

Images of the Cross in Early Modern Korea: The Geomantic Prophecy of the *Chōnggam-nok* and the Protestant Flag of the Red Cross

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Abstract

The symbolic power of the cross is one of the reasons Protestant Christianity attracted so many adherents in its first few decades in Korea. The simple Protestant cross had an advantage over the Catholic crucifix, which includes a three-dimensional image of the crucified Jesus. The unadorned cross of Protestant Christianity reminded many Koreans of the Sino-Korean character for 10 (+), which some read as a reference to the ten auspicious places mentioned in the popular prophetic text *Chōnggam-nok*. The cross also was used on flagpoles flying the flag of St. George's cross, which Koreans interpreted as a sign of both the spiritual power of the Christian message and of the protective power of the extraterritoriality of Western missionaries. In addition, the use of the cross as a symbol of the Japanese Red Cross during the Russo-Japanese War strengthened its association with modern civilization. When Japanese military forces captured members of the Righteous Armies and tied them to crosses before executing them, the cross also gained a nationalistic aura. These multiple associations for the cross made it a powerful symbol drawing Koreans into the Protestant churches.

Keywords: cross, glyphomancy, *Chōnggam-nok*, flagpoles, Red Cross, Righteous Army

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Introduction

On February 9, 1908 *Hwangsŏng Sinmun* [Imperial Capital Gazette] reported that “After the wars [the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05] numerous people abandoned their lands and houses, left their ancestors’ tombs, and endured endless sufferings in order to find the so-called *sipsŭng jiji* 十勝之地 (ten auspicious places) only to finally die in the forests of unfamiliar mountains” (HS 1908). What was the *sipsŭng jiji* of the *Chŏnggam-nok* [鄭鑑錄 The Record of Chŏng Kam]? Why were people wandering in deep mountains to find the imagined holy land in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Korea? Another question might be this: was there any connection between the explosive growth of Protestantism in 1894-1905 and the prophecy of the *Chŏnggam-nok*?

This paper aims to connect the geomantic prophecy of the *Chŏnggam-nok*, especially its most sought-after enigmatic phrases—“*sipsŭng jiji* 十勝之地” and “*kunggung ūrŭl* 弓弓乙乙” with the Protestant churches’ use of the image of the cross and the flag of the St. George’s Cross (the red cross on white background) in the apocalyptic context. It focuses on the Korean responses to the images of the crucifixion of Jesus and their rhetoric on the symbolism of the cross, for Jesus’ cross was one of the most central and powerful symbols of Christianity as well as the most scandalous image for the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean people. Interestingly enough, the cross, especially the empty cross of Protestantism, has crucially acquired a new meaning in East Asia because its shape resembles the Chinese character for the number ten (十). As in the Jewish tradition, East Asian peoples have developed symbolic meanings for numbers. The paper traces not only the Koreans’ responses to the crucifixion iconography, but their rhetoric on the cross in their rejection of Christianity or acceptance of the Christian tenets. It pays special attention to the glyphomancy (*chaizi* 拆字 or *cezi* 測字 in China; *p’acha* 破字 in Korea; the dissection of written Chinese characters) method in the interpretation of the geomantic prophecy, and argues that socio-political factors were closely connected to the popular religious factors in the conversion of Koreans to Protestant Christianity from 1894 to 1910, for the glyphomancy factor in Korea was related to the geomantic prophecy of dynastic change, and Korea was suffering a catastrophic crisis at that time.¹

It also emphasizes the importance of the role of religious symbols and symbolic languages in ordinary people's lives in the precarious and apocalyptic period of transition from premodern Chosŏn to early modern and colonial Korea. In the rapidly changing landscape of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Korea, the most prominent religious and pseudo-religious symbol was the cross (*sipchaga* 십자가)--the flag of the Red Cross of the Protestant churches and the Red Cross of the Japanese military hospitals. This paper deciphers the social, political, cultural, and religious meanings of these symbols in the context of rampant pestilences, severe famines, international wars, and appalling death tolls.

Prophecy of the Chŏnggam-nok in early modern Korea

The “ten auspicious places” (*sipsŭng jiji* 十勝之地) were the hidden land of salvation for the refugees, mentioned in the geomantic prophecy of the *Chŏnggam-nok*, a collection of more than thirty prophetic tracts that were compiled in the eighteenth century. The book, written in symbolic Chinese language, anticipated the collapse of the Chosŏn kingdom (the Yi dynasty, 1392-1910) after the great tribulations of famines, wars, and epidemics, to be followed by a new Chŏng dynasty. Another place of refuge mentioned in the book was “kunggung ūrŭl 弓弓乙乙,” whose meaning or location was as mysterious as the *sipsŭng jiji*.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the *Chŏnggam-nok* was mentioned officially for the first time in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* [The Annals of the Chosŏn Kingdom]. In 1748 several fallen yangban in Ch'ŏngju, Ch'ungch'ŏng province were arrested for posting a subversive and dangerous document on the wall, in which they mentioned the *kunggung* as the refuge place during the coming war. King Yŏngjo questioned the leader Yi Chisŏ himself because it was the case of treason related to the issue of national security (*Yŏngjo sillok* 1748). The *Chŏnggam-nok* was listed on the index of books banned by the government. In 1782, the sixth year in the reign of King Chŏngjo, when another plot of treason was discovered, the conspirators confessed that they used a hidden copy of the *Chŏnggam-nok* (*Chŏngjo sillok* 1782).

The *Chōnggam-nok* was widely circulated in Northern Korea in the nineteenth century, a century rife with revolts against corrupt local governments. Many participants of the Hong Kyōngnae Uprising in Northern Korea in 1811-12 believed in dynastic change based on the *Chōnggam-nok*. Their conviction in the millennial prophecy, combined with socioeconomic forces, was enough to incite uprisings against the central government. Some of its believers joined the Roman Catholic Church, for Christian messianic eschatology was similar to the millennial vision of the *Chōnggam-nok*.² They expected that a new Western religion would reveal more about the end time. In their propagation of Roman Catholicism, therefore, these followers used the prophecy in the *Chōnggam-nok*—the comings of strange foreign ships, people in blue clothes 青衣 (foreigners), and the *Chinin* 真人 (Messiah), and a new dynasty of peace and prosperity under King Chōng (Cho 1977; Cho 1988, 161-162; Suzuki 2002; Kim 2003).

Tonghak used the *kunggung ūrŭl* and the *sipsŭng jiji* by presenting their own creative interpretations. Ch'oe Cheu (1824-1864), who had been interested in geomantic prophecies and founded Tonghak in 1860, identified the *kunggung ūrŭl* with his own thirteen-letter incantation. He made a spiritual talisman of the *kunggung ūrŭl* for the purpose of healing diseases, and composed songs of “sipsŭng-ga” and “kung'ŭl-ga.” When the government court condemned Ch'oe Sihyōng (1827-1898), the second patriarch of Tonghak and the leader of its northern branch, to be executed in 1898, one of the charges against him was that he led people astray with the talisman of the *kunggung ūrŭl* (*Kojong sillok* 1898). Despite his death, the followers of Tonghak grew in the 1910s and 1920s, especially in Northern Korea, and its membership reached around one million.

On the other hand, Pak Chungbin (1891-1943), who founded Wŏn Buddhism in 1916, interpreted the “kunggung ūrŭl” as the “ilwŏn 一圓” (the One Circle) and identified it with the *taiji* (太極 Supreme Ultimate) of Confucianism. Pak emphasized that the “弓弓乙乙” could be formulated in one's heart, and was not to be found in a certain place (Paek 2005). Some of the believers of Tonghak (Ch'ōndogyo) and the *Chōnggam-nok* in Northwestern Korea began to migrate to the Kyeryong Mountain, near Kongju and Taejŏn of Southern Ch'ungch'ōng province, in the late 1910s. According to *Chosŏn Ilbo* in 1921, however, groups of 20 or 30 people, believing in the prophecy of the *Chōnggam-nok*, moved to

the town of Sindo in the Kyeryong Mountains, and its population increased to around 2,500. Many of them came from Hwanghae province (CS 1921). In 1924 there were 1,515 houses and 6,949 people in town of Sindo of the Kyeryong Mountain. Only 70 houses (350 people) migrated before 1918 and most came after the March First Movement (Murayama 1990, 571). In 1931 it was reported that about 80 percent of the population of the town Sindo were from the Northwestern provinces (CS 1931).

Some new religions maintained the traditional interpretation that the *sipsŭng jiji* was geographically locatable and the *kunggung ũrŭl* was a way to salvation, and abused the prophecy. Paekbaek-kyo, a controversial religion in the 1930s, propagated that their headquarters were located in the “sipsŭng jiji” and sold the paper amulets that had the letters of “kunggung ũrŭl” and the seal of the church for 50 or 100 yen per copy, like an indulgence, for the salvation in the end times (MS 1937).

In sum, belief in the prophecy of the *Chōnggam-nok* had been so strong amongst some of the people in Hwanghae and P’yōng’an provinces that they revolted against the government or migrated en masse to the town of Sindo in the 1920s with the dream of building a millennial kingdom. This was the fertile spiritual soil in which the encounters between Christian millennialism and the millennial prophecy of the *Chōnggam-nok* in Northwestern part of Korea grew at the turn of the twentieth century. People dreamed that the *sipsŭng jiji* would be the land of hope and refuge to survive the unprecedented national crisis.

The crisis was closing in on many fronts. The Tonghak Revolution in 1894 triggered the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95. The Boxer movement in China induced some conservatives to plot to kill all Christians in Korea in 1900. The great famine of 1900-02, which hit the middle part of the Korean peninsula and reduced the entire rice crop yield of 1902 to one-tenth of the normal annual yield (Yun 1975, 369), resulted in the suffering of many, the appearance of roving bandits, and Hawaiian immigration fever in 1903. The Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, meaning doom for the Chosŏn kingdom. Cholera epidemics hit Korea in 1886, 1890, 1895, 1902, 1903 and 1905; and smallpox plagues from 1899 to 1903. Thousands of Koreans were killed on the battlefields, and tens of thousands were killed by cholera or smallpox.³ Many people deserted their houses and subsisted on slash-and-burn farming to avoid taxes.⁴ Some

wandered deep into the mountains to search for the holy land of salvation, the *sipsŭng jiji*.

The “four horsemen,” described in the Book of Revelation 6:1-8, the four beasts that ride on white, red, black, and pale-green horses—symbolizing pestilence, war, famine, and death—seemingly had shown themselves in Korea.⁵ During the great famine in Northern Korea (1900-02), “[men], women and children were on the hillsides from early dawn, digging roots and plucking leaves to cook in order to keep body and soul together” (Macrae 1993, 105).⁶ On November 22, 1902, Yun Ch’iho wrote in his diary that “every Korean seems to think these are the last years of the present dynasty” (Yun 1975, 365). Actually Yun himself was a doomsayer who deplored “the moral degradation of the Boss [Emperor Kojong] and his slaves [in the government],” and criticized Confucian despotism and materialism, for leaving Korean officials skillful only at squeezing and swindling the citizenry (Ibid. 382-383). In 1904, the crushing hooves of the Rider on the Red Horse (the Japanese Army) passed through Inch’ŏn, Seoul, Songdo, Chinnampo, P’yŏngyang, and Ŭiju. Russian soldiers burned down hundreds of houses in Hamhŭng to punish Koreans for giving false information in the summer of 1904 (Macrae 1993, 112). In this apocalyptic situation, many Protestant churches in the provinces of northern Kyŏnggi, southern Hwanghae, Kangwŏn, and southern Hamgyŏng hoisted the flag of St. George’s Cross, a red cross on a white background, as well as the national flag during the decade of 1895-1904.⁷ Why did Korean Protestant Christians build these expensive high wooden flagpoles in their churchyards? What were the symbolic meanings of the Red Cross flag during the national crisis?

Roman Catholic iconography of the crucifixion

Before discussing Protestant representations of the images of the cross, let us review the Roman Catholic crucifixion iconography and the reactions of the Chinese and the Koreans to this in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From the 1710s to the 1850s, the Korean envoys in Beijing’s encounters with the strange images of Jesus on the cross (*shijijia* 十字架, the ten-letter-frame) generated very negative responses. Jesus, as shown being crucified on the cross,

was perceived as being a rebel criminal and a crazy unfilial son. Unlike the bare cross of Protestantism, the Roman Catholic crucifix had the image of the crucified Jesus on it. Even though the Chosŏn government made it the symbol of anathema and disloyalty, the crucifix became the symbol of perseverance and spiritual identity of Catholic Christians during the severe persecutions from 1791 to 1866.

Korean embassies to Beijing in the 18th & 19th centuries

In the eighteenth century, Chosŏn actively adopted many products of Western civilization such as astronomical knowledge, the calendar system, and clocks, paintings, and organs by way of Qing China. The pipeline of this cultural exchange was the Korean envoy to Beijing. During the 238 years from the beginning of the Qing dynasty in 1644 to the final year of the Tongzhi Emperor in 1874, a total of 870 Korean embassies and envoys visited Beijing, an average 3.6 embassies per year (Jung 2010, 54). These visitors saw Western objects in the four Roman Catholic cathedrals in Beijing. Catholic missionaries welcomed the Korean envoys, and their meetings became an established custom. One of the most shocking things that the Korean envoys encountered was the crucifixion iconography of Jesus. They could not understand why Westerners were worshipping an executed criminal on a cross as a god.

Many Korean travelogues to Beijing, including Hong Taeyong (1731-1783)'s *Tamhŏn yŏngi* (湛軒燕記, 1765) and Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805)'s *Yŏlha ilgi* (熱河日記, 1780), mentioned the missionary portraits of Jesus.⁸ In *Iram yŏn'gi* (一庵燕記 The Records of Travels to Beijing, 1720), Yi Kiji wrote that he viewed the portraits of the life of Jesus in Catholic books. He and other Koreans might have read G. Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* (天主降生出像經解 Incarnation of the Lord of Heaven through Illustrations and Commentary, 1637) and seen its woodblock print of the crucifixion (Figure 1) and similar ones in other books. Aleni emphasized a Christ-centered spirituality and his illustrated books focused on the life of Jesus (Criveller 1997, 433-439).⁹

Chinese Confucian literati perceived the crucifix as a Western tool for sorcery, and Jesus as an unfilial son and a rebel executed lawfully by the Roman authorities (Clark 2008, 9-14). When the court eunuch Ma Tang saw the crucifix

in the bag of Matteo Ricci in 1600, Ma thought that Western missionaries were carrying this charm (the suspended figure of Christ on the cross) to bewitch people with poisonous sorcery (Ricci 1953, 365). On the other hand, the wild-haired and naked body of Jesus gave the impression of a malicious devil. In this cultural milieu, therefore, Ricci did not mention the crucifixion of Jesus in *Tianzhu shiyi* (The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven, 1603) at all.¹⁰

In 1665 Yang Guangxian (1597-1669) published *Budeyi* (不得已 I Cannot Do Otherwise, 1664) to attack Christianity using A. Schall's pictures of the Passion of Jesus (Figures 2).¹¹ Yang asserted that Jesus was put to death "as a convicted criminal" (Criveller 1997, 393). Other Chinese officials condemned Jesus as "a subversive rebel leader" as social harmony was their most important political precept (Clark 2008, 12).



Figure 1. Aleni, 1637



Figure 2. Schall, 1640¹² (Yang 1664, 37a)

Koreans' responses to pictures of crucifixion such as the one in Aleni's book or the more indigenous illustration of A. Schall did not differ from those of the Chinese elite. Hong Taeyong (1731-1783) visited the South and East churches in Beijing in 1765 and quoted Pan Tingyun's opinion on the crucifix in the *Kōnjōngdong p'ildam* (Written Dialogues with Chinese Scholars) section in his collected writings, the *Tamhōnsō*.

When Matteo Ricci entered China at the time of Wanli [Emperor Shenzong, 1573-1620], Roman Catholicism began to be practiced. There is the cross, the

so-called ten-letter-frame. Catholics must worship it, for “the Master of the West [Jesus] was executed on the cross and died.” It is ridiculous. The main doctrines of the Western teaching are filled with words of strange, deceiving, and seducing people. And they say, “as the Master of the West was punished to death on the cross in order to found the church, the believers always should shed tears and grieve, yet never forget his death for a moment.” How serious their delusion is! (Hong 1976)¹³

Looking at the picture of the crucifixion and the men and women crying over the death of Jesus, Hong “felt it was disgusting and could not bear to look at it” (Shin 2006, 24). When other Confucian scholars in Korea read Hong’s travelogue, they shared Hong’s negative reaction to the image of the crucified Jesus and the Christian worship of the executed criminal.

When King Chǒngjo died in 1800, his relatively tolerant policies toward Western civilization were terminated. The papal edicts that supported Franciscans’ fundamentalist missiology ended the Rite Controversy over “ancestor worship” and the terms for God in China by 1742, and their dominant influence on Korean Catholic Christians from 1790 aggravated the political situation in Korea. A new Korean government strictly forbade Roman Catholicism, and persecutions followed. The Korean envoys to Beijing, therefore, could no longer visit Catholic cathedrals, and instead the Russian Diplomatic Office in Beijing became the only place where they could see Western instruments such as alarm clocks, organs, mirrors, and cameras.

Some Korean envoys’ travelogues depicted their encounters with the crucifix in the church inside the Russian Diplomatic Office. Kim Ro-san wrote the following diary on June 25, 1828:

When opening the curtain and entering inside, I saw a dead man hanging on the opposite wall. Generally, on the wall, there is a cross-shaped wood panel on which a man is nailed at the head, legs, and arms. It looks like the punishment of tearing a person tied to a cart limb from limb, and the skin of the man is white. His skin, flesh, nails, and hair look alive and I cannot tell whether the naked body is real or not. Red blood pours out and drips down from the nailed parts of his body from head to foot, as if he were dead just a few moments ago and did not yet get cold; I felt too dizzy to look straight at it (Shin 2008, 20).

Kim thought that the man was executed like a criminal guilty of high treason who was put to death by dismemberment. He wondered why the crucifix was enshrined and the man worshipped as a god. The guide replied that it was Jesus who was punished to death. Kim then understood why Christians in Korea were not afraid of the death sentence and did not renounce their faith at the moment of execution (Shin 2008, 21). The Korean government adopted a policy of the strict prohibition of Roman Catholicism and major persecutions happened in 1801, 1834–35, and 1866. When the police arrested members of the church, they fastened Christians to the cross-shaped wooden frames and flogged and tortured them to force them to renounce faith. Many Christians recited the Christian catechism or sang hymns on the flog frame (*hyōngt'ül*). The police confiscated the crucifixes, smuggled from China and cherished by the underground church.¹⁴ In 1801 the government found that Catholic Christians made the sign of the cross on their breast before eating, going to bed, or having a secret mass. They reflected on the passion of Jesus in their prayers. Thus the cross became a symbol of suffering and faith for Catholic Christians in Korea as early as 1801.

The Roman Catholic icon of the cross, however, had no meaningful encounters with Korean religious culture. The main concern of the isolated underground churches was the survival of faith communities, whose basic liturgies—prayer, worship service, baptism, and the Eucharist—focused on the passion of the crucified Jesus. The symbolic cross helped to sustain their spiritual identity under severe persecution. However, the cross of Jesus had no hermeneutic point of contact with the Korean prophetic tradition. Likewise, no element of ancestor veneration was added to their liturgy, and a Korean name for God, “*Hanānim*,” was regarded as a sky god of superstitious spirit worship.¹⁵ The crucifix became a symbol of the confrontational policies of French missionaries of *la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* and a cult of martyrdom in the nineteenth century.

The Bixie jishi and the Baby Riot in 1888

The Chinese literati’s antagonism toward Roman Catholicism was represented vividly in the *Bixie jishi* (*A Record of Facts to Ward off Heterodoxy*, 1861).¹⁶ The anonymous author attacked Christian teachings and activities and insisted that the pestilence of Christianity be rooted out of China. Its caricature

illustrations were designed to incite the masses. They stirred up the Chinese to burn Christian literature and kill Western missionaries and Chinese Christians. The tract depicted Western missionaries as goat-headed men worshipping Jesus, a “grunting heavenly pig,” seen removing the fetus from a pregnant woman, gouging out the eyes of a dying convert, and behaving indecorously with Chinese women (Cohen 1963, 45-60).¹⁷ The most malicious and sinister woodcut of the pamphlet was the picture captioned “Shooting the Pig and Beheading Goats” (Figure 3). It depicts a stately magistrate ordering two archers to shoot arrows at a crucified pig (Jesus) while another decapitates three goat-headed men with the character *xi* (Westerner) on their chests. This iconographic representation of the crucified pig Jesus on the cross was a culmination of the negative images of the crucifixion of Jesus in China.

This book was circulated in Korea when American missionaries began to work in Seoul, and the book became a literary source of the “baby riot” in 1888.¹⁸ Conservative intellectuals imported Chinese books and tracts and used them in their opposition to Western missionaries and Christianity. Although the *Bixie jishi* was written in Chinese, its graphic illustrations, “filled with the most loathsome obscenity and the grossest misrepresentations and falsehood” (Blodget 1870; Fairbank 1957, 502), to some extent could inflame ordinary Koreans anti-Christian and anti-foreign sentiments.



Figure 3. *Bixie jishi*, 1861

When some children disappeared in Seoul in 1888, (they had actually been kidnapped and sold to Chinese traders as slaves), a rumor was started among the Koreans that they had been sold to Westerners. The rumor began in the orphanage established by Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916) and circulated rapidly throughout all parts of Seoul. Diabolically, it was said that the favorite food of the missionaries was roasted Korean babies, served up whole on tables and eaten; that little children, before being killed, were taken into the cellars underneath foreign houses, their eyes gouged out and their tongues torn out in order to be manufactured into magic drugs with which the missionaries then made photographs, or put into the food they served to Korean guests in order to change their hearts into becoming Christians. These reports were widely believed and created wild excitement. Korean servants deserted their foreign employers. Plans were laid to attack foreign residences, burn down the houses, and kill all the foreigners. Soon several Koreans, however, were arrested and charged with kidnapping children in order to sell them to Chinese merchants. One crazy man claimed that he had sold children to the missionaries. When discharged as a madman by the Korean judge before whom he was tried, he was taken by a mob and stoned to death. The riot was subdued by the immediate actions of the Korean government, which had to respond to the strong appeals of the foreign legations. The ministers intensified their pressure on the Korean government by dispatching their own navy or marine soldiers from Chemulpo to Seoul. After the riot, American missionaries felt that they had passed the period of probation in Korea. Ironically, the “baby riot” provided the missionaries, as American citizens, with an opportunity to become “Western Great Men,” who were under the protection of American military power as well as the Korean American treaty of 1882. The intellectual antagonism of the Korean *yangban* class to Western Christianity developed into a popular riot against Christian missionaries, albeit with less damage and violence than in China. In short, up to the 1880s the iconography of the Christian cross did not have any glyphomantic point of contact with Korean religious culture.

Protestant representations of the cross

New iconographic interpretations of the cross by North American missionaries and Korean Christians facilitated the propagation of Protestant Christianity. First, a new image of the cross was provided by a woodblock print of James S. Gale's Korean translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1895. Secondly, the Tonghak Uprising, the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95, and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05, which created an apocalyptic situation in Korea, opened a fertile religious space for new iconographies and rhetoric of the Christian cross. Korean Christians' glyptomantic interpretation of "sipsŭng jiji" of the *Chōnggam-nok* invited a millennial meaning of the Christian cross during wartime. Thirdly, in connection with the glyptomantic understanding of the cross and the church as the place for millennial salvation, William MacKenzie's flag of St. George's Cross, hoisted at Sorae, Hwanghae province, from December 1894, symbolized the Western missionaries' political power of extraterritoriality. Many churches began to install flagpoles in the churchyards when the great famine hit Hwanghae, Kyōnggi, and Kangwōn provinces, where the village people attempted to protect their properties and lives under the red-cross flag of the St. George's Cross. I will next look at one missionary's efforts to revise the image of the cross.

The Pilgrim's Progress and a new image of the cross, 1895

James S. Gale (1863-1937)'s *T'yollo ryōkdyōng* 턴로력땡(1895) was a Korean translation of John Bunyan (1628-1688)'s *The Pilgrim's Progress From This World to That Which Is to Come* (1678). The book presented not only an evangelical doctrine of the redemptive death of Jesus on the cross, but also a Koreanized image of the cross. A Korean scholar, Yi Ch'angjik (1866-1936), assisted Gale with the Korean translation of the book. He was Gale's language teacher and literary helper from 1889 to 1927. Gale got married to Mrs. Heron in April of 1892. They began to translate *The Pilgrim's Progress* and its Chinese Mandarin version (1852) by William Burns into Korean with Mr. Yi, whose excellent literary skills and style made the book one of the best of the early Protestant literature. Mr. Yi himself deepened his understanding of evangelical Christianity and his spiritual power to resist evil desires during the translation of the book. More than once he called Gale's attention to the word "Pliable,"

saying with a look of regret, “I’m Pliable.”¹⁹ Gale used the drawings of Korean folk painter Kim Chun’gŭn, which differed from the illustrations of the American, Chinese, or Japanese versions that were available at that time. Kim produced Korean folk paintings for foreign clients who visited the treaty ports of Korea. As a skilled artist, he combined the traditional techniques of Korean genre painting with those of Western paintings. His works sold well to the foreigners. At the same time his illustrations were well received by Koreans (Shin S. 2006; Chŏng H. 2008). Therefore, the Korean text was influenced by Burns’ Chinese edition, yet forty-two illustrations of Gale’s edition were in the Korean folk style with a slight Western perspective.

Let us compare the illustration of the Christian removing the burden of sin in front of the cross in the first three East Asian editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. All three versions used an indigenous style with the main native character—an educated Manchu, a Japanese samurai, or a Korean farmer. William Burns’ Chinese edition (Burns 1852) adopted a more Western style and perspective (Figure 4.2). Sato Yoshimine’s Japanese edition (Burns 1879) did not emphasize the cross, but focused on the samurai Christian himself (Figure 4.3). In the pictures of the Chinese and Japanese editions, the Christian is looking upward toward the cross in a praying position, which presents anxiety and tension rather than gratifying liberation.

By contrast, James S. Gale’s Korean edition (Burns 1895) incorporated the Christian removing the heavy burden of sin and two female angels putting him in a white robe (Figure 4.5).²⁰ Its structure is similar to that of Figure 4.4 illustrated by Henry Courtney Selous (1803-1890) of the edition noted by Rev. Robert Maguire (1826-1890) in 1863. It is likely that Gale had read Maguire’s edition as a young man, brought it to Korea, and gave the book to Kim Chun’gŭn, because some of the illustrations in Gale’s Korean edition are similar to those of Maguire’s English edition. Gale might have chosen Selous’s illustration, for the scene emphasized the triple interaction of the cross, the Christian, and the angels. Kim simplified the background, reduced three angels to two, and removed the old vines from the cross. The illustrations of the Chinese and Japanese versions are individualistic and doctrine-oriented, yet Gales’ Korean version is relational and narrative-oriented. The picture (Figure 4.5) has two female angels who are like Buddhist bodhisattvas or Daoist immortals that touch

the Christian, which differs from Bunyan's original illustration with its three angels who look at the Christian from some distance, giving a sinister atmosphere with its skulls and dark background (Figure 4.1). Kim's interpretation adopted Selous's illustration but made the angels Korean. In other words, the illustrations of the Gale version reflected both Kim's Korean folk style and Gale's theological selection of the illustrations among the English editions.



Figure 4.1. Bunyan, 1772



Figure 4.2. Burns, 1852



Figure 4.3 Yoshimine 1879



Figure 4.4 Maguire 1863



Figure 4.5. Gale 1895



Figure 4.6 Gale 1895

At stake here was the image of the cross (Figure 4.5). The image of the bare

cross was now represented to Korean readers for the first time as a redemptive place of one's burdensome sin being taken away, and being born again as a righteous person with intimate, heavenly help. The Protestant cross was simple, clean, and empty. There was neither a crucifixion nor a wild-haired Jesus with a naked and bleeding body depicted. Unlike the samurai Christian of the Japanese edition, Gale's Korean Christian was a commoner, the main target of evangelism in Korea. The cross became available for everyone in Korea. Moreover, the cross was incorporated into Korean religious culture by having angels coexist with the image of a common Korean man, Buddhist Bodhisattvas, or Daoist immortals that were equivalent to the Christian angels. Such a pantheon interchangeability can be seen in the final illustration of the book, "Entering Heaven" (Figure 4.6). The "Christian" heaven looks like a Daoist or Buddhist paradise where immortals are singing and playing the flute. Its structure and motifs came from the Selous's picture and Bunyan's text, yet its imagery was totally indigenized for Korean readers.²¹

These Koreanized images of the Christian cross and heaven began to circulate among early Korean converts who later interpreted Christian doctrines with their Koreans' eyes while staying within the boundaries of North American missionaries' pragmatic and audience-centered evangelical Protestantism. Kil Sŏnju (1869-1935) and Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn (1858-1926) wrote stories of the Christian pilgrimage from the earthly world to the heavenly kingdom in 1905-09. Kil's *Haet'aron* (懈惰論 On Sloth, 1905) was a simplified version of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and Ch'oe's *Sŏngsan Myŏnggyŏng* (聖山明鏡 The Bright Mirror in the Holy Mountain, 1909) was an allegorical novel that dealt with inter-religious dialogue in a dream.

Code-breaking of geomantic prophecies of the Chŏnggam-nok

For some Korean Christians who had deeply believed in the *Chŏnggam-nok* before joining the Church, the key to their decoding of the enigmatic phrases of the book was the cross, +. The Chinese graphic letter + represented not only the shape of the cross, but also the number ten. Therefore, the empty cross of Protestantism was easily connected with the number ten of the *Chŏnggam-nok* in their interpretative method of glyphomancy. Before discussing their new

interpretation, a short review of historical background of this method will be helpful.

The glyphomancy *p'acha* 破字 method in Korea has been used as a traditional decoding method in divination and in deciphering secret geomantic prophecies, especially in times of dynastic change.²² For example, Yi Chagyŏm (?-1126) began a revolt believing the prophecy of “十八子爲王” (eighteen sons, meaning Yi 李, will become king), and Cho Kwangjo (1482-1519) was killed based on the fabricated rumor of “走肖爲王” (Cho 趙 will become king).

The *Chŏnggam-nok*, which prophesized the collapse of the Yi dynasty after great tribulations such as famines, wars, and epidemics, and the founding of a new Chŏng dynasty, was widely circulated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *Chŏnggam-nok* stated that people would find refuge at “*sipsŭng jiji* 十勝之地” and “*kunggung ũrŭl* 弓弓乙乙” during the national crisis. As mentioned before, some of its believers joined the Roman Catholic Church, yet they had not produced a new interpretation of the enigmatic words “*sipsŭng jiji*” and “*kunggung ũrŭl*,” which were believed to be the most important secret codes that contained the truths and prophecy of the future, and thus the most sought-after vocabularies to be deciphered to the religious minority groups who were interested in the geomantic prophecy.²³

However, Tonghak (Eastern Learning), an indigenous and syncretistic Korean religion, actively used these terms in its propagation. Its founder Ch'oe Cheu wrote *Sipsŭng-ga* 十勝歌 (A song of ten auspicious places) and made a paper amulet with the four letters of “弓弓乙乙” as a medicine (*yak* 藥) for the sick or weak (*yak* 弱) people. He had them drink water with its ashes. to overcome epidemics such as cholera and smallpox, famines, and the high taxes of corrupt local officials the people were suffering from. Tonghak grew rapidly in poor farming areas in the 1870s and 1880s. In East Asian tradition, political leaders like Kungye (857-918) had used the people's belief in Maitreya 彌勒, a future Buddha in Buddhist eschatology, as a millennial vision for a new dynasty. Ch'oe Cheu's messianism synthesized this Buddhist eschatology and the geomantic prophecy of the dynastic change of the *Chŏnggam-nok* with the Roman Catholic doctrine of millennialism.²⁴

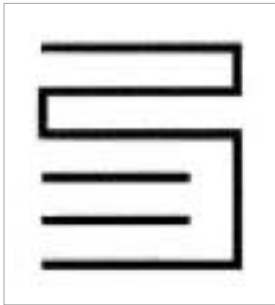


Figure 5-1 Inferred Original Form of Tonghak *Yŏngbu* by Bucknell and Beirne

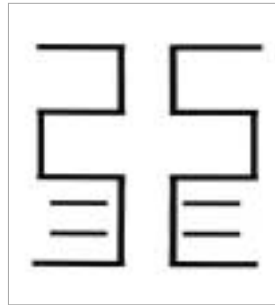


Figure 5-2 Inferred Original Form of Tonghak *Yŏngbu* by Oak

Bucknell and Beirne insisted that Ch’oe Cheu’s talisman resembled half of the Chinese character 弱 *yak* (weak) (Figure 5-1), for the half of the character *yak* 弱 comes close to being a combination of the mystical *kung* 弓 and *ül* 乙 (Bucknell and Beirne 2005). But a more plausible combination might have been the four letters, not two letters—the combination of one half of the letter *yak* and the other reversed half of the letter *yak* for a bilateral symmetry, which was a typical design of the talisman. Then Ch’oe Cheu’s talisman resembles the letter 亞 with two short horizontal lines in each of the lower corner of the letter (Figure 5-2).

From this uniquely Korean tradition of millennial and geomantic prophecy, some Koreans devised a Christian interpretation of the *Chŏnggam-nok*. Kim Sangnim (1847-1902) was one of them. He was a traditional Confucian *yangban* scholar at Kyohang, Kanghwa Island. He had failed several times in the government exams but finally passed the first local exam, “*ch’osi*” when he was forty years old. He became a teacher at a local private school. He had mastered the *Book of Changes* and the *Chŏnggam-nok*. However, he could not figure out the meaning of “*sipsŭng jiji*” of the *Chŏnggam-nok*. After hearing the Christian gospel from Korean evangelist Yi Sŭnghwan in 1893 and studying the Scriptures, Kim decided to become a Christian, believing that the way of “*sipchaga*” (the cross) was the “*sipsŭng jiji*.” G. H. Jones baptized Kim in August 1894.

The first conversion of a *yangban* scholar became a serious issue for his extended family, yet aroused great interest in Christianity among the islanders. Soon a church was organized at Kyohang under Kim’s leadership. After teaching

at the East Gate Methodist School in Seoul for a year, Kim worked as a local preacher on the island. When he died in 1902, many self-supporting Methodist churches were growing rapidly in Kanghwa. His conversion gave great impetus to the beginnings of the Methodist Churches in Kanghwa Island (*SW* 1902; Yi and Cho 1994, 107; Yi T. C. 2000, 364-365). Yi Sŭngnyun, a Presbyterian, was converted to Christianity in 1894 believing that Jesus Christ was the anticipated Chŏng-doryŏng (Prince Chŏng, the new king of the *Chŏnggam-nok*), and Christianity was the fulfillment of the prophecy of the *Chŏnggam-nok*. When the Russia-Japan War took place in 1904, many people appealed to the *Chŏnggam-nok* and wandered the deep valleys and mountains of the country in order to find auspicious places to preserve their lives. Even many Protestant Christians were anticipating the imminent second coming of Christ (C. ROSS 1904, 176). In this context, Yi elaborated his earlier interpretation of the “*sipsŭng jiji*” and Chŏng-doryŏng. He criticized the ignorance of those who were still searching for the “*sipsŭng jiji*” on Kyeryong Mountain and other places, and presented a spiritual meaning for the ten auspicious places in his interpretation of the first character (亞) of Abraham (亞伯拉罕) in Matthew 1:1 of the Chinese New Testament:

When we see “A” (亞), the first character of “Abraham” (亞伯拉罕) in Matthew 1:1, it has both “sip” (十) of the “*sipsŭng jiji*” and “kungung ŭrl” (弓弓乙乙). The central white part of the character “A” (亞) is apparently the character “sip” (十). Thus any place where people believe in the Lord’s Cross will become the “*sipsŭng jiji*.” When we see the right and left part of the character “A” (亞), they are obviously “kungung ŭrl” (弓弓乙乙). Thus we must study and investigate the Bible.... As the three characters of “Chŏng-doryŏng” are “chŏng” (正, right), “do” (道, way), and “ryŏng” (寧, peace), it means that if one follows the right way he or she may live in peace. This is identical to “tohajj 道下旨,” which means that God let the *Chŏnggam-nok* foretell the truth of the Lord’s Cross to the people. ...Brothers, do not search for the ten auspicious places any more. If you come before our Lord’s Cross, you will find a very auspicious place. Let’s discard the imperfect words of the *Chŏnggam-nok*, and propagate the precious character “十” of the “cross 十字架” to wandering compatriots, and let them know the way of eternal life (Yi S. 1906).

By the very method of glyphomancy, Yi Sŭngnyun found Christ's cross (+), the place of salvation ("*sipsŭng jiji*"), and the way of salvation (*kunggung ūrŭl* 弓弓乙乙) inside the first letter (亞) of the name of Abraham. Yi found the fulfillment of the prophecy of the *Chōnggam-nok* in Jesus Christ, the son of Abraham. The ten (+) auspicious places (十勝之地) of the *Chōnggam-nok* were deciphered as the place where the cross defeated sin. Now any place where people believed in the ten-letter-frame cross (+) could become the ten auspicious places (十勝) of salvation. Yi believed that God gave the *Chōnggam-nok* to Koreans to foretell the truth of the cross of Jesus Christ. He interpreted a foreign book, the New Testament, from the perspective of a more familiar book, the *Chōnggam-nok*. The two books combined to show the Koreans the way of salvation and hope for the millennial kingdom.

What is significant is the fact that this interpretation was introduced in the official newspaper of the Korean Presbyterian Church, the *Kŭrisŭdo Sinmun* (The Christian News), edited by H. G. Underwood. It meant that Yi's innovative yet intellectually implausible interpretation was acceptable to some missionaries and Korean Christian groups. It provided some Koreans with a new way of reading the *Chōnggam-nok* with the New Testament. From 1894 many churches, Christian schools, and mission hospitals hoisted the flag of the red cross (the Jesus flag). When the glyphomatic interpretation of the cross as the ten auspicious places of the *Chōnggam-nok* was projected onto the red cross, those Christian places came to signify the millennial places of salvation and protection for life and property of the suffering people. The amalgamation of the missionaries' political power, the Christian message of redemption, and the Christian doctrine of pre-millennialism with Korean folk beliefs in geomantic prophecy became an impelling factor in the conversion of some Koreans to Protestantism. The synthesis of the church as a religious space with the church as a political space was started at the Sorae Presbyterian Church, Hwanghae province, which was established in 1885 by Korean Christians and ministered by William J. McKenzie in 1894. Let us see the beginning of the Jesus flag (the red cross flag or the flag of St. George's Cross) of the church.

The flag of St George's cross, 1894-1910

William J. McKenzie (1861-1895), an independent Canadian Presbyterian missionary, worked at Sorae Church in Hwanghae province from February 1894 with the help of Sō Kyōngjo. In November 1894, the second Tonghak Uprising broke out against the Japanese. McKenzie emphasized “the meekness and gentleness of Christ, enduring abuse and hatred without retaliation” (McCully 1904, 153). All the Tonghak soldiers who sought MacKenzie out were welcomed and counseled. The villagers, who were suffering under the exploitation of the Tonghaks, inquired of Sō Kyōngjo the secret of the Christians’ peace. Villagers were trying to “hide under the foreigner’s wing when the Japs come” and “clung the more closely to the preacher as their earthly protector” (McCully 1904, 154).

On December 12, 1894, McKenzie raised “the flag of Jesus,” the flag of the St. George’s Cross—which had a centered red cross on a white background—above his dwelling and the chapel, to stand for the dwelling of a British citizen as well as Christianity (Figure 6). In his diary he wrote: “We cut the pole some distance off. There were willing workers to have that emblem above them. Tonghaks and all worked, dug the hole and held the ropes, and soon the flag ascended, while we sang ‘All hail the power of Jesus’ name!’” It was his own idea “to distinguish his little church and the holy Sabbath from the unholy shrines and celebrations of the heathen.” The next day he wrote: “The flag is seen from afar, and there is much curiosity as to its meaning. It serves as an object-lesson of the meaning of the cross—purity and suffering for others” (McCully 1904, 155). A few days later two hundred Tonghak soldiers passed through the village. Their leaders visited the foreigner as they saw the “Jesus flag” flying. McKenzie received them without fear. Christmas Day passed without celebration. The Japanese were defeating the Tonghaks. On the first Sunday of the New Year, the Sō brothers preached to a large crowd at two services. “A fair portion of the congregation were Tonghaks” (McCully 1904, 158). In February, about fifty men and sixty women began fundraising for a new church building. Several Tonghaks gave over 600 *nyang* (\$30) in a day. Soon a new church was completed on the former site of the town shrine, and a high pole was erected in front of the gate to designate it as a sacred Christian place.

McKenzie’s flag of St. George’s Cross and his thoughts inspired the notion that “throughout the land of Korea a white flag with St. George’s Cross has become as universal as the church bell of Christian lands” (McCully 1904, 154).

Religiously, the “Jesus flag” symbolized the suffering and redemptive death of Jesus and the Christian principle of nonviolence. At the same time, the red-cross flagpole separated the Christian church from other secular or religious spaces. Politically, it was the symbol of the missionary’s extraterritoriality, which attracted people who desired to be protected under the “great Westerner.” On the other hand, it had continuity with the ancient Korean tradition of erecting a *sottae* 솟대 a sacred religious place; *sodo*, which offered protection to refugees; *changsŭng* 장승, village guardians that protected people from epidemics; and *tanggan* 幢竿, a flagpole of a Buddhist temple. In particular, the flag of the cross had a new meaning to some groups who believed in the prophecy of the *Chōnggam-nok*.



Figure 6. The Sorae Church and its Flag of St. George’s Cross, 1898

The flag of the red-cross, like the Union Jack flying over the British legation and the Stars and Stripes over the American legation and the American missionaries’ hospitals in Seoul, represented the political power of the missionaries who were protected by extraterritorial rights.²⁵ During the Independence Club movement from 1897 to 1899, which was the first nationwide civilian political movement for the awakening of the people for nation building, the Protestant churches participated in the public celebration of the national holidays such as Emperor Kojong’s birthday and the Founding Day of the Chosŏn Kingdom, and hoisted the flag of the red cross along with the Korean national flag. These flags stood for the “loyalty and patriotism” (*ch’unggun aeguk*) of the Protestant Church as

well as its political power supported by Western missionaries.

From March 1898 the Independence Club (Tongnip Hyophoe) movement developed into the All People's Meeting (Manmin Kongdonghoe) in Seoul. Public meetings were held almost daily with more than 10,000 citizens. They criticized the pro-Russian cabinets' concessions and corruption. The students of the Methodist boys' school, Paejae Haktang of H. G. Appenzeller, and many Protestant Christians joined the demonstrations. Yun Ch'ihō (Methodist), Hong Chŏnghu (Presbyterian), and Syngman Rhee (Methodist) were leaders of the meetings. On October 29, 1898, a former butcher named Pak Sŏngch'un of the Central Presbyterian Church made a public speech. The meeting adopted the Six Articles to the Emperor and demanded serious political reforms and the expansion of people's rights. The Minister of Education asked Appenzeller to disperse the students. On November 15th, the election day of the Privy Council (the Lower House), Emperor Kojong ordered the arrest of the leaders of the Independence Club. Many of them, including Yun Ch'ihō, found refuge in the American missionaries' houses. When Hong Chŏnghu, a deacon of Rev. Daniel L. Gifford's Yŏndong Church, was arrested on American property, H. N. Allen of the American Legation demanded Hong's release and it was granted. After attending the prayer meeting and seeing his family, however, Hong "voluntarily gave himself up to the authorities, preferring to share the lot of his compatriots to being free on a technicality" (Avison 1898a). The people and the students did not disperse and the things grew worse (Allen 1898a). From November 16th to 19th, the loyalists of the court reorganized a couple of thousand members of the old guild of coolies and merchants known as "the Peddlers Club" (Hwangguk Hyŏphoe). They armed themselves with clubs and attacked the unarmed people, calling them "*Manmin Kongdonghoe yŏkjŏknom*" (traitors of the populace) on November 20th (Appenzeller 1898). About 1,000 armed men on each side fought hand to hand until the Peddlers Club retreated outside the city. The people (*paeksŏng*) destroyed the houses of the peddlers. Dr. Avison's hospital, Chejungwŏn, was filled with wounded men with broken bones and bruised flesh. The US Minister directed all the American citizens to fly their national flag over their houses to protect themselves from the mob. *The Christian News*, edited by H. G. Underwood, criticized the Peddlers Club and its wicked organizers in the court (KS 1898c).

On November 26th Emperor Kojong publicly promised to reform the government and then met the leaders of the Independence Club—Yun Ch’iho, Hong Chŏnghu, and Ko Pyŏngsŏ. But the dispersed people reignited their campaign because the emperor ignored his promises and the leaders of the peddlers continued communication with the cabinet members. The Peddlers Club sent a letter of warning to Paejae Haktang: A letter, purporting to come from the Peddlers to the Methodist School reviling the students and all the Christians, caused a good deal of excitement, especially as it threatened the destruction of their school and churches and a few hot-headed ones, taking their cue from the methods followed by the “Independence Club,” gathered the Christians from all denominations together, harangued them into a state of fervidity, and, taking several Red Cross banners, marched them in a body to the police court to demand the immediate arrest and punishment of the men whose signatures were on the letter. The frightened Chief of Police promised to have the men arrested within 24 hours and they dispersed with the understanding that they would meet the next day to watch the trial (Avison 1898b).

Students and so-called Christians marched to the police court with the flag of the red cross. The chief of police resigned and disappeared. Kil Yŏngsu, a leader of the peddlers, sent a letter to Appenzeller and denied any connection with the abusive letter, “declaring it to be a forgery, and stating that they held the school and the Christians in the highest esteem” (Avison 1898b). When the aforementioned radical Christians planned to meet again, missionaries attempted to persuade deacon Hong and others not to participate in political demonstrations and had a free discussion with Koreans. Some of the politically awakened members of the churches, “a strong, intelligent body,” however, supported the use of force (Avison 1898b).

The local churches also displayed both the Korean national flag and the flag of the red cross at the ceremony of the emperor’s birthday from 1897 to 1907 (Figure 7). With the widespread use of the flag of the red cross, its meaning shifted from a symbol of patience to that of masculine power. This paralleled the change in the nature of the church from a religious community to a socio-political association to some extent. Many people joined the church to receive protection and gain power (Sharp 1906, 182). After the Independence Club was disbanded by Emperor Kojong in 1899, villagers joined the churches to protect



Figure 7. Celebration of the Emperor's Birthday, ca. 1906



Figure 8. A Typical Flagpole of a Rural Church, ca. 1902

their property from the abuse of the peddlers. They erected flagpoles at the churchyards to warn against the wrongdoings of peddlers, robbers, or corrupt local officials. Others organized the churches by themselves, erected the flagpoles, and squeezed money from the villagers by flouting the missionaries' political power and abusing the name of the church. For example, during the "Incident of Chŏng Kildang" in 1900—armed remnant Tonghaks, flying the flag of the red cross, beat innocent people and insulted local officials under the pretext of the Russian Orthodox Church—and this was a typical church abuse case (Yi M. 1985).

The churches which displayed the flag of the red cross became known as places that assured the protection of lives and property during wars and times of national crisis. The Sorae Church, the Sap'yŏngdong Presbyterian Church in Munhwa, Hwanghae province, erected a flagpole in 1897 (*KS* 1897a). The use of the flag of the red cross began to be popularized in 1898. The use of the flag greatly proliferated from 1901 to 1903 when a great famine hit central Korea, and flagpoles with the flag of the red cross were erected in the provinces of Hwanghae, Kangwŏn, and Kyŏnggi (Figure 8). Crop failure was so severe that it became a major factor in the fall of the Chosŏn kingdom. Many people became beggars, hoodlums, or robbers. Some of them, under the pretext of the powerful foreign missionaries, organized nominal churches to avoid heavy taxes or labor, to protect their lives, to squeeze money from people, or to win lawsuits for the hill tombs where they had built fake ancestral gravesites. Many joined

the Roman Catholic churches to be protected under French missionaries. It was in this context that Protestant Christians built the flagpoles and hoisted the flag of the red cross.

In 1901 James S. Gale, who had emphasized the separation of church and state, became editor of *The Christian News*, and treated the erection of the flagpoles as a serious issue (KS 1901a). In an editorial in May 1901, he equated the worship of the flag of the red cross, or forsaking Christ on the cross, with the Israeli's idol worship of the bronze serpent that Moses had made in the wilderness (KS 1901b). It was in this context that Arthur J. Brown, who visited Korea in the spring of 1901, recommended a non-engagement policy in politics. The missionaries sent a ministerial letter to the Korean congregations which emphasized the strict separation of church and state (KS, 1901c). Gale continuously criticized flagpole-building and insisted that the flagpoles should be removed from churches. In early 1902, an idiom—"P'yōngyang is famous for faith, Seoul for hymn-singing, and Yōnbaekch'ōn for the flagpoles 평양믿음 서울찬미 연백깃대"—was popularized among Christians. In the counties of Yōnan and Paekch'ōn in Hwanghae province, there were "about twenty flagpoles every ten or fifteen *li* and the wooden poles and flags were high and magnificent." Gale warned that if the flagpoles were not prohibited, a bigger problem would arise (KS 1902).

Nevertheless, ecclesiastical authority and missionaries could not stop the church-abusing cases. The competition between Roman Catholics and Protestants aggravated the situation. The popularization of the flagpoles in Hwanghae province was related to the Haesō Kyoan (海西教案 The Case of the Abuse of Religious Privileges in Hwanghae Province) from 1900 to 1903. Two groups competed to occupy the same religious market, in which a great famine, disorder in the local government's handling of land laws, over-taxation, and Japanese settlers' purchase of farming land had made people desperate. Some joined the Roman Catholic Church and forced villagers, including Protestants, to donate money to build churches. They defied the authority of the local government, insisting that they were not governed under Korean law, but under French law. The case was solved by the active intervention of Anglo-American missionaries and the central Korean government. The Protestant missionaries' victory over French missionaries stimulated the growth of Protestant churches in

Hwanghae, Kyōnggi, and Kangwōn provinces. Many Methodist and Presbyterian churches built flagpoles from 1901 to 1903 (Yi Ŭ. 1901; SW 1901; D. Moore 1901; Chang W. 1903).

The Wōnsan revival movement of 1903 was initiated by Robert A. Hardie (1865-1949), who had repented for his failure in mission work, which was related to the flagpoles and church-abusing cases in his district. Hardie visited Kimhwa and Ch'ōlwōn counties in Kwangwōn province four times within the year from the summer of 1901, and tried to disband fake churches organized by villagers who needed to protect themselves from the Peddlers Club. Even local government officials could not handle them, fearing their supposed connections with foreign missionaries. Hardie labeled such a fake church “a den of thieves.” He informed the local government of the principles of the church, in particular its separation from politics. He ordered the removal of all flagpoles from the churches. He excommunicated a class leader who refused, and disbanded his class (Hardie 1902). When the churches lowered the flags of the red cross, villagers and officials could discern the true churches from the false ones, and the problem of the abuse of the churches began to disappear. The church-abusing cases, however, disturbed Hardie and he could not resolve them until he repented his own lack of spiritual power, repented his superiority as a white man, as well as repenting his triumphalism—and had his own awakening in the summer of 1903.

When Korea became a Japanese protectorate in 1905, the flags of the red cross reappeared in the churchyards. People cried, “We do not have anywhere to depend on” (*KMF* 1906). *The Korea Daily News* expressed that the “Jesus Church” was the hope of the nation, and passionate youth gathered at Protestant churches (*TMS* 1906). People said, “Village *changsūng* are falling down, whereas Christian white flags and poles are rising up” (Gudapfel 1906).

During the Enlightenment Movement of 1905-1910, mission schools hoisted both the national flag and the red cross flag at graduation ceremonies, sports day, picnic days, and military exercises, sometimes using the American flag. Interestingly, the diploma of the Presbyterian Seminary of P'yōngyang in 1907 envisioned the evangelism of Korea through the image of the cross lightened by the torch of the gospel and engraved on the Korean peninsula. Therefore, to some extent, from 1905 to 1910 the flagpoles represented Christians' anti-

Japanese imperialist sentiments. This nationalistic nature differed from that of the flagpoles in the early 1900s, which were related to the church-abusing cases and group egoism.

Both the flagpoles of the red cross of the local pseudo-religious groups and the nationalistic flags of the red cross of the churches in 1900-1910 expressed the desire for self-defense and self-reliance. Nevertheless, it was hard for missionaries to tell them apart, and so they prohibited the flying of any flag of the red cross in churchyards. The revivalist movement purified the churches and removed all the flagpoles by 1908. This was a result of the application of the American mission policy of the separation of church and state in Korea, a mission field that was becoming a Japanese colony. Now, instead of a red-cross flag flying on the pole, a symbol of political power, a simple wooden cross fixed on the roof represented the nature of the churches as religious institutions officially loyal to the colonial government.

Japanese colonialism and the cross, 1905-1910

From 1904, the Christian Churches were unable to monopolize the symbol of the cross. The Japanese army's Red Cross hospitals and ambulances symbolized modern Japanese civilization, which was represented by advanced medical science, as well as its military power which occupied Korea. During the war between the Japanese army and the Korean "righteous army" in 1907-1910,²⁶ Japanese soldiers shot many Korean militias to death literally on the cross. The cross was now associated with the powerful and contradictory images of healing and killing, or humanism and colonialism.

Japanese Red Cross hospitals, nurses, and the cholera corps

During the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese empress presided over the meetings of the council of the Ladies' Branch of the Red Cross Society of Japan to make bandages for the wounded.²⁷ A Red Cross was embroidered on the left side of the chest of the Japanese nurses' uniforms. The Japanese army established two Red Cross Hospitals in Inch'ŏn and P'yŏngyang and dispatched a Red-Cross

hospital ship to Korea. They hoisted large Red Cross flags at the hospitals (Figure 9). There were 32 relief detachments along the lines of battles in Korea and each detachment consisted of two physicians, one pharmacist, two chief nurses and twenty nurses or attendants (*JAMA* 1906, 747). Japanese nurses, wearing Red Cross caps, took care of wounded soldiers. The army ambulance parties had medical boxes marked with the Red Cross. The Red Cross Society in Japan was one of the symbols of the “New Japan” from the 1880s onwards (Kennan 1904). 4,700 male and female nurses and attendants were working at the end of 1905 (*JAMA* 1906, 747).

Korean leaders praised their work for the wounded. “On September 2, Yi Chun, Yi Hyönsök, and others distributed 10,000 copies of the appeal for the establishment of the society. They organized the Red Cross Society and expressed sympathy for Japan by fundraising for the treatment of the wounded [Japanese] soldiers of the neighboring country” (Chöng S. 1905). The Japanese nurses’ white uniforms with the red cross impressed Koreans, who regarded Japan as the defender of the peace of East Asia against Russian expansionism. Koreans praised the victory of “yellow” Japan over “white” Russia and admired Japan’s advanced civilization. The red cross of the Japanese army was a part of Japanese civilization that Korea sought. Protestant medical missions joined this circle of humanitarianism and civilization by organizing the cholera corps, who wore the red-cross caps.



Figure 9. Japanese Red Cross Society Hospital in Inch'ön, 1904

The Red Cross as a symbol of Western and Japanese medical science during the Russo-Japanese War, however, disguised the actual nature of Japanese civilization—imperialism. Yi Chun (1859-1907) and other Christian leaders, who supported the founding of the Red Cross Society in Korea in 1905, did not decipher the hidden meaning of the red cross of the Japanese Army.²⁸ Dr. James H. Wells (1866-1938) of the Presbyterian Hospital in P’yŏngyang was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Japanese rule of Korea in 1905. He stated that the “three most conspicuous features of modern enterprise in northern Korea” were three M’s—Protestant missions, American mines, and Japanese merchants (Wells 1905a, 139). He thought that the increasing Japanese merchants would add “energy and activity” (Wells 1905a, 140) and “the Japanese whetstone” would give an “edge” to the Koreans as nothing else could. “The Japanese method may not be the gentlest in the world, but it is effective at any rate, and it is the only method in sight” (Wells 1905a, 141). Therefore he exclaimed “Dai Nippon! Banzai!” He added that he would applaud the work of Japan “as long as she keeps the promise” (Wells 1905a, 141). The editor of *The Korea Review*, Homer B. Hulbert, commented that Wells’ opinion was extreme and Japan’s promise of the independence of Korea should be kept after the war (Hulbert 1905, 147-148). In reply to the criticism of his article, Wells defended his “pro-Japanese proclivities” and praised the gentle and tactful transfer of the administration from Korea to Japan (Wells 1905b, 425-426). Wells did not share the anti-Japanese missionary minority’s opinion, yet he had many supporters even from Koreans.

Execution of Korean righteous army soldiers on the cross, 1907-1910

When the Japanese police, gendarmes, and army executed Korean militia soldiers and suspicious farmers from 1904 to 1910, some were shot on the simple cross-shaped wooden frame. The first group to be executed was Korean farmers who protested the confiscation of their land without reasonable compensation, to be used for the Japanese railroads from Pusan to Seoul or Seoul to Ŭiju. Homer B. Hulbert showed the brutality of Japanese military rule in Korea by publicizing the picture (Figure 10) of the execution of three Korean farmers who destroyed some rails from the railway that occupied their rice field.

The second group to be executed was a group of soldiers from the Korean Righteous Army. In 1908-1909, around 120,000 Korean volunteer soldiers engaged in 4,000 battles with the Japanese army and police. When the Japanese arrested Korean patriots, they gathered people in the villages and let them watch the Korean guerrilla “gangs” and “spies” being shot to death on the cross (Figure 11-2). Or they executed Korean patriots on the cross without summoning Korean villagers (Figure 11-1). Japan annexed Korea in 1910 after killing about 10,000 Korean freedom fighters and many of them were bound on the wooden cross and shot to death.



Figure 10. Japanese Military Rule:
Execution of Korean Farmers, 1904



Figure 11. Execution of Korean
Patriots, 1907

The cross was saturated with the blood of Korean nationalists. The Japanese police and army allowed European and American newspaper correspondents to take the photographs on the spot. It seems that the Japanese colonial government intended to justify killing Korean guerrillas by displaying their “civilized” process of death sentencing and execution. Or perhaps the Japanese were attempting to make the scene a lesson for the Korean villagers--the uselessness of resisting Japanese rule. As a result, the scenes of the execution of Korean patriots on the cross were wildly circulated in American and European newspapers and books. Naturally, these images made the cross as a fearful symbol of execution to the Koreans once again, as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the Chosŏn government had used it as a frame of flogging as well as a symbol of anathema.

Ironically, however, a new image of crucifixion emerged during the Righteous Army War from 1907 to 1910. Now the cross became a symbol of Korean nationalism against Japanese militaristic imperialism, instead of being a symbol

of treason against the Chosŏn government in the nineteenth century. The iconography of the Christian crucifixion in East Asia, started by G. Aleni's *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* (1637) and followed by the negative reactions of the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, reached its full circle in the form of the execution of Korean militia patriots on the cross by firing squad in 1907-1910. Even though the missionaries and church leaders discouraged Korean Christians (both Catholics and Protestants) from participating in the military resistance, some Korean Christians assassinated pro-Japanese American diplomats (like W. D. Stevens by Chang Inhwan, a Presbyterian, in March 1908), and Japanese high officials (like Ito Hirobumi by An Chunggŭn, a Roman Catholic, in October 1909), and Korean traitors (like Yi Wanyong, whom Yi Chaemyŏng, a Presbyterian, attempted to assassinate in December 1909; Yi was severely wounded on the spot) for the independence of Korea, and others joined the Righteous Army for the same purpose (*KN* 1908; Mutell 1998, 413, 433; *TMS*, 1909).

Conclusion

In the conversion of Korean individuals and groups to Protestantism from 1894 to 1910, the glyptomancy factor, which has been mostly neglected by many scholars, played a significant role, and that this idiosyncratic glyptomancy factor was closely connected to the socio-political and millennial-geomantic prophetic elements in Korea. There were two reasons for the synthesis of these two factors: 1) conventionally, glyptomancy in Korea had been related to the geomantic prophecy of dynastic change or political revolts; and 2) contemporarily, as the integrity of the nation of Korea was rapidly deteriorating and reversing that decay was hindered by internal corruption, natural disasters, and external invasions, the religious language and iconography had strong religious-political meanings for local people who needed to protect their lives and property from corrupt local officials or invading Russian and Japanese soldiers. There is no doubt that they joined the churches for social, economic, and political reasons. But they did not always convert to Christianity for these reasons. Sometimes they needed a more compelling factor or the logic of persuasion, in which a

foreign Christianity could be interpreted meaningfully by familiar traditional religions on the one hand, and on the other hand, a Christianity that could provide them with significant clues for decoding the enigmatic passages of indigenous apocalyptic literature.

The initial encounters between the Roman Catholic crucifix and Korean Confucian scholars in China produced only negative images of the cross in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the crucifix remained the symbol of the cult of martyrdom of the Roman Catholic Church in the nineteenth century. The in-law politics and anti-foreign policies of the Korean government and its Neo-Confucian ideology and ritualism, as well as the conservative theology of French missionaries, thwarted Koreans from finding the glyphomancy factor between Roman Catholicism and Korean religions. Jesus and Korean Catholic Christians were identified as religious and political victims.

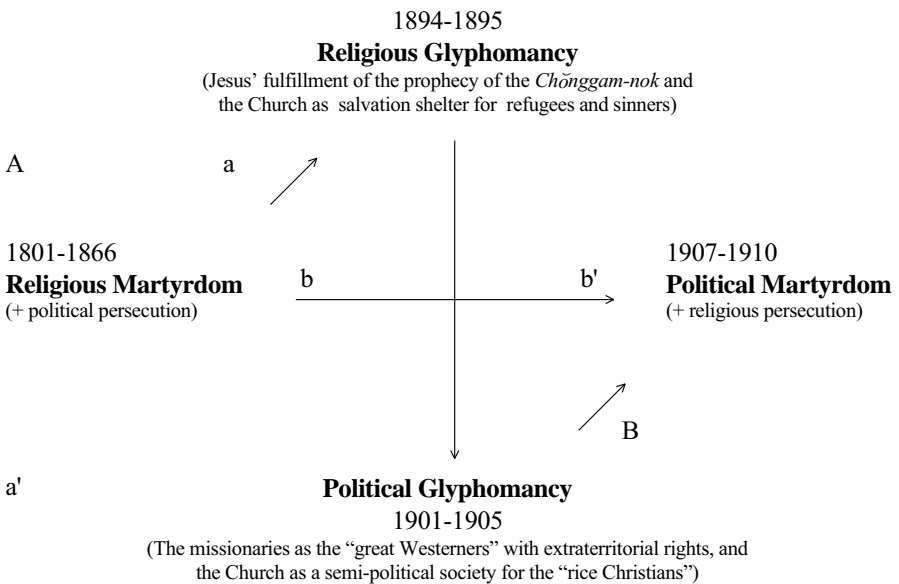


Figure 11. Religious and Political Factors in the Iconography of the Cross, 1801-1910

Both Protestant missionaries and Koreans tried to change the image of the Protestant cross without using the crucifix of Roman Catholicism and the image of the crucifixion of Jesus. First, the image shifted from "religious martyrdom"

to “religious glyptomancy” (the direction “A” in Figure 11). The enigmatic passages of the *Chōnggam-nok* were interpreted in relation to the Christian cross (十字架) and the Protestant churches were regarded as “十勝之地” (“the place where the cross defeated evil and sin). Here the image of Jesus was changed from a criminal victim to a cosmic victor who defeated the evil forces. This militant icon had a powerful meaning in the time of international wars and local conflicts. The way for salvation in the time of tribulations, “弓弓乙乙,” was found in Jesus’ cross in the first letter of “亞” of Abraham (亞伯拉罕) from whom Jesus was begotten. When such a decoding rhetoric was combined with the militant-political symbol of the flag of the red cross of the church and missionaries’ extraterritorial status, the people in the famine-and-war-hit areas of northern Kyōnggi, southern Hwanghae, Kangwōn, and southern Hamgyōng provinces gathered in the churches, which were filled with “soldiers of the cross,” and sang a hymn of “Stand up, stand up for Jesus.” The Protestant churches evolved from religious shelters for the suffering people into semi-political societies for the villagers who attempted to protect their lives and properties from local government or the Peddlers’ Club. The “Jesus flag” represented the conditional quality of conversion—political power based on the missionaries’ extraterritorial rights and church members’ solidarity and active agency for self-defense. The missionaries, therefore, ordered these churches to get rid of the flagpoles, launched the revival movement, and strengthened church discipline to eradicate political elements and the rice Christians from the church.

The Japanese images of the cross strengthened the conditional quality of the conversion to Christianity. The flag of the Red Cross Society Hospitals and the Red Cross of the military ambulance symbolized modern Japanese civilization. Most medical missionaries welcomed Japanese rule and collaborated with the Japanese colonial government, believing that the Japanese government would be more effective in enhancing the health and hygiene of the people than the Korean government. However, when the Japanese soldiers and policemen executed Korean patriots and militias of the Righteous Army on the cross, the meaning of nationalism was added to the image of the cross (the direction “B” in Figure 11). The scandalous iconography of crucifixion in the nineteenth century, a symbol of Christian martyrdom, changed into a political symbol of Korean

nationalism (Figure 11. b → b').

Therefore, when the revival movement swept the Korean Protestant churches in 1903-1908, the cross of the church and the flag of the Christian cross had multiple meanings—a saving place of redemption, a shelter for refugees, a fortress of the fighters for the interest of the community, political power protected by the missionaries' extraterritoriality, the fulfillment of the traditional prophecy that anticipated the coming of a messiah, Western science and technology, and Korean nationalism. These various meanings coexisted, contesting or complementing each other. One of the missionaries' intentions for the revival movement was to reverse the direction of the political glyphomancy of the cross to religious glyphomancy (Figure 11. a' → a).

Finally, I'd like to finish this chapter with a suggestion for further studies on the connections and negotiations among various messianic movements in early modern Korea. In turn-of-the-twentieth-century Korea, three kinds of religious messianism--Tonghak “kaebyōk” (the great transformation) millennialism, Protestant Christian eschatology, and Japanese Shinto colonialism--competed with each other to occupy the Korean peninsula where Neo-Confucianism was losing its hegemonic power as the state ideology.²⁹ Protestant premillennialism encountered *Chōnggam-nok* millennialism, and the Protestant postmillennial vision of Christian civilization was challenged by Japanese pan-Asianism, which sought to civilize and colonize East Asia. Within the competition between various messianic and nationalistic factions, the *Chōnggam-nok* and the icon of the cross played a key role in the imagination and construction of the heavenly kingdom on earth in the imagination of many.

Notes

- 1 In explanations of Christian conversions, many contemporary scholars have used the concepts of relative deprivation and compensation, the strains of modernization (such as poverty, inequality, and discrimination), anomie, Christian civilization, rationalization, hegemony, nationalism, and Protestant ethics. David K. Jordan, however, argued that one must not allow these political, economic-sociological, and cultural reasons or grand schemes—however elegant and appealing to social science scholars—to mask the

sometimes intellectually implausible worlds of individual believers. Instead he emphasized “the glyptomancy factor” in the conversion of Chinese individuals. By the glyptomancy factor, he meant to stress the significance of the logic and experiences that believers themselves find compelling, and to suggest that we should incorporate those experiences into our higher-level “explanations” of changes in religious belief and affiliation (Jordan 1993, 286). He argued that we need to pay more attention to religious rhetoric and the logic of persuasion invented or imagined by local peoples. I think we need to combine these two approaches—the higher-level “grand scheme” factors and the lower-level glyptomancy factor—in the conversion of Koreans to Protestantism at the turn of the twentieth century.

- 2 Chŏng Yakchong’s *Chugyo yoji* 主敎요지 (Essential Teachings of Roman Catholicism) had a similar millennial scenario of tribulations at the end of the world.
- 3 These statistics are incomplete. The severe cholera epidemics occurred in 1886, 1895, and 1902. *The Journal of American Medical Association*, which covered epidemic cases all over the world and was published in Chicago, reported in 1890: “More than 80,000 have perished in Japan, Korea and the contiguous Asiatic provinces of Russia. All this loss within a few month” (*JAMA* 1890). Cholera swept through Korea in August and September of 1902, and there were between 50 and 250 deaths daily in Seoul in September (*JAMA* 1902; *KR* 1902a; *KR* 1902b, 411). The Wŏnsan police report stated that 61 Koreans died in September 1902 (Yun 1902). Because of a “cattle disease” there was scarcity of bullocks to carry wood and rice in Seoul (*KR* 1902b, 410). Smallpox had been prevalent in Korea for three years from 1899 to 1902 (*JAMA*, 1899, 1900a, 1900b, 1901a & 1901b). These epidemics in 1902 and the great famine in 1901-03 created a kind of apocalyptic situation among the people who lived in the middle part of the Korean peninsula.
- 4 For example, the prefect of Kyodong of Kanghwa Island asked the Finance Department “what should be done about the taxes from 177 houses that were deserted in that district by famine sufferers” (*KR* 1902b, 413).
- 5 Helen F. MacRae, in her biography of his father Duncan M. MacRae, entitled the period of 1902-1904 “The Four Horsemen.” In Hamhŭng Rev. MacRae got ‘native fever’; Mrs. MacRae was exposed to smallpox; their daughter was kidnapped by bandits; and they saw the result of famine—the numerous deaths by starvation (Macrae 1993, 99-106).
- 6 Mrs. Sarah Nourse Welbon wrote in her diary on July 13, 1902: “First good rain in 3 years” (Ewy 2008, 265). The editor of the *Korea Field* wrote that no rain for three years a surprising and unprecedented thing in the history of Korea where there was a rainy season in summer. The famine hit the several magistracies fifty miles or so to the north-

west of Seoul and in certain others about as far to the south. “Large numbers of people removed to districts better favored. Those who remain have lived on roots and grass and other substances hitherto thought fit only for cattle” (Sharp 1902). Underwood, who was on furlough in America, cabled relief funds to mission treasurer, and 578.88 yen was used in assisting the worst cases of destitution, if necessary, after investigation of famine tracts by a Korea helper by May 6th, 1902 (Ibid. 34; Sharp 1902, 59). Arthur Welbon distributed over 300 yen among the famine sufferers in Paech’ön area, Kyönggi province. Most received it with a thankful heart. But those who had not received enough or felt they did not receive a fare share made trouble (Welbon 1902; Ewy 2008, 259). The Sorae Church and Sö Sangnyun were active in helping the churches in the famine area in Hwanghae province (Sharp 1902b).

- 7 One of the initial Christian responses for the famine was the organization of the Society of Christians' Charity at the Sangdong Methodist Church in Seoul. Pae Tonghyön donated his house and the church organized the society to mobilize all the Methodist churches to help the people in suffering (*SW* 1902a).
- 8 Hong Taeyong’s *Tamhön yön’gi*, instead of paying attention to nature and scenery along the route to Beijing, focused more on the culture and institutions of Qing China, like other late eighteenth century travelogues of the Korean visitors (Jung 2010, 58). Through their interaction with Qing scholars and advanced culture, Korean visitors, like Hong and Pak Chiwön, had a positive view of the Qing dynasty and abandoned the concept of *Chosön chunghwa* (“Korea as the center of Chinese culture”). Moreover they began to go beyond the boundary of Sino-centrism and tried to learn from Western civilization (Jung 2010, 61-62).
- 9 G. Aleni’s *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* (Hangzhou: 1637) was the first illustrated book on the life of Jesus in Chinese. Its fifty illustrations were taken from Geromino Nadal’s *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Images of the History of the Gospel, 1593). Missionaries believed that holy pictures conveyed the mysteries of the Christian faith sometimes more effectively than words. Graphic art, a popular medium, was widely used in religious literature in the seventeenth century. A. Schall presented more Chinese-style illustrations (48) on the life of Jesus to Emperor Chongzheng in 1640 (Mungello 1999, 40-43).
- 10 For the Christological controversy between Jesuits and mendicants in China, see Criveller 1997, 76ff.
- 11 A. Schall published *Jincheng Shuxiang* 進呈書像 (Images Presented to the Chongzhen Emperor). Crown Prince Sohyön (1612-1645) was detained in Shenyang through a peace treaty after the Korea-Manchu War in 1636. He moved to Beijing in 1644, and communicated with a German Jesuit missionary scholar named Johann Adam Schall

von Bell (1591-1666). When Sohyōn saw the crucifix and Schall's drawings of Jesus, he could not understand why Westerners worshipped a crucified criminal as a god. However, the prince became highly interested in Roman Catholicism as well as Western science through Schall, who looked forward to the spread of Catholicism in Korea. Soon the prince had a positive perception of the suffering of Jesus. When Schall presented the Chinese Scriptures and the crucifix, the prince thanked him for the gifts and wrote that when he looked at the crucifix, it gave him peace of mind and purified his heart. Sohyōn came back to Korea with some Chinese Catholics, but he was murdered by conservative forces soon after due to his pro-Qing and pro-Western policies.

- 12 The 1929 edition was used for this paper.
- 13 This quotation is from Hong Taeyong, 洪軒書, 外集 卷二, 杭傳尺牘, 乾淨衞筆談 (1765, 1976).
- 14 From 1629 to the 1850s crucifixion became a symbol of the persecution of Christianity or Christian apostasy in Japan. The Tokugawa shogunate required suspected Christians to step on the plate of crucifixion or the image of Mary (*fumie*) to prove that they were not members of that outlawed religion (Boxer 1951, 327; Drummond 1971, 104; Endo, 1980.)
- 15 The *Dictionnaire Francais-Coréen* written in 1869 used only “T’yōniju” and in the entry “Ciel,” the author added that “les payens par respect superstitieux disent 하늘님” (the pagans say 하늘님 with superstitious respect). See Féron 1869 (2004), 54.
- 16 This pamphlet was translated by missionaries as *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* (Shanghai 1870).
- 17 Roman Catholicism was called “天主教 Tianzhu-jiao” in Chinese. “Zhujiang” sounds similar to the graphs for “pig grunt” (豬叫), pronounced “zhujiao” but with a different inflection. So some Chinese called Catholicism as “天豬叫” and Catholics worshippers of “天豬” (the heavenly grunting pig Jesus).
- 18 “It is stated on good authority that a book (tract) written by a Chinaman entitled, *A Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, now prohibited in China, had been circulating here. I have not seen it, nor anyone who has, but I think it is true. You probably know something of this book, which was said to have caused the Tientsin Massacre, some 17 or 18 years ago. No doubt this inflamed the Koreans and the first measure taken by the government added to it” (Heron 1888).
- 19 In *Pilgrim’s Progress*, “Pliable” was the neighbor of “Obstinacy” and “Christian.”
- 20 When *T’yōllo yōkchōng* (*Pilgrim’s Progress*) was published in 1895, the *Korean Repository* praised the book as “the most elegant specimen of the printer’s art thus far placed by foreigners upon the native market, and furthermore the most notable production toward a standard literature as yet made available to the Korean nation”

- (Vinton 1896).
- 21 The illustration of “Heaven” in Gale’s Korean version is more indigenized than those of Burn’s Chinese version and Yosimine’s Japanese version.
 - 22 James Gale mentioned “破字占” (fortune telling by means of letters) in his diary on June 7, 1915. See <http://koreanchristianity.humnet.ucla.edu/sources/diaries->.
 - 23 By combining the four letters “弓弓乙乙” Murayama Chijun (村山智順) interpreted in 1933 that the phrase represented the letter “弱” (weakness), and thus that the weak people would survive the national crisis (Murayama 1990,543-544). He emphasized the prophecy of the fall of the Chosŏn dynasty in the *Chŏnggam-nok* to justify the Japanese colonization of Korea and to criticize the Korean independence movement based on the *Chŏnggam-nok* (Ibid. 558-571).
 - 24 Tonghak accepted the scenario of the dynastic changes in the book of 香麟山總論, which prophesized that the capital of the Wang dynasty would be located in Song’ak (Kaesŏng); the Yi dynasty in Hanyang (Seoul); the Chŏng dynasty in Kyeryong-san; the Cho dynasty in Kaya-san; and finally the Pŏm dynasty in Ch’ilsan. Tonghak millennialism envisioned “the Great Transformation” (開闢 kaebyŏk) of the earth, and Roman Catholic eschatology, based on the Augustinian model of history, anticipated the gradual improvement of the world before the second coming of Jesus Christ, which was similar to postmillennialism of liberal Protestantism in the early twentieth century. Ch’oe’s eschatology was similar to that of the Old Testament prophets who insisted that Israel would be destroyed by the enemy, acting as the tool of God, before the renewal of the nation (See Hong S. 1968, 48-49).
 - 25 American missionaries’ basic policy in politics was non-interference or passive resistance, whereas that of French missionaries was active resistance in the 1890s. So the political power of French missionaries was so powerful that some former officials, who lost their lands to Taewŏngun, could regain their property by simply joining the Roman Catholic Church in Seoul (See Yun 1973, 376).
 - 26 After the enforced abdication of Emperor Kojong and the dissolution of the Korean Army in 1907, voluntary Korean militia soldiers launched a guerrilla resistance movement against the Japanese army. Between 1907 and 1910, more than 25,000 Koreans participated in the battles to keep the nation from Japanese imperialism.
 - 27 During the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese Army Medical Service, adapted from the German model, and the Naval Medical Department, originally formed and trained under the British, provided excellent medical services to the Japanese troops. At the same time, more than 200,000 members of the Red Cross Society were dispatched to three hospitals and supported auxiliary sanatoria. “At these Red Cross Hospitals no fewer than 1,484 Chinese wounded were treated and discharged as cured” (Diosy 1904, 133-

- 134).
- 28 The Korean Red Cross Society was founded by Emperor Kojong's edict on October 27, 1905. The Korean Red Cross Society Hospital was also established behind the Kyōngbok Palace, Seoul, in 1905. It moved to the south of Wōnnam-dong in June 1906. The Taehan Hospital (大韓醫院) of the Japanese government took over its work from March 1907. The Japanese Red Cross Society annexed the Korean Red Cross Society in July 1909 (*HS* 1909).
- 29 Around 1900 the Christian term "eschatology" was translated into "開闢論 kaebyōk-non" (Theory on Transformation) and "結局學 kyōlgukhak" (Study on the Final Events) by Korean Methodists (*SW* 1902a, 117). It seems that the traditional Korean religious understanding of the end times, "開闢" (transformation of the earth), had some influence on the formation of Protestant eschatology.

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