lereide left in 1914, Ch'ich'ŏng school and T'onŭi school of Ch'innamp'o were closed down soon afterwards in 1916.<sup>129</sup> This is because it was not so easy for Catholic believers to run a school by themselves without any help from a missionary.<sup>130</sup>

\*\*\*

In this way, the conscription of French missionaries triggered a chain reaction. French missionaries in the northern region dwindled in number. Subsequently, churches without any priests did not provide Catholic believers with religious services such as Mass or the Sacraments. These churches were closed and affiliated schools consequently had difficulty operating and were forced to close.

### 2.8.1. The Remaining 24 Missionaries in the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul

The dwindling numbers of missionary workers did not just mean that there were a smaller

---

<sup>122</sup> Kim, Chŏng-Hwan, *Kyohoesa Yŏn'gu* 37, 17.

<sup>123</sup> Based on the list of names of priests of each church in P'yŏngan Province, it is estimated that there were no Korean priests there in 1914. This means that Korean priests could not fill the vacancies in Catholic churches in this region. Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 343.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 489.

<sup>125</sup> [Catholic Dictionary on the Internet]

<http://info.catholic.or.kr/dictionary/view.asp?ctxIdNum=2898&keyword=%C0%CC%B1%E2%C1%D8&gubun=01>.

<sup>126</sup> Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 489.

<sup>127</sup> He began his work in 1910. From 1910 to 1916, He was charge of mission tasks until 1916. Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 5:47.

<sup>128</sup> Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, Ibid., 407.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 346.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 346.

number of missionaries. Records showed that the health condition of the remaining 24 missionaries was not good.

[...] There was a physical examination for conscripts at 2:00 pm. The result is, sad to say, we become deprived of another missionary again. This is because it was recognized that Father Julian Gombert (1877-1950)<sup>131</sup> was healthy. He was a reserve conscript but the French consul thought that he should induct him. Fortunately, Father Taquet(1873-1952)<sup>132</sup>, Bermond(1881-1967)<sup>133</sup>, Lucas (1883-1934)<sup>134</sup> were exempted from military service— November, 5, 1915<sup>135</sup>

In the morning, Father Rouquette (1880-1924)<sup>136</sup> asked his regular physician of the large hospital to issue a medical report for him. This is because he contracted malignant tuberculosis and could not accept a mobilization order. At about 2:00, Father Lucas arrived. I brought him to Doctor Wada's hospital. Wada wrote and issued a health report for Lucas. The report said that the name of a disease of Lucas was anorexia OOO. I[Doctor Wada] certified that he could not be mobilized. He should get treatment [...] —August, 10, 1914<sup>137</sup>

According to Mütel, when a missionary was not inducted into the military, this inferred that, in most cases, they were in bad health. If so, the Catholic community of the Vicariate apostolic of Seoul lost a relatively healthy nine people to the French mobilization and the remaining 24 workers were not in good health. These remaining missionaries had to care for mission stations of the vicariate apostolic of Seoul in Korea. Mütel must have been anxious about this general crisis, and he worried that he may lose even more missionaries. In addition, it is likely that the process of conscription itself, such as having a physical examination and asking for a health certificate, distracted missionaries from concentrating on their mission. The Catholic community lost so many missionaries that it realized that there were serious limits on what it do could and,

---

<sup>131</sup> He started his work in 1900, stayed in Taejŏn and return to his country in 1914. Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 5:142.

<sup>132</sup> He started his work in 1898. He worked in Chinju, Masan, and Cheju until 1914. *Ibid.*, 4:72.

<sup>133</sup> He started his work in 1905. From 1906 to 1914, he stayed in Chunju. *Ibid.*, 4:17

<sup>134</sup> He started his work in 1902. From 1903 to 1915, he took charge of mission activities in Hamkyŏng Province, *Ibid.*,5:44.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:462.

<sup>136</sup> He started his work in 1903. From 1904, he worked in Kangwŏn Province until 1914. *Ibid.*, 5:124.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*,5:343-344.

besides, it was totally exhausted. With the limited number of missionaries and financial resources, they could not handle missionary work in the northern region. Developing active missionary work in this area means that they would continue to fall behind the Protestants. They concluded they needed an effective plan---another missionary group that could lead the northern Catholic Church more effectively, the Maryknollers.

### 3. Communicating with Each Other with a Strong Sense of Community: the Maryknolls, an American Missionary Group

In 1917, James A. Walsh (1867~1936), the head of Maryknoll,<sup>138</sup> visited Korea.<sup>139</sup> Around that time, he thought that the the Marykoll was ready for doing foreign missions and sought suitable countries where they could start missionary work.<sup>140</sup> Soon he went on a trip to Asian countries such as Korea, Japan, and China to find missions.<sup>141</sup> Around the same time, the MEP had been searching for a missionary group to take charge of mission work in P’yŏngan Province. Due to the paucity of funds and missionaries, the French alone probably could not support the northern region mission work. That is to say, interests of the MEP and the Maryknoll coincided with each other to some extent; American missionaries seeking foreign missions and French missionaries looking for a missionary group to take over.

Year	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
NOM.	1	3	3	8	2	5	2	n/a	1	2
Year	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	
NOM.	2	4	5	1	n/a	3	3	2	4	

**Table 4. List of Catholic Missionaries entering Korea by year**

*Note.* NOM=Number of Missionaries. Figures of this table were based on the date from the book of *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help.*

As a corollary, in 1922, with the permission of the Holy See, the Maryknoll missionary

<sup>138</sup> Father Thomas F. Price (1860~1919) and Father James A. Walsh were the co-founders of this first American missionary group, Maryknoll. In 1911, the mission headquarters [Propaganda Fide] of the Vatican approved the establishment of this missionary community. Their official title was the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. Father James A. Walsh was the first president of this community. Jean-Paul, Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955*, (M.E.Sharpe,Inc.:Armonk,New York,1988) 25.

<sup>139</sup> He got to Korea 24<sup>th</sup> October and left 2<sup>nd</sup> November. For about 10 days, he stayed in Korea and looked around at Catholic institutions such as churches, seminary schools, convents in Taegu, Seoul and Ch’aemulpo. Mütel, *The Diary of Bishop Mütel*, 6:155~157.

<sup>140</sup> Jean-Paul, Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955*, 50.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.* 50.

group sent the first missionary to Korea.<sup>142</sup> Since then, as table 1 reveals, almost every year Maryknoll missionaries came to the northern region of Korea

### 3.1. The Big Question: the Source of Funds for Building Churches

Of note regarding James Walsh's first visit to Korea are his questions and missionaries' answers about financing Catholic institutions, especially Catholic churches. It appears that Walsh was mainly interested in realistic issues in terms of missionary work such as funds, as we can see below:

[...] We had just enough time before the train should pull out for Taikou [T'aegu] to visit Father Ferrand's mission which, he proudly asserts, was built with American money [...] -October 24th, 1917

[...]As we started out for a walk I asked the Bishop how he had managed to erect these buildings. As usual, a missionary was the architect. The bricks were made on the grounds and most of land was the gift of a well-to-do Korean Catholic. Other material and labor was paid for to a small extent by the people, but principally by friends of the Bishop or of his Mission [...] -October 24th 1917<sup>143</sup>

#### **How mission Churches are built**

In the course of the day I plied the Bishop with questions about the church, how it was built, by what architect, for how much money, from what source. I learned among other things that a priest prepared the plans, that he died before the building was begun, and that one of his confreres carried the structure to its successful completion. [...]The Mission grounds, now valuable property, were purchased with foresight when land was cheap, and the church was started by the generous gift of a French lady, supplemented by smaller sums from other Europeans, with sacrifice offerings from the Koreans themselves. It is a mistake to think, as I know that some Catholic travelers have thought, that these substantial churches of the Far East are constructed from the funds of the Propagation of the Faith Society. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith has all that it can do to distribute a few dollars a month to Catholic missionaries in various portions of the world, for their personal upkeep. Building in the

---

<sup>142</sup> Lee, Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed., *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 551.

<sup>143</sup> Walsh, James Anthony, *Observations in the Orient: the account of a journey to Catholic mission fields in Japan, Korean, Manchuria, China, Indo- China, and the Philippines* (Ossining, N.Y.: Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 1919) 85.

foreign missions depends, as a rule, upon the charity of interested individuals, inspired by the initiative of bishops or priests, backed doubtless by the grace that comes from prayer. Occasionally a mission has funds on which to draw, or a society upon which to fall back, but this condition is far from being the rule, and even where it exists the funds are very limited.<sup>144</sup>

According to Walsh, funds for building churches did not come from prepared stable financial sources as many people assumed. Rather, financial situation was highly unstable. Missionaries, in Walsh's records, had been depending on intermittent donations from Europeans and Korean Catholics for large projects such as the building churches.<sup>145</sup> In some cases, American funds supported the Catholic community in Korea. Indeed, American funding was brought into Korea even before American Catholic missionaries arrived in 1922. Based on this fact, the MEP might have thought that American missionaries had sufficient money to assume missionary work in the northern region.

Five years later, when Walsh visited Korea again, the Holy See [the world headquarters of Catholicism, the Catholic bureaucracy at the Vatican] permitted Maryknoll missionaries to do missionary work in Korea.<sup>146</sup> After that, these American missionaries could act autonomously in propagating Catholicism in the northern region of Korea.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> Walsh, James Anthony, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955*, 88~89.

<sup>145</sup> Considering Walsh's records above and Mütel's records discussed above, it appears that for administrating Catholic institutions, the MEP tended to rely on lands while for huge plans, such as building structures, they had a tendency to depend on donations.

<sup>146</sup> Lane, Raymond A., *Ambassador in Chains: The Life of Bishop Patrick James Byrne (1888-1950) Apostolic Delegate to the Republic of Korea*, 48.

<sup>147</sup> The Propaganda Fide established the regulation of right of entrustment. According to this regulation, once one organization of the Catholic community stayed and started to do missionary work, another community could not enter the mission area by taking over some parts of that mission or helping those missionaries. Only with the permission from that Catholic community, could another group enter that mission area. Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955*, 48. This means that when it comes to missionary work, Maryknoll acquired the autonomous right for missionary work in the northern region of Korea, their mission area.



### 3.2. The Maryknolls Stimulated by Protestant Achievements

As previously stated, Protestants had been doing exceptionally well proselytizing in P'yŏngan Province. For example, in 1932, the Presbyterian group of P'yŏngan Province still had the most Presbyterian believers in Korea [Table5].<sup>148</sup>

Provinces	Chungchung	Kyonggi	Hamgyŏng	Hwanghae	Chulla	Kyŏngsang	P'yŏngan
The Number of Presbyterians in 1932	3447	6129	16233	27539	29442	39928	88724

**Table 5. The Number of Presbyterians in 1932**<sup>149</sup>

Compared with this, Maryknoll missionaries, thus, could not help but bear witness to their lack of influence on this territory. Regarding these observations, I present the records of Father John Morris (1889~1978), one of the Maryknoll missionaries.<sup>150</sup> Not long after John E. Morris arrived at Shinŭiju in 1923, he had some opportunities to visit several Protestants' institutions. The following records reveal the fruition of Protestant groups at that time as well as Catholic missionaries' attitude toward their rival.

[...] Father Morris profited by his enforced visit to the capital, by gleaning some practical notions about the language, from the French Fathers; and by visiting points of interest. Among other places inspected was the Presbyterian College, located at a distance of a twenty minute train ride from Seoul [...]. A generous benefactor of this institution is President Underwood, of the typewriter firm of that name, whose brother was a missionary in Korea from 1885 to 1916. Over a million dollars have been spent on this property up to date; and the end is not yet. The Protestants have sunk many millions in Korea- for this is but one of their many institutions. The number of their workers is large [...]. -January 5~11, 1924, Diary of Father John Morris<sup>151</sup>

<sup>148</sup>Source: Han'guk Kidokkyo Kyohoesa Yŏnguhoe, *Han'guk Kiddokkyo ũi Yŏksa* II, (Seoul:Kiddokkyomusa,1900) 162-163 quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏnguso, *Han'guk Chonggyo Yŏngam* (Seoul: Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏnguso,1993), 138.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> It is important to examine his words or records regarding him because he was one of American missionaries who first settled in Korea in 1923. More importantly, he was appointed as the head [prefect apostolic] of the diocese of P'yŏngyang and led the Catholic community in the 1930s.

<sup>151</sup> Lee, Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed., *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*. 31-32.

Morris witnessed the Presbyterians' general collage in Seoul. He also described the source of money, which made it possible to build this educational institution. One family supported the funding of several Protestants' institutions. This financial situation existed in sharp contrast with that of the Catholic Church. As previously discussed, the Catholic community could not acquire stable funding for building their churches. By contrast, just one Protestant family had enough money power to construct several buildings. On top of that, in Morris' words, sufficient mission personnel also brought about Protestant success.

When it comes to Protestants' work in the northern region, Morris also wrote about the Protestant medical institution at Sönochön. His cook fell sick and he had to leave with his cook Joh and Father Cleary (1896-1970) to see a doctor in Sönochön.

[...]Decided at dinner to take the cook to the Protestant doctor at Sensen[Sönochön] for physical examination<sup>152</sup>. He has been complaining for some time of a pain in the lungs. Tuberculosis is prevalent and we are taking no chances. Fr Cleary and Joh the cook, there, started down the river by palli, leaving at 3.P.M., staying overnight at the Japanese inn at Shingishu[Shinüiju] – February 5, 1924.<sup>153</sup>

Mass at catechist's house in Shingishu by Fr. Cleary. 8:35 for Sensen; [Sönochön] arriving at 10:30. All the American doctors of the hospital there were away at a medical conference in Seoul. However, a Korean doctor who was well recommended by one of the missions, examined Joh thoroughly and declared his lungs sound-which assurance relieved us considerably. We were invited to dinner by the same mission who also showed us through the 'Hugh O'Neil Memorial College' one of the big works of the Protestants of this center. This missionary, Mr Whittemore, is from Rye, N.Y. We enjoyed and appreciated this hospitality and the more we saw of him the more we realized their present status over here -February 7. 1924.<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> It is understood that Morris visited a doctor of Mit'ong hospital which started their medical services in 1901. Cho, Woo-Hyön, et al., "Urinara Kündae P'yöngwön üi T'üngjang: Sipkusaegimal Isipsaegich'o üi P'yöngwöndül," 33.

<sup>153</sup> Lee, Chöngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 41.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. 47.

Sŏnchŏn was far from Shinŭiju but Morris had to decide to go there for this cook to undergo a medical examination. This situation suggests that most people of north P'yŏngan were in contact with Protestant doctors to treat their illness. Catholics, including missionaries such as Morris, visited these medical personnel for their physical examinations. Considering the fact that missionaries suffered from bad health conditions from time to time, there were no options other than meeting Protestant medical experts in most cases. As a result, Catholic missionaries became to rely on Protestant medical missionary work.

There was also a Korean Protestant doctor in this region and Protestants' medical services were well-organized nationwide to the extent that they held a medical conference. Protestants thus already employed some native medical experts and their medical work was systematic enough to hold a conference. Protestants consistently conducted their medical work successfully and stably. Morris also saw that Protestants had built a huge college in Sŏnchŏn.

In the case of the Catholic history of this region, the northern P'yŏngan region had not had access to French missionaries. For instance, when the people of Ŭiju wanted the Catholic community to send a priest, the Catholic Church could not dispatch missionaries. By contrast, Protestants even built their own college and medical institution. Morris must have worried about Catholic Church's situation compared with that of the Protestant Church.

In a letter to the head of the Maryknoll, Bishop Morris stated that he realized the present situation of Catholic missionaries by watching Protestants' work in Sŏnchŏn; the head replied to his letter like this:

[...]I took advantage of my enforced trip there to glean a better insight into the language from the good fathers. I visited several of the protestant institutions, one of which, the Presbyterians' general college I have described a bit in the diary. Their hospital in Seoul is the 'big thing'. This is a paying proposition, I am certain. I met many Presbyterians and several Methodists, quite a few have been here for a length of time -13, 22, 30 yrs. -and all of them white people and sociable. What an incentive for us [...] -January 31, 1924, letter to the head of

Maryknoll.<sup>155</sup>

[...] I think it was a good move to visit the Protestant institutions in the city. We have much to learn from the enemy, and some of those poor fellows are not at all hostile.-March 1, 1924.letter from the head of Maryknoll, bishop John Morris.<sup>156</sup>

American missionaries thought that they needed to learn from Protestants because of the fact that many Koreans in this area chose Protestantism as their religion. Therefore, it was required for them to examine Protestants' activities and learn from them.

\*\*\*

In the next part, I shed light on how the Maryknollers attempted to educate future native priests. As I have shown, Protestants had been training their believers as evangelists or medical staff and gradually affected Korean society. For Catholic groups, producing many talented priests was the first priority. This was because foreign missionaries could not stay and assume responsibility for the Catholic community forever in Korea. Their first reason for coming to Korea was to propagate Catholicism.<sup>157</sup> In order to achieve their goal, it was required to produce Korean Priests as soon as possible. American missionaries were no exception to this task of producing Korean Catholic priests.<sup>158</sup>

### 3.3 Educating Seminary Students

Protestants even had their own college in Sŏnchŏn. On the other hand, the Catholic community did not have enough money to erect this kind of large institution.<sup>159</sup> However,

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>157</sup> Kim, Hak-Hyŏn, *Han 'guk Oebang Sŏn 'gyohoe ūi Sŏn 'gyo Yŏngsŏng e Kwanhan Yŏn 'gu* [A Study of Missionary Spirituality of the Korean Missionary Society], M.A. Diss., Suwŏn Catholic University, 2010:107. 34. 42.

<sup>158</sup> Lee, Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed., *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*,, 302-303..

<sup>159</sup> It is true that American money helped European missionaries build churches. However, this fact did

producing priests was one of their important tasks and they felt they had to focus on this educational work.

[...] As to our junior seminarians I think they are doing well at present at Seoul and would like to give the new system in force there a trial for a few years. [...] We of Peng Yang are going to have our own Major seminary some day. I intend after mature deliberation, to scatter our first small group who will be ready for philosophy in three years –between Rome, maybe Louvain, Wonsan and Taiku in Korea. We can probably get a staff of our own ready in the meanwhile- Sept, 25, 1931, John Morris' Letter to Letter to Father General of the Maryknoll, Walsh. <sup>160</sup>

The contents of this letter reveal Father Morris' attitude toward building a seminary school in his mission. Although he hoped to build a major seminary affiliated with Maryknoll missionaries in P'yŏngan Province, these missionaries could not build this institution in a short time. For this reason, they had to send their students to study in other seminaries located in various mission sites under other missionary groups.

[...] I told Bishop Larribeau<sup>161</sup> (1883-1974) that, in view of his statement, (expressing the mind of the Vicariate Council), that my proposal, to have our boys housed separately with one of our own priests as spiritual director, was not acceptable, we might wish to withdraw our students later and hence we hesitate to invest a considerable amount of money (15,000) without assurance of obtaining it back in case we withdrew. But to build the necessary addition Bp. Larribeau must borrow and it would not be fair to expect him to carry a loan for our benefit. The following proposition is agreeable to all concerned: PengYang to take out a loan and put the money into the new building. / In case we decide to place our junior seminarians elsewhere, Seoul to refund the sum invested by Peng Yang without interest. Can you not arrange with Sister Christine,<sup>162</sup> to permit us, in view of the 'hard times', to borrow on the

---

not guarantee that American missionaries could build educational institutions for seminary students in the northern region.

<sup>160</sup> Lee, Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 225.

<sup>161</sup> He entered Korea in 1907. He was an auxiliary bishop from 1926-1933 and became a diocesan bishop of Seoul following Bishop Mutel from 1933 to 1942. Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, Han'guk Kat ollik Taesajŏn[ Korean Catholic encyclopedia], (Seoul : Han guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso,1995-1997) 319.

<sup>162</sup> I think that she was a Maryknoll nun. However, at this moment, with limited resources, I could not

seminary donation for this purchase. This would save us interest. Assure Sister Christine that her original wishes shall be fulfilled without fail eventually. Only ask her to let us free as to time limit in view of/ which hold up the fulfillment of her wishes[...]- September. 25, 1931, Letter to Father General.<sup>163</sup>

Even after sending students<sup>164</sup> to Seoul, Morris required Bishop Larribeau (1883~1974) to permit seminary students to reside apart from other students. He also wanted his boys to be guided by a Maryknoll missionary even in the French mission territory, Seoul. What is more, he kept in mind the possibility of seminary students' withdrawal from this seminary. It is interesting that Morris wanted a Maryknoll missionary to perform a role as a guardian while staying with students in a separate accommodation. This could mean that the Maryknoll hoped the MEP would only be involved in teaching the students. American missionaries intended to guide their students, at least outside of the class. To put it differently, it seems that Maryknoll missionaries had stronger ties to their students than did other Catholic communities, such as the MEP.

Father Morris, however, could not separate his students from other students. Instead Morris dispatched a Maryknoll missionary to Seoul to stay with his students. Bishop Larribeau (1883~1974) did not want those students to be separated. He, therefore, had to accept the current circumstances.

[...]Since my visit to Seoul I have reconsidered the proposition, and think that we should leave the matter in 'statu quo' I find our junior seminarians are being satisfactorily cared for, and besides those in charge dislike the segregation of our students to the extent as proposed, that is, for spiritual direction, and if possible, also in the dining room and dormitory I see the reasonableness of their objection, and did not press our point. If one of our fathers went to serve at the seminary it would be in the role of simple professor which is not called for at present. The one who might be appointed would have known Korean which precludes anyone from home from among those you proposed. Our

---

find her profile.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>164</sup> In this part, students indicates seminary students coming from the northern region who stayed in a seminary in Seoul.

students are benefiting from a government recognized course, receiving instruction from the teachers at the Catholic commercial high school; it is beyond our means to the equivalent [...]- October. 26, 1931, Letter to Father General.<sup>165</sup>

Morris made a decision to let his seminary students stay in Seoul without sending Maryknoll missionaries, due to the fact that the MEP did not approve of it. It seems that the MEP did not want other missionaries to enter their school. For Maryknollers, there was no option but to have their students stay with other students.

[...]Besides these two blessed students, there are 30 other students from our diocese who want to become priests. One is studying philosophy at Tokyo Major Seminary while the others are in the Dong Sung Seminary in Seoul. Also there are younger boys, who are candidates for the priesthood, living in our Seo-po [Sōpo] Preparatory Seminary and taking courses at the Song Mo School in Peng Yang. These are receiving their spiritual training, fundamental priestly education, learning Gregorian Chant, and studying Latin under the veteran and virtuous Father Alexius Kim. Twelve of our young men are there at present [...].-May 1934, Catholic Studies.<sup>166</sup>

Even though they could not build their own major seminary, they could educate younger students in their own schools. Father Alexius Kim<sup>167</sup> (1870~1938) played an important role in educating younger boys in this region.

One new native priest has been ordained. This brings the total of native priests to four. Five new candidates have been admitted to the Junior Seminary and through God's grace we have sent two exemplary men to the Pontifical College of St. Urbano for their philosophy studies. We have a profound sense of gratitude for the rare privilege given to our students by studying in Rome from which they will become the source of the Local Church's educational efforts and will be well respected by the pagans in the local educational establishment.  
-July 8, 1933.

---

<sup>165</sup> Lee, Chōngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 234-235.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 302.

<sup>167</sup> His name was Kim, Sōng-Hak. Based on the journal of Mütel in the Korean version, he was also called Kim Ariksu He was originally from Ŭnsan, P'yōngan Province. Before staying with and helping American missionaries in the northern region from 1922 to 1936, he had experience teaching seminary students at Yongsan seminary school in Seoul in 1916. -[Catholic Dictionary <http://info.catholic.or.kr/dictionary/view.asp?ctxtIdNum=494&gubun=01#>]

This source said that Maryknoll even sent their native students to a college in Rome to train them as priests. Maryknoll missionaries could not train their students to become priests by themselves but educating them was one of the most important missionary tasks for Maryknoll. For this reason, they educated future priests in other regions in Korea that already had major seminaries or even in other countries.

Educating Korean priests was one of the top priorities for missionaries, as mentioned. However, this was not the only work they had to deal with. Taking care of existing Catholic believers or spreading the Catholic faith was one of their most crucial tasks. Publishing a local Catholic Magazine in this region was an effective method Catholics chose as their way to fulfill these tasks.

### **3.4. Communicating with their own Magazine<sup>168</sup>**

The following records present clearly the main purpose of publishing their own local magazine. James Morris, in this magazine, mentioned the object of publishing P'yöngyang Catholics' magazine.

The Apostolic Prefect of Peng Yang happily introduces this first edition of the monthly magazine of our diocese. The aim of this publication is to properly educate the faithful, especially those who have rare opportunity to attend Sunday Mass, receive the Sacraments or listen to the homily of their pastors because they live far from their parish. [...] Another aim of this magazine is to present all the teaching and explain the practices of Holy Mother, the Church.-

---

<sup>168</sup> This fact was mentioned in the history of P'yöngan Province. See *P'yöngyang Kyokusa*, 117. Kim Su-Tae. I think that the difference between Kim and me is that he interpreted this topic as bishop John Morris' strategy. However, I would like to see this as making their own voice and communication with Catholic believers with simple words unlike the French missionaries.



When the first issue of this magazine was published in January 1934, Morris wrote about the aim of the publication of this Catholic magazine in P’yöngyang diocese. During the 1930s, the Catholic community in P’yöngan Province increased in size.<sup>170</sup> However, there were a limited number of parish Churches.<sup>171</sup> For Catholics who resided far from their parish churches, it was difficult to participate in Mass on a regular basis. Publishing a local magazine was a good option for the Catholic group to convey their religious messages and educate lay Catholics. In addition, they would have felt that they were still included in the Catholic community by subscribing to the magazine and reading Catholic messages regularly. These repetitive actions of receiving magazines and reading various sections regarding the Catholic Church would help lay Catholics establish their Catholic identity.

One interesting thing is how Morris reported on this newly published magazine to the head of Maryknoll in his letter. Furthermore, the Father General’s reaction to this magazine was also

<sup>169</sup> Lee, Chöngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 289

<sup>170</sup> Around the time when Morris wrote this contribution above (1934), the number of Catholic believers had increased considerably.

**[Table 6. The Number of Catholic believers]  
Year-- Number of Catholics --Rate of Increase**

1926	5,614	N/A	1927	5,933	5.68%	1933	11,192	88.6%
1934	13,063	16.7%						

*Note.* This table was created based on the information from the history of the P’yöngyang diocese Diocese. 129~130.

<sup>171</sup> There were 15 Catholic churches and 26 priests in this region in 1934. Han’guk Kyohoesa Yön’guso *P’yöngyang Kyogusa*, 130. For more information about the number of other religious staff, see this work.

intriguing.

An item of Catholic Action that will interest you is the publication of a new magazine in our Peng Yang mission. One decided on by the Ordinaries<sup>172</sup> at their last annual Conference is too high-toned for the majority of our illiterate flock. Our local magazine is composed in simple language and contains as main features three sections, namely on Sacred Scripture, Church History, and Practical Instruction. This magazine is a monthly published for the first time in December. The edition for the month of February will run to 2,500. It is being well received and praised not only in our own mission, but in the other missions as well, where many hundreds of copies have been subscribed for. I am forwarding several issues as samples [...] -Feb. 17, 1934, Letter to Father General.<sup>173</sup>

[...] Congratulations on your new magazine! – The remark had been made, even at this distance, that perhaps the tone of the one decided on by the Conference might be too high for the “common people.” It is good to have a voice among the intellectuals, but our work should not become “top heavy.” - March 27, 1934, Letter from Father General to Monsignor<sup>174</sup>

Father General hoped all Catholic missionary groups, including Maryknollers, would attend the annual Conference and decided to publish a Catholic magazine. For Morris, the magazine was not suitable for most Catholics because most of them could not read and, to be sure, understand refined words. Therefore, he wanted local magazines that consisted of easy and accessible language for most people. The main target of mission work, according to Morris, was lay Catholics. In the diocese of P’yŏngyang, the Catholic community sought a realistic and effective method to deliver Catholic knowledge to most believers by using easy and simple language. The answer of the Father General signifies that Morris’ attitude towards Korean Catholics did not result from his personal disposition, but rather from American Catholics’ official attitude.

What is more, there is another crucial fact that needs to be addressed regarding the letters above. Morris compared a local magazine with another magazine mentioned in the last annual

---

<sup>172</sup>The head of each mission territory.

<http://info.catholic.or.kr/dictionary/view.asp?ctxIdNum=8374&keyword=Ordinary&gubun=04>

<sup>173</sup> Lee, Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed., *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 294.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

conference. It appears that this conference was attended not only by American missionaries, but also French missionaries. Given the fact that French missionaries had been leading missionary work in Korea and taking charge of most mission regions in Korea, it is likely that the tendency of French missionaries was reflected in the magazine with “high-toned” language. Simply put, the different tone of the two magazines reflected two different mission styles of missionary groups<sup>175</sup> which would have had different inclinations and combined well with each other.

### **3.5. Different Dispositions of Different Missionary Groups**

As for two different dispositions of French and American missionaries, I need to recall the words of Morris regarding the students at the seminary school in Seoul under French missionaries.<sup>176</sup> Especially interesting is that he wanted seminary students to live separately in another dormitory with American missionaries under the name of a "spiritual director." This could be interpreted that American missionaries wanted to guide their students exclusively, and not let French missionaries intervene in their students' life outside of the class. At that time, there was no major seminary in the diocese of P'yŏngyang. Therefore, Maryknoll staff had to send their students to seminaries in other regions. In the case of a major seminary in Seoul, this diocese was under French missionaries and surely this school was run primarily by French missionaries. Nevertheless Morris asked Bishop Larribeau if Maryknoll could send their own missionary to guide their students. This story could be interpreted in the context of the different values or missionary methods of two different missionary groups –French and American.

---

<sup>175</sup> French missionaries and American missionaries

<sup>176</sup> 45~49 in this thesis. the word of "spiritual director" appeared in 46 of this thesis.

### 3.6. Advertising Catholicism for surviving the Protestant-centered Atmosphere<sup>177</sup>

One thing to bear in mind is that P'yöngyang Diocese Catholic Church did not publish their magazine only for Catholics. Non-Catholics were also thought of as among their expected readers, according to Morris as below. That is so say, with this magazine, the Catholic community attempted to let non-Catholics know about Catholicism. By making use of the local magazine, Catholics consistently promoted Catholicism to non-Catholic citizens.

[1] I arrived back after the latest mission trip just in time to be present at a charity concert staged in a public hall at Peng Yang by our mission-school children of this city. The main purpose was to advertise and finance a corporal work of mercy we have initiated at Peng Yang. [...] Our concert was well patronized, and not only has our charity gained the good will of our non-Catholic fellow-citizens, but the Church is better known. Some who thought the Catholic Mission at Peng Yang to be merely an institution for old folks and the poor expressed surprised that we have so many clever young persons in the Church and such well-trained school children [...] – February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1934, Letter to the head of M.M.<sup>178</sup>

#### [2] Jubilee In Peng Yang- The Church's 150<sup>th</sup> Korean Birthday Party.

The Committee for Catholic Action in the Mission of Peng Yang staged from last October 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> public celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the establishment of Catholicism in Korea. While the main purpose was to observe this anniversary, several other events combined to arouse special interest. Then tenth anniversary of the beatification of Korean Martyrs; the annual meeting of the Ordinaries of Korea, scheduled to be held last year in the Peng Yang Mission; and the visitation of the Apostolic Delegate, who presided –all coincided to make the celebration a real Jubilee -February, 1936, THE FIELD AFAR<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> This topic itself was also mentioned in the existing research. The differences of my research from those studies is that I would like to see this as a kind of Catholics' surviving strategy facing the strongest Protestant community in Korea.

I think that this phenomenon should be analyzed under the context of the strongest Protestant power to present the characteristics of the Catholic missionary group. Kim also discussed Catholics' strategy towards Protestants. However, it seems that he thought of the Protestant Church as a competitor. If this phenomenon was interpreted like that, we could not present the characteristics of P'yongan Catholicism well. For these, see Kim, *P'usan K'yohoesabo*, 24-28; *K'yohoesa Yön'gu* 29; 125-128. Han guk *K'yohoesa Yön guso*, *P'yöngyang K'yogusa*, 107-116.

<sup>178</sup> Lee, Chöngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed., *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*, 294~295.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid. 380.

**Preparations** - For weeks previous preparations were directed by two native priests, aided by a committee by the laity [...]All the newspapers generously contributed specially prepared articles on the history and teachings of the Catholic church, with particular emphasis on the Church in Korea and its illustrious role of martyrs [...] - February, 1936, THE FIELD AFAR

**The Pontifical Mass** - [...] The Mass area was jammed with the number of visiting clergy, Christians, and onlookers [...] -February, 1936, THE FIELD AFAR<sup>180</sup>

These passages above reveal the missionary methods of Maryknoll at that time. Firstly, it seems that young Catholic boys had an effect on changing non-Catholics' fixed concepts of Catholicism. Passage 1 implies that non-Catholic people tended to have fixed concepts about Catholic missionary activities. Most citizens did not recognize the Catholic community as a young and energetic community. Rather, that image would have been associated with Protestant groups. In this situation, the on-the-street campaign of young Catholics for fund-raising showed that the Catholic community was energetic and lively

Secondly, passage 2 states that P'yŏngyang Diocese held a large Catholic ceremony in its region. The year 1935 was a meaningful year for the Korean Catholic community.<sup>181</sup> As mentioned, it had been about 150th anniversary since Roman Catholicism had entered Korea.<sup>182</sup> I think that, ostensibly, this region was not very suitable for holding such a meaningful event to the Catholic Church. This northern diocese was not a place where Catholicism was propagated a hundred fifty years earlier. Rather, for a long time, Catholicism had not spread broadly in this region. For holding this anniversary, Seoul and Kyŏnggi Province would have been more suitable place. This is because, as I already stated, Korean Catholicism started in Seoul. For this reason, this area could not be the symbolical place to hold this kind of event. Thus, it appears that there were no reasonable grounds to hold the ceremony in the region. If so, why did

---

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, 384.

<sup>181</sup> Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 107.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. 107.

Catholics passionately prepare for opening this event in their mission?

It is necessary to remind ourselves of the fact that Protestants, in 1934, celebrated the 50th anniversary of their mission in P'yŏngyang.<sup>183</sup> The Catholic Church therefore organized their grand celebration event while being aware of the Protestants' anniversary.<sup>184</sup> P'yŏngyang Catholics had no 'traditionalism' in terms of Catholicism and showed a relative weakness vis-à-vis the Protestant P'yŏngyang mission. Yet, this unfavorable circumstance probably contributed to this meaningful event being held in the northern region to some extent. It might have been the case that this event gave an opportunity for Catholic groups to convey a powerful and traditional image of Catholics to citizens. Through this huge event, they made a display of Catholic power to people on a large scale. Catholics might have proven that the Catholic community did not fall behind the Protestant group. Protestants would not have been just simple competitors to Catholics. Unwilling to reveal their weak power, they would have displayed their identity effectively by emphasizing their traditionalism. In my opinion, this kind of action ironically suggests that Catholics were still on the defensive and had to survive in a Protestant-centered atmosphere.

From now on, I shall touch upon the characteristic of a strong sense of belonging to the Catholic community in this region.

---

<sup>183</sup>Kim, Su-Tae, "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ŏn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ulgwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsim ūro," 128.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

### 3.7 Bishop Morris' Emphasizing a Sense of Community<sup>185</sup>

#### The Organization of Catholic Action in Peng Yang Diocese

[...] Little by little I will present in this magazine the discussions of the conference, the general motions that were passed and since, in God's plan, I am granted by Christ's representative, the Holy Father, the right to lead the apostolate in this Diocese of Peng Yang, there are two at yet unmentioned things that I wish to announce to the Catholics of this diocese.

The first is that it is my personal decision to bring together all areas of this diocese within this movement and consolidate all into the inclusive nucleus of the Catholic Action League.

The second is that I order both the priests and laity to clearly wake up to the real spirit of Catholic Action and work to unify all other organizations within the framework of Catholic Action.

For this to occur two things are absolutely necessary namely, both the Church's clergy and laity must work together and both must be submissive to the legitimate authorities through a holy and Catholic absolute obedience in spirit as well as in action.

It is especially important at this time to awake the laity to the emergency situation<sup>186</sup> which exists. Were this unity to disappear it would be extremely difficult to preserve our Catholic faithfulness. If strenuous efforts are not made against the spreading evil tendencies in the world, if Catholics do not maintain their unity in such a crisis and if their footsteps are not supported by constant faith and determination it is not difficult to imagine it to be like a wreck crashing into a sunken reef.

Here it is important to speak strongly of the necessity of Catholic Action. Its basic spirit needs the complete cooperation between the priests and laity with the laity backing up the clergy so that the work of the Church will be full and complete and, as a result, in lieu of any scheme which is developed through visionary plans which would depart from the good of all, I require full obedience and cooperation from all the Catholics and set up a clearing committee in each area where all matters may be presented for discussion. In each area there will be cells formed – under the leadership of the pastor and in the spirit of a parish – as arteries leading to each parish center. With the help of advice from the Diocesan Advisory Board, all decisions rest with me as the bishop. At the very center is the Diocesan Catholic Action League headed by

---

<sup>185</sup> I think that Kim Su-Tae is interested in Bishop Morris' layperson reform campaign (Catholic Action). In my opinion, he tended to see this as Bishop Morris' contribution and tried to explain this in the context of the Catholic history. However, it is required to analyze this phenomenon under the context of the strongest Protestant community, the backgrounds of the American missionaries and the people of P'yŏn Province For Kim's opinion, see Kim, Su-Tae, *P'usan K'yohoesabo*, 28-38; *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu*19, 216-220; *K'yohoesa Yŏn'gu*29, 103-108

<sup>186</sup>It appears that this emergency situation means Protestants' exceptional success considering the Protestant community thrived in this region at that time.

the editor of our “Catholic Studies” magazine. Fr. Hong, whom I have appointed and given full authority,. In addition, this magazine will be the voice of the whole movement.

Here I briefly show the contents of the organization’s structure:

For the diocesan headquarters to the mission stations the advisory councils are made up of the local business and lay councils [...].

In a spirit of cooperation and unity, this type of a movement will first of all start with small work and if the whole diocese acts together manifesting a Catholic spirit as its goal, little by little even large projects will be successfully undertaken and in the future the a true Chosen self-sufficient foundation will surely be laid. However, without a real understanding, enlightened dedication and strenuous effort on the part our ordinary Catholics, the whole organizational structure alone is nothing but useless and only will be a dream of rather bad quality. So here once again I finally stress the urgency of challenging our Catholics. The success or failure of this marvelous blueprint is wholly dependent on the efforts of you, our Catholics and likewise the results too, will be centered around your responsiveness. So heed this reality which I announce beseechingly to you.

Last of all I ask our fellow clergy and laity in other diocese for your prudent advice and impartial fair encouragement to always push us on to fully attain this beautiful ideal so that, slowly but surely, the unity of Catholic Action will spread throughout our whole nation- August 25, 1934 At the Seo-po Residence- Catholic Studies .<sup>187</sup>

Morris repeatedly stressed the need for unity and cooperation amongst Catholics. This main goal was to inform readers of the organization of Catholic Action.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, he urged other Catholics to participate in this activity that they would achieve unity under the name of Catholic Action. In addition, he also maintained that lay Catholics and priests had to work closely together. Joining in Catholic Action together possibly made lay Catholics feel that they had their own identity as Catholic members. It seems that with this activity, Bishop Morris attempted to strengthen Catholic member ties.

---

<sup>187</sup> Lee, Chŏngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*. 317-319.

<sup>188</sup> Catholic Action meant Catholic-related activities or associations which were chiefly led by lay Catholics. According to Pope Pius XI (r. 1922-1939), Catholic Action signifies the cooperation between common Catholics and Priests or organized apostolic activities under the permission of their bishop [Catholic dictionary]



In fact Catholic Action itself did not originate from P'yŏngang Diocese.<sup>189</sup> Pius XI (r. 1922~1939) of the Holy See presented Catholic Action as an effective missionary method.<sup>190</sup> In Korea, in 1931, the National Catholic councils decided to use Catholic Action as their official method.<sup>191</sup> It is intriguing that, in this council, Morris was appointed as a chairperson of this activity.<sup>192</sup> In addition, this activity was well developed, especially in P'yŏngan Province.<sup>193</sup> A letter from a Father of a diocese outside P'yŏngyang (the Taegu diocese) supports the fact that Catholics in P'yŏngan Province carried out more organized and aggressive Catholic activities than in other missions. He wrote about their activities:

[...] The Diocese of P'yŏngyang is successful in organizing their group and having mass training. How great you are, young diocese, in building and construction! [...] People who became clever through long experience though previously you showed no activity and lacked business skills. [...] They were like ashes where fire is completely out. I would like to ask to you to accumulate experience over a long time. How much did you take of your share of responsibility for the matters in hand and peace of the era? The times are seriously changing today. Teaching Catholic doctrine is not only the missionaries' duty. It is right for missionaries to follow up on others, even though they cannot take the lead. Slander akin to jealousy and hypercriticism is a sin that cannot be praised [...].<sup>194</sup>

Father Kim's opinion implies that Catholic activities were much stronger than those of other dioceses. Successful Catholic activities in P'yŏngan Province could mean that the Catholic community in this region had concentrated powers and that they were systematically organized. At the same time, other dioceses were relatively inactive compared to P'yŏngan Province mission stations. Until then, most missions tended to concentrate on conveying Catholic

---

<sup>189</sup> Kim, Su-Tae, "Maerinol Oebang Ch'ŏn'gyohoe ūi Ch'inch'ul gwa Hwalt'ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch'ungsim ūro," 28.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.28.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid. 28.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. 28.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.28.

<sup>194</sup> Remarks of Father Kim quoted from Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso, *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*,127.

teachings and doctrines. On top of that, missionaries from other dioceses were critical of the successful activities undertaken by this northern mission. In sum, during that time, in the diocese of P'yŏngyang, common believers and missionaries worked well together and this cooperation took effect much more successfully than in other dioceses

\*\*\*

It is thought that the combination of American missionaries and Korean believers in this region gave rise to successful Catholic missionary work in the northern region. To understand these characteristics of the P'yŏngyang diocese better, I need to touch upon the backgrounds of American missionaries and Korean believers in P'yŏngan Province. First of all, I shall explore the backgrounds of American missionaries.

### **3.8 Immigrant Catholic Family Group in the United States**

To facilitate understanding of the characteristics of American Catholic groups, I shall start this part with tables 9 and 10 [APPENDIX], which present the basic background of the missionaries. By analyzing the profiles of the missionaries, it is possible to access their overall characteristic. Based on their birthplaces [Table 7], it is likely that most of missionaries were from Irish Catholic immigrant families.<sup>195</sup> The distribution of the missionaries is marked on the map below, according to their birthplaces. Twelve out of 43 were from the state of New York and eleven were from the state of Massachusetts. Many settled in the northeast during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>196</sup> Numerous jobs in these industrialized regions such as Boston or New York

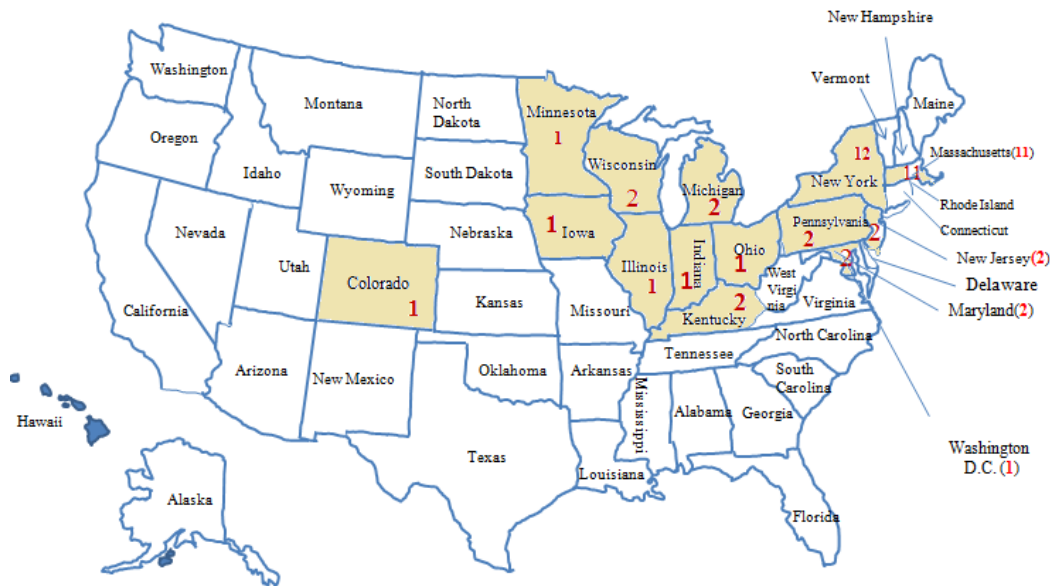
---

<sup>195</sup> Irish immigrants were Catholic believers in most cases, information from Professor Baker

<sup>196</sup> Dolan, Jay P., *The American Catholic Experience: a History from Colonial Times to the Present*, (New York: Double day & Company, inc., 1985) 137.

grabbed Immigrants' interests and many Irish families lived together there to make a living.<sup>197</sup>

In addition, Irish Catholic groups were one of the large Catholic immigrant groups during that time.<sup>198</sup>



**Figure. 2 Places of Birth of Maryknoll Missionaries.**

Note. This figure was reproduced and modified under the GNU Free Documentation License [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Text\\_of\\_the\\_GNU\\_Free\\_Documentation\\_License](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Text_of_the_GNU_Free_Documentation_License).

Since it appears that most missionaries were of Irish background, it is important to touch upon their ethnic identity and how this attribute could be related to the missionaries' missionary style in their mission in Korea.

POB	NOM	POB	NOM
<b>New York</b>	12	<b>Michigan</b>	2
<b>Massachusetts</b>	11	<b>Minnesota</b>	1
<b>Maryland</b>	2	<b>Indiana</b>	1
<b>New Jersey</b>	2	<b>Illinois</b>	1
<b>Washington D.C.</b>	1	<b>Iowa</b>	1
<b>Connecticut</b>	2	<b>Kentucky</b>	1
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	2	<b>Colorado</b>	1
<b>Ohio</b>	1	<b>Wisconsin</b>	2

**Table 7. Place of Birth of Missionaries<sup>199</sup>**

<sup>197</sup> Ibid. 137.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid. 128.

<sup>199</sup> Note. POB=Place of Birth, NOM=Number of missionaries

### **3.9 Strong Solidarity of Irish Catholics**

Irish Catholics tended to have a strong feeling of solidarity.<sup>200</sup> In order to survive in a Protestant-majority country, they had to organize their community and parochial institutions were crucial places for them to interact with each other.<sup>201</sup> Catholicism and Catholic organizations played an important role for Irish immigrants to build a community in a Protestant-centered culture.<sup>202</sup> The educational backgrounds of missionaries are one example that demonstrates their unity. As table 7 shows, before entering seminary schools, most missionaries were educated in Catholic schools. According to Dolan, Irish Catholics wanted their children to go to Catholic schools for a specific reason.<sup>203</sup> They thought that Catholic educational institutions could help their children not to forget their Irish spirit and identity.<sup>204</sup> For these reasons, missionaries could experience Catholic-oriented culture while living among mainstream Protestants, develop a strong sense of unity as Catholics.

A study on backgrounds of people in P'yŏngan Province is necessary so that I can better comprehend the characteristics of Catholicism in this region. This is because both Maryknollers and lay believers were important factors in contributing to the feature of strong unity in this region.

### **3.10 Deep-rooted Contempt Driving Solidarity among Koreans in P'yŏngan Province**

I will now address the backgrounds of Catholics of P'yŏngan Province. It is thought that people

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid. 128.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 158-159.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 276-277.

in this region tended to be dissatisfied with the political system of Chosŏn society, in which they were looked down upon.<sup>205</sup> One reason for such disdain was that this Province was located in the frontier zone that was in the vicinity of so-called savages.<sup>206</sup> In other words, people in P'yŏngan were also treated like uncultured people in that they were just resided in the area nearby uncivilized people. In addition, the absence of a strong academic tradition was one of the reasons why they were treated discriminatingly.<sup>207</sup> Under these circumstances, people might have felt indignation or distrust toward the established system.<sup>208</sup> These kinds of feelings among P'yŏngan Province citizens would have played an important role in making them feel a strong sense of solidarity with each other.<sup>209</sup> Indeed, prejudice and discrimination from outside this isolated region probably stimulated them to have a strong sense of unity.

### **3.11 Amplification of Similar Sentiment between American Missionaries and the people of P'yŏngan Province**

To be sure, the histories of American missionaries and of Catholic believers of P'yŏngan Province could not be exactly identical with each other. It seems that their structurally similar circumstances, nevertheless, evoked similar feelings among them: a strong-community spirit and a feeling of solidarity. It is thought that most missionaries came from Irish Catholic families. In the Protestant countries like the U.S., this immigrant group was largely confined to the lower class.<sup>210</sup> For them, thus, it would have been hard to assimilate into the mainstream society in the States. To live through these rough circumstances, this immigrant group had to stand together strongly.

---

<sup>205</sup> Kim, Sun-Joo, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007) 57.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid. 57.

<sup>210</sup> Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: a History from Colonial Times to the Present*, 139-140.

As mentioned, the people of the northern Korea suffered from a tendency to be discriminated against by the existing political structure. This was because this region was located in a fringe area, which was close to what they called savages. As a result, P'yŏngan residents were considered to be almost savages themselves. In addition, the fact that most northerners did not have much chance to attend Confucian academies was also one of the main reasons they were disregarded and discriminated against.<sup>211</sup> They shared dissatisfaction and common feelings of sorrow which region seemed to intensify their own solidarity.

Both the American group and the people of P'yŏngyan had similar ethos towards mainstream society and had strong community bonds. It is thought that in the combination of American Catholic missionaries and Catholic believers, this similar sentiment would have been amplified. In this region, Protestants had succeeded in proselytizing and converting Koreans. The Catholic community, until American missionaries came there, could not actively develop their missionary work because of the limited source of funds and missionaries. Starting in the early 1930s, the diocese of P'yŏngyang started to become more active in their missionary work. The main method of propagating Catholicism was Catholic Action. Under this framework, both missionaries and Catholic believers successfully cooperated. Their successful Catholic Action was partly caused by the fact that their similar feelings would have created a strong sense of solidarity to preserve and develop Catholicism in the region where Protestants exercised leverage.

Finally, it appears that American missionaries succeeded in expanding their community. The total number of Catholic believers in P'yŏngan was 17,829 in 1940.<sup>212</sup> It is remarkable that

---

<sup>211</sup> Kim, Sun-Joo, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007) 57.

<sup>212</sup> Government General of Chōsen, Chōsen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshi *Yōran*, (Keijō: Gakumukyoku Shakai Kyoikuka) 75. And the same contents of Chōsen, Chōsen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshi *Yōran* (p75) with a different format in Korean quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏn'guso, *Han'guk Chonggyo*

this figure outnumbered those of other provinces such as Ch'ungch'eng or Ch'olla where Catholicism spread far earlier than it had in P'yongan Province.<sup>213</sup> Specifically, there were 13,292 Catholic believers in Ch'ungch'ung and 16,750 in Ch'olla Province.<sup>214</sup> Here, I have to note the earlier figures regarding the number of Catholics. In 1909, when French missionaries were in P'yongan, there were 3,340 Catholics while there were 11,868 in Ch'ungch'ong and 13,697 in Ch'olla.<sup>215</sup> Given this data during the French missionary period, American missionaries witnessed tremendous success. In addition, it should also be noted that Catholic believers from P'yongan accounted for 18.5% of the whole number of Christian believers, including Presbyterians or Methodists in the same region.<sup>216</sup> Comparing this with the proportion of Catholic to Protestants nationwide, which is 22.4%, this percentage in P'yongan was not far behind this national figure.<sup>217</sup> These figures suggest that the P'yongan Catholic Church achieved remarkable success in confronting the Protestant power.<sup>218</sup>

---

*Yŏn'gam*, (Seoul: Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏn'guso), 1993. 149.

<sup>213</sup> In Ch'ungch'eng or Ch'olla Province, in 1801, there were already many Catholics. Contents of Hwang, Sa-Yŏng's silk letter, translated and explained by Don Baker and Frank Rausch, *The Silk Letter of Hwang Sayŏng: Catholics and Anti-Catholicism in Chosŏn dynasty Korea*, 292-293. This monograph will be published soon.

<sup>214</sup> Government General of Ch'osen, Ch'osen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshi *Yōran* 75. And the same contents of Ch'osen, Ch'osen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshi *Yōran* with a different format of a table in Korean (p75) quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏn'guso, *Han'guk Chonggyo Yŏn'gam*, 149.

<sup>215</sup> Mep, *Seoul Kyogu Yŏnbo* ( // ), 80.

<sup>216</sup> Government General of Ch'osen, Ch'osen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshi *Yōran* 75. And the same contents of Ch'osen, Ch'osen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshi *Yōran* with a different format of a table in Korean (p75) quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yŏn'guso, *Han'guk Chonggyo Yŏn'gam*, 149.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> For abridged stories on expanding of figures for Catholics, see Han'guk Kyohoesa Yŏn'guso [Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History]. *P'yŏngyang Kyogusa*, 129-133. There were no figures before American missionaries in this book.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to examine the reality of the Catholic community in P'yŏngan Province from 1895 to 1936. This region is most well known for the powerful success of Protestantism. They had the largest number of Protestant institutions, such as Protestant churches and believers. In addition, they also had higher educational institutions and hospitals. On the other hand, the Catholic Community started mission work in P'yŏngan Province quite late considering their mission history. Furthermore, they did not have enough missionaries to catch up with the Protestants. As a result, because of this strongest Protestant community in Korea, the French missionaries gave up this region and invited American missionaries. I think that this change, from French missionaries to American missionaries, could mean a so-called a generational shift in the Catholic missionary groups. This also could indicate a change of missionary styles in this region. American missionaries were very young and had brought their own money. Due to the formidable Protestant power, they could not but help recognize their limitations. This thesis finds that dispositions of American missionary groups were different from those of French missionary groups. Firstly, the American missionary group wanted to educate their seminary students themselves even though they had the option of sending their students to French missionaries. Secondly, they tried to communicate with Catholic believers using easy words, while French missionaries used far more sophisticated words. American missionary groups criticized that kind of disposition. For this reason, I think that the Protestants in this region gave rise to a different style of the Catholic Church in Pyongan. When it comes to facing the powerful Protestants, they acted like one organism. Sometimes, they displayed their power by holding huge ceremonies. On top of that, they cooperated with each other by fighting against Protestants. Their similar backgrounds made it possible for them to work together.



This study reveals the reality of the Catholic Church at this time, presenting primary sources. In addition, this will facilitate the understanding of Catholicism in Korea. Furthermore, my study can contribute to complete the topographic map of the northern religious history in Korea. Until now, Catholicism in P'yŏngan Province has not been well explored even though this research is required to comprehend the northern religious culture. This research, by extension, makes a contribution to research both on the phenomenon of the social conflicts surrounding limited resources (land) in the chapter on French missionaries and the combination of different cultures in the chapter on American missionaries.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Lee, Chöngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho, ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady Of Perpetual Help*. Seoul: Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, 1994.
- MEP. *Compte Rendu [Seoul Kyogu Yönbö( I ) (1878~1903)]* (The Annual Reports of the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul), Han'guk Kyohoesa Yön'guso[Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History] Trans. and ed., Seoul: Myöngdong Catholic Church, 1984.
- . *Compte Rendu [Seoul Kyogu Yönbö( II ) (1904~1938)]* (The Annual Reports of the Vicariate Apostolic of Seoul), Han'guk Kyohoesa Yön'guso[Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History] Trans. and ed., Seoul: Myöngdong Catholic Church, 1987.
- Mütel, Gustave Charles Marie. *Mwit'el Ch'ugyo Ilgi* [The Diary of Bishop Mütel]. Vols. 1-8. Han'guk Kyohoesa Yön'guso, Trans. and ed. Seoul: Han'guk Kyohoesa Yön'guso [Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History], 1986~ 1998.

### Secondary Sources

#### [Books]

- Ahn, Katherine H. Lee. *Chosön üi Ödum ül Palk'in Yösöngdül: Ünja üi Nara e Ch'öüm P'asongdoen Sön'gyosa Iyagi* [Awakening the Hermit Kingdom]. Kim Söng-ung Trans. Seoul: P'oiema, 2012.
- Baker, Don and Rausch Franklin, *The Silk Letter of Hwang Sayöng: Catholics and Anti-Catholicism in Chosön dynasty Korea*, 290. This monograph will be published soon.
- Cho, Kwang, *Han'guk künhyöndae Ch'önjugyosa yön'gu*. Seoul: Kyöngin Munhwasa.
- Chang, Dong-Ha, "Ilche Kangjömgü Ch'ugyotül ü Kyöljöng Sahang kwa Sönkyo Ch'öngchaek," *Han'guk künhyöndae 100-yön sok üi Kat'ollik Kyohoe*. Seoul: Kunhyöndae Han guk Kat ollick Yön'gudan, 2005.
- Clark, Donald N. *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience 1900-1950*. Norwalk, CT: East Bridge, 2003.
- Dolan, Jay P. *The American Catholic Experience: a History from Colonial Times to the Present*, New York: Double day & Company, inc., 1985.
- Elizabeth Underwood ,*Challenged Identities :North American Missionaries In Korea, 1884-1934* Seoul :Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch, 2003

Government General of Chōsen, *Chōsen no shūkyō oyobi kyōshiYōran*, (Keijō: Gakumukyoku Shakai Kyoikuka)

Han'guk Kyohoesa Yōn'guso [Research Institute for Korean Catholic Church History].  
*P'yōngyang Kyogusa* [P'yōngyang Diocese History]. Seoul: P'undo Book, 1981.

---. Koran Catholic History 4, Seoul: Han'guk Kyohoesa Yōn'guso, 2011.

Kim Chang-Seok Thaddeus, *Lives of 103 Martyr Saints of Korea*. Seoul: Catholic Publishing House, 1983. 130.

Kim, Sun-Joo. *Marginality and Subversion in Korea Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyōngnae Rebellion of 1812*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

---. ed., *The Northern Region of Korea : History, Identity & Culture* . Seattle: Center for Korea Studies, University of Washington, 2010.

Lane, Raymond A. *Ambassador in chains: The Life of Bishop Patrick James Byrne (1888-1950) Apostolic Delegate to the Republic of Korea*. New York. N.Y.: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1955.

Moon, Yu-mi, "From Periphery to a transnational Frontier: Popular movements in the northwestern provinces, 1896-1904," *The northern region of Korea*. Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2010)

Shin, Kwang-Ch'ul, *Ch'ōnjukyō wa Kaesinyō: Mannam Kwa Kaldūng ūi Yōksa* [Catholicism and Protestantism: History of Meeting and Conflicts], (Seoul: Han'guk Kiddokkyo Yōksa Yōn'guso) 1998. 65.

Walsh, James Anthony. *Observations in the Orient: the Account of a Journey to Catholic Mission Fields in Japan, Korean, Manchuria, China, Indo- China, and the Philippines*. Ossining, N.Y.: Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, c1919.

Wiest, Jean-Paul. *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, c1988.

Yun, Sōn-Ja, "Kaehwagi Ilcheha Chōnju Kyohoesa Yōn'gu," Han'guk Ch'ōnju kyohoesa ūi sōngch'al : Ch'oe Sōg-u Sinbu sup'um 50-chunyōn kinyōm nonch'ong. che 2-chip Seoul: Han'guk Kyohoesa Yōnguso, 2000.

## [Articles]

Cho, Hyōn-Bōm. "Pari Oebang Ch'ōngyohoe wa Chosōn T'aemokku ūi P'unhal [the MEP and the Division of the Vicariate Apostolic of Korea]," *Kyohoesa Yōn'gu* 12 (2007):15-60.

Cho Woo-Hyōn, et al. "Urinara Kūndae P'yōngwōn ūi T'ūngjang: Sipkusaegimal Isipsaegich'o ūi P'yōngwōndūl [The Emergence of Korean Modern Hospitals: Hospitals in the Late

Period of Chosŏn Dynasty],” *Ŭisahak* [Korean Medical History], 11(1) (2002):20-48. 33.  
Ki, Chang-Dŏk. “Chosŏn Sidaemal ũi Kŭpmansŏng Chŏnyŏmbyŏngkwa Ŭiryok’igwan [Acute and Chronic Infectious Disease and Medical Institutions in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty].” *Ŭisahak* [Korean Medical History], 4(1) (1995):1-10.

Kim, Chŏng-Hwan. “Hanmal Ilch’e Kanjŏmgi Han’guk Ch’ŏnju Kyohoe ũi Ch’epyŏn: Mwit’el Ch’ugyo ũi Ch’aeimki rŭl Ch’ungsim ũro [The Reorganization of the Korean Catholic church During the Late Chosŏn Dynasty and Japanese Occupation—with a Focus on the Activities of Bishop Mŭtel].” *History and Discourse* [Yŏksa wa T’amnon] 57(2010):411-447.

---. “Hanmal Ilch’e Kangjŏmki Mwit’el Ch’ugyo ũi Kyoyuk Hwalt’ong [Bishop Mŭtel’s Educational Activities at the End of the Chosŏn Dynasty and During the Colonial Period in Korea].” *Han’guk Kŭnhyŏndaesa Yŏn’gu* [Korean Modern and Contemporary History] 56 (2011): 7-41.

---. “Mwit’el Ch’ugyo Ch’aeimki ũi Kyose P’yŏnhwa [The Change of the Size of the Korean Catholic Population during Bishop Mŭtel’s Term],” *Kyohoesa Yŏn’gu* [The Journal of Korean Catholic History] 37 (2011):5-39.

Kim, Sŏng-Ŭn. “Lojettahol ũi Chosŏn Yŏŭisa Yŏn’gu [Rosseta Hall’s Contribution to Korean Female Doctor’s education].” *Han’guk K’idokkyo wa Yŏksa* [Korean Christianity and History] 27 (2007):5-43.

Kim, Su-Tae. “Maerinol Oebang Ch’ŏn’gyohoe ũi Ch’inch’ulgwa Hwalt’ong: Mokise Sinbu rŭl Ch’ungsim ũro [Maryknoll Foreign Missionaries’ Advance into Korea and Their Missionary Activities-Concentrating on Father John Morris].” *Pusan Kyohoesabo* [The Pusan Bulletin of Catholic History] 22 (1999):22-38.

---. “1930nyŏndae P’yŏngyang Kyogu ũi K’atollik Undong [Catholic Movement of the P’yŏngyang Diocese in 1930].” *Kyohoesa Yŏn’gu* [The Journal of Korean Catholic History] 19 (2002):207-229.

---. “1930nyŏndae P’yŏngyang Kyogu ũi Sinsa Ch’ambae Kŏbu Undong [The Movement of Rejecting Shinto Worship in the P’yŏngyang Diocese in the 1930s].” *Han’guk Minjok Undongsa Yŏn’gu* [Historical Studies of the Korean Nationalist Movement] 38 (2004):195-226.

---. “1930nyŏndae Maerinol Oebang Ch’ŏn’gyohoe ũi Sŏn’gyo Hwalt’ong [Catholic Mission Activities of Maryknoll Foreign Missionaries in the 1930s],” *Kyohoesa Yŏn’gu* [The journal of Korean Catholic History] 29 (2007):97-132.

Lee, Ch’in-Ku, “P’yŏngando Ch’iyŏk ũi Kyohoesa [Church History in P’yŏngan Province],” *Han’guk Kidokkyŏ Yŏksa Yŏn’guko Sosik* [Bulletin of Research Institute for Korean Christianity History],”16(1994):21-29.

No, Myōng-Sin. “Han’gukaesō ūi Pūrangŭ Yōja Sudohoe ūi Hwalt’ong [Missionary Work of French Sisters in Korea].” *Kyohoesa Yōn’gu* 5 (1987):209-231.

Ryu, Hong-Nyōl. *Han’guk ūi Chōnjugyo* [Catholicism in Korea]. Seoul:King Sejong Memorial Society: 2000.

### [Thesis and Dissertation]

Ch’ōn, Sōk-Won. *Kaesingyo Ūiryō Sōn’gyo wa Han’gukin ūi Ch’ilbyōng e Kwanhan Yōng’u:1884-1910nyōn ūi Kōpsōng Ch’ōnyōmbyōng ūl Ch’ungsim ūro* [Protestant Medical Mission and the Transformation of the Concept of Disease in Korea: Focusing on the Epidemics in the Last Period of the Chosōn Dynasty and the Early Japanese Colonial Period (1884~1910)]. M.A. Diss., Yonsei University, 2011: 158.

Rauch, Franklin. *The ambiguity of violence : ideology, state, and religion in the late Chosōn dynasty*. Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 2010:350.

Kim, Hak-Hyōn. *Han’guk Oebang Sōn’gyohoe ūi Sōn’gyo Yōngsōng e Kwanhan Yōn’gu* [The Study for Missionary Spirituality of Korean Missionary Society], M.A. Diss., Suwōn Catholic University, 2010:107

Kim Su-Hwan, *Han’guk Ch’ōngjukyo wa Kaesinkyo ūi Kaltūng kwa Sanho Insik : Kaehangbutō (1876) Ilche Kangchumki(1910) Ichōn Sikirūl Chungsimūro*, M.A. Thesis, Pusan Catholic University: 2012: 155.

### Internet Sites

#### [Katt’ollik T’aesajōn (Catholic Dictionary)]

<http://info.catholic.or.kr/dictionary/search.asp?smethod=range&group=01&gubun=04&rnumber=14>

(Accessed in February 27 2014)

#### [T’onggyech’ōng (Korean Statistical Information Service [KOSIS])]

[http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList\\_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT\\_CHOSUN\\_TITLE&parmTabId=M\\_01\\_03\\_01](http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT_CHOSUN_TITLE&parmTabId=M_01_03_01)

(Accessed in February 27 2014)

#### [P’ukhan Ch’iyōk Ch’ōngbo Naet (North Korean Human Geography)]

<http://www.cybernk.net/infoText/InfoAdminstDetail.aspx?ac=A0117018&cp=0&mc=AD04&order=0&tid=AD0400048208&direct=1>

(Accessed in February 27 2014)

APPENDIX

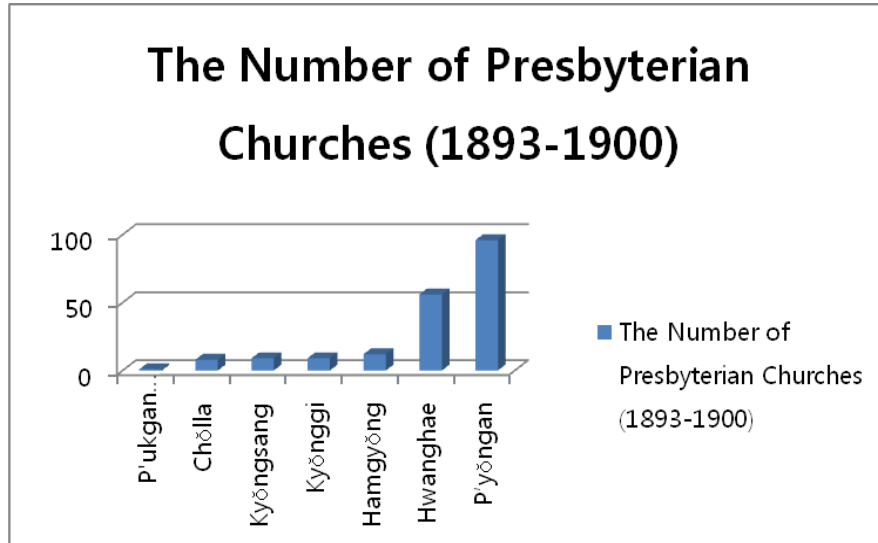


Figure 3. The Number of Presbyterian Churches<sup>219</sup>

Province	P'ukgan Province	Cholla	Kyongsang	Kyonggi	Hamgyong	Hwanghae	P'yongan
The Number of Presbyterians Churches (1893-1900)	1	8	9	9	12	56	<b>96</b>

Table 8. The Number of Presbyterian Churches<sup>220</sup>

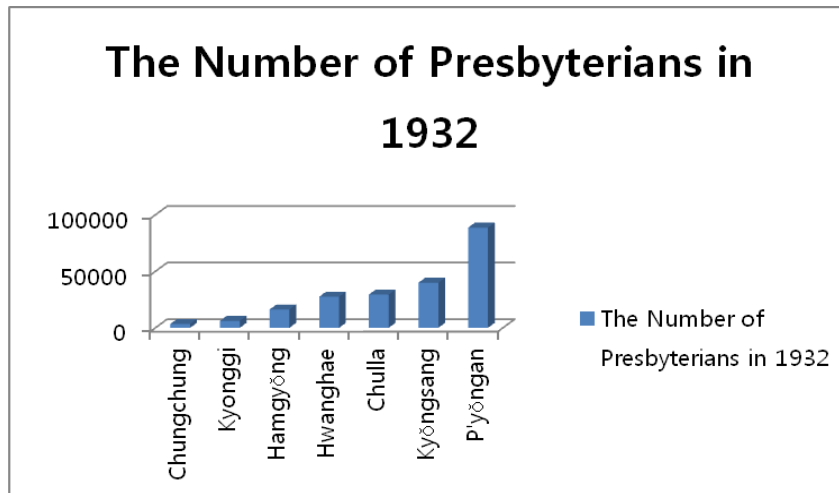


Figure 4. The Number of Presbyterians in 1932<sup>221</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Source: Chun Taek-Pu, Han'guk Kiddokkyo Palchönsa (Seoul: Taehan Kiddokkyo Chulpansa, 1987), 129 quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yön'guso, Han'guk Chonggyo Yön'gam [Yearbook of Korean Religions], 122.

<sup>220</sup> Source: Chun Taek-Pu, Han'guk Kiddokkyo Palchönsa (Seoul: Taehan Kiddokkyo Chulpansa, 1987), 129 quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yön'guso, Han'guk Chonggyo Yön'gam [Yearbook of Korean Religions], 122.

Provinces	Chungchung	Kyonggi	Hamgyöng	Hwanghae	Chulla	Kyöngsang	P'yöngan
The Number of Presbyterians in 1932	3447	6129	16233	27539	29442	39928	88724

**Table 5. The Number of Presbyterians in 1932<sup>222</sup>**

---

<sup>221</sup> Source: Han'guk Kidokkyo Kyohoesa Yönguhoe, *Han'guk Kiddokkyo üi Yöksa* II, (Seoul: Kiddokkyomusa, 1900) 162-163 quoted from Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yönguso, *Han'guk Chonggyo Yöngam* (Seoul: Han'guk Chonggyo Sahoe Yönguso, 1993), 138.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

**Table 9. Missionaries' Personal Background (1)**

Information Taken from book on Fr. John E. Morris M.M., and from an internet website on the Maryknoll order

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth~Death Year</b>	<b>Place of Birth</b>
<b>1923</b>	Fr. Patrick J. Byrne	1888.10.26-1950.11.25	Washington, D.C.
	Fr. Patrick H. Cleary	1896.8.16-1970.9.6.	Ithaca, N.Y.
	Fr. John E. Morris	1889.1.1-1987.7.10	Fall River Massachusetts
	Br. Isidore Bafrau	No information	No information
<b>1924</b>	Fr. Joseph H. Cassidy	1893.8.30.-1961.6.9	Millis, Massachusetts
	Fr. Patrick J. Duffy	1899.12.2-1980.4.13	Longford, Ireland
<b>1925</b>	Fr. William R. Booth	1898.11.30-1973.10.15	Brooklyn, N.Y.
	Fr. Donald Chisholm	1892.8.19-1960.7.16	Cambridge, Massachusetts.
	Fr. Hugh L. Craig	1899.8.11-1981.1.9	MMinneapolis, Minnesota
	Fr. Joseph A. Hunt	1893.10.16-1981.4.15	Massachusetts.
	Fr. Leo J. Peloquin	1892.3.14-1942.6.10	Spencer, Massachusetts.
	Fr. Roy D. Petipren	1893.7.30-1977.12.6	Anchorville, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit
	Fr. Herbert Pospichal	1887.9.6-1968.3.27	No information
<b>1926</b>	Br. Joseph L. Donahue	1895.1.16~1955.11.13	Jersey City, N.J.
	Fr. Leo W. Sweeney	1902.8.11.-1944.8.26	New Britain, Connecticut
<b>1927</b>	Fr. John F. Swift	1883.10.28-1976.3.1	Baltimore, Maryland
	Fr. Edward J. Halloran	1898.9.28-1968.1.12	Buffalo, N.Y.
	Fr. Steven V. Hannon	1901.8.31-1965.11.3	New York City
	Fr. Thomas J. Plunkett	1900.1.7-1972.8.31	Fall River, Massachusetts
	Fr. Thomas G Ray	1900.8.29-1889.10.28	Peabody, Massachusetts
<b>1928</b>	Br. William Neary	1902.11.11-1993.11.5	North Adams, Massachusetts,
	Fr. Edward R. Barron	1900.11.30-1973.10.15	River Rouge, Michigan
<b>1930</b>	Fr. Joseph W. Connors	1895.8.14-1981.9.1	Pittsfield, Massachusetts
<b>1931</b>	Fr. Walter J. Coleman	1896.7.19-1948.11.10	Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin.
<b>1931</b>	Fr. George M. Carroll	1906.4.8-1981.9.16	New York City, N.Y.
	Fr. Leo J. Steinbach	1905.6.14-1994.10.31	Chariton, Iowa
<b>1932</b>	Fr. Reginald Markham	1905.4.18-1948.7.14	Seward, Illinois
	Fr. James V. Pardy	1898.3.9-1883.2.16	Brooklyn, N.Y.
<b>1933</b>	Fr. Joseph P. Gibbons	1907.9.21-1971.6.20	New York City, N.Y.
	Fr. James H. Ray	1907.1.22-1978.12.20	Denver, Colorado
	Fr. Michael W. Walsh	1906.10.21-1987.9.20	South Boston
<b>1934</b>	Br. Augustine McKernan	1896.11.9-1937.4.28	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
	Fr. Wilbur J. Borer	1897.11.09-1982.5.9	Brooklyn, N.Y.
	Fr. Alfred W. Harding	1909.1.17-1995.7.27	Brooklyn, New York
	Fr. Cyril J. Kramar	1899.9.24-1968.3.30	Girard, Ohio
	Br. Raymond Nihill	1905.8.5-1992..11.10	Boston, Massachusetts



<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birth~Death Year</b>	<b>Place of Birth</b>
<b>1935</b>	Fr. Joseph H. Cappel	1908.11.16-?	Covington, Kentucky
	Fr. Thomas J Carey	1910.3.25-1945.3.1	Newark, N.J.
	Fr. Gervis J.Coxen	1906.6.19-2003.1.9	Bronx, New York
<b>1937</b>	Fr. Felix White	1909.11.30-1966.4.22	Geneva, New York
<b>1938</b>	Fr. Arthur F.Allie	1897.8.18-1955.8.22	Two Rivers, Wisconsin
	Fr. P. Martin Dunne	No information	No information
	Fr. J. Joseph Daly	1907.8.7-1980.7.4	Worcester, Massachusetts
<b>1939</b>	Fr. Daniel F. Lenahan	1911.7.23-1977.6.1.	Brooklyn, New York
	Fr. Leon Harter	1909.1.26-2002.8.21	West Pittston, Pennsylvania

**Table 10. Missionaries' Personal Background (2)**

Information Taken from book on Fr. John E. Morris M.M., and from an internet website on the Maryknoll order.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Educational and personal background</b>
<b>1923</b>	Fr. Patrick J. Byrne	-Educated by the Sulpician Fathers at St. Charles College -St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore
	Fr. Patrick H. Cleary	-Immaculate Conception Parochial School -Ithaca High School -Preparatory Seminary St. -Bernard's Seminary
	Fr. John E. Morris	-Public schools -St. Dunstan's College, Prince Edward Island, Canada. -St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore
	Br. Isidore Bafrau	-No information
<b>1924</b>	Fr. Joseph H. Cassidy	-Holy Cross College -St. John's Seminary in Brighton
	Fr. Patrick J. Duffy	-Born of Irish immigrants -St. Mary's Academy -St. John's Seminary in Waterford [2 years]
	Fr. Joseph A. Sweeney	-Grammar school at St. Mary's Parish -St. Thomas Preparatory Seminary at Hartford -St. Mary's in Baltimore [1 year]
<b>1925</b>	Fr. William R. Booth	-St. Rose of Lima Parish School -Brooklyn Preparatory school -Holy Cross College -Fordham Law School
	Fr. Donald V. Chisholm	-St. Mary's parish school -Boston College High School -Georgetown University -Taught at Regis High School in New York City and at Graymoor
	Fr. Hugh L. Craig	- St. Thomas Military Academy -St. Thomas College
	Fr. Joseph A. Hunt	-Boston College Preparatory school -Family financial problems -His father was a labor worker
	Fr. Leo J. Peloquin	-O'Gara public school -St. Mary's parochial school in Spencer -Worked for six years as a labor in a shoe factory
	Fr. Roy D. Petipren	-His family ran a grocery store
	Fr. Herbert M. Pospichal	-No information
	Br. Joseph L. Donahue	-No information
<b>1926</b>	Fr. Leo W. Sweeney	-St. Mary's Parish School
	Fr. John F. Swift	-St. Charles College -St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore -Worked for five years for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Educational and personal background</b>
<b>1927</b>	Fr. Edward J. Halloran	-Canisius High School [Catholics school] -Served in the U. S. Army
	Fr. Steven V. Hannon	-Public schools -Wyoming Seminary Preparatory College in Kingston, Pennsylvania. -Villanova College [Catholic college] -St. Thomas College, Scranton, Pennsylvania
	Fr. Thomas J. Plunkett	-Sacred Heart and St. Patrick Schools
	Fr. Thomas G Ray	-Public grammar school -St. John's Preparatory School in Danvers -Boston College [Catholic School] -St. John's Seminary in Brighton
	Br. William Neary	-Berkshire Business College in Pittsfield, Massachusetts -Worked at General Electric Company accounting office. -Worked as a carpenter for two years.
<b>1928</b>	Fr. Edward R. Barron	-Assumption College in Ontario, Canada [Catholic school]
	Fr. Joseph W. Connors	-Born of Irish immigrants -Holy Cross University
<b>1930</b>	Fr. Walter J. Coleman	-St. Thomas College -St. Paul Seminary
<b>1931</b>	Fr. George M. Carroll	-His mother was an Irish
	Fr. Leo J. Steinbach	-Local public schools -Des Moines Catholic Academy -Columbia College (later known as Loras College) in Dubuque, Iowa -St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Maryland
<b>1932</b>	Fr. Reginald M. Markham	-Columbia (now Loras) College in Dubuque, Iowa -St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore
	Fr. James V. Pardy	-Public grammar school -Studied at a night school while working -Studied for a law degree. -The New York Preparatory School
<b>1933</b>	Fr. Joseph P. Gibbons	-Graduating from Xavier High School in 1925
	Fr. James H. Ray	-Corpus Christi school -All Hallows High School - Holy Cross College
	Fr. Michael W. Walsh	-St. Peter & Paul Parochial School -South Boston High in 1923

Year	Name	Educational and personal background
1934	Br. Augustine McKernan	-A business school. -Joined the armed forces during WWI.
	Fr. Wilbur J. Borer	-Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn -Taught at schools, -Worked in a printing-related firm -Worked at National Airlines. -Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.
	Fr. Alfred W. Harding	- Holy Cross Grade School -Cathedral Preparatory School -The Sulpicians at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Maryland
	Fr. Cyril J. Kramar	-Hall's Business College -Worked for five years as a clerk for the Carnegie Steel Company. -American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York City
	Br. Raymond Nihill	-Business Management at Boston University -Gained a Registered Nurse's degree at St. Vincent's Hospital School of Nursing in New York City
1935	Fr. Joseph H. Cappel	-St. Matthew's grade school in Norwood -St. Mary's high school in Cincinnati -The University of Dayton in Ohio -St. Gregory's Seminary.
	Fr. Thomas J. Carey	-Seton Hall College
	Fr. Gervis J. Coxen	-St. Thomas Aquinas grammar school in the Bronx, NY -Fordham Law School. -Regis High School
1937	Fr. Felix White	-St. Stephen's Grammar School - Francis de Sales High School -Georgetown University
1938	Fr. Arthur F. Allie	-The University of Wisconsin -The Institute of Musical Art in New York City - Attended St. Mary's
	Fr. P. Martin Dunne	-No information
	Fr. J. Joseph Daly	-Born of Irish immigrants -The Academy of the Sacred Heart in Worcester. -College at Holy Cross in 1924. -Boston College
1939	Fr. Daniel F. Lenahan	-Grammar school
	Fr. Leon Harter	-Public schools -Wyoming Seminary Preparatory College in Kingston, Pennsylvania. -Villanova College -St. Thomas College, Scranton, Pennsylvania

Source of table (9) and (10): Lee, Chôngsoon and Lee, Tae Ho ed. *Father John E. Morris, M.M.: The Second Prefect Apostolic of Peng Yang, Korea & Founder of the Sisters of Our Lady of Perpetual Help*. 155-156 ; <http://maryknollmissionarchives.org>