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French Catholic Spirituality and the Nineteenth-century Korean Church

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Abstract

The role played by French Catholic missionaries in overseas evangelization during the nineteenth century was considerable. Their significance was not limited to their numerical contribution—the French Church is viewed as subscribing to a rigorous spirituality characterized by contempt for the world. This spirituality is seen, in the case of the Catholic Church in Korea, as having created a ghetto mentality, which dominated the Church until the 1970s. However, the spirituality of the French Church was more nuanced and varied than this model suggests. The Counter-Reformation ensured that the salvation of the individual soul became paramount, while the French Revolution encouraged the French Church to rediscover its commitment to overseas missions. The spirituality passed to the Korean Church might assist its confessors and martyrs in enduring persecution, but it gave to the Church as a whole the concept of charity and the imperative to relieve the suffering of others.

Keywords: Catholicism, charity, France, Korea, spirituality

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Introduction

The contribution made by the French Catholic Church to Christian missions worldwide during the nineteenth century was extensive. While French involvement in the evangelization of East Asia and North America had begun in the mid-seventeenth century, it was from the 1790s that a series of developments were set in train, which led after 1822 to rapid growth both in the number of mission fields entrusted to French missionary bodies and in the number of French missionaries. The French Revolution was instrumental in initiating an ecclesiastical diaspora—initially to Europe and North America, and then further afield—that ensured, by the death of Pius IX in 1878, three-quarters of Catholic missionaries overseas were French (Pelletier 1997, 32). The ubiquity of French missionaries within the nineteenth-century Catholic missionary movement is of significance not just on account of their numerical contribution, but also because the French Church and its clergy have been portrayed as subscribing to a rigorous spirituality characterized by contempt for the world and pessimism regarding the human condition.

The sacraments are central in Catholicism, acting as they do as channels for God's grace, while devotion and spirituality are mediated through the nexus of relationships that exist between an individual believer and, variously, God the Father and Son, the Virgin Mary, the Company of Saints, fellow Catholics (both living and dead), and the world. Although the relationships are fixed, they have nevertheless been subject to innovation or reinterpretation. The relative importance attached to each has also varied over time. Hence, it is possible to see in the growth of the Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity, not only an expression of the central miracle of the Incarnation in which the sacred and the profane had been combined, but also the posthumous elevation of a group of Christians to the ranks of the "very special dead" with an ability to act as intercessors between man and God (Brown 1981). If the Cult of the Saints made the heavenly realm at once both closer and more accessible to those in this world, Augustine's attacks on Pelagianism, in which he drew both upon his own experience of Manichaeism and elements of North African Christian rigorism, was to make the gap between the two almost unbridgeable. For Augustine, man, tainted by Adam's sin, was sinful by nature rather than will;

original sin was defined as sexual passion and God's grace alone could pluck the Elect from damnation. Augustinianism became a significant element within Catholic theology throughout the Middle Ages, and is regarded as having held sway over the post-Reformation French Church until well into the nineteenth century (Frend 1985, 132, 137, 139; Gibson 1989, 15–16, 29–31). However, the Central Middle Ages subsequently witnessed a major development in the theology of the afterlife that held out the prospect of eventual salvation for all but the irredeemably evil. The elaboration of the doctrine of Purgatory from the twelfth century created a novel spiritual economy expressed through the foundation of chantries and the issuing of indulgences, and it ensured that the dead would always be in the minds of the living.¹ The doctrine had the additional effect of further increasing the popularity of Christ, Mary, and the saints in their roles as intercessors (Le Goff 1981).

In the years following the Black Death (1347–1351), devotion became increasingly christo-centric, shifting its focus to the suffering crucified Christ, who had both borne and atoned for man's sins. Personal identification with Christ and his suffering thereby opened the way to reconciliation with a God who, in true Old Testament fashion, had—literally—visited a plague upon his sinful people. As a result, devotion to individual saints waned as Christ and Mary came to be regarded as the most effective intercessors with a remote and terrible God (Lutton 2011, 198–199). In the sixteenth century, the Council of Trent initiated a process of reform whereby spirituality was increasingly individualized and internalized, and the lay believer set firmly at the base of a hierarchical Church (Bossy 1975; 1985). The effect of these reforms and the persistence of Augustinianism are seen as having a profound effect on the spirituality of the post-Reformation Church in France. A contempt for the world with a concomitant belief in the superiority of the life to come, and pre-occupation with (sexual) sin and judgment—identified as essential elements of “Tridentine” Catholicism—have been placed at the heart of the spiritual traditions of the French Church (Gibson 1989, 15, 19–24, 27–28). Given the prominence of French missionaries in nineteenth-century missions, the question therefore arises as to what influence this rigorist spirituality may have had upon those mission churches founded predominantly or exclusively through their agency.

The impact of this “Tridentine” spirituality on a mission church has already been considered, and to some extent answered, through the history of the Catholic Church in Korea. Korea entered officially into the orbit of French missionary activity in 1831 when the evangelization of the newly created Vicariate Apostolic of Japan and Korea was entrusted to the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* (MEP); their first missionary arrived in Seoul in 1836 (Choi 1961, 76–87). However, since its inception in 1784 the Korean Church had been in intermittent contact with Catholic priests resident in Beijing, and the initial contacts had been with French priests—Lazarists and former Jesuits—at that city’s North Church (Dallet 1874, I: 18, 33).² In 1971, a survey of modern Korean Catholicism set out to identify the essential “worldview”—the spiritual ethos—of the early Korean Church (Min 1971). This drew heavily on Fr. Adrian Launay’s *Martyrs français et coréens 1838–1846 béatifiés en 1925*.³ The conclusion reached through the analysis of Launay’s descriptions of the lives and deaths of the martyrs was that the foundation and development of the Church in a context of chronic social and economic insecurity, linked with the experience of persecution from very early in its history, exerted a significant influence on the Church’s theology. For the author, the spirituality of the early nineteenth-century Church—epitomized as it was by *contemptus mundi*—was pre-disposed to shun the world and so engendered a “ghetto” mentality.⁴ The spiritual roots of modern Korean Catholicism lay in a European tradition characterized by a stark division between the sacred and the profane with the world viewed as an unwelcome trial to be endured in anticipation of the eternal rewards of Heaven. This dualism brought with it an obsession with death and a preoccupation with the consequences of sin and guilt, particularly with regard to sexual transgressions. Little attention was paid to spiritual values (Min 1971, 18, 20–23, 34–35, 88, 91 103–104). This was a tradition that the author of the survey, writing from the perspective of the reforms of Vatican II, seems to have found particularly unpalatable.⁵

Although the survey placed the Church’s spirituality within a specific Korean context of socio-economic crisis and religious persecution, the implication is that the Church was in any case predisposed to follow this particular path. When faced by crisis and persecution, the spirituality of a Church already

primed to view the world with suspicion and hostility acted as a catalyst ensuring not only the physical isolation of Christian communities, but also their intellectual and spiritual withdrawal. This ghetto mentality hindered the Church's social and intellectual development, particularly in comparison to the perceived success of Protestant Churches in Korea. The model of a received spirituality predisposed towards withdrawal and disengagement from the world has to some degree become a standard point of departure in discussions of the early Korean Church (Baker 2012, 13; Grayson 1985, 82–83, 98; Grayson 2002, 146, 171).⁶ However, because of the nature of its sources, the 1971 report may have focused on particular and possibly extraordinary elements of the spirituality of the Korean Church, while the unqualified application of the Tridentine model to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French Church is itself open to question.

The Spirituality of Post-Reformation French Catholicism

The essentials of the spiritual portmanteau carried by French missionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been set out at Trent (1545–1563). The Council of Trent's reforms sought nothing less than an internal spiritual revolution in the individual. Within the French Church, a strong rigorist position developed among the reforming bishops. By the mid-1650s, the French Church had adopted a rigorist Augustinian conception of Christian morality as its majority position. This was in reaction to the perceived laxity of Jesuit methods of pastoral care, the defeat of the attempt by the *dévots* to influence French foreign policy in the Thirty Years' War, and the controversy surrounding Jansenism. The bishops thenceforward followed a rigorous approach to pastoral reform. In 1657, the Assembly of Clergy approved the printing and circulation of a French translation of Cardinal Borromeo's *Instructions to Confessors*. Confession had become the central sacrament in the Counter-Reformation drive to improve the spiritual health of the laity, and the need for proper preparation before Confession and for evidence of contrition to be shown before Absolution had been issues of contention between rigorists and Jesuits.

Borromeo's work reinforced the rigorist position by stating that those improperly dressed or prepared should be refused Confession, while Absolution should be deferred until a genuine amendment of life became evident (Briggs 1989, 345–351). The French bishops also took measures to improve the seminary education of their priests. By the early years of the eighteenth century, these educational reforms had transformed the parish clergy “into a relatively orderly and respectable group” (Briggs 1989, 355). This was also a clergy increasingly influenced by the Augustinian rigorism of the hierarchy. As a result, in their pastoral work they sought not only the elimination of superstitious practices, but also an uncompromising reform of personal and religious conduct; they railed additionally against the theatre, dancing, concupiscence and usury (Briggs 1989, 356–359). This rigorism and the contempt for the world which accompanied it are seen as dominating the French Church, and in particular the seminary education of its priests, until well into the nineteenth century (Gibson 1989, 29, 90–94).

However, the spirituality of the post-Reformation French Church was too nuanced and complex to be expressed in a single model. The charge that the Counter-Reformation led to the creation of a pastorate centered upon death and the fate of the soul in the afterlife may be more apparent than real: Late-Medieval piety was similarly preoccupied with the transitory nature of human existence and posthumous judgment. Moreover, the actual significance of this cult of death—whether it expressed hope or fear or whether some of its manifestations were matters of fashion or social grouping—remains open to debate in the medieval period (Swanson 1989, 254). What the Tridentine reforms did bring was the subordination of this pastorate to the wider objective of increasing individual lay spirituality. This *pastoreul de la peur* in which the clergy preached on the themes of death, judgment, and repentance was only one aspect; others were the encouragement of greater participation in the sacraments, the elimination of superstitious practices, and the promotion of morality. A shift did occur in the geography of the Catholic afterlife with Hell gaining greater prominence. However, there was a downplaying of the physical nature of the punishments to be endured there: the real punishment of Hell was the deprivation of the sight and presence of God (Tingle 2009, 480). Gallican rigorism in its pastoral endeavors both before and after the Revolution might

well have stressed the words of Psalm 112, “Blessed is the man who fears the Lord”; but theology held this should be a filial fear rooted in love, confident in God’s mercy, rather than a craven fear that sought forgiveness to avoid punishment. A 1706 pastoral work stated:

All commences with the fear of God: not the fear of a tyrannical master, but that filial and blessed fear that finds its source in the heart of a true child who loves tenderly his father. (Cholvy and Hilaire 2000, 57)

The theological message might also vary according to the medium: preachers, particularly during internal parish missions, emphasized the fear of God, but catechisms stressed both His love and that of Jesus Christ. A distinction therefore existed between the messages of a standard and an extraordinary pastorate. If there was an over-emphatic use of the fear of God it was in the mission; its presence is less certain in ordinary preaching (*Ibid.*, 57–58). Overall, bishops and parish clergy alike found that their drives to reform the laity in a rigorist mould met with resistance and indifference, and even when successful any gains might be fleeting (*Ibid.*, 60–63). Such campaigns in any case enjoyed little success outside the towns (Briggs 1989, 362).

Clerical preaching was not the only means by which the laity was exposed to reforming spirituality. The eighteenth century marked the high point of parish missions in France. These missions combined the pastoral endeavors of the orders born out of the Counter-Reformation with those of the secular clergy. They involved spectacular quasi-liturgical services, the inculcation of devotional practices, and the foundation of pious associations or the revitalization of moribund confraternities. These missions sought to root the practice of regular devotion among the laity through a variety of spiritual exercises. Such exercises centered upon the sufferings of Jesus, the sacrament of the Eucharist, the cult of the Virgin and that of the Sacred Heart. The missionaries also distributed devotional literature, which might furnish the “converted soul” with a regime

[. . .] of everyday piety (prayers of morning and evening), weekly (particular devotions according to the day of the week with Tuesday reserved for the Eucharist, Friday the Passion and death of Christ, Saturday the Mother of God), monthly (confession and communion) and even annual (time reserved for a retreat at the moment of the anniversary of the mission). (Julia 2001, 391)

The foundation or renaissance of confraternities prolonged the effects of missions, and their rules prescribed an individual programme of piety accessible to the greatest number. The importance of the salvation of the soul achieved through regular meditation on the Passion and death of Christ every Friday was underlined, as was devotion to the Stations of the Cross and the necessity of prayers for souls in Purgatory. Such devotions, with their focus on Christ and the Virgin, acted as a counterpoint to the stern theocentrism of Augustinian rigorism.

The requirement to pray for souls suffering in Purgatory is a reminder both of the role of the confraternity in the expression of lay piety and the continuing importance of the doctrine itself within the spiritual universe of post-Reformation Catholicism. In the Tridentine model, Purgatory slips from its position as the pre-eminent concern of Late Medieval lay piety to leave an almost Protestant view of the afterlife where the eternal delights of Heaven are contrasted starkly with the eternal torments of Hell. In this scheme, Purgatory becomes an equally unpleasant, but mercifully temporary, adjunct of Hell, the role of which was again to ensure fearful compliance with the ascetic morality of Tridentine Catholicism (Gibson 1989, 28). However, the change in the relative importance of two of the three places of the Catholic afterlife may have been more complex and perhaps less significant. After Trent, greater emphasis came to be placed on an individual's preparation over a lifetime to meet God in preference to the medieval concept of the "Good Death" (Bergin 2009, 273–274; Tingle 2009, 480). Consequently, devotional practice shifted from communal post-mortem provision into more individualistic expressions of devotion and emulation of the life of Christ. One aspect of this was increased Eucharistic devotion in which frequent confession and reception of the Sacrament were linked with individual meditation and examination of conscience. Other aspects

included a growing emphasis on personal prayer and the desire to emulate the life of Christ through good works and activism. This increased emphasis on individual spirituality may have reduced Purgatory's historical visibility as investment in its long-term physical manifestation, the perpetual chantry, declined through the seventeenth century in France. Spiritual investment in Purgatory, expressed increasingly through interior and individual devotions, became less visible; however, Purgatory as a doctrine remained a crucial element within the calculus of Catholic spirituality as witnessed by the continuing (and increasing) demand from French Catholics for Roman indulgences after 1814 and into the 1830s (Boutry 2001, 489).

Finally, no overview of Catholicism in Early Modern France (and beyond) seems complete without reference to Jansenism. This had a varied influence over the French Church from the seventeenth until just into the nineteenth century. However, while seventeenth-century Jansenism had been a theological movement dominated by members of the regular clergy, during the eighteenth century it evolved into a legalistic and political one directed by laymen. It never became a popular religious movement, being either too unpalatable (even for moral rigorists) or too intellectual (Briggs 1989, 362; Doyle 2000). Its significance lay not in any distinct influence upon the spirituality of the French Church, but rather in Jansenism's role during the 1650s, alluded to above, in ensuring that Augustinian rigorism would become the dominant spiritual position of the Church. In its moral rigorism, Jansenism was an expression and reinforcement of an Augustinian view of the world and man's place within it already current within the French Church. Outside of the contended theological points, it would have been difficult to insert a page from the *Augustinus* between the moral positions of Jansenists and rigorist bishops (Gibson 1989, 28). It is, moreover, unnecessary to look to a dissenting position that had reached its theological peak in the seventeenth century for the origins of a fundamental suspicion of the world in the nineteenth-century French Church.

The Impact of the French Revolution on Church and Mission

The French Revolution was the most serious challenge faced by the Catholic Church since the Reformation and “[b]eside it, Jansenism seemed no more

than a long-standing irritant” (Doyle 2000, 84). The Revolution brought persecution, internal conflict with the Constituent clergy, exile or worse for the refractory clergy, the loss of property and the suspension of the activities of missionary bodies.⁷ The historic link between Church and State had been irrevocably severed; this breach was recognized in the Concordat of 1801 in which Catholicism was no longer the religion of the “most Christian king” with an influence that was ubiquitous, but of the “greatest part” of the French people (Cholvy and Hilaire 2000, 15; Langlois 2001, 97). Yet, despite bringing upheaval and destruction, the Revolutionary decade shaped the French Church in ways which would have a profound effect on developments in its spirituality during the nineteenth century and would create the conditions necessary for a renaissance of the Church’s commitment to overseas mission (Daughton 2006, 34).

Overall, the Revolution and subsequent Concordat brought the French Church closer to Rome. The exile of clergy from France to Rome from late 1792 was of crucial importance: when they returned between 1795 and 1797 they were, if not “ultramontanes,” then at least “romans.”⁸ In the face of dechristianization and the Terror, Pius VI assumed the role of “universal pastor,” while the progress of popes through France, whether voluntary or involuntary, served to modify the image of the papacy amongst the faithful and reasserted the emotional and practical ties between the French Church and Rome (Boutry 2001, 404–406). Increasing exposure to ultramontane forms of piety strengthened existing practices within the Church. A revived interest in the figure of Christ became a central element in this spiritual change (Julia 2001, 395). While the Church in 1800 may have been still strongly theocentric, devotions to the suffering Christ and the Eucharist were elements of spiritual practice that had already been promoted in the eighteenth-century parish missions. These presaged an increasing focus during the nineteenth century on Christ as both savior and exemplar. The slackening of the hold of theocentrism was further reflected in the popularity of the cults of the Virgin and the Sacred Heart. The Revolution caused the Church both to look back into its early history and forward to the end times. The Revolution created martyrs, and this rediscovery of the “love of sacrifices” joined with the ultramontane interest in the apostolic period and relics.⁹ The catacomb saints, whose remains had

been unearthed in Rome since the late seventeenth century, were an important element in this. These supposed saints took on a new significance as “Catholic France from the start of the nineteenth century roused herself to find in the catacombs the memory, revived by the Terror, of pagan persecutions and Christian heroism” (Boutry 2001, 414–415). In the first half of the nineteenth century around 1,800 of these saints were translated from Rome; more than one quarter came to France. The special place of the French nation and Church within Catholicism and their historic imperative to evangelize were identified and traced back to the conversion of the Franks under Clovis. As the Franks were alone among the Continental Germanic tribes in converting to Catholic Christianity from the outset, France was considered to be the eldest daughter of the Church. The duty to spread Catholic Christianity was further reinforced through the French Crown’s leading role in the medieval crusades; this gave the French a continuing and special responsibility for the evangelization of the Levant (Daughton 2006, 35). If the Revolution caused the Church to look afresh at its history, it also encouraged the emergence of millenarian societies that imbued the Revolution with eschatological meaning. God could, it was thought, have only permitted this catastrophe in order to ensure the conversion of other Christians and non-Christians; the “apocalypse” of the Revolution would be followed by a religious reconquest involving the mobilization of the entire Church (Baumont 1984, 202; Langlois 2001, 398).

These eschatological expectations became increasingly linked with devotion to the Virgin whose cult had been growing in importance from the seventeenth century throughout Europe. In the eighteenth century, Italian works increased the popularity of the Virgin as intercessor and protector (Cholvy and Hilaire 2000, 205; Langlois 2001, 398; Tingle 2009, 486). These were particularly influential in France, and while by no means unique to the French Church, devotion to Mary was an aspect of Catholic spirituality that took on a particular and special significance there. Attachment to the feast of the Virgin and the month of May grew during the nineteenth century. The century also witnessed a series of apparitions of the Virgin within France; the first of these came in 1830 to a novice of the *Filles de la Charité de Saint Vincent de Paul* in a chapel in the rue du Bac, close to the seminary of the MEP. This vision of the Immaculate Virgin was represented on a Miraculous Medal, revealed at the time

of the Virgin's appearance, and subsequently struck and distributed to millions in Catholic Europe from summer 1832 onwards. The apogee of devotion to Mary came with Papal endorsement of the Immaculate Conception as dogma in 1854. This doctrine, which was already strongly supported in France, was in turn linked to a belief that the Second Coming would be preceded by a Marian Age (the Miraculous Medal displayed symbolism from Revelations) (Kselman 1983, 91) in which France, with her privileged relationship to the Catholic Church, would play a providential role (Cholvy and Hilaire 2000, 204; Gibson 1989, 145; Kselman 1983, 89–94).

In addition to encouraging these spiritual developments, the Revolution had a practical effect on the Church's commitment to mission. The dislocation, persecution and dechristianization of the revolutionary period brought with it the need for internal missions to bring back a generation lost to the Church. Among the exiled clergy a renewal of the Apostolic spirit occurred, leading to revived interest in evangelizing missions to non-Christians; this was particularly so among those exiled in England and in the German lands who found themselves in contact with Protestant Churches and different mission methods. The physical displacement of exile led to an increase in missionary activity abroad from the 1790s, especially in North America. The Sulpicians began their mission to America during 1791 and to Canada at the start of 1794. The tribulations experienced under the Empire between 1803 and 1814 by the Trappists, hitherto strangers to overseas evangelization, caused them to leave and take up missionary work in the United States (Baumont 1984, 202–203). The potential crossover between internal and external mission is demonstrated in the Society of Mary (Marists). Founded in 1816 by twelve young priests in the Lyonnaise, the Society conducted rural missions in 1825. Ten years later it was entrusted with the Vicariate of Western Oceania, and in 1841 a Marist brother became the first Catholic martyr of Oceania (Daughton 2006, 35–36; Boutry 2001, 426).

This renaissance of missionary activity was underpinned by elements from both the Tridentine reforms and more recent ultramontane developments. The rigorist position placed the question of individual salvation center stage amid a stark juxtaposition of opposites—Heaven or Hell? An eternity of happiness or suffering? The central importance accorded to individual salvation brought

with it an urgency to convert others. François-René de Chateaubriand wrote that the preachers of the faith should turn their eyes “towards the regions where the souls languish even now in the darkness of idolatry” and should be willing to shed their blood for the salvation of strangers (de Montclos 1984, 329). Salvation was not possible outside the Church—a position reinforced during the nineteenth century by the diffusion of ultramontanist. As the Church was the sole dispenser of the truth leading to salvation it was incumbent upon the Pope, as Christ’s vicar on earth, to fulfill his missionary responsibilities (Launay 2008, 60–61; de Montclos 1984, 328–331).

As well as reawakening a commitment to apostolic endeavor among the clergy, the Revolution created the conditions for increased lay involvement within the French Church. One aspect of this was the short-lived participation of laity in the governance of the Conciliar Church. Of more lasting significance were the actions of the laity in keeping the Church alive in the face of dechristianization and then in support of the refractory clergy. In the Lyonnaise, domestic missionary work required significant lay assistance, often utilizing women who were less strictly observed, and this was a model employed in other dioceses after 1804 as part of internal missions (Langlois 2001, 399–400). It was also in the Lyonnaise that elements of the renewed apostolic spirit, the desire to imitate the life of Christ, the imperative to bring non-Christians into the Church, and the recent involvement of the laity in supporting the spiritual and missionary endeavors of the Church came together in the foundation of the *Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*. This organization was created in 1822 through the efforts of a Lyon laywoman, Pauline Jaricot, who was responding in part to the fund-raising activities initiated by Louis-Guillaume-Valentin Du Bourg, missionary bishop of Louisiana (Baumont 1984, 210; Pasquier 2010, 107). Jaricot applied the “practical efficiency proper to the Catholicism of the Lyonnaise” to the funding of overseas missions, and created a body that rapidly ensured overseas Catholic missions would enjoy both the financial and spiritual support of, principally, the French laity (Boutry 2001, 422). The *Oeuvre* throughout its history remained a lay organization that maintained a clear independence from Rome (Daughton 2006, 34). The organization of the *Oeuvre* grew rapidly, so that by 1830 it was present in nearly all French dioceses. The significance of its financial contribution grew as well: in 1825,

122,000 francs were raised; in 1833, this had risen to 313,000 francs (Baumont 1984, 211). However, the support was not simply financial—the *Oeuvre* required its members to pray daily for the success of missions overseas. As such, the *Oeuvre* tapped into a strengthening interest among the laity concerning overseas mission, which had been piqued by recent publications, such as the *Lettres édifiantes* (Baumont 1984, 205; Daughton 2006, 35).¹⁰ This in turn reflected a spiritual climate in which the salvation of the individual soul had long been central, and where there was now renewed emphasis on both the life of Christ, and its emulation, and the apostolic church. The belief that salvation was impossible outside the Church placed an evangelical duty upon every Christian. The missionary ideal thereby became an essential element in post-Revolutionary French Catholicism and the Papal call to mission after 1833 found both Church and laity in France favorably disposed towards its fulfillment (Baumont 1984, 212).

The spirituality of the nineteenth-century French Church was varied, nuanced, and dynamic. The spiritual foundation of the Church lay in a concern with the salvation of the individual and how best to achieve it. While reform during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought to the fore the *pastereul de la peur* and theocentrism, such rigorism was subject to change and was limited in its practical application. By the end of the eighteenth century, this stern theocentrism was being tempered by contemplation on the sufferings of Jesus, increased devotion to the Eucharist, and the growth of the cults of the Virgin and the Sacred Heart. The Heaven/Hell dualism and *contemptus mundi* were balanced by the persistence of lay devotions surrounding Purgatory and activism in imitation of Christ and His Apostles. For the fervent Christian, Catholicism might be an austere and ascetic faith in which only the small number of the Elect would be saved; but it was also a religion which made clear that the means to salvation were in the here and now in the form of prayer, fasts, participation in the sacraments and the visiting of churches and the sick (Cholvy and Hilaire 2000, 58–59). The immediate impact of the Revolution on the Church was without doubt destructive, and served to reinforce any lingering sense of a Church already under siege from the effects of the Protestant Reformation and the secular Enlightenment. However, the need for the Church to react and survive during the decade following 1789 paradoxically created a fresh

dynamism. As well as encouraging, under the influence of ultramontane forms of piety, the development of existing spiritual trends, the Revolution caused the Church to renew her commitment to mission, both domestic and foreign. The French laity played a significant part in at first ensuring the survival of the Church in the face of dechristianization, and then in the protection of the refractory clergy and the pursuit of internal mission. Lay interest in the life of Christ, the catacomb saints, the apostolic era and their involvement in internal mission flowed naturally into their support for overseas evangelization.¹¹

The Influence of Post-Reformation Catholic Spirituality upon the Korean Church

The sources produced by the missionaries of the MEP in connection with the promotion of the cause of the Martyrs of Korea and as reports on the progress of the mission provide a window into the spirituality and devotional practices of the Korean laity during the first half of the nineteenth century. Principal among these sources, and the one mainly utilized here, is Charles Dallet's *Histoire de l'église de Corée*, published in 1874, from which Launay later derived much of his material. Dallet's principal purpose was to record the history of the Korean Church and to demonstrate the truth of Tertullian's maxim that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians. In this he drew on sources held at the rue du Bac, and in particular those collected or created by Bishop Daveluy in response to the opening of the cause in 1857. This material was largely reproduced verbatim. Most of that employed here relates to those laity caught up in the *Kihae* persecution of 1839–40, as these formed the basis for the 1971 survey through Min's use of Launay's work.

The Catholic Church in Korea was founded by laymen in 1784 and the first converts learned their faith through books, family connections, or by way of their intermittent contacts with Catholic clergy in Beijing. Given the emphasis that has been placed on the influence of an Augustinian worldview within the early Korean Church, there is a certain irony that the texts were often Jesuit works of accommodation, in particular Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (Cawley 2012, 28 and n. 14; Rausch 2013, 2, 4–6). With the arrival

of a Chinese priest, Jacob Zhou Wenmo, in Seoul at the end of 1794, limited instruction could be carried out at first hand. Zhou took measures to compensate for his inability to cater fully to the pastoral needs of the entire community. He established the *Myōngdohoe* (Society for the Illumination of the Way) in order to promote evangelization, and the first leader of this society, Augustine Chōng Yakchong, a leading member of the early Church who was martyred in 1801, compiled a Korean language catechism, the *Chugyo yoji*, between 1795 and 1801. In addition to explaining the essentials of Christian doctrine, such as the Fall, Original Sin, the Incarnation and Atonement, the *Chugyo yoji* emphasized the underlying tenet of Counter Reformation Catholicism: the need for individual reformation. Additionally, and significantly, it contained a further exhortation to *caritas*: the reciprocal love between God and man that brought with it a practical requirement to help and love others (Cawley 2012, 34, 36–37).

Chōng Yakchong's catechism first introduces its reader to a God who is omni-present, omnipotent, and omniscient. For their part, the laity imagined Him as a king or father with the believer a subject sworn to die for his king. It was the duty of all to honor and serve God; disobedience through apostasy was equated with treason or an abrogation of filialism (Dallet 1874, II: 141, 143, 327, 328). Ch'oe Yangpok saw such disobedience as an act of rebellion while apostasy would bring death to the soul. Magdalene Son Sobyōk maintained that her life was not her own but a God-given gift. Lucy Kim admitted frankly to fearing death, but only by renouncing her God could she live; consequently she desired to die (Dallet 1874, II: 141, 194, 224). The believer in any case inhabited an imperfect world governed by Divine Providence that stood in stark contrast to the promise of Heaven, the alternative to which was Hell. Mary Yi talked about the brevity of this life and the eternity of the future life, where the choice, according to Augustine Yu Chin'gil, was between the eternal torments of Hell or the eternal rewards of Heaven. The catechist John Baptist Yi Kwangnyōl perhaps articulated this *contemptus mundi* most fully. Awaiting execution, Kwangnyōl reflected that "life is but an instance" and he wrote of a corrupt and sinful world in which his own sins were like mountain ranges. He maintained that the three most pressing dangers facing the Christian were—echoing here the *Chugyo yoji*—the world, the flesh and the devil, of which the

flesh was the most dangerous (Dallet 1874, I: 119; II: 141, 143, 161, 164, 169, 224, 235–238; *Mission de Seoul* 1924, 34, 54). Such images of contempt and transience were not limited to the laity. Bishop Imbert, writing before his departure for Korea, pictured man as viator, a traveler through a hostile world: “We are in this world *peregrines et hospites* [pilgrims and strangers]. There is hope of repose in the other world” (Fauconnet-Buzlin 1996, 225).

The focus on the rewards of Heaven and the torments of Hell articulated by the Korean Church’s confessors and martyrs matches the model of Tridentine Catholicism and its *contemptus mundi*.¹² This is reflected in the *Chugyo yoji*, which contained no reference to Purgatory to ameliorate this stark dualism (Rauch 2014, 232 n. 18.).¹³ This omission is curious since the doctrine of purgatorial penance and the efficacy of prayers for the relief of those souls suffering in Purgatory is clearly expounded in *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, the standard catechism of the post-Trent Church (McHugh and Callan 1923, 59, 60, 292, 342). Similarly, Ricci’s sixth set of dialogues describes not only Heaven and Hell, but also Purgatory (Iraola 2007, 168). The absence of direct references to Purgatory in Dallet’s work can be readily explained by the fact that its theme is martyrdom. The special status of the martyrs ensured that they would not be troubled by Purgatory—their physical sufferings in this world purged them of their sins and the martyr’s crown awaited the resilient confessor in Heaven. However, its absence from what was to become the standard catechism of the Korean Church is less easily explained.

The *Chugyo yoji* is not solely concerned with judgment and the afterlife. Through its explanation of the Atonement, a central element within Catholic theology since the twelfth century, and its description of the humbled and suffering Christ, it introduced its readers to the centrality of Christ and his sacrifice (Cawley 2012, 35). The Atonement provided inspiration and encouragement to the Church’s confessors and martyrs. Augustine Pak Chongwŏn, while contemplating a crucifix, meditated on Christ’s love for him “a miserable sinner,” as well as His suffering and death. Since Christ had loved him, Pak should love Christ; since Christ had suffered and died for him, it was only proper that Pak should suffer and die for Christ. Under torture, John Ch’oe Yangpok thought only of the crucified Savior and wished to repay him “love for love, life for life,” while Yi Kwangnyŏl contrasted his lack of worth and

ingratitude with God's mercy and Christ's redemptive act (Dallet 1874, II: 194, 203, 236). Christ, as the archetypal martyr, provided a model for confessors. Paul Yi Togi, arrested and tortured in 1797, refused food since, being upon the "cross" himself, he wished to imitate Jesus. The torches carried by the servants of the magistrate at Chŏnju in 1827 caused Peter Yi Kyŏngŏn to recall the arrest of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, and in 1846 Laurence Han Pong-sim refused the offer of a mount—despite the injuries to his feet inflicted through torture—and chose to walk barefoot in imitation of Jesus' progress to Calvary (Dallet 1874, I: 90, 340; II: 326).

The martyrs, of course, formed a religious elite and the Church offered other means of spiritual fulfillment for the majority of its members (Finch 2000, 564). The paraphernalia of devotion—medals, crucifixes, rosaries and images—are attested to in both Christian and government sources, and prayer, contemplation, abstinence and the reception of the Eucharist—activities familiar from contemporary French Catholicism—all formed a part of the devotional life of the laity.¹⁴ Lent and Christmas might bring about increased prayer and meditation or a stricter regime of abstinence (Dallet 1874, I: 302, 321; II: 158, 165, 195, 221, 325, 327). This might also be true in the face of a crisis, such as a physical temptation, a lapse of faith or apostasy, an attempt at personal reformation, arrest and torture, or in preparation for death (Dallet 1874, II: 95, 128, 212, 214, 250). Thanks was given to the Virgin who, together with the saints, was seen as an intercessor with God (Dallet 1874, II: 57). John Baptist Yi Kwangnyŏl in his valedictory epistle of 1839 exhorted Christians to invoke the Virgin and to extol all her boundless virtues (Dallet 1874, II: 237–38). On other occasions a more personal connection is revealed. At some point after her arrival in Seoul in 1795, two apparitions of Mary appeared to Agatha Yun Chŏmhye. Chŏmhye initially attributed the first apparition to madness or the Devil, but Zhou Wenmo interpreted it favorably. Similarly agitated following the second visitation, Zhou calmed Chŏmhye's fears by showing to her an image of the Virgin that matched exactly what she had seen (Dallet 1874, I: 65). Interestingly, Chŏmhye's special devotion was nonetheless said to remain with her name saint, Agatha. The confessor Paul Yi Togi during his imprisonment in 1797 felt that he had been placed on the cross by the Virgin; his dying words were, "I greet you, Mary" (Dallet 1874, I: 90, 92, 165). Luthagarde Yi

Suni described her as “our good mother,” while in a letter of 1811 the early martyrs were described as friends of the Virgin (Dallet 1874, I: 193, 264). Given contemporary developments in France, it is of no surprise that the missionaries were imbued with an intense Marian devotion, possibly exceeding that of the laity and which infused their commitment to the mission. The first Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Bruguière, who died while still in China, recited daily the rosary of the Seven Sorrows and other prayers dedicated to the Virgin; his funeral was held on the Feast of the Presentation (Dallet 1874, II: 87–88).¹⁵ Dallet’s work was itself dedicated to the Virgin as “queen of apostles. . . martyrs. . . and confessors.” In words reminiscent of the 1811 letter, Dallet wrote that all the Korean martyrs, both clerical and lay, were children of the Virgin (Dallet 1874, I: v). After 1839, Mary and the mission became intimately linked. In that year, the Papacy designated Mary patroness of the Vicariate with her “glorious title of Immaculate.” Seven years later, Bishop Ferréol and Fr. Daveluy established an association of the Arch-confraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. This had been founded at the church of Notre-Dame desVictoires in Paris in 1836. Fr. Daveluy wrote to the founder, Fr. Desgenettes, to have this new Korean association and its new alliance with Mary enrolled in its register. This would, he wrote, create a union between those other associations spread around the world and the Korean Christians who came every Sunday to offer prayers in Korean to the Mother of God (Dallet 1874, II: 331–32). The association of Korea with the Virgin was further reinforced in 1857 when the six newly formed mission districts were named after her feasts. That of the bishop, centered on Seoul, was named Immaculate Conception (Lecleir 2000, 262, n. 113; 281, n. 215).

The determination of the laity to make their confessions and to participate in the Eucharist made a significant impression upon the missionaries. On arriving in Seoul in 1836, Fr. Maubant had been unable to pursue his language studies because of the numbers of Christians wishing to partake of the sacrament. In 1838, Bishop Imbert wrote of celebrating mass before daybreak and the giving of communion to fifteen or twenty Christians who had confessed the previous day. In the following April he heard 146 confessions over two days, despite his attempt to limit numbers to no more than twenty per day (Dallet 1874, II: 95, 125, 133). The enthusiasm of the laity had not diminished

by the late 1840s, when Fr. Daveluy reported that nursing mothers, the elderly, and young girls made journeys of up to eight days through severe winter weather (ibid., 333). This sacramental hunger was rooted in the absence from the community for several decades of priests—Frs. Maubant and Chastan helped prepare individuals to make confessions stretching back as many as four decades—and the fear that either they or their missionary might die before they could confess and receive communion. It demonstrates too the laity's awareness of the centrality of these two complementary sacraments, and the potential, noted in other missions, for the sacredness of Catholic ritual to attract converts (Pasquier 2010, 67).¹⁶ This may have been of particular significance when such converts came from a religious milieu, as in Korea, where orthopraxy was stressed over orthodoxy (Baker 2008, 61).

The path of the martyr was not the only means by which the world could be challenged and overcome, and the crucified Christ was not the only model presented to and understood by the laity. Through works of mercy, whether corporal or spiritual, the laity were given the means to challenge the world and a path to follow Christ.¹⁷ The *Chugyo yoji* ended its first part with an assertion of the necessity for belief in God and the practice of charity or *caritas* (Cawley 2012, 35). Andrew Kim, writing in 1815, maintained that God had wished to found this world upon charity, and although suffering might be viewed as a result of God's Providence, this did not deter either laity or missionaries from taking practical action (Dallet 1874, I: 293). Though he believed that all trials came from God, Francis Ch'oe Kyōnghwan distributed food in response to a failed harvest. Frs. Maubant and Chastan too gave money to starving Christians in 1837 (Dallet 1874, II: 113, 161–62). Other Christians conducted “good works” within the Church and beyond it, providing relief to the poor, sheltering the homeless, tending the sick, providing instruction to the ignorant, and exhorting the lukewarm (*tiedes*) or weak-willed (*faibles*) (Dallet 1874, I: 301, 318, 337; II: 136–37, 140, 141, 149, 153, 162, 171, 189, 204, 209, 212, 225, 232, 249–50). By giving food and clothes to the agents sent to arrest him in imitation—as was noted in a subsequent hagiography—of St. Polycarp, Ch'oe Kyōnghwan perhaps had in mind two of the spiritual works: bearing wrongs patiently and forgiving offences willingly (W—1859, 86, n.1).

The anti-Christian policy of the government and periodic outbreaks of persecution that occurred from 1785 onwards created opportunities for spiritual action not only for the “athletes of Christ,” the confessors and martyrs, but also through works of mercy for the wider Christian community. Refuge was provided for Christians who had abandoned non-Christian husbands or masters, or who had fled persecution or over-inquisitive neighbors. Confessors received practical as well as emotional support from fellow Christian prisoners and the wider Church. In the case of the martyrs, this support extended beyond death, as whenever possible their bodies were retrieved and accorded decent burial. This particular work of mercy was also extended to non-Christians.¹⁸ Such acts of charity had a practical effect within the Christian community as well as providing spiritual benefit for their practitioners. They could also have a wider influence by assisting evangelization and encouraging favorable views of Christianity. Barbara Ha was said to have exercised a ministry of charity, thereby converting many to Christianity. While, in Kyōngsang province, by the early 1860s, the harmonious relations that had developed between Christians and their neighbors was in part attributed to the respect they accorded the dead (Dallet 1874, I: 313; II: 505).

In addition to these good works, some members of the laity became involved in baptizing non-Christian infants in danger of death, a practice introduced after 1836 by the missionaries (Dallet 1874, I: 338; II, 125, 136, 190, 195, 203, 225; *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* 1839, 352; 1841, 162). In November 1838, Bishop Imbert wrote, “Our Christians, hitherto badly instructed, have left pagan infants to die unbaptized.” Frs. Maubant and Chastan had impressed upon the Christians, particularly the catechists, the importance of this work, and Christians had now learned to baptize these “poor little creatures.” Over a period of several months in 1838, 192 had been baptized of whom 152 subsequently died; “What a magnificent harvest for Heaven!” wrote Imbert (*Annales de la Propagation de la foi* 1841, 162). The numbers of non-Christian infants baptized *in articulo mortis* became an element of the annual *comptes rendus* drawn up by the missionaries. In the mid-1850s the missionaries were engaged in encouraging the laity to undertake this work “so abundant in the fruits of salvation,” and they provided those designated as baptizers with small rewards (Ch’oe 1981, 121; Dallet 1874, II: 387). In 1859, a pharmacy was

established in “one of the principal towns” in the hope that it would provide the means “to open Heaven to a great many children of idolaters.” The accounts for that year show 908 baptisms of this kind (Dallet 1874, I: 452).¹⁹

The concern with the salvation of infants found a further expression with the establishment of the *Oeuvre de la Ste. Enfance* in the Korean mission. This organization had been founded by Bishop Forbin-Janson in 1843 to combat infanticide and the mistreatment of children worldwide. It received significant support from France with one third of its funds originating from there in 1846 (Daughton 2006, 37). During the course of 1854, Fr. Maistre sought to affirm and develop the work of the *Oeuvre* in Korea and to found an establishment for the care of those infants who were taken in alive.²⁰ The synod of March 1857 enacted measures to ensure the proper regulation of the funds received from the *Oeuvre*, and recognized its work in both baptizing “pagan” infants in danger of death, and in caring for those children who had been abandoned or those within the Mission who might be received without the danger that they would be reclaimed later. No specific regulations were made concerning the first group, but detailed regulations were drawn up concerning those who were taken in (Ch’oe 1981, 121–24, 172–74).

Conclusion

By the nineteenth century the French Church and its spirituality had been deeply influenced by both the Counter-Reformation and the Revolution. This spirituality was passed to the Church in Korea, first through texts that were Jesuit in origin and then more directly by the missionaries of the MEP. Min Kyong-suk in 1971 found that the early Church chose “out of the treasures of Catholicism. . . only those aspects which were most consoling. . . to the psychology of a suffering and persecuted Church” (cited in Grayson 1985, 83). This statement, written as a theologian whose principal concern was to understand and expose the challenges faced by the Korean Church as he found it, was historically both more insightful than he had perhaps intended and yet too narrowly focused to capture the overall significance of the spiritual legacy gifted to the Korean Church. It accurately describes the actions of individual

Christians, both clerical and lay, as they looked to elements within their faith for spiritual justification and support in the face of arrest, torture and execution. Particular contexts and sources acted to bring to the fore the elements of *contemptus mundi* and theocentrism found within contemporary Catholicism. John Baptist Yi Kwangnyōl, who among the *Kihae* martyrs most clearly articulated the belief in the dangers of the world and the hope for a better life in the next, was a confessor awaiting martyrdom. Furthermore, it is clear that for some Christians death was neither an end nor indeed a beginning in the “only truly important affair of eternity” (Dallet 1874, II: 152), but a continuation. Confessors comforted friends and relations with the promise of reunion in Heaven, achieved in part through the intercessory role they would enjoy as crowned martyrs, members of the “very special dead” and friends of the Virgin (Brown 1981; Rausch 2014; Dallet 1874, II: 236, 328). Bishop Imbert’s use of the image of man as viator concluded a section in which he had described his feelings on being called to leave the mission in Manchuria. His twelve years there had been “generally tranquil,” and he had become accustomed to the mission and had formed attachments to both his colleagues and the laity; it was only natural for the heart to refuse new adventures. However, the extreme situation of the Korean mission and the orders of the Pope had made him accept this new burden. According to Imbert, God had called him as in Genesis He had called Abraham to leave his land and his kinsfolk (Fauconnet-Buzlin 1996, 224–25; see Gen. 12:1–2).²¹ For a missionary, the image matched the reality of his vocation (Daughton 2006, 31). By the time of the Korean mission, the image of viator was a venerable one, dating back to the Middle Ages. It has proved capable of re-interpretation, being employed—with language strikingly similar to Imbert’s—in *Lumen Gentium* of Vatican II to justify the need for modernization and renewal in the Church.²²

What Min’s model lacks historically is the presence of the other “treasures.” Alongside the essentials of “Tridentine” spirituality—a corrupt and dangerous world in which man was little more than a stranger or, at best, a pilgrim, the sacrifice of the suffering Christ and the debt of the Atonement, and the inevitability of a fearsome God’s Providence—there existed from early in the Korean Church’s history a parallel call to charity. As with their fellow Catholics in France, the Korean laity found themselves called to follow Christ as apostle,

teacher, and healer. Even in the face of famine or persecutions, which were attributed to God's will, Korean Christians nevertheless provided shelter, succor and comfort to fellow Christians and non-Christians. This extended even to the dead who were accorded proper burial and remembered in the prayers of the living. Although suspicion of the world had a theological basis, disengagement was caused by the very real existence of official hostility that spilled over into persecution. The missionaries themselves belonged to a Church that had suffered recent persecution and which remained suspicious of a secular state in France that had proved so singularly inimical to that Church's existence. They were members too of a mission society that subscribed to the initial evangelization of the ordinary people rather than elites, a policy determined by the experiences of earlier missions in East Asia and by the MEP's own—sometimes contemporary—experience in Indochina (Daughton 2006, 32; MacMillan 2005, 225).

When compared with other nineteenth-century French mission fields, it seems that persecution shaped the Korean mission in other ways. The presentation in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, the mouthpiece of the *Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, to a principally French audience varied from mission to mission. The different missions acquired signatures: for Korea, and probably China and Indochina, this signature was martyrdom and sainthood.²³ For the trans-Appalachian missions established from the 1790s in North America by French priests, the signature became more varied, comprising imitation of the apostolic life and that of the Early Church, a continuance of the heritage of earlier missionaries, a continuation of the Counter-Reformation struggle against Protestantism and a developing hagiography concerned with healing miracles attributed to Bishop Flaget of Bardstown (Pasquier 2010, 52–55, 111–12). In Japan, the brief persecution of the *kakure* between 1869 and 1871 suggested that martyrdom might become the characteristic feature of another MEP vicariate in East Asia. However, international pressure and the desire of the Meiji government to be treated on equal terms brought an end to anti-Christian activity. This ensured that the interest in persecution and martyrdom remained an historical one. After this the mission, when not characterized by despair and frustration either at relations with those *kakure* who did not return

to the Church or the paucity of converts, was partly informed by the undercurrent of anti-Protestantism running through missionary expansion in the post-Revolutionary French Church (Baumont 1977, 13). In Japan after 1871, nuns and MEP priests became involved in educational and medical work; Fr. Testevuide was notable for his work with *burakumin* and lepers, establishing a leprosarium at Gotemba in 1888 (Lehman 1979, 394–95; Charbonnier 2007, 124, 127). Such activities were not possible in Korea until much later and at a time when Protestant missions were already well established.

Rather than introducing a neo-manichaeic worldview that subsequently blighted the Korean Church for generations, the French missionaries brought with them a dynamic and varied spirituality. They reinforced and internationalized devotion to Mary and their own fervent devotion to the Cult of the Virgin led to the creation of an intimate and enduring association between that cult and the Korean Vicariate. The laity for their part greatly impressed the missionaries with their devotion to the Eucharist. In contexts where they faced imprisonment, torture, and execution, the Church's confessors and martyrs articulated a strongly pessimistic view of the world and contrasted the eternal rewards of Heaven with the eternal torments of Hell. In a work such as Dallet's, the paucity of references to Purgatory may be explained by the special status of confessors and martyrs; however, the apparent omission of Purgatory from the Korean Church's catechism is less readily explained. Although beyond the scope of this article (and the abilities of this author), further research into the catechism and its origins may provide an insight into what the earliest converts themselves found significant in their new-found faith and its soteriology. The absence of Purgatory too hints at an intrinsic rather than extrinsic origin for the *contemptus mundi* that has been so readily associated with the early Church. Indeed, it is not entirely clear if the laity fully understood the doctrine of Purgatory before the arrival of the French missionaries. A Christian prisoner did reply to an interrogating magistrate that the Church had special prayers for the dead, but this was in 1837. The second Chinese priest who was active in Korea from 1833 until 1836 was alleged to have neglected his pastoral duties, refusing to learn Korean and limiting his activities to Seoul (Dallet 1874, II: 97,

115). This raises the possibility that the Korean Church's understanding of the afterlife was in fact expanded and softened by the arrival of the French.²⁴

Whatever may have been the case with regard to Purgatory, in other ways the French missionaries acted to broaden the spirituality of the Korean Church bringing as they did both fresh developments and a new intensity in Marian devotion and novel means to exercise *caritas* in the form of infant baptism *in articulo* and the *Oeuvre de la Ste. Enfance*. The spirituality of the Korean Church involved more than a contempt for the world and the shunning of what was Caesar's. Through contacts with French missionaries, the Korean Church received its spirituality from a tradition in which the salvation of the individual soul was paramount. This salvation was, moreover, dependent not on faith alone but also on good works. From the texts and instruction they received from Beijing, the laity were enjoined to love God and their neighbor. The call to spiritual love in *caritas* contained a practical call to charity, and this placed an obligation on Christians to provide relief and aid to others. Social inequality and individual misfortune were no longer to be held as inevitable or of no concern. The spirituality gifted to the Korean Church through the eldest daughter of the Catholic Church was multi-faceted. For those caught up in the state's anti-Christian measures it provided hope, encouragement, and an ultimate justification for their actions, but it brought to the Church as a whole a call to practical action, bound to the supreme question of the individual's salvation when faced with the misfortune of others.

Notes

- 1 An indulgence provides for the remission of the temporal punishment due for sins of which the guilt has been remitted through confession. The doctrine is based on the understanding that any such punishment may be paid vicariously by the Church from the Treasury of Merit accrued for it by Christ and the saints. Indulgences may benefit both the living and the souls of the departed in Purgatory.
- 2 The Society of Jesus had been suppressed in 1773.
- 3 Paris, 1925.
- 4 Although they have come to be bound up with the historiography of the nineteenth-century Korean Church, "ghetto" and "ghetto mentality" are modern terms, devel-

- oping around the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). Indeed, they are more correctly representative of the attitudes and debates within the Catholic Church that accompanied and followed these reforms, and their unqualified application outside their original institutional and historical context may be unhelpful. Interestingly, similar language is used in the historiography of the modern German Catholic Church where the model “is of a society which, until the end of the nineteenth century at least, lived in a mental and sociocultural ghetto.” This is held as being due to the dominance of ultramontanism with Liberal modernizers only able to challenge this dominance after 1900 (Heilbronner 2000, 457, 465, 477, 495).
- 5 Ralph Gibson writes: “It remains difficult. . .for someone of the generation of Vatican II—whether Catholic or not—to regard Tridentine catholicism [sic] with a sympathetic eye.” (Gibson 1989, 29).
 - 6 The subtitle of chapter 11 in this last work, which deals with the development of Roman Catholicism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Korea, is “From Ghetto to Society.”
 - 7 Refractory clergy were those who, unlike the Constituent Clergy, had refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution as required by the National Assembly in November 1790.
 - 8 An ultramontane holds doctrines and attitudes favorable to the Papacy.
 - 9 Fr. Pourthié wrote from Korea in the 1840s about Protestant “sects who, separated from their roots, have lost the traditions of the cross and the love of sacrifices” (*Annales de la Propagation de la foi* 1847, 433).
 - 10 The lay Protestant *Société des Missions Évangéliques* was founded in Paris during the same year.
 - 11 The religious experience of Jaricot herself contained significant elements from the spirituality of the post-Revolutionary Church. In 1815, she had received a relic of the popular catacomb saint, Philomena; two years later, she founded the *Réparatrices du cœur de Jésus méconnu et méprisé*; and in 1826 instituted the “rosarie vivant” in which the rosary was recited daily in communal prayer (Cholvy and Hilaire 2000, 185, 197, 206).
 - 12 A confessor is a Christian who maintains his or her faith in the face of persecution, but does not—or is yet to—suffer martyrdom.
 - 13 I am grateful to Dr. Franklin Rausch for providing me with copies of his notes on the *Chugyo yoji* and his draft chapter.
 - 14 Dallet 1874, I: 19, 95; II: 150, 159, 469 (crosses); I: 86; II, 130, 216, 325, 354, 357, 419 (crucifixes); I: 19, 95, 148, 159, 239, 265, 331, 337, 339, 340, 357 (images); I: 95,

- 265, 340; II: 150, 159, 357, 469 (medals); I: 157, 340 (paintings); I: 265, 317; II: 307, 536 (rosaries); Mission de Seoul, 5, 7, 8, 55 (images).
- 15 21 November.
- 16 In 1856, Bishop Berneux requested quantities of religious artefacts, stipulating that all these should be of “good quality and well-made” (Lecleir 2000, 255 n. 81).
- 17 The corporal works are: feeding the hungry; giving drink to the thirsty; clothing the naked; harboring the harborless; visiting the sick; visiting prisoners. The spiritual works are: instructing the ignorant; counselling the doubtful; admonishing sinners; bearing wrongs patiently; forgiving offences willingly; praying for the living and dead.
- 18 Refuge: Dallet 1874, II: 113, 162–63, 171, 190, 205, 250, 323, 325, 327. Support for confessors: Dallet 1874, I: 336; II: 165, 189, 199, 303–04, 205, 208, 251; *Annales de la propagation de la foi* 1839, 351; 1844, 160. Burial of martyrs: Dallet 1874, I: 304, 313; II: 64, 151, 162, 185, 205, 249; *Annales de la propagation de la foi* 1844, 160, 164. Burial of non-Christians: Dallet 1874, I: 318.
- 19 701 subsequently died.
- 20 In 1856, Bishop Berneux indicated in a letter to the director of the *Oeuvre* that, in comparison with China, infanticide was rare in Korea: “Infanticide and exposure of children are rare in Korea. Generally more humane than the Chinese, the Korean people raise all their children” (Lecleir 2000, 249, n. 51).
- 21 In the transcription of Imbert’s letter, *cogitatione* seems to have been mis-read for *cognitione*.
- 22 This presented the Church “journeying in a foreign land away from her Lord. . . as an exile” and “like a pilgrim in a foreign land” (Strange 1986, 42). I should like to thank Patricia Kelly and Dr. Ann Marie Mealey of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies, Trinity University, Leeds, for drawing my attention to the continued employment of the term by Vatican II. For the Middle Ages, see Ladner (1967) and Swanson (1989, 254).
- 23 Following the executions of its missionaries in the 1830s in both Indochina and Korea, the seminary of the MEP became, in French public opinion, the “seminaire des martyrs,” and in 1908 it received the title of *Ecole polytechnique du martyre* (Fauconnet-Buzlin 1996, 82, n. 4).
- 24 Bishop Imbert wrote of the great consolation he felt at the thought that he celebrated every morning the first Mass to be said anywhere in the universe and that through this he conveyed to the souls in Purgatory the good news of the grace and relief they would receive during the day (Dallet 1874, II: 126).

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