

Annals for the Reign of Heonjong Year 1846.

憲宗實錄 丙午年 헌종실록 병오년 Heonjong Sillok Byeongo Nyeon

V LUNAR MONTH, 24th day (June 17, 1846).

Concerning the strange character Kim Dae-geon who has been arrested and imprisoned by the Governor of Hwanghae-do Kim Jeong-jip, orders are given to the Grand Council to have severe interrogations carried out.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 3rd day (August 24, 1846).

In his report about strange ships having conversations with the inhabitants of an island, the Governor of Chungcheon-do, Jo Un-cheol, sends a copy of this conversation and also of the foreigners' letter.

The letter reads: "Admiral Cécille, Commander of the Squadron of the Great Kingdom of France in India and China, has come to inquire about an execution of innocent people which was carried out, as he has learned, on the 14th of the 8th Lunar Month of the year 1839 (September 21, 1839) on the three Frenchmen Imbert, Chastan and Maubant. These three Frenchmen are reputed in our kingdom as people of great virtue, and they have, we don't know why, been put to death by your noble country of Korea. In these lands of the Orient, the Admiral's mission is to protect his nation's subjects, which is why he has come to find out what sort of crime these three people may have committed, to have brought upon themselves such a lamentable death. It may be said that Korean law forbids foreigners to enter its territory, and since these three people did, they suffered accordingly. But the Admiral is well aware that if by any chance Chinese, Manchurians or Japanese enter the territory of your noble Korea, we are content to keep them in sight, and send them back without escort outside the borders, without torturing or killing them. So I ask you, why did you not treat the three aforementioned people as you treat the Chinese, Manchurians or Japanese? It seems to me that the high dignitaries who bear the heavy burden of administering your noble Korea are unaware of the clemency of the Emperor of our great France. When subjects of our kingdom leave their homeland to go to ten thousand lys, they are not for all that forsaken by him, and do not cease to participate in his benevolent protection. Know, then, that our Emperor's protection extends far and wide, reaching our nationals as far as the ten thousand kingdoms of the universe. If they, residing in a foreign country, do evil or commit some crime, such as murder or arson, if they are judged according to justice and punished, he naturally agrees not to hear of it; but when his nationals are innocent, if they are mistreated or killed, that very seriously offends our Emperor of the French, and necessarily attracts his resentment. To the question I am addressing to you concerning the three learned figures of our nation whom your noble Korea has put to death, I think that the noble Grand Minister will not be able to answer immediately. That's why I'm letting you know that next year, warships from our nation will come here, and that's when your noble kingdom will have to give its answer. Once again I remind the noble Grand Minister not to lose sight of the clemency of our Emperor, who extends his protection to his nationals, your noble kingdom is clearly warned. Also, if in the future there were to be further abuses or executions of our nationals, noble Korea would not be able to avoid great catastrophes. When these catastrophes occur, all of you, from the Sovereign of your noble kingdom to the Ministers and dignitaries, will not be able to blame others, but you yourselves will have to curse

yourselves, because you have been cruel, unjust and inhuman. Given in the year of the Incarnation 1846, on the 8th of the 5th Lunar Month (June 1, 1846)". On the address was written: "To His Excellency the Grand Minister of the Kingdom of Korea."

Relation of the conversation held between these men and the people of the island called Oiyeon-to:

D. -They asked: Your noble island, what is it called?

R. -It's called Oiyeon-do; you nobles' boats are from what kingdom? from what province?

D. -These ships are warships from the great country of France; they are the squadron sent to India and China. Of the three, the largest is mounted by His Excellency the Admiral, who has received a mission to come to noble Korea for an official communication.

R. -From India, what's the reason for coming all the way here, and this official communication, what's the reason?

D. -We are not only destined for India, and we have received special orders to come here.

R. -How many men are on these boats, and aren't there any sick people among them?

D. -In all, there are 870 men, and we have virtually no sick.

A.- How come there are so many men on the boats?

D. -The number of men is not excessive, as these are warships.

R. -Why warships?

D. -Because they are the ships of the Emperor of great France, and they have not come to trade; those that trade are privately owned ships.

And they added: The Admiral has a favor to ask of you, and that is to forward a letter he is writing to the Grand Minister of your kingdom; and if by chance, deceiving his confidence you do not send it, later your noble Korea will have to suffer great harm.

R. -A letter, what letter is that?

D. -The letter bears a signature and a seal; and as soon as your noble Grand Minister opens it, he'll know what it's about.

R. -This island is almost lost in the middle of the seas, the magistrate's court is a thousand lys away, it's exceedingly difficult to communicate anything.

D. -From here, the distance to the magistrate's court is not that far, and then, from the island to there, there are necessarily comings and goings; it will therefore have to be sent and forwarded, otherwise, you will have to repent.

Again, wanting to ask questions, we came back and they said: "What did you come to ask? Please write down your requests so that we can see.

R. -We'll make our requests when we've been received.

D. -I only invite four of you to come down to the second floor," said the Admiral, and having seated us, "What requests do you have for me, gentlemen?

R. -The letter you entrusted to us, from such a remote island, is really very difficult to get through. So what should we do?

D. -The Admiral replied: The letter I've entrusted to you doesn't need to be sent immediately to the capital of Korea, nor does it need an immediate reply. Later on, there will certainly be warships coming to receive the reply and complete the business. We simply ask you to forward the letter to the capital as soon as there is an opportunity.

R. -If this is so, are you going to stay on this island? Or are you going to return to your noble country?

D. -For the Admiral, he'll be heading back right away, but next year there are other warships coming to take the answer.

R. -Take the answer and finish the business, we don't quite understand, write that down.

D. -What you're asking there, I don't quite understand it myself, write it down again.

R. -What is the meaning of the things contained in the letter?

D. -The Admiral has come here covering 50,000 lys, he doesn't want to cause any inconvenience or burden to you, Gentlemen, he only asks you to send the letter he entrusted to you to the capital of your noble kingdom and hand it to your noble Prime Minister; as for the reply, warships will come to take it; apart from that, I have nothing more to say to you.

R. -The answer, there will be warships to come and take it, why?

D. -If the Admiral were to stay here for a long time, that would certainly be a burden to you, so, for the time being, the Admiral will go back, but, next year, other warships will come here to finish the business; this time, the Admiral came simply in advance to communicate this letter.

R. -Next year other warships will come here, for what purpose?

D. -Now we don't know, but next year, after your noble Grand Minister's reply, we will.

R. - This island is an unsafe land, the waves are violent, and you won't be able to stay here for long. What day do you plan to leave?

D. -Unsafe land, rough seas, but that doesn't bother us! The Admiral intends to weigh anchor today.

R. -If the Admiral returns, will your three noble ships leave at the same time?

D.-Yes.

And they've set sail and gone.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 15th day (September 5, 1846).

His Majesty went to the room known as Junghoi-dang, where the Pharmacopoeia Office was consulted.

His Majesty said: Have you seen the letter from the kingdom of France? The President of the Grand Council, Gwon Don-in, replied: I have indeed read it, and the content of this letter denotes an intention to intimidate us; they are coming into our waters from outside and, relying on their practices of perverse doctrine, they are disturbing opinion; along with the so-called English, they are all Europeans.

His Majesty said: And this matter of Kim Dae-geon, how shall we settle it?

Don-in replied: The Kim Dae-geon affair is not something to be ignored even for a moment. Relying on perverse religion, he deceives and confuses the people's opinion; everything he does is ultimately a means to deceive and abuse. And not only are they perverse practices, but he, a Korean, has denied his own kingdom and violated the borders of other countries. When he gives himself as following the perverse doctrine etc., it's with the thought of intimidating us. I cannot think of it without my bones trembling and my heart being troubled. If it is not carried out according to the law, it will only serve as a pretext for future discussions, and we will not fail to show our weakness by it.

His Majesty says: We must get it over with. There was what they said about Yi Jae-yong, but then we heard that the one they called Yi Jae-yong doesn't exist, and that it was none other than Hyeon Seok-mun who changed his name. Now that Hyeon has been arrested, where else could this so-called Yi Jae-yong be apprehended?

Don-in says: The statements that Yi Jae-yong has changed his name, that he has gone out beyond the city walls, and that it's unclear whether or not he's the one who's been wanted and arrested, all these statements by the Police Headquarters make no sense.

His Majesty said: It must end. And she added: Next spring there will certainly be a fuss.

Don-in said: Without waiting until next spring, as of now there is already agitation in

the public, there is much said about the perverse doctrine, and it is only because the letter has not been seen that there are these doubts and this turmoil; my humble opinion is therefore that His Majesty should make this letter public so that everyone can read it, and, after that, these doubts will be dispelled.

His Majesty says: It seems to us that it would be a good idea to report this to the Peking Court; when the English case was reported in 1832, it was a case similar to this one without any doubt.

Don-in says: This case differs from that of 1832; back then, English ships landed in the Hongju district and stayed for over ten days. At the time, they were talking about trade relations and the like, and as they were kept away by talking reason to them, and there was a special envoy to inquire into their doings, naturally this was reported to Peking. This time, it was French ships that had come to spy in our remote waters, they imposed themselves on the islanders, holding conversations with them with the aim of getting them to hand over the casket of the letter, and, in their talks, if they always spoke of their Emperor, it was a means for them to intimidate and nothing else; how can you base a report to Peking on vain and misleading statements of this kind? In years gone by, when Europeans were put to death, no report was made. If we were now to hastily submit a report on this affair, there would be a danger of raising doubts. Perhaps this proposal comes from the outside, but as far as I'm concerned, I'm of the opinion that sending a report to Peking is something that is not at all certain; however, I don't know what the opinion of all the others called upon to deliberate on it might be.

His Majesty says: "In truth, it would certainly have the disadvantage of giving rise to doubt. But, for those, there must be Koreans who are devoted to them and who correspond with them. If this were not the case, how would they know the fact of the execution, how would they know the date?"

Don-in says: Since the practices of perverse doctrine have been widespread, there are many people who are infested with them and, this time, if these French boats have come, presumably it can only be because they've been enticed and committed to do so; it's all just a show, unfortunately.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 25th day (September 15, 1816).

His Majesty having gone to the hall known as Junghoi-dang, summoned the Grand Minister and the high dignitaries of the Border Guard Administration, and ordered that the criminal Kim Dae-geon be subjected to military execution with suspension of the head. Dae-geon is a Yongin man; at the age of 15, he fled to Kwang-tong to study European religion. In 1843, having linked up with Hyeon Seok-mun's clique, he secretly entered the capital as a master of religion. This year, in spring, he went to Hwanghae-do to meet Chinese boats engaged in fishing, wanting to entrust to them letters for individual Europeans in Kwang-tong. Arrested by the locals, he began by claiming Chinese nationality, and eventually confessed to everything himself. Subjected for several months to investigations and interrogations at the Prefecture of Police, his words were extremely skillful and cunning, pointing to the power of European ships to try to lean on that, he claimed that in the end our kingdom will not be able to ban his religion; the money and currency in circulation, and all the goods commonly used in the capital and in the provinces, all this is imported by these European individuals who introduce them through the border barrier. What's more, he claims to understand the various languages of the Europeans, which is why, as well as being a spiritual father, he is also an interpreter for all countries. And now he's being put to death along with Hyeon Seok-mun. Seok-mun is the son of Gye-heum, who was executed as a disciple of the perverse doctrine in 1801.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 29th day (September 19, 1846).

Order to execute Hyeon Seok-mun, a criminal of perverse doctrine, militarily with his head suspended as a lesson to the multitude.

ANNALS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL Year 1846

承政院日記 憲宗朝 丙午年 승정원일기 헌종조 병오년

V LUNAR MONTH, 20th day (June 13, 1846).

Concerning the cause of the strange personage, Kim Dae-geon of whom report has been made by the Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip. and about whom further investigations and severe interrogations are to be made, the following royal order is transmitted to Gwon Jik:

Judging by the content of this report, this is a serious and extraordinary event; the repression of the perverse doctrine of 1839 is not old, and here again, so they say, is this strange character sneaking across the border: how can one defend oneself from painful terror? There are certainly people who bring them in and hospitalize them. Let the Grand Council inform us without delay of the results of these investigations, so that we can decide.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 21st day (June 14, 1846).

On behalf of the Border Guard Administration, Gwon Jik verbally states the following: Concerning the cause of the strange personage, Kim Dae-geon, of which report was made by the Governor of Hwanghae-do Kim Jeong-jip and about which further inquiries and investigations are to be made, Your Majesty said: From the tenor of this report, this is a serious and extraordinary event; the suppression of the perverse doctrine of 1839 is not so long ago, and here again, so it is said, is a strange foreigner who has sneaked across the border; how can one defend oneself from painful terror? There must be people who have brought him in and welcomed him; let the data from the thorough investigation to be carried out on this subject be presented to us without delay by the Grand Council so that we can decide: such is Your Majesty's order. The criminal causes of perverse doctrine of these past years can well be said to have been a terrible repression, and now, just a few years later, this surprising misfortune has befallen us; the law of the realm is flouted and the abominable audacity of these followers of perverse doctrine has reached this point: how we would like not to talk about it! Both when they first began to violate the frontier, and during the many years they have prowled around it, their steps prove that there is a center and a lair that sneaks in and lodges them in secret. If we don't investigate thoroughly to punish and exterminate them, I don't know what kind of calamity we won't see popping up here and there: in truth, we can't help but tremble! As for the investigation to be carried out, it seems to me that it should not be left solely to the province in question; that the Prefecture of Police should be ordered to send satellites to bring all the imprisoned individuals here, in order to carry out severe investigations and arrive at the evidence. For criminals who are to be transferred here, if in the aforementioned province there have been depositions obtained, according to custom, let a report be sent at the same time. Would it not be a good idea to send orders to this effect to the Governor of the Province?

Reply: Granted.

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V LUNAR MONTH, day 26 (June 19, 1846).

Concerning the strange character, Kim Dae-geon, denounced in the report of the Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip, the latter sends a hurried report on the severe investigation he has made, and, noting that if Chinese fishing boats can thus without difficulty come and go, it is because he has lacked vigilance: he himself awaits the punishment for his fault.

His Majesty, addressing Gwon Jik, replies: Answer him with encouragement: he doesn't have to wait for the punishment of his fault.

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V LUNAR MONTH. Day 28 (June 21, 1846).

From the Prefecture of Police on the left we verbally state the following: Respectfully complying with the order given in the reply to the statement of the Border Guard Administration, I have sent satellites to the Government of Hwanghae-do to bring the criminals of perverse doctrine Kim Dae-geon, Im Seong-ryong, Eom Su, Im Gun-jip and Kim Jung-su. Now that they have been brought in, I propose to proceed with the interrogations, all courts combined.

Answer: Granted.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 30th day (June 23, 1846).

Don-in says: The case of the criminal Kim Dae-geon is indeed an extraordinary event: the practices of perverse doctrine have not yet been forgotten, its abominable followers are becoming more active by the day: this is certainly frightening and deplorable! And if it weren't for the fact that there are people who mastermind and lead them, people who take it upon themselves to hospitalize them, how would it be possible for foreigners from ten thousand lys away to so easily violate our frontier and hide for years in the very shadow of the throne, to travel all over the provinces to visit them, to entrust letters to Chinese ships, and all this without the slightest fear or restraint? And just looking at Haeju's investigation, this Dae-geon makes a point of his very wickedness, and he resists to his face, it's a thing ten thousand and ten thousand times odious. And, in yesterday's report from Haeju, these letters seized and sent here are all in European handwriting, so it's impossible to know what they're about; in any case, they're not letters written to their families, but all are correspondences exchanged between accomplices. What's more, the maps they contain are explained in our vernacular script, so you can see that when it comes to studying things in our eastern country, there's more than just this one man. If we don't thoroughly investigate and exterminate this center and lair, I don't know how many Dae-geon won't emerge from their hiding place in one place or another, what sort of unfortunate event won't follow this one. How can I not tremble? I don't know whether, in the interrogations carried out by all the courts, the Prefecture of Police has succeeded in actually discovering the various threads of this plot; on the other hand, to take them one by one in order to interrogate them and discover the truth, and if, in order to destroy their hiding places and cut out the root of the evil, it is necessary to interrogate them separately, the discovery and arrest of the accomplices will take a very long time; so the affairs of the Prefecture of Police are very strange: on all this couldn't Your Majesty give some stern orders?

His Majesty replied: “In recent years, the criminal cause of the Europeans has not been dealt with thoroughly, and here we have this new affair; it is a sovereignly deplorable misfortune! All the more so as these letters and cards entrusted to the Chinese boats cannot be measured in terms of seriousness. The Prefecture of Police has therefore been given a strict order to carry out especially thorough investigations in the hope of striking at and exterminating these haunts in their very beginnings. (Taken from the royal words).

Don-in says: As this is a foreigner, fearing that there would be difficulties in understanding the interrogation’s requests and answers, I had sent an interpreter; but, this Kim individual knows the language of our kingdom very well, so an interpreter was not necessary, so I called him back. And now I hear that this man Kim seems to be a man of our kingdom, but I don’t know what this rumor is worth.

His Majesty replied: The truth is, we can’t believe it absolutely, yet these years when the three European individuals entered, how do we know whether or not there weren’t any of our nationals leaving for abroad?

His Majesty says: On the maps, the names of the mountains are written in vulgar characters, so surely there are also Europeans who know the vulgar characters of our kingdom.

Don-in said: Since this individual Kim has learned the language of our country, he certainly also knows the vulgar script; besides, there are also names written in Chinese.

His Majesty replied: Really, there are also names written in Chinese! He added: If this individual really seems to be a subject of our kingdom, how is it that he has communicated with the Chinese boats?

Don-in said: In the criminal cause of the Europeans of years gone by, there were Jingil, Ha-sang and consorts who were united with them and corresponded with them, this time again, who knows if there aren’t dens of traitors who collude?

His Majesty says: At that time, not only did some of our nationals leave, but there were also Europeans who entered and left.

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FIFTH ADDITIONAL LUNAR MONTH, Day 4 (June 27, 1846).

The Border Guard Administration verbally states the following: In his previous report, the Governor of Hwanghae-do said that he had detained and kept in custody seven men from the Chinese boats, in order to have them deliver the letters that Dae-geon had entrusted to them at Jangyeon; now that these letters have been delivered, it is not appropriate to detain these Chinese further, even for a short time. We therefore request that the Governor of this province be quickly instructed to soften them up with kind words and release them. The affair of the search for and delivery of these letters is one of the most important of those concerning the guarding of the frontiers, and it is therefore advisable to show benevolence to all those who have worked on it; let a special dignity be given to this Governor’s secretary, Yu Sang-eun; as for the interpreter Kim Ryong-nam, let the competent office reward him, let the satellite chief Hwang Gil-seung also be rewarded; as for the other praetorians and civil or military employees of the government or the city who have deserved well, let the Governor advise to reward them appropriately. Could Your Majesty not order the Governor to do so?

Answer: Granted.

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VI LUNAR MONTH, 25th day (August 16, 1846).

The Border Guard Administration verbally states the following: In the report received from the Governor of Chungcheong-do, Jo Un-cheol, it is stated that when foreign ships passed by the island known as Oiyeon-do, they held a conversation with the people of the island, and he is sending a copy of this report; as for the letter which was enclosed in the box, he has given orders to keep it safe while awaiting the orders of the Grand Council. What is the content of this letter? I cannot say, but since there was this written communication and it could not be returned to them immediately, the matter is of interest to the border guards and cannot be left as it is. Once this letter has been unsealed, let an exact copy be taken and sent to our Administration; as for the original, let it be returned to the local magistrate. Could Your Majesty not have the Governor of the province give orders to this effect?

Answer: Granted.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 15th day (September 5, 1846).

His Majesty asks: Have you seen the letter from the kingdom of France?

Don-in replies: Yes, I have read it, and its content denotes an intention to intimidate us. They prowl our sea from the outside, using their perverse practices to influence and disturb public opinion; along with the so-called English, they're all Europeans.

His Majesty says: Seeing the content, this letter is excessively contemptuous; there must certainly be people in our kingdom who excite and encourage them.

Don-in says: Your Majesty is quite right; if there weren't people from our kingdom to be their accomplices, how could they know that we have put Europeans to death?

His Majesty then presenting this letter said: In the letter it is said that they will return next year, if this is so, how can we arrange the matter?

Don-in says: There's no need to worry about that; supposing they come back, all we have to do is send them an interpreter; if we admonish them from the point of view of justice, if we reprimand them from the point of view of reason, what answer can they give? Here's what they say: "When foreigners come to Korea, you try to treat them well and even send them back, providing for their sustenance; only for our nationals do you put them to death. This is not difficult to retort. Our kingdom expressly forbids foreigners to enter our country secretly, so we cannot tolerate those who contravene this prohibition, and we put them to death. As for those who are brought here by shipwreck, their case is different from those who enter surreptitiously, which is why we either send them back from post to post, providing for their sustenance, or send an official dispatch to repatriate them. As far as these Europeans are concerned, they are violating the border of a foreign country to spread their perverse religion: how could they not be put to death? In the letter, you say: "By putting them to death, you attract our resentment", and again: "In future, don't kill them". There's an answer to that too. If these men do not enter the country, will there be any way to put them to death?

His Majesty replies: That's true. If these men don't come into the country, how can they be put to death?

Don-in says: If we answer them in this way, and they continue to try to intimidate us, then we'll have to give them a stern rebuke with just words; what do we have to fear?

His Majesty says: Judging by the shape of their characters, as well as this stamp, it seems to be the work of Europeans.

Don-in says: The content of their letter is rather similar to Chinese compositions.

His Majesty says: And this matter of Kim Dae-geon, how should it be settled?

Don-in says: Kim Dae-geon's case is not one to be ignored even for a moment. Relying on perverse doctrine, he deceives and confuses public opinion; everything he does is ultimately



a means of sowing doubt and confusion. And it's not just a question of perverse practices, but he, a Korean, has denied his own kingdom and violated the borders of foreign countries. When he presents himself as a proponent of perverse doctrine etc., it's with the intention of intimidating us. I cannot think of this without my bones trembling and my heart being troubled. If we do not put him to death according to the law, it will only serve as a pretext for future discussions, not to mention that we will not fail to show our weakness by doing so.

His Majesty said: We must make a decision. There was some talk about the case of Yi Jae-yong, but then we heard that the one called Yi Jae-yong doesn't really exist and that it's none other than Hyeon Seok-mun who has changed his name. Now that Hyeon has been arrested, could this so-called Yi Jae-yong still be apprehended?

Don-in says: What they said about Yi Jae-yong changing his names and escaping through the city walls, as well as the fact that it's unclear whether or not he's the one who's been wanted and arrested, all these claims by the Police Headquarters don't hold water.

Her Majesty said: We must make up our minds. And she added: Next spring there will certainly be a stir.

Don-in says: Without waiting for next spring, right now there's already public unrest. There's a lot of talk about the perverse doctrine, and it's only because people haven't seen the letter that there are these doubts and disturbances. My humble opinion is therefore that, without wasting any time, His Majesty should make this letter public so that everyone can read it, and immediately these doubts will be dispelled.

His Majesty says: It seems to us that it would be a good idea to report this to the Court in Peking; in 1832, when the English affair was reported, it was undoubtedly a case similar to this one?

Don-in says: This affair differs from that of 1832; back then, English ships landed in the Hongju district, and stayed there for more than ten days. At the time, they were talking about trade relations and the like, and, since they were kept away by talking reason to them, and there was a special envoy to inquire into their doings, naturally it was reported to Peking.

This time, it was French ships that had come to spy in our outer waters; they imposed themselves on the islanders, holding conversations with them, with the aim of getting them to hand over the letter box; and in their talks, if they always spoke of their Emperor, it was a means for them to intimidate and nothing else. How can you base a report to Peking on vain and misleading statements of this kind? In years gone by, when Europeans were put to death, no report was made; if today, we were to hastily submit a report on this affair, there would be reason to fear, on the contrary, that it would raise doubts. Perhaps this proposal comes from the outside, but as far as I'm concerned, I'm of the opinion that sending a report to Peking is something that is not at all certain; however, I don't know what the opinion of all the others who are called upon to deliberate on it might be.

His Majesty says: In truth, we wouldn't avoid the inconvenience of giving rise to doubt. But for those, there must be Koreans who are devoted to them and who correspond with them. If this were not the case, how would they know the fact of the execution, how would they know the date?

Don-in says: Since the practices of perverse doctrine have been widespread, there are many people who are infested with them, and, once again, if these French boats have come, presumably it can only be because they have been lured and invited to do so; all this is unfortunately just a parade.

His Majesty says: When they say "high dignitaries", do they mean you, the Grand Minister?

Don-in says: Yes, indeed.

His Majesty says: And when they refer to themselves as "warships", is it not also with

the intention of intimidating us?

Don-in says: As he calls himself “Admiral”, he also calls them “warships”; indeed, this time it was warships that came, so they say. Although only today, if their letter is published so that everyone can see what kind of document it is, and Dae-geon is beheaded without delay, making his crime well known, public opinion will be appeased and we can hope to prohibit the practices of the perverse doctrine and put an end to them.

His Majesty says: We must make a decision.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 25th day (September 15, 1846).

Don-in says: The letter from the French foreigners’ box, which was handed in yesterday, you ordered to be circulated among the high dignitaries: as soon as the contents of this letter are known to all, there will be no further cause for false agitation.

As for the cause of Kim Dae-geon, I have received your orders to decide the case promptly, but no decision has yet been reached, and I am at a loss to know what Your Majesty’s intention is in this matter.

His Majesty says: This is precisely what we wanted to talk to you about; how can it be decided so that it’s right?

Don-in says: On the subject of this cause, there is no lack of differences of opinion on the outside. There are those who say: To enforce the law, there is neither early nor late, and, as it is very difficult to fathom the intentions of these strangers, if we waited to see and observe their attitude before enforcing the law, it would not be too late. This is a round-thinking, far-seeing point of view, and I wouldn’t want to say it’s wrong, but if we consider the constitution of our kingdom, a rebel who denies his country, a leader of perverse practices, how can we for a moment show him mercy? Even supposing that one day in the future, an unexpected event were to occur, given that this individual is absolutely and wholeheartedly linked with these foreigners, so much so that their relations are obvious and cannot be hidden, keeping and preserving this individual will only serve to create unpleasantness for us later on. That’s why, in my opinion, ending the case by executing the law is in truth the most appropriate solution. However, on my advice, this should not be decided in haste. Should Your Majesty not consult the Ministers of the Council and all the high dignitaries who make up the Court before deciding?

His Majesty says: From the moment he left for Europe, his crime is such that he must be put to death; if he is kept alive, there will certainly be others who will also leave.

Hoi-su says: For Kim Dae-geon’s cause, if we consider the constitution of our kingdom and its essential laws, there is no reason to grant a temporary pardon. What we call perverse practices is like an extra burden for him; how can he, a man from our country, renounce his own kingdom to follow foreigners and come back after ten years? He’s a traitor and a rebel to his country; if he isn’t put to death in accordance with the law, can we say that our kingdom has a law? Just looking at the letter from the French, their complicity is obvious and cannot be concealed; the disciples of the perverse doctrine will increase in audacity, and, using this as a pretext, there’s no telling what excesses they won’t go to. He certainly cannot be pardoned for a single moment, and I beg Your Majesty to condemn him without delay.

Pyeong Hyeon says: Should Dae-geon be executed or not, the Ministers have already explained their views to Your Majesty, I have nothing to add to them, and I beg Your Majesty to pass sentence without delay.

Jwa-geun says: The opinion expressed by the Great Ministers and high dignitaries is in line with the constitution of the kingdom, and I have no other opinion to express.

Heung-geun says: Does the crime committed by Kim Dae-geon deserve capital

punishment or not? There is no need to discuss it again; Your Majesty's request concerns this special point: should he be executed immediately or should the execution of the law be postponed? To grant a temporary pardon to a terrible criminal of this kind is to put the law of punishments greatly in default, so it seems to me that we cannot do otherwise than to proceed with the execution without delay, in order to preserve the majesty of the law of the realm.

Yak-woo said: To pardon for the moment the crime committed by Kim Dae-geon would be to undermine the constitution of the kingdom and its essential laws; and the opinion expressed by the Great Ministers and high dignitaries is entirely justified, so I hope that Your Majesty will decree the sentence without delay.

Heung-gu and consorts said: We all have no other way of seeing things.

His Majesty said: What sentence should be decreed?

Don-in said: His crime should be described as a great rebel and pervert, as is clear from the interrogations. Now, as criminals of this kind have long been handed over to the military authority, there are many precedents; this time again it seems right to conform to these precedents.

And then he proposed: To Kim Dae-geon, in view of his crime of being infested with the perverse doctrine, and that of being a traitor to his country, he really cannot, even for a moment, be pardoned, and the opinion of the Grand Ministers and senior officials attending the Council is unanimous and without dissent on this subject. Does it please Your Majesty that the prisoner Kim Dae-geon be handed over to the military authorities for execution with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the people?

His Majesty says: So be it.

Don-in says: Now that the Kim Dae-geon case has been tried and the just punishment has been meted out, the matter of the Police Prefecture must also be settled. Concerning Yi Je-yong, Your Majesty had given orders for him to be spied upon and arrested in a few days' time, and so far he has not been arrested; in recent times they had been given secret indications, and nothing has been done about it. The constitution of the kingdom and its primordial laws have been violated and fallen into disuse, so that nothing remains of them.

And then he proposed: The procedures of the Prefecture of Police are ten thousand and ten thousand times slack and negligent, having already referred to Your Majesty. You had given strict orders, and, since then, there have still been no arrests; they seem resolved to temporize and do nothing: if we consider the constitution of the kingdom, this is really dangerous to the last point. Would it please Your Majesty to decree the simultaneous dismissal of the two Prefects of Police on the left and right?

His Majesty said: So be it (taken verbatim from the minutes of the hearing).

Yeong-sun says: The General of the Royal Guard Im Seong-go, and the Commander of the Fortresses Yi Ung-sik, in their capacity as Prefects of Police of the left and right, have just been dismissed from their posts; now, the function of Commander of the Soldiers cannot remain for a single moment without someone to command and inspect, how can this be provided for? Nor can the all-important position of Prefect of Police remain vacant for a single moment; in the past, in similar circumstances, it has been customary to entrust the position to people who have held the office of Prefect of Police to manage it temporarily. How should we proceed this time?

His Majesty says: The command of the Royal Guard and that of the fortresses, as well as the dual function of Prefect of Police on the left and right, should be entrusted to the Commanding General of the Capital.

Yeong-sun says: Your Majesty has ordered that the dual command of the Royal Guard and the fortresses, as well as the office of Prefect of Police for the left and right, be simultaneously entrusted to the Commanding General of the Capital; should Yi Yu-son, who is

temporarily in charge of the offices of General of the Royal Guard, Commander of the Fortresses and Prefect of Police for the left and right, be summoned by special envoy to receive Your Majesty's order?

His Majesty replies: Let it be done thus.

\* \* \*

VII LUNAR MONTH, 26th day (September 16, 1846).

From the Prefecture of Police on the left, the following is stated verbally: I have the honor of informing you that the criminal Kim Dae-geon, who was incarcerated at our Prefecture, has been handed over to the Administration of the Royal Guard.

Reply: Understood.

From the Royal Guard Administration the following is stated verbally: We have the honor of informing you that the criminal Kim Dae-geon was before a large assembly of soldiers and civilians, at the sand beach, executed militarily with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the multitude.

Answer: Yes.

\* \* \*

VII LUNAR MONTH, 29th day (September 19, 1846).

The Border Guard Administration verbally states the following: Police Prefecture criminal Hyeon Seok-mun is of the race of those executed in 1801. A fugitive rebel in 1839, he changed his names and prowled the capital and the provinces, sowing and spreading the practices of the perverse doctrine, deceiving the simple folk with his lies, it was daring enough to create a den of infamous disciples; such is the sentence passed on him. It was he who, in principle, engineered the sending of Dae-geon abroad, and who, in recent years, brought him back via Pyen-mun; all this he has confessed, so there is no need for further investigation. According to the law of the kingdom, he must be punished as a traitor; but given his obscure condition, there is no reason for him to cause any disturbance at the State Criminal Court. That the criminal Hyeon Seok-mun be, according to what was done for Dae-geon, delivered to the military authority to be executed with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the multitude; that for all the other prisoners, orders be given to the said Prefecture to distinguish between light and serious cases, and to punish them accordingly. What does Your Majesty think?

Answer: Granted.

From the Préfecture de Police on the right we state the following: We have the honor of informing you that the criminal Hyeon Seok-mun, who was incarcerated at our Prefecture, has been handed over to the Administration of the Royal Guard.

Reply: Understood.

From the Royal Guard Administration the following is stated verbally: We have the honor of informing you that the criminal Hyeon Seok-mun was, in front of a large assembly of soldiers and civilians, at the sand plain, militarily executed with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the multitude.

Answer: Agreed:

\* \* \*

8th LUNAR MONTH, 1st day (September 20, 1846).

From the Prefecture of Police on the right we verbally state the following: In view of

the response given to the exposé of the Border Guard Administration for the various criminals of perverse doctrine who are incarcerated at our Prefecture, the bone-bending torture was again applied and the interrogations repeated; the result is that, the woman Sim known as the great Barbara and the woman Kim Sun-i have all confessed that they are determined to apostatize, therefore I have released them forthwith; in the case of Pak Jun-myeong, his son Seong-cheol, who was a boatman for Im Seong-ryong, saw the danger and fled, so he was arrested and imprisoned until his son came forward; for the case of Yi Gukgyo (or Yi Guk-dal according to other documents), as he is Jae-yong's uncle, wanting to know from him where his nephew was. He had been apprehended and imprisoned, but said he knew nothing of the perverse doctrine, so was ordered to produce his nephew and released.

For Han Ri-hyeong, and also the woman Yi Gan-nan, the woman Woo Sul-im, the woman Kim Im-i, the woman Jeong Cheol-yeom, the bone-bending torture was repeated many times, and they were interrogated in every way, but, stubborn as wood and stone, it was never possible to extract from them a single word of apostasy from religion, so they were beaten to death; I have the honor of informing Your Majesty of this.

Answer: Understood.

Then, from the Préfecture de Police on the left, the following is stated: Concerning the criminals of perverse doctrine who are imprisoned at our court, the order proposed by the Administration, of the Border Guard that a distinction be made between light and serious cases, and that punishment be applied accordingly, has been sanctioned by Your Majesty in his reply to the request. Of all these individuals, Kim Chi-baek and Nam Gyeong-mun had been practicing the perverse doctrine for years, and when the bone-bending torture was repeatedly applied to them, they resisted until death without ever wanting to apostatize from religion, a sovereignly deplorable thing, which is why they were caned roughly until they died under the blows. Im Seong-ryong colluded with Dae-geon, he equipped his boat, and leaving with him, they went in secret to Hwanghae-do; this is a crime that surely cannot be forgiven; as for Eom Su, as a boatman, he followed them, but as he did, hired by Seong-ryong and on his advice, there is between them both the difference of wrongdoer and accomplice, but his case too deserves severe punishment. Now these two individuals, although they have renounced perverse practices, cannot be treated as ordinary criminals; let them be sent back to the Ministry of Crimes to be, according to the law, severely punished. As for Yi Gi-won, Im Hak-i and Kim Jae-sin, all three have repented and renewed their faith, all want to apostatize from religion, so together we release them immediately. As for Choe Syeong-gwan, although he does not belong to the perverse doctrine, in principle he has been incarcerated in connection with this investigation, so I also propose to release him, and humbly inform Your Majesty.

Answer: Agreed.

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8th LUNAR MONTH, 8th day (September 27, 1846).

From the Ministry of Crimes, the following is reported verbally: in the request from the Left Prefecture of Police it is stated: Concerning the criminals of perverse doctrine who are imprisoned in our court, the order proposed by the Border Guard Administration that a distinction be made between light and serious cases and that punishment be applied accordingly, has been sanctioned by Your Majesty in his reply to the request. Of all these individuals, Im Chi-baek and Nam Gyeong-mun have practiced the perverse doctrine for years; when, on several occasions, they were subjected to the torture of the bending of the bones, they resisted until death without ever wanting to renounce religion, which is a sovereignly deplorable thing;

this is why they were subjected to a severe caning until they died under the blows. Im Seong-ryong colluded with Dae-geon, prepared his boat, and, leaving with him, together they went in secret to Hwanghae-do; this is a crime that surely cannot be forgiven. As for Eom Su, as a boatman, he followed them, but as he was hired by Seong-ryong and on his advice, there is between them the difference of wrongdoer and accomplice; but his case also deserves severe punishment. Now these two individuals, although they have renounced perverse practices, cannot be treated as ordinary criminals; let them therefore be sent back to the Ministry of Crimes to be severely punished according to the law. As for Yi Gi-won, Im Hak-i and Kim Jaesin, all three have repented and renewed their faith, and all wish to apostatize from religion. As for Choe Syeong-gwan, although he does not belong to the perverse doctrine, in principle he has been incarcerated in connection with this investigation, so I also propose to release him, and I humbly inform Your Majesty of this. And His Majesty replied: Agreed; such is the order given by Her.

Now, according to the text of the law, in the “Fundamental Statutes” in the article on “Defenses Brought” it says: In cases of violation of the western and northern border, anyone who, knowing this, does not denounce it, whether noble or commoner, becomes a slave in the ruined border towns; and, in the “Definitions” it says: For accomplices, the penalty is lowered by one degree. The criminals Im Seong-ryong and Eom Su are both condemned according to this law, Seong-ryong to banishment as a slave in the sub-prefecture of Yong-teak, in Pyongan-do, and Su after a caning of one hundred strokes, to a three-year exile in the sub-prefecture of Uljin, in Gangwon-do. And I have the honor of informing Your Majesty that I have just had them both taken away.

Answer: Agreed.

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日省錄 憲宗朝 丙午年 일성록 Heonjong-Jo 병오년

V LUNAR MONTH, 20th day (June 13, 1846).

Order is given to present the result of the investigations made into the strange character in Hwanghae-do, for His Majesty to decide.

The Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip, states in his report that Jeong Gi-ho, maritime sub-prefect of Deungsan, officially informs him as follows:

“On the 12th day of this 5th Lunar Month, I had gone to the harbor shore, and when I wanted to requisition boats, suddenly an individual showed up on his boat, saying he was a Seoul nobleman, and wanting to intimidate the sub-prefect; we came to treat each other as you and you and to call each other names. Hearing his words and seeing his manners, he seemed to me strange and different from a man of our country. I had him arrested and taken to the maritime sub-prefecture, and after questioning of every kind, he confessed to me that his name was Kim Dae-geon, now 25 years old; he came from Koang-tong in China, and practised the European religion. On the 11th Lunar Month of the year 1844, he crossed the river, and via Uiju made his way to the capital. On the 18th of the IVth Lunar Month of this year, from Seoul, by the river, he went up to Mapo on Im Seong-ryong’s boat and came here. On searching through his belongings, we found a small book written in vulgar characters, the meaning of which escapes us; on him, he had a small embroidered red silk sachet, and in the sachet, two small pieces of silk and cotton sewn together, on one are drawn human figures and on the other like plants; there was also a small piece of blue silk. Her hair shows signs of having been half-cut and not yet grown back. Obviously a foreigner, a follower of the perverse doctrine. So, together with boat master Im Seong-ryong and boatman Eom Su, I have put them in the cangue and imprisoned them at the sub-prefecture; as for the book in vulgar characters, the purse and the other writings he gave us, I have sealed them securely and am sending them to you with my dispatch.”

That this man should have crossed the border and be traveling in secret, that these individuals from the boats should make themselves the companions of his navigation, all this is an extraordinary event, and as soon as I learned of it, I was frightened to the core. As this is a foreigner, and he was arrested at the maritime border post, it would be appropriate to order the maritime prefect to interrogate him, but as the case differs from a border case involving a foreign ship, I had these three individuals Kim Dae-geon, Im Seong-ryong and Eom Su brought to my own provincial court, to be severely investigated and interrogated. As for the book in vulgar characters, the purse and other writings delivered, they are exhibits that may be used in the interrogations, so I am keeping them provisionally,

His Majesty’s instruction: From the looks of this report, this is an extraordinary event; the repression of the perverse doctrine of 1839 is not that long ago, and here again, so they say, is this strange character who is sneaking across the border: how can one defend oneself from a painful terror? There are certainly people who bring them in and welcome them. Let the Grand Council inform us without delay of the results of these investigations, so that we can decide.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 21st day (June 14, 1846).

Report from 1 Border Guard Administration on the investigation into the strange character of Kim Dae-geon.

From the Border Guard Administration the following is set forth: Your Majesty has instructed the Grand Council to report the results of the investigation into the strange character Kim Dae-geon. The criminal causes of the perverse doctrine of these past years may well be said to have been a terrible repression, and yet here, after only a few years, is this extraordinary adventure happening to us again. The law of the realm is being flouted, and the abominable audacity of these proponents of perverse doctrine has gone to such extremes. How we wish we didn't have to talk about it! Both when they began to violate the frontier and during the many years they have prowled around it, their actions prove that there is a center and a lair that sneaks them in and houses them in secret. If, therefore, they are not thoroughly investigated, punished and exterminated, I don't know what calamity will not arise here or there. It is advisable to order the Prefecture of Police to send satellites to bring all imprisoned individuals to the capital, in order to carry out severe investigations and arrive at the evidence: that if, in the aforementioned province, depositions have been taken, according to custom, that they be sent at the same time as the report. I beg Your Majesty to give orders to this effect to the Governor of the province.

His Majesty has granted it.

\* \* \*

V LUNAR MONTH, 26th day (June 19, 1846).

The Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip, expressly sends a report on the depositions taken from the criminals of perverse doctrine Kim Dae-geon et al.

The Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip, states the following: The criminals Kim Dae-geon, Im Seong-ryong and Eom Su having all three been brought in, the magistrate judge of Haeju, Park Hyeon-gyu, and his assistant being duly commissioned to investigate together, the 25-year-old criminal Kim Dae-geon deposed saying that he is from China, Macau prefecture in Kwang-tong province; His name is Woo, and his given name is Dae-geon; he was born and raised in this prefecture; his father is dead, but his mother is still living, and he himself is unmarried. At the age of 15 or 16, he studied the religion of Europe, and at the age of 23, embarking at Songjiang (Shanghai) on a merchant ship, he made a sea voyage of 3,000 lys to land at Liaodong.

On the eleventh Lunar Month of 1844, he came to the barrier of stakes (Bien-mun), and, wishing to see Korea, he took advantage of the fact that the Yalu river was frozen to secretly enter it, and last year on the eighth Lunar Month, he arrived in Seoul. Wishing to visit the mountains and waterways of Hwanghae-do, he went to Mapo to hire a boat, and as the boat of Im was about to leave for Hwanghae-do to trade, on the 18th day of the past 4th Lunar Month, he boarded the boat and came to Yeonpyeong-do island in Haeju district; then, having passed on to Sogang and other places, and having visited them summarily, he returned to the maritime fortress of Deungsan; on that very day, due to the requisition of the boats by the fortress, a dispute arose and his identity was discovered. His book in vulgar characters is a summary of the Heavenly Master's doctrine. The human figures on one of the small pieces of cloth are the image of the Blessed Mother and Jesus; on the other, they are not plants as they say, but the figure of a heart; he wore them as if glued to his body in a spirit of piety and veneration.

In a new deposition, he said he had a passion for tourism; he had visited the mountains and rivers of every country, and had come to Korea because of his taste for landscapes and also for religion. When he came near the Gate of Stakes, he saw the shape of the clothes of the



Koreans who had come for the fair, and, as he knew that the law forbids crossing the border, he made himself a sort of Korean hood with his hands to hide the appearance of his cut hair; as for the habit, the shape is more or less the same in both countries, for the vest he cut off the collar and tore off the buttons to put on. Carrying a few dry provisions, as well as 10 ounces of gold and 30 ounces of silver, he set off alone over the ice and, under cover of darkness, crossed the Yalu. At night, he would take refuge in the mountains or enter some inn; several times he was hunted down, so he would pretend to be mute and beg for a living. After several months, he learned to speak Korean and traveled through Pyongan-do, Hamgyong-do and Hwanghae-do.

Last year in the 8th Lunar Month, he arrived in Seoul for the first time; for his clothes and food, he used the gold and silver he brought with him to buy his own, and he has no companion, introducer or householder. During the 9 months he stayed in Seoul, although eager to preach the religion, he found no one willing to study it, because they feared the law forbidding it in the kingdom. Eager to visit the mountains and waterways of Hwanghae-do, he went to Mapo, secured a boat and came here. As for the man named Im, he didn't know him intimately; when he had the book written in vulgar characters and had to procure clothes or food, it's not that he didn't know certain people intimately, but if he indicated who they were, they would certainly have to suffer because of him, so, should he undergo a hundred kinds of awful torture, or be beheaded on the spot, according to the precepts of his law, it's absolutely impossible for him to denounce them. The name Woo is rare in Korea, whereas Kim is common, which is why he called himself Kim.

Boat master Im Seong-ryong testifies that he is a Mapo boatman by trade; wanting to buy whiting, he was preparing to leave for Yeonpyeong in the Hwanghae-do when, on the 17th of the 4th Lunar Month, the man named Yi, who lives in Sogong-dong, and Dae-geon came together to his house, and his father said to him: "Mr. Yi is an ally of our family; with Mr. Kim his friend they wish to visit Hwanghae-do as tourists, they're going there, you'll do well to go with them." And so the next day, the 18th, Dae-geon and the man named Yi arrived; the boatmen Eom Su, Kim Seong-seo, No Eon-ik, An Sunmyeong and Park Seong-cheol, in all 8 people, we boarded the boat with them.

"As Dae-geon made his way down the river from the capital, he drew the mountains and waters as he went, but when he reached the sea in front of Ganghwa, he unfolded his drawings to look at them, and they were blown away by the wind. Beyond Ganghwa he started drawing again; his words and gestures were quite strange. One day, addressing me, he said: "The Heavenly Master's doctrine is very good, you should study it." And that's how I knew he was a proponent of the perverse doctrine.

"On the 1st day of the 5th Lunar Month, we arrived in Yeonpyeong and bought whiting. On the 3rd day we landed at the sea fortress of Deungsan, and, after buying salt to prepare the saltings, wanting to buy firewood, on the 4th day we headed for the Teojinmok gorge in the Jang-yeon district. En route, Dae-geon wanted to visit the Sogang landscape, so he went ashore. After three days, we returned with our boat to the port of Mahap, where we were joined by Dae-geon on a Chinese fishing boat, and then landed at the Deungsan fortress. And it was on this very day that, due to the requisitioning of boats by the maritime sub-prefect, a dispute arose and everything was uncovered. Of those who were with us on the boat, Yi from Gong-dong and boatman No Eon-ik had disembarked before the affair and returned to Seoul; boatmen Kim Syeong-seo, An Sun-myeong and Pak Seong-cheol, seeing that we were arrested, fled.

Boatman Eom Su deposed that he lived in the same village as Im Seong-ryong, and as Seong-ryong bought a boat again in the winter of last year, he became his boatman. On the 17th of the past 4th Lunar Month, Gun-jip, Seong-ryong's father invited him to his home, and

showing him Kim Dae-geon said, “This gentleman is a noble friend of mine who lives in the capital, wanting to see the country, he’s getting on our boat tomorrow to go to Hwanghae-do.” On the 18th, Dae-geon and a man named Yi from Gong-dong, whose first name I don’t know, came with a baggage carrier, and, with Seong-ryong and the boatmen Kim Seong-seo and others numbering 8, we boarded. All the way down the river from Seoul, Dae-geon did nothing but draw the mountains and streams that met the crossing.

At his third deposition Kim Dae-geon said he only wanted to see the landscape and preach religion; he had come alone and had no guide or householder. As for the man named Yi from Gong-dong, who went ashore and returned directly, he doesn’t know for what reason; although he knows his home and his names, he certainly won’t report them. Along the way, drawing the mountains and rivers is a practice of our religion, just like educated people who seek out books to read, and, apart from that, he had not the shadow of another intention. It’s true that he boarded the Chinese fishermen’s boat for a short while, but they didn’t know each other in principle, nor did he have an appointment with them: he simply chatted with them about things.

In a new deposition, Im Seong-ryong says that last year in the XIIth Lunar Month, as the named Yi from Gong-dong is related to his father, he came to their house; it was then that he knew him for the first time, and as he then invited him to come and see him once, a few days later, he went to see him at his house; this house is located behind the palace called Nam-byeol-gung; when we passed the edge of the well it is the second thatched house. Then the man named Yi addressed him, urging him to study the doctrine of the Heavenly Master and saying: “If you succeed in learning it, you and I will ascend to Paradise.” A few days later, the man named Yi came to his house again to ask him to buy some salt, so he bought him a bag of salt, and having gone to Yi’s house, Dae-geon was sitting with him in the guest room and the man named Yi told him he was a nobleman friend of his, so he believed him without the slightest doubt.

Later, having gone to Yi’s house again, the named Yi was absent, but there were five or six people there unknown to him. Each of them told him their first and last names and where they lived: one, who lives in Baek-dong, is a Mr. Yi, but he has forgotten his first name; he may be about 40; another, who lives inside the Great South Gate, is called Nam Gyeong-mun, he may be 44 or 45, and has a thin line of beard; another, who lives in Suchyeol-mak in Seogang, is Sim Sa-min, he may be 37 or 38; another, who lives in Deoksan in Chungcheong-do, is Kim Sun-yeo, he may be 44 or 45; as for the other two, as they were rather old and hadn’t told him their names, he didn’t ask them.

After a moment, all those who were there were called in succession from inside the house, everyone followed suit, and they withdrew, and as he still hadn’t seen the master of the house, he had lingered waiting for him when he was called in from inside. As he entered, he saw that it was Dae-geon, whom he had met earlier, who was inside; he ushered him into the room, and saw hanging on the walls four or five paintings of human figures, all of them Chinese in design, there was also a magnificent specimen of strange stone. Dae-geon said to him, “You live on the outskirts of the river, so if you could buy a boat to trade in, that would be great.” He replied that he had no money for it, so Dae-geon giving him a hundred ligatures of sapèques said, “Take this, and use it well to trade.” As for the man named Yi, he didn’t return until after sunset, so he spent the night in his house. During the night, he asked him what kind of man this Kim was, and the man named Yi told him in secret: “He’s a Chinese; eager to see the mountains and streams of our kingdom, he crossed the border and hid his tracks, for he also practices the European religion. As soon as he had crossed the river, he pretended to be mute and headed for the capital; on the way he was stopped by the gendarmes, but under cover of night he escaped

and headed for the three southern provinces; at Deoksan he met Kim Sun-yeo and little by little, through him, he came as far as my house.” It was then that he knew for the first time that Dae-geon was a man of Chinese nationality.

That year, on the Island Lunar Month, to buy and trade rice, he had gone to the southern provinces, and after his return, having gone to the house of the man named Yi, Dae-geon and the man named Yi said to him: “During the 4th Lunar Month we must go to the territory of Ongjin, you will trade there, and we will see the country.”

When the fourth Lunar Month had passed, on the 17th, Kim and Yi both came, and it was agreed that they would set sail the next day. So the next day, with a porter loaded with a lacquered crate, a box of provisions and blankets, they arrived. Yi from Baek-dong, whose first name I don’t know, and Nam Gyeongmun from inside the Great Southern Gate came together to take their leave, and then they returned. The porter is a certain Kim, whose first name I don’t know, who lives at the entrance to the fish market.

On the 4th of the current Lunar Month, having come to the waters of Mahap harbor in Ongjin district, we encountered Chinese boats engaged in fishing. Dae-geon had a moment’s conversation with the Chinese, then returned. With a sheet of writing paper, Yi wrote a letter under his dictation, similar in form to the letters of our kingdom, and in the evening, boarding a longboat, he went to the Chinese boats to ask them to send this letter to his country. The next day, he went to the Mok-tong territory in the Jangyeon district, where he met other Chinese boats to whom, as before, he handed a letter to be sent. On the first occasion, he (i.e. Im), Yi, Kim Seong-seo and Eom Su accompanied him; on the second occasion, he, No Eon-ik and Kim Seong-seo accompanied him.

In a new deposition, Eom Su states that this year, in the course of the 1st Lunar Month, Seong-ryong bought a boat for 417 ligatures, and also that having obtained a bill of exchange, he went with him to Gang-gyeong-i in the Eunjin district, and that they bought rice and tobacco there. Then he heard that this money was given by a nobleman named Kim living in the capital; today he thinks that this nobleman Kim seems to be Dae-geon. That Dae-geon met Chinese ships, and twice entrusted them with letters, is really certain, and he himself went there once to accompany him.

In a third deposition Im Seong-ryong declares that, in the naivety of his heart and his foolishness, he lent an ear to their exhortations and deceptions, and that it is true that, several times, he participated in their assemblies, and, 5 or 6 times, studied the doctrine. The 400 ligatures for which he paid the boat and the exchange from Gang-gyeong-i, it was indeed Dae-geon who answered for everything, as Eom Su declared, but the 400 ligatures were delivered by his house; as for the exchange, as Dae-geon had business with Gu Sun-o who lives in Gang-gyeong-i, he wrote a coin allowing 600 ligatures to be drawn and gave it to him, so he went there and withdrew this sum to buy rice and tobacco.

Whether Dae-geon wanted to go to Hwanghae-do, it seems it was with the intention of sending letters back home. When Dae-geon met with the Chinese to entrust them with his letters, although he himself didn’t understand what was being said, it seemed to him to be a first meeting. After handing over his letters, Dae-geon gave the Chinese a few pieces of ginseng, and the Chinese gave him 4 or 5 pairs of scissors. As for the rest of the conversation, he couldn’t understand anything absolutely, but on his return, he asked Dae-geon: “When handing over the letters, what sort of conversation did you have with the Chinese?” And Dae-geon told him, “I was telling them that if they forwarded these letters to my house in Koang-tong, they would certainly receive a handsome reward.”

In a third deposition, Eom Su declares that, ignorant and poor wretch that he is, he is

employed as a boatman by others, and he could do nothing but obey. When Dae-geon was on the boat, he wanted to teach him the perverse doctrine, but he wouldn't consent. As for RI's first name, he didn't know it, nor where he had gone.

In a fourth deposition, Kim Dae-geon declares that as far as his career is concerned, he has already, following the questions put to him, declared what it is; as for harming his country, harming his neighbor, his religion, he says, expressly forbids it, on this subject there is no doubt; making plans of mountains and rivers is for me like a cherished passion; Moreover, since these plans have been blown away by the wind and lost, there is no need to make new requests; as for the letters sent, they are letters to communicate with my family; as for the rest of the questions, since there are people who have made statements, let's leave it at that; why come to question me again? To be born once and to die once is the inevitable condition of every man; that I should die today for the Master of Heaven is rather my desire. To be questioned today, to be questioned tomorrow, that's it and nothing else; to be hit or killed, that's it and nothing else: hit me quickly, kill me quickly!

Violating the frontier and practicing perverse doctrine are the main things forbidden by our country; but the law has fallen into disuse, social relations have been ruined; foreigners hiding their tracks enter our country, abominable disciples willingly become their accomplices, and for years now they have been hiding in the very shadow of the throne; when you think of it, how can you not be seized with dread? In the beginning, the statements he made about his career made it possible to follow the thread, but in the end, by covering up and not revealing his followers, he surely wanted to cut short their center and their lair. By secretly crossing the border, what could his intention really have been? And he claims it's to see the country and preach religion! Surely there are people who have hidden and directed him; and he claims that he has forged the mute and begged? All these circumstances make one seize with immense and painful indignation. It is therefore appropriate to subject him to severe torture in order to draw out the evidence; but as he is a foreigner, it is difficult for me to act immediately in accordance with my feelings. I therefore ask that the Grand Council refer the matter to His Majesty for a decision.

As for the law ordering the guarding of the sea border, how extremely important is it not? Now, Chinese fishing boats come and go without difficulty; it's the fault of the authorities of this region, the maritime prefect Yi Myeong-hak and the magistrate of Changyeon Kim Jun-keun; I therefore also ask that their Administration refer to His Majesty for a decision. And finally, I myself can hardly excuse myself for having failed to be vigilant in ordinary times, which is why I await the punishment for my fault with trepidation.

His Majesty orders us to respond by encouraging him; he doesn't have to wait for the punishment of his fault.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 27th day (June 20, 1846).

Report from the Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip, on the surrender he made of the perverted doctrine criminals Kim Dae-geon and consorts.

In this report he says that the criminals he had imprisoned, Kim Dae-geon, Im Seong-ryong and Eom Su all three together, as well as the items seized from Dae-geon, he has handed everything over to the satellites of the Prefecture of Police to be sent to that Prefecture.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 28th day (June 21, 1846).

Request from the left and right Prefectures of Police concerning the interrogations to be carried out on perverse doctrine criminals Kim Dae-geon et al.

This verbal request from the Prefecture of Police states that, respectfully complying with the answer His Majesty gave to the proposal of the Border Guard Administration, satellites were sent to bring the criminals of perverse doctrine imprisoned with the Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Dae-geon, Im Seong-ryong, Eom Su, Im Gun-jip and Kim Jung-su; now that they have been brought, it is requested that they be interrogated, all courts combined.

His Majesty has granted it.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 29th day (June 22, 1846).

Report sent by express from the Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Jeong-jip, on the search he made of the letters entrusted by the criminal of perverse doctrine Kim Dae-geon to Chinese boats.

The report states: Kim Dae-geon's act of entrusting letters to Chinese boats having been confessed by all the criminals questioned, I gave secret knowledge of it to the various localities so that inquiries could be made as to the whereabouts of these boats, hoping that I could have these letters delivered to me. I received a communication from the Maritime Prefect, Yi Myeong-hak, in which he said: "I had sent the secretary Yu Sang-eun, the interpreter Kim Yong-nam and the satellite chief Hwang Gil-sung; they gave themselves the appearance of setting up a trading ship and went to the outer waters of the port known as Gojuk-po, and there were 5 Chinese ships anchored on the seashore. Giving themselves out as secret traders, they offered to trade with them, and taking out white wallpaper, dog skins and other items, they sold them to them at a low price, and also gave them pills and honeyed rice cakes. The Chinese were delighted and told them to come again, bringing more goods. Then the interpreter replied: "We trade in secret, and if by any chance the Commander of Sogang were to find out, he would certainly put us to death; if you yourselves were to bring your boats to a place near the port from which we could see each other, we could, by keeping watch, seize the opportunity to do business with you." And indeed, ten of these Chinese attracted by the lure of gain followed them; so having engaged them to go ashore, they immediately stopped them as one man and said to them, "Because of one of your nationals Woo Dae-geon who has broken the law by secretly crossing the border and entrusted you with letters, the maritime border authorities are going to be involved in a serious fault; if therefore you do not bring back these letters, you will not return alive." These then said that they knew nothing about the matter of the entrusted letters, but that if they were released, they would search near all the ships and bring back the letters. Seven of them were therefore detained, and the other three were sent back to search for the letters and bring them back.

On the 25th at around 2pm, one of them being ill and unable to return, the other two returned to say that, having searched on all sides near the boats, a boat from Deungju had not allowed them to search, so they became suspicious, and, with all the personnel from the nearby boats, they joined together to search, and, having found a letter, they brought it. Observing the letter envelope carefully, I saw that on the back of the envelope was written, on the first line: "The important letter enclosed, please pass it on to", on the 2nd line: "Shanghai, at the new port, and hand it over", on the 3rd line: "to the perfumed pavilion of the venerable Monsieur Yuk so that he can open it himself" and on the 4th line: "The sender's name is written inside." On the reverse, where the edges join, a sign has been drawn and above as well as below the sign, the two characters: "Duly sealed;" to the right and left of the sign, there are four characters:

“May the wind, favor, our sendings, mutual!”

When I had unsealed the envelope, I found that it contained two folds, one a card, the other with six letters that were neither common Korean nor Chinese, but in a foreign script. That’s why I’ve sealed them securely as before and am sending them to you. And to get all those apprehended individuals to look again for the letters entrusted to Mok-dong in the Jangyeon district, I coaxed them by telling them that if they bring me this envelope again, not only will they be released, but they will surely be given a large reward. The two Chinese have therefore been sent back with the interpreter who is also accompanying them to look for these letters; as for the other 7 Chinese, I’m holding them back as before.”

The recovered envelope containing the six letters and the map, I am sending to the Border Guard Administration; and in the hope of searching for the letter from the place where it could not yet be found, the Chinese will be temporarily detained until the envelope is brought back; I have so ordered.

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V LUNAR MONTH, 30th Day (June 23, 1846).

Prime Minister Gwon Don-in says: As this is a foreigner, fearing that there would be difficulties in understanding the interrogation requests and answers, I had sent an interpreter; but this individual from Kim knows the language of our kingdom very well, so an interpreter was not necessary, so I called him back. And now I hear that this Kim man seems to be a man of our kingdom, but this rumor is not very sure.

We replied: “The truth is that this cannot be absolutely true, yet these past years, when these three European individuals entered, how can we know whether or not any of our nationals left for abroad?”

And we said: On the map, the names of the mountains are written in vulgar characters, so there’s no doubt that there are also Europeans who know the vulgar characters of our kingdom.

Don-in says: “Since this individual from Kim has learned the language of our country, surely he also knows the vulgar script; besides, there are also names written in Chinese characters.

We said: Really, there are also names written in Chinese characters!

We added: If this individual appears to be a subject of our kingdom, how is it that he communicated with the Chinese boats?

Don-in said: In the criminal cause of the Europeans of years gone by, there were (Yu) Jin-gil, (Jeong) Ha-syang and consorts who were united with them and corresponded with them, this time again, who knows if there aren’t dens of traitors colluding?

We said: At that time, not only did some of our nationals leave, but there were also European individuals who had come and gone.

A strict order is given to the Police Headquarters to thoroughly interrogate the criminal Kim Dae-geon.

Prime Minister Gwon Don-in verbally states: The case of the criminal Kim Dae-geon is indeed an extraordinary event: the practices of perverse doctrine have not yet been forgotten, and his abominable followers are becoming more active by the day; this is certainly frightening and deplorable! And if there weren’t individuals to engineer this and lead them, and people to give them hospitality, how would it be possible for foreigners from ten thousand lys away to so easily violate our frontier and hide for years on end in the very shadow of the throne, to

travel and visit all the provinces, to entrust letters to Chinese ships, and all this without the slightest fear or restraint? And, just looking at Haeju's investigation, this Dae-geon makes a strong case for his very wickedness, and he resists to his face. These seized letters are all in European handwriting, so it's impossible to know their content: in any case, they're not letters written to their families, but all are correspondences exchanged between accomplices; all the more so as the map attached to them is explained in our vulgar script, by which we can see that they apply themselves to knowing the customs of our eastern country. That if we don't investigate thoroughly and exterminate this center and lair, I don't know how many Dae-geon won't emerge from their hiding place in one place or another; how can we not tremble? I don't know whether, following the interrogation of all the courts, the Prefecture of Police has succeeded in really uncovering the threads of this plot; on the other hand, if they have to be interrogated separately, the discovery and arrest of their accomplices will take a long time. I ask Your Majesty to give strict orders in this matter.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty: In recent years, the criminal cause of the Europeans has not been dealt with thoroughly, so that now this new case has arisen; it is a sovereignly deplorable event! All the more so as these letters and the map entrusted to the Chinese boats cannot really be measured in terms of seriousness. The Préfecture de Police has been given a strict order to carry out in-depth investigations in order to strike at and destroy these hideouts in principle.

Report from the Left and Right Prefectures of Police on the confessions made by perverted criminals Kim Dae-geon et al.

This Prefecture verbally states that the criminals sent by the Governor of Hwanghae-do, Kim Dae-geon, Im Seong-ryong, Eom Su, Im Gun-jip and Kim Jeongsu, were brought before all the courts for questioning and confession; as for Yi, who is on the run, careful searches on all sides revealed that his uncle (Yi) Gi-won, who has apostatized from religion in recent years, lives in Yeongjong territory, so satellites were sent to arrest him and bring him in for investigation and questioning.

In his first statement, Dae-geon declared that he was Chinese, originally from Macao prefecture in Gwangdong province; his name is Woo, his first name Dae-geon, he studied the doctrine of the Master of Heaven, and, having become great, having conceived the desire to visit the various kingdoms, their mountains and waterways, he set out from the river Xiang-jiang, went by boat to Liaodong, went ashore and travelled through the country, on the 11th Lunar Month of 1844, he headed for the Gate of the Stakes Barrier, and, donning Korean garments, entered Korea via the region where the Yalu River is frozen; on the 8th Lunar Month of 1845, he entered Seoul, circulating here and there. On the IVth Lunar Month of this year, he went to the river at Mapo, and as Im Seong-ryong had a trading boat and was going to Hwanghae-do, having given him a generous passage price, he boarded his boat to go to Yeonpyeong island in Haeju district.

From there, having gone to Sogang, there were 5 or 6 Chinese boats which had come there, he entrusted them with his letters and returned to land at Deungsan, and as the commander of the maritime fortress wanted to requisition the boat on which he had boarded, there arose a dispute and tumult, so that he was arrested himself. And from the start, when he entered Korea, he had no guide or companion, and when he reached the capital, he had no home.

In his second deposition he stated that as he was told that his name of Woo is a rare name in Korea and that the name Kim is very common there, he changed his name to Kim.

In his third deposition, he stated that, when he came, he hid his tracks and traveled in secret, how would he have had guides? Then, having headed for the capital and knowing no one there, where could he have set up home? It was really thanks to the few ounces of silver he had, that he was able to travel and provide for his subsistence. As for the book in vulgar characters and the pieces of cloth with figures and the image of a heart, he used them to honor and adore the Master of Heaven.

In his fourth deposition, he declared that, subjected to such a terrifying apparatus, how could he dare hide or disguise the truth in any way? Yet, if the audience were to be removed to allow him to testify in peace, he promised to declare in perfect sincerity all the circumstances of what concerned him.

In his fifth deposition, he declared that if, because of his case, there happened to be people involved, if he were given written assurance that they would not be arrested or have their lives endangered, he would say everything frankly.

In his sixth deposition, he declared that he is not a foreigner, but a Korean born in the Yongin district, his name is Kim and his given name (as a child) Jae-bok; because his father knew a little about European religion, the spiritual Father Na, who had come from Europe, wished to make him his disciple and take him in. At the age of 15, the European named Yu and the embassy groom Jo Shin-cheol took him, and with him the son of Choe Yeong-hwan of Gwacheon, named Yang-eop, and the son of Choe of Hongju named (Franciscus) Bang-je; they passed through the Gate of the Gate of the Stakes and entered China; Franciscus fell ill and died there. As for him, he went to Gwangdong in Macau, in the house of a man named Ha he studied there the brilliant religion (景教), he was also taken by a Frenchman named Yi to Little Europe to study, he learned the language until he became an interpreter. But with the memory of his homeland growing more intense by the day, on the 11th Lunar Month of 1842, having changed his clothes, he sneaked as far as Uiju, but there, as he was suspected by everyone, he was forced to return.

On the eleventh Lunar Month of 1843, having again crossed the Yalu in secret, he arrived at Euiju, where he met a man named Yi, who lives in Seoul, at an inn; they went up to the capital together, and as Yi had no house, with the money he had brought with him he bought a house in Seokjeong-dong, where he has been living and providing him with clothes and food for four years.

In his seventh deposition, he stated that, since his return 4 years ago, hiding his steps and living in secret, he has not had the means to go to his house, so that he does not know if his mother is still living or dead; as for the son of the named Choe of Gwacheon with whom he left, they have each lived on their own, so that he does not know where he resides.

In his eighth deposition, he declared that he had been to Macao and that, having lived for years in the house of the man named Ha, he could not fail to have kept a grateful memory of it; he therefore sent him a letter to ask for news of him and the state of his health, and there was nothing else. As for the map of mountains and torrents, as he had learned to draw a little, he did indeed draw what he came across on his travels, as is the custom of followers of the shining religion.

In his ninth deposition, he declared that his religion forbids denouncing one's neighbor; so even if he had followers of his religion, he would not consent to denounce them; but as he has not preached the doctrine anywhere, how could he have had other Christians? So he has no



one to denounce.

In his tenth deposition, he stated that, although he lived with the man named Yi for four years, he never asked him for his first name or details of his career.

In his eleventh deposition, he said that, when he was at the port of Deungsan, the named Yi and the boatman named No had returned to the capital, and, as he was arrested, the named Yi couldn't ignore him and went into hiding. As for Gu Sun-o of Eunjin, as a Christian he knew him well, and as he does a big business and his house is very comfortable, the little money he had, he had entrusted to the named Gu, and he had it withdrawn by Im Seong-ryong to use.

Yi Gi-won in his deposition stated that his father was Yi Seung-hun who was executed in 1801, during the criminal causes of the perverse doctrine; his nephew's first name is Jaeyong (Yi Jae-ui) and his first name Jung-on, he is the son of his elder brother Pal-won; as he comes and goes in the capital and in the provinces, it's already been three years since he last met him; as to whether he has hospitalized or driven away foreigners, he knows absolutely nothing about it. As far as he is concerned, after apostatizing in 1839, he retired to Yeongjung, where he earns his living teaching children. As for the books and other objects that were seized from his home, they are family heirlooms, so he could not resign himself to destroying them, and kept them in his house: how dare he exonerate himself from his propensities for this doctrine? All he has to do is die!

So, Kim Dae-geon began by declaring that he was originally from Gwangdong in China, at the end he confessed that he was born in Yongin in our kingdom, that he followed the Europeans and learned their language; that the desire to see his country again had brought him back and that he returned there alone and on his own initiative. Since he's from Yongin, he's Kim Je-jun's son, and Je-jun was also put to death. Looking at all these adventures, what punishment doesn't his crime deserve? As for Yi Jae-yong, he is of the race of that perverse doctrine leader Seung-hun of 1801, his secret ties linking him to foreigners, one must not for a moment lose interest, and, that he has escaped the net, one cannot help but be troubled and vexed. As Yi Gi-won is Jae-yong's uncle, he must know where his nephew has gone, so he's been pressed for questioning anyway, but he refuses to do anything about it, which is sovereignly deplorable! We will therefore continue to keep him in a strict prison until Jae-yong has been arrested and sentenced in accordance with the law.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty: The person named Yi who is on the run, and also the person named Gu from Eunjin, must be discovered and arrested without wasting a moment; as for the letters with the cards sent together and entrusted by Kim Dae-geon to the Chinese boats, this is sovereignly disconcerting! There must be a responsible source: let's renew investigations and inquiries to discover the truth.

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SUPPLEMENTARY V LUNAR MONTH, Day 1 (June 26, 1846).

Report from the Left and Right Police Prefectures on the depositions of criminal Kim Dae-geon.

This Prefecture verbally states that for Yi Jae-yong, who is on the run, and Gu Sun-o of Eunjin, detectives have been specially dispatched and it is hoped that they will soon be arrested and brought in. As for the criminal Kim Dae-geon, we have renewed our investigations and

interrogations:

In an initial statement, he declared that, in drawing the maps and the mountains and rivers, he had no special intention; as he has returned to his own country, among his Christian friends there are some who wish to see him again, so he draws the mountains and rivers he meets, and he sends them this drawing with his letter, there's nothing else. Among these Christians, there are those who sometimes say: "Now this Catholic religion, neither in China nor in the other kingdoms is it forbidden any more, only Korea continues to forbid it severely; we should arm two or three boats, load them with books and send them there, we'd manage to spread the religion. But he objected, saying: "Even if we send these boats, not only will religion not spread, but great damage will result," and his exhortations kept them back. For him, his desire to return to his homeland was like an arrow that cannot be held back, which is why in the year 1838, at the time of the Barrier Gate Fair, he had written a letter to be given to an interpreter who would pass it on, so that the Christians of Korea would wait for him at the town of Uiju, and in 1842, on his first trip, he did not meet the Christians and had to return to China.

In 1843, he met Yi Jae-yong in the town of Uiju and went up to the capital with him. If there had been others to lead him, how dare he not say so frankly?

At his second deposition, he stated that among the recipients of the letters, the venerable Monsieur Yuk of the perfumed pavilion (蘭亭 Nanjeong) is Chinese; the venerable Master Jang (Mgr Berneux) and the venerable Master Yi (M. Libois) are French, Monsieur Mae (probably M. Maistre) is Piedmontese. When he was in China, he was intimately acquainted with all three of them, which is why he entrusted the cards and letters to the Chinese to pass on to them; he simply wanted to check on their health and ask for subsidies, that's all. As for the characters of these letters, they are indeed the vulgar characters of European writing.

In his third deposition, he stated that, in Gwangdong, there is a man of the Catholic religion called Paem Jean (probably Father, later Bishop Desflèches) who had inquired of him whether any Korean Christians would come; and also at the Gate of the Barrier, there's the householder whom (Yu) Jin-gil used to frequent, called Han-ga; also in 1843 he went to the house of this Han, he met Yi Jae-yong there with his servant Yi Bak-dol, and they came together. He entrusted part of his belongings to Yi, and the small amount of gold and silver he took care of himself, and there was really no other interpreter or guide.

In his fourth deposition, he stated that, wanting to see some Christians on the 8th Lunar Month of last year, accompanied by Yi Jae-yong and Im Seong-ryong, he went to Gu Sun-o's house in Eunjin, where he stayed. Im bought a boat and it was on this boat that they returned together, which is why he drew the mountains and rivers of Chungcheong-do during the crossing.

In his fifth deposition, he stated that, as the Catholic religion is severely prohibited in the country, he has never dared to say a word about it, and there are no other Christians known to him, nor has he been anywhere else.

In his sixth deposition, he declared that, although alone and isolated, as after he had gone to China, he made complete studies there, he was made a spiritual Father, and for this he is treated with honor; traveling through the various countries, he learned their language and became an interpreter in these various countries, by which we can see that the Chinese would not dare treat him with haughtiness.

In his seventh deposition, he declared that, what he says about "three boats etc.," is that

there are numerous English and French people living in Gwangdong, they wanted to come and trade in Korea and also bring religion there, that's why with all his might he turned them away.

In his eighth deposition, he declared that, for all the things that concern him, they are as he declared in his previous depositions, and there is nothing else; he therefore wishes to be put to death without delay.

So, about his treacherous habit of charting mountains and rivers, about his secret attempts to entrust letters to Chinese ships, no matter how many times and in every way we question him, he never tells the truth; what he says about "three ships" that would bring us religion, comes only from the perfidious intention of wanting to attribute merit to himself; and he says he only wants one thing: to die, and that he doesn't fear torture! For the time being, therefore, he will be kept in strict confinement, until Jee-yong, Sun-o and consorts have been arrested and brought in to resume questioning.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty: For the time being, let us wait until all the criminals have been arrested before resuming interrogations. But for the searches and investigations, let them be carried out severely, without daring to delay or be negligent.

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FIFTH ADDITIONAL LUNAR MONTH, day 4 (June 27, 1846).

Order to release the Chinese detained at Hwanghae-do and to reward all deserving subjects.

The Border Guard Administration verbally states the following: In his report, the Governor of Hwanghae-do says that he had detained and kept in custody seven men from the Chinese boats, in order to have them search for and deliver the letters that Dae-geon had entrusted to them in Jangyeon; now that these letters have been brought back, it is not appropriate to detain these Chinese further, even for a short time. The Governor of this province should therefore be sent a prompt order to soften them up with kind words and release them. The affair of the search for and delivery of these letters is one of the most important of those concerning the guarding of the frontiers, and it is therefore advisable to show benevolence towards all those who have worked on it; let a dignity therefore be given to the Governor's secretary Yu Sang-eun ; as for the interpreter Kim yong-nam, let the competent office reward him; let the satellite chief Hwang Gil-sung also be rewarded; as for the praetorians and civil or military employees of the city or the Government who have deserved well, let the Province consider rewarding them more amply. And I beg Your Majesty to order the Governor of the said province to do so.

His Majesty has granted it.

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5th ADDITIONAL LUNAR MONTH, 7th day (June 30, 1846).

Report from the Left and Right Prefectures of Police on the depositions of criminal Kim Dae-geon.

This Prefecture verbally states that the criminal Kim Dae-geon was interrogated very severely by making him write European letters as a test.

In his first deposition, he declared that, as he knew European writing, he had written the nine letters in his own handwriting; as for the Chinese, as he had left the country when he was still young, his instruction was not complete, which is why for the five letters he borrowed the handwriting of the man named Yi, who was with him on the boat, but it was he who dictated the text, and as for the description, he wrote it himself.

In his third statement, he declared that, originally, he had written these letters with a metal quill, but now that he had to write with a brush, how could the lines not be noticeably thicker?

In his fourth statement, he declared that these letters he had written himself, what difficulty would he have in reading them aloud? But as the sounds of European writing are not the same as ours, how could he make them understood by hearing them?

In his fifth deposition, he stated that, as the Venerable Master Jang was of French nationality, he had written to him separately in both the vernacular script and Chinese, for fear that some letter might be lost. As for the others, the Venerable Mr. Sim, the three gentlemen Im, Baek and Du, Master Yuk and the Venerable Mr. Du, although Catholics, they are all Chinese and do not understand the European language, which is why he sent them letters written in Chinese.

In his sixth deposition, he stated that, when he returned from China, the venerable master Jang promised to help him with subsidies, and when in his letter he says: "The things we take care of etc." he means the objects he asks for, the meaning being to send them by occasion at the time of this year's fair, if not to send them in the course of the 3rd Lunar Month, when the Chan-tong fishing boats come to the shores of Baekryeong-do island.

In his seventh deposition, he stated that when he was in China, he was referred to as Kim An-taek (Andreas), so below the year and month, he wrote An-taek, but this is not another character at all.

In his eighth deposition, he stated that, as he had learned a little of the art of drawing, in his sea voyages he draws with his hand the mountains and rivers he discovers, and sends this to his friends and acquaintances, only so as not to send them empty letters.

In his ninth deposition, he stated that, although he could not obtain a metal pen, he would use a brush for the drawing he was asked to provide.

In his tenth deposition, he stated that there are many Frenchmen living in China; they smuggle money and effects to the Spiritual Fathers who are sent to Korea; this is why last year, Yi Jae-yong disguised as a merchant went to the Gate of the Barrier, and brought back money and European fabrics sent by cart by Beom Jean, Wang Son-i and company.

In his eleventh deposition, he stated that the countries of Europe make it their law to spread the Catholic religion far and wide throughout the universe, so, by all means, they assist with their gifts the Spiritual Fathers who are sent to foreign countries. Previously, as those who came to Korea were successively put to death, this time they sent him themselves, without skimping on the expense. When he dies, other spiritual Fathers or Bishops will certainly come again; in these circumstances, he fears that the prohibition will not last forever: how will this be done? Even in Japan, there are spiritual Fathers who have gone into hiding and are secretly spreading religion.

In his twelfth deposition, he stated that the English continually said, “A country as big as China could not resist us, and a small kingdom like Korea continues to prohibit religion: is this possible? We’ll take three or four ships and go to Korea.” This is why, time and again, by representing to them that their approach would not succeed, he steered them away from it.

In his thirteenth deposition, he declared that the man named Yi, who had come to Hwanghae-do on the same boat as him, had in principle been introduced to him by Yi Jae-yong, who had recommended him; they lived together, this one outside in the guest room, and he in the inner apartments. They arrived at the Deungsan fortress, but before he was arrested, he had gone ashore and left for Seoul, so he was the only one to escape.

In his fourteenth deposition, he stated that, when Catholics are arrested, it is always as a result of indications given by Christians, which is why we don’t ask each other for details of career or place of residence, it’s enough to know that we’re dealing with people who have propensities for the doctrine, so we accept them and stick to them; also, despite having lived together for four years, he knew it was the noble Mr. Yi without asking what kind of man it was; if he went ashore and was sent ahead, it was to oversee the affairs of the house, have clothes prepared and the like.

So Kim Dae-geon’s letters and cards, when made to write or draw, what he wrote himself, what he had others write, he admits to himself; as for the difference in strokes, he attributes it to the fact that it’s not the same thing to write with a metal nib or with a brush. What he says about the English and French boats stems from the fact that he is at the end of his tether, and is a mendacious reverie. As for the successive and continuous sending of spiritual Fathers, is it so easy? The more the interrogations are multiplied and pressed, the more he closes his mouth and remains silent; we will therefore continue to keep him strictly imprisoned. The letters and plans written and drawn by way of proof, we transmit the fold.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty: Seeing now these three specimens of writing and drawing, there is the difference between clumsiness and skill. And as for the meaning of the seized letters, not only do we discover dubious and strange things, but there is not even a lack of discrepancy in the dates; let’s start the research and interrogations all over again. As for the man named Yi, who was on the same boat and whose pen he claims to have borrowed, let the investigations and inquiries be renewed and stepped up, so as to find him quickly. And that we activate as soon as possible the tons of satellite individuals previously dispatched.

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5th ADDITIONAL LUNAR MONTH, 8th day (June 1, 1846).

Report from the Left and Right Prefectures of Police on the depositions of criminals Kim Dae-geon et al.

This Prefecture verbally states that, in order to discover where the named Yi, who was on the same boat, has gone, it is essential to question the various criminals who are imprisoned, which is why they have all been severely examined.

In a first deposition, Kim Dae-geon stated that the expression “the things we take care of” means: 1. that having come to his own country, he cannot widely propagate the Catholic religion; 2. that the objects he needs and his subsidies are exhausted, so let us send him money,

European fabrics and similar objects so that he can use them to subsist.

In a second deposition, he stated that, in principle, the name Yi was unknown to him, but he heard Jaeyong say that, as a party, he belongs to the Namin, and that his father has been dismissed, so he may be 33 years old; but he did not inquire about his first name or place of residence.

In his third deposition, he stated that, for the three gentlemen Im, Baek, Du and others, after the customary formulas about cold and hot, he asks them how their business is these days; then he writes that all his friends who have the same occupation are doing well; by saying “all his friends”, he means all the people in his house.

In a fourth deposition, he stated that, as he returned to the XIth Lunar Month of 1843, the XIIth Lunar Month of 1844 and the XIIth Lunar Month of last year were its anniversary, and now, sending his letter to the IVth Lunar Month, he wrote to the ordinary by putting “to the anniversary”.

In his fifth deposition, he stated that, if in his written characters or drawings, the difference in strokes, bold or loose, left or skillful, did not come from having been written with a metal pen, given that there was no one who knew European writing, from whom could he have borrowed the hand?

In a first statement, Yi Gi-won said that, as far as his books were concerned, not only were they objects left by his father, but their style was very refined, which is why he didn't have the courage to throw them in the fire right away.

In a second deposition, he declared that, for the place where Jae-yong had taken refuge, supposing he knew him and refused to denounce him, that was still understandable; but for a man named Yi whose first name he didn't know, what regard could he possibly have? In recent times, of the nobles reputed to be followers of the perverse doctrine, almost all have died or disappeared, and I do believe,” he says, “that only my nephew and (Yi) Eui-chang remain, and that there are no others. But if you ask Dae-geon, how can he refuse to tell you the truth?

In his third deposition, he said that, now that they're giving him his description, his age, showing him his handwriting, calling him a Namin and talking about licensed, it's as if they're portraying the whole person of Yi Euichang, and there's no one else to whom any of this answers.

So, although they don't fully confess who this Yi is, or where he's gone, weighing up the statements of these two prisoners, it does seem to be Eui-chang son of Ri Bang-deok; that's why we're going to specially appoint detectives to discover and arrest him. We present the envelope containing the new writings and drawings obtained from Kim Dae-geon by way of proof.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty; That the two individuals taken by the satellites be discovered without delay, and that as soon as they are arrested, investigations and interrogations be carried out to discover the truth.

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V SUPPLEMENTARY LUNAR MONTH, 22nd day (July 15, 1846).

Report from the Left and Right Prefectures of Police on the arrest of perverted doctrine leader Hyeon Seok-mun.

From this Prefecture it is exposed that, the leader of perverse doctrine Hyeon Seok-mun is one, being their accomplice, with Jin-gil, Ha-sang, Shin-cheol and others who were formerly executed. In the criminal cases of 1839, he fled and could not be apprehended. This time, he has just been apprehended, which is why all the courts are prepared to question him.

\* \* \*

5th ADDITIONAL LUNAR MONTH, 23rd day (July 16, 1846).

Report from the Left and Right Prefectures on the depositions of criminal Hyeon Seok-mun.

From this Prefecture, it is verbally exposed that, in proceeding to the capture and arrest of fugitive individuals, the individual named Yi Jae-yong was arrested on the grounds of perverse doctrine; in subjecting him first to the inquiry for information, he said that his first and last names are Hyeon Seok-mun.

At the first interrogation, he stated that his middle name is Deok-seung. When he was five years old, his father was executed during the criminal causes of perverse doctrine of 1801. His mother took him with her to Dongnae. At the age of 14, he returned to the capital, where he ran a pharmacy. During the criminal cases of perverse doctrine in 1839, his first and last names having emerged from all the depositions, he changed them to Yi Jae-yong, then fled to live in Chungcheong-do and Jeolla-do, and, in the penultimate year, he returned to Seoul and kept himself hidden in the district known as Sapseo-dong in the house of the Lady Kim (Kim Sosa), where he has just been arrested.

In a second statement, he declared that interpreter Yu Jin-gil, embassy groom Jo Shin-cheol and Jeong Ha-sang were all his co-religionists, and that they dealt with all matters together. When Spiritual Father Yu, who had come from China, returned after 4 years, taking with him three young men from our kingdom, it was he who accompanied them to the Gate of the Barrier. In the winter of 1843, having gone to the Gate of the barrier to the house of Hanga (taek), it happened that Kim Dae-geon had also come there to la fair, and, having thus met by a happy fortune, Dae-geon said to him: "My instruction is now perfect, and the Pope of Europe has made me a spiritual Father with the aim of spreading far and wide the Catholic religion, and although the prohibitive laws of our kingdom are severe, my intention is now to return there." He therefore replied, "If the Spiritual Father wishes to return at once, it will be very difficult to prepare for his reception and provide for his maintenance so quickly; it is preferable that I return myself first to get along with all the Christians and wait until next year in the winter to return yourself." Dae-geon agreed.

So in the winter of 1844, he went with Yi Jae-yong as far as the town of Uiju and they stayed there long enough, then he made Jae-yong wait and returned to Pyongyang. And when Jae-yong and Father Kim arrived there, they left together for the capital and stayed there together.

On the fourth Lunar Month of this year, when Dae-geon and Yi Eui-chang went to the Hwanghae-do, the Christian Kim Hyeong-jung came to tell him, "Father and the boat's staff have been arrested at Haeju Prefecture." So he immediately went into hiding in the house of a Christian woman Kim. And this Kim woman and (Jeong) Cheol-yeom were also arrested.

In his third deposition, he stated that, as the Father hid his actions and feared that they would be revealed, he did not in principle maintain relations with anyone, so there were

virtually no comings and goings of Christians at his house.

In his fourth deposition, he declared that, for the maps of the mountains and rivers and for the letters entrusted to the Chinese boats, he saw nothing with his own eyes; the man named Yi, who was on the same boat, has the first name Eui-chang, but after the Father's arrest, he didn't meet him again, so how could he know where he went and where he lives?

In his fifth deposition, he stated that, of the items seized, the Chinese habit and the silk bonnet had been brought by Dae-geon, for the other items, it was also Dae-geon who had deposited them there.

In his deposition, Kim Dae-geon stated that the Christian's surname, Hyeon Seok-mun, being an uncommon one, was feared to be too recognizable, and was changed to Yi Jae-yong; he is a man of high learning, and reputed among Christians ; he could not speak of them on the same day he named Jae-yong and Eui-tchyang, so in his previous interrogations he said nothing about them, but now that his life is between a morning and an evening, and they will die together, he really has nothing to regret.

So Hyeon Seok-mun is the son of (Hyeon) Gye-heum who was executed; having escaped the net in 1839, he violated the border and went to China to meet Dae-geon; on the appointed date, he brought him and lived with him in the same house. As the leader of the gang in this criminal operation, who could we find but him? As for all the individuals who have been denounced, strict injunctions have been renewed to detectives to discover and arrest them as soon as possible.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty: Seeing this report, there are many dubious and confusing things: if the so-called Yi Jae-yong is Hyeon Seok-mun who changed his names, the one who in principle we wanted to arrest, Yi Jae-yong, would in truth be another character; was he directly denounced by Dae-geon, or only relying on what he said was a person named Yi, was it concluded that it was Jae-yong? Does this comply with the rules of criminal justice or not? Let us clarify this in another report. As for Yi Jae-yong, we're told that he'll be arrested as soon as possible; if we continue to act as before with slackness and negligence, know that there will be severe sanctions, and act accordingly.

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5th ADDITIONAL LUNAR MONTH, 26th day (July 19, 1846).

Report from the left and right Prefectures of Police on the depositions of the criminals Kim Dae-geon and consorts.

From this Prefecture it is verbally stated that, having subjected the criminals Kim Dae-geon and consorts to further questioning :

Kim Dae-geon stated in his deposition that, the people who constantly lived in his house were only the three men named Yi; one was Hyeon Seok-mun known as Yi Jae-yong, the second was Yi Jae-yong, and the other Yi Eui-chang ; as Eui-chang was poor to the point of running out of clothes, he provided him with clothing, and as he appreciated the skill of his brush, he took it on his boat with him when he went to Hwanghae-do.

Hyeon Seok-mun stated in his deposition that, having changed his name to Yi, everyone who didn't know his real name called him Mr. Yi. Since the house had been bought, he wore



the nobleman's cap and lived there, so he was reputed to be the master of the house. As for Jae-yong and Eui-chang, they were just Christians who came and went.

The woman (Jeong) Cheol-yeom stated in her deposition that, originally living in Suwon, at the age of 18 she embraced the Catholic religion; today she is 33 and has not yet been married. Having come to Seoul, she lived in Ju-dong in the house of Nam I-gwan, then emigrated to Hwagae-dong in the house of the lady Kim Barbara, and studied there with the lady Yi. In the winter of 1844, the two women Kim and Yi having emigrated to Seokjeong-dong to Father Kim's house, she followed them there to do housework and at the same time practice the Catholic religion. The man who constantly lived in the Father's house without ever leaving it was Mr. Yi, so she only knows that he was Mr. Yi, and today she heard for the first time in court that his name is Hyeon. Moreover, among those who frequented the house, there were some who were called Mister Yi, but although she knew they were Christians, she never asked or heard their names.

In a new deposition, she declared that, this year at the IVth Lunar Month, she only heard that the Father was going to the province, but she doesn't know who was with him on the boat. So the two Yi they wanted to arrest were only Jae-yong and Eui-chang. Yi Jae-yong is none other than Hyeon Seok-mun; on the house plaque, the character Yeong is written, and when questioned separately, they all say the same thing; that Yi Jae-yong is not Yi Jae-yong is obvious and beyond doubt. As for Jae-yong, we'll be sending out new detectives and arresting him immediately.

Instruction from His Royal Majesty: Looking at this additional information, apart from Yi Dae-yong, it seems that there is still Yi Jae-yong who has not yet been arrested; supposing that he is arrested and that he is also a Christian co-religionist of Dae-geon, from the outset in sending him to be arrested, there has been no categorical denunciation and he has been singled out as if by chance, a very serious breach of the rules of criminal justice. And now, after this criminal case has been delayed for so long, here are these explanations, so artfully written that the further we go, the more doubt and obscurity prevail. Before Yi Jaeyong has been arrested, it is impossible to proceed further; his discovery and arrest, whether sooner or later, are therefore not of slight importance; redouble your vigilance, therefore, so as not to incur blame.

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VI LUNAR MONTH, 24th day (August 15, 1846).

Reports sent by the Governor of Chungcheong-do, Jo Un-cheol, and the Maritime Prefect, Jeong Taek-seon, concerning the copy of the minutes of the conversation held between the inhabitants of Oiyeon-do Island and foreign men.

Taek-seon's report sets out how he had given stern orders for a thorough investigation and close questioning to be carried out with the aim of inquiring into the foreign boats' moves and the circumstances of the conversation held by the islanders, when, on the 21st day of this Lunar Month, he received from maritime commissioner Kim Won-hui, resident in Wonsan, and local magistrate Seo Seung-son, Prefect of Hongju, a collective report in which it was stated:

“On the 20th day of this Lunar Month around 5 a.m., an inhabitant of Oiyeon-do island, named Choe Gwang-deuk, came to bring us I don't know what kind of cassette. We took him in for questioning, and he told us that, as a boatman by trade, he didn't know exactly what had happened, but from what he had heard, on the morning of the 18th day of this Lunar Month, 13 or 14 foreigners had gone down to the island in one of their rowboats; They all had short

hair and wore helmets on their heads; the sleeves of their clothes were tight, as were their outfits; some had black upper parts and white lower parts, while others were completely dressed in white. The men and women of the village were all seized with horror, and began to weep and lament. However, a man from the village, Kim Heung-bang, and a man named Yi, who works as a schoolteacher in the village, came forward, but it was impossible for either of them to understand the other's words. The strangers began to write down what they wanted to say, so Heung-pang and Yi wrote back. Shortly afterwards, they took out a small cassette, handed it over and immediately climbed into their boat and sailed away. And as the island's intendant and the village chief were at the Maritime Prefecture, both the cassette and the report of the conversation were sealed together and sent to the intendant so that he could notify the competent authority; but it so happened that both the Maritime Commissioner and the Prefect were then in Wonsan; so he told him to go and give them these documents reported from the inquiry, which is why he came to bring them. Unable to contain our fear and emotion, we took and considered what was presented to us. The written document is the record of the conversation between the islanders and these strangers: as for the cassette, we do not know of what wood it is made, it is 9 inches 5 lines long from the carpenter's foot, about 5 inches 2 lignes wide, as height it may have 2 inches 9 lines; it has no fittings or lock, but it has been lined inside and out with white Chinese paper; it has a lid that closes it, on the lid in the very middle the following 9 characters have been written in ink: "To His Excellency the Grand Minister of the Kingdom of Korea. "

Inside there is a closed fold of Chinese paper, soft blue in color, it may have, length 8 inches 7 lines, and width 4 inches, it is folded in the shape of a letter and securely closed. In the middle of the upper edge of the envelope, a piece of wax the color of copper, the shape of a turtle, and as wide as an old sapèque, has been applied, and a seal has been strongly impressed on it; on the edges, there are like drawings, in the middle like sigillary characters; but, characters and drawings, are outlined in such a way that we have not been able to decipher them. On the back of the envelope, in the middle, the 9 characters "To His Excellency, the Grand Minister of the Kingdom of Korea" have been written. The thickness of the fold is that of an old sapèque. Seeing the way it is sealed and also the way it is folded, it is not possible to know what kind of letter it is; fearing on the other hand to overstep our rights by opening it right away, we have for the moment left it as it is, we are only sending you the description and sketch of the cassette and the fold it contains, as well as the copy of the relation of the private conversation of the inhabitants of this island with the foreigners. Concerning the shape of these three foreign boats and also how, due to their rapid movements, there was no possibility of pursuing them, we have already sent you a previous report. On the 18th, they were still at the same point as during the comings and goings of the 17th and we intended to go there for information, but, observing them from afar, we saw these boats heading directly west, and again we left it at that. The conversation that was thus held with the islanders, and the handing over of the box, all really took place on the 18th before noon. That the islanders did not immediately notify the authorities, that they of their own accord engaged in the conversation and unhesitatingly received the tape, that they let these foreigners return as they pleased, on learning of it we were painfully dismayed, so Choe Gwang-deuk was put in the cangue and imprisoned; as for Kim Jeong-bang and the schoolmaster named Yi, as well as the steward of this island Jeong Bong-jo and the village chief Kim Yun-gil, they will be arrested and brought here immediately. As for the details relating to the conversation with the foreigners and also about the movements of their boats when they left, it is appropriate that we investigate this thoroughly and send you a further report."

Of these three foreign boats no trace has been seen for several days already, and I do not know in what place they may have landed, which is why I have officially ordered all the

towns and fortresses on the sea shore to redouble their vigilance. For all those individuals on the island who held conversations with the strangers, I have also ordered that they be briskly arrested and brought in for investigation. As for the report of the conversation held, as it does not concern a session attended by the investigating delegate, but only a private conversation held on their own authority by the inhabitants of the island, it would seem rash of me to bother you by sending it to you officially, but since, on the other hand, both serious and light matters are of interest to the Border Guard, I have had a copy drawn up and am sending it in a sealed envelope to the Border Guard Administration, together with the description and sketch of the cassette as given to me in the investigating delegate's report. As for the cassette itself, I had it provisionally returned to the home of the mayor of this village, with strict instructions to keep it faithfully.

Un-cheol's report states that the boats which were there until around 5 p.m. on the evening of the 19th have not been seen since, which is why he has, by official dispatch, ordered that we continue to watch and report to him. Similarly for the Oiyeon-do islander, Choe Gwang-deuk, as he had been handed over by the Maritime Prefecture to the investigating delegate, he also gave strict orders for him to be thoroughly examined and reported back to him. But, he says, that the men from the boats of a foreign kingdom could at their ease have gone ashore, entered the island village without any fuss, held a conversation there in writing, and that after handing over the cassette, they returned to their boat and sailed away ; that the investigating delegate did not pursue them to find out why they had come, even though the distance by sea is long and the passage difficult, so that it indeed seems that he could hardly have arrived in time and accomplished his mission, as the affair is of unprecedented importance in the administration of the frontier, I am a thousand and ten thousand times appalled! As for the Maritime Prefect, in his report and the copy he sent, he said that an inhabitant of Oiyeon-do island, Choe Gwang-deuk, had brought a cassette with a letter and that, when he came to the Prefecture, he told them that three foreign boats had come to anchor in the waters of their island, that they had given a box and a letter to the islanders with whom they had held a private conversation etc. etc., and that consequently he had been informed of the matter. However, in his order to the said investigating delegate, Choe Gwang-deuk's name is not even mentioned, nor are his statements reported. I don't know why this contradicts the terms of his report, but it certainly shows a lack of attention on his part. As for Maritime Commissioner Kim Wonseon and Hongju Prefect Seo Seung-sun, they have already been dismissed; as for Maritime Prefect Jeong Taek-seon, he himself has already asked to be judged on his own misconduct, so I don't need to go over it again. As for the content of the conversation held between these foreigners and the islanders, the investigating delegate has indeed already sent a copy to Seoul, but on close examination of what is given as this conversation, not only are there abrupt passages that are difficult to understand, but there are also false and useless expressions, and it would be truly foolhardy to send such a document to the higher authorities, Therefore, on the basis of this copy, I am having another copy made, which I am sending to you, and at the same time the measurements in inches and lines of the box, the description of the letter in it, the characters written on it, I am having a copy and a drawing made, which I am enclosing following my report, sealing the whole firmly to send it to the Border Guard Administration. In truth, as this box and this letter do not come from a kingdom with which we are in contact, and are anonymous things, they should have been rejected without delay, but these ignorant islanders did not know how to refuse them and took them to the maritime prefecture, which passed them on to the investigating delegate, and as these boats had already left, there was no way of returning them; this is why I am obliged to have them provisionally guarded until the Grand Council gives us its instructions.

Where did these boats go? We're told they've gone far away, and that we can't be sure; but, with the speed of their movements, we can't rely on that; I have therefore, by official

dispatch, ordered redoubled vigilance towards the open sea. I will also have to make a thorough investigation into the manner in which these foreigners violated the soil of this island, and also into all the circumstances of the conversation that took place and the handing over of the box. Finally, I have also given strict orders that the schoolmaster named Yi, Kim Heung-bang, the island steward and the village headman be arrested and brought in to carry out a thorough investigation, on which I will report.

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VI LUNAR MONTH, 25th day (August 16, 1816).

Order to send to Seoul the copy of the letter contained in the box handed over by the foreign ships.

The Border Guard Administration verbally states the following: In the report received from the Governor of Chungcheong-do, Jo Un-cheol, it is stated that when the foreign boats passed by the island known as Oiyeon-do, they held a conversation with the islanders, and he is sending a copy of the report that was made; as for the letter that was enclosed in the box, he has given orders to keep it faithfully pending instructions from the Grand Council. What was the content of this letter? We can't say, but since the matter concerns the border guards, we can't leave it like that. After unsealing this letter, have an exact copy taken and sent to our Administration; send the original to the local magistrate. I beg Your Majesty to give orders accordingly to the Governor of this province.

His Majesty has granted it.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 3rd day (August 24, 1846).

Express report sent by the Governor of Chungcheong-do, Jo Un-cheol, sending a copy of the letter contained in the box handed over by the foreign boats.

The report states that, when the foreign boats passed through Oi-yen-to, they held a conversation with the islanders, and the Governor has already sent a copy of the report. As for the letter contained in the box, he had it brought to his Government, unsealed it, took an exact copy which he is sending today to the Border Guard Administration; as for the original, he put it back in the box and sent it to the local magistrate, the Prefect of Hongju, Yun Ji-seong, for safekeeping.

Here is a copy of the letter contained in the box: (See the text of this letter on page 73.)

Report of the conversation held between these men and the islanders of Oiyeon-to: (See this report on page 75.)

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 15th day (September 5, 1846).

We asked: Have you seen the letter from the kingdom of France?

Don-in replied: Yes, I've read it, and its content denotes an intention to intimidate us. They are prowling our sea from the outside, using their perverse practices to influence and disturb public opinion; along with the so-called English, they are all Europeans.

We said: To see the content, this letter is excessively contemptuous; there must certainly be people from our kingdom underneath who excite and encourage them.

Don-in said: Your Majesty is absolutely right; if there weren't people from our kingdom acting as their accomplices, how could they know that we have put Europeans to death?

We then took out this letter, saying: In the letter, it says that they will return next year;

if this is so, how can we provide for them?

Don-in said: There's no need to worry about that; supposing they do come back, all we have to do is send them an interpreter, and if we admonish them from the point of view of justice, if we reprimand them from the point of view of reason, what answer can they possibly make? Here's what they say: "When foreigners come to Korea, you endeavor to treat them well, and you go so far as to escort them back and provide for their sustenance; only for our nationals do you put them to death." This is not difficult to retort. Our kingdom expressly forbids foreigners to enter our country secretly, so those who contravene this prohibition cannot be tolerated and are put to death. As for those who are brought here by shipwreck, their case differs from those who enter surreptitiously, which is why they are either escorted from post to post and provided with food, or an official dispatch is sent to repatriate them. As far as these Europeans are concerned, they are violating the border of a foreign country to spread their perverse religion, so how can they not be put to death? In their letter, it also says: "By killing them, you are earning our resentment", and again: "In future, don't kill them".

There's a way of answering this too: if these men don't enter our country, will there be a way of putting them to death?

We replied: It's true, if these men didn't come into the country, how could they be put to death?

Don-in said: If we answer them in this way, and they continue to try to intimidate us, then we'll have to give them a harsh rebuke with just words; what have we got to fear?

We said: Judging by the shape of the characters and the stamp, it looks as if they were made by Europeans.

Don-in said: The content of their letter is rather similar to Chinese compositions.

We said: And this matter of Kim Dae-geon, how should it be settled?

Don-in says: Kim Dae-geon's case is not to be ignored even for a moment. Relying on perverse doctrine, he deceives and confuses public opinion; everything he does is ultimately a means of sowing doubt and confusion. And then there are not only the perverse practices, but he, a Korean, has denied his country and violated the borders of foreign kingdoms. When he presents himself as a proponent of perverse doctrine etc. etc., it's with the intention of intimidating us. I could not think of it without my bones trembling and my heart being troubled! If we don't put him to death according to the law, it will only serve as a pretext for future discussions, not to mention the fact that we won't fail to show our weakness by doing so. We said: We have to make a decision. There was talk of the Yi Jae-yong case, but then we heard that the one they called Yi Jae-yong doesn't actually exist, and that it's none other than Hyeon Seokmun who's changed his name. Now that Hyeon has been arrested, where else could this so-called Yi Jae-yong be apprehended?

Don-in says: What they're saying about this Yi Jae-yong – that he changed his names, that he escaped through the city walls, and that it's unclear whether or not it was he who was pursued and arrested - all these claims by the Police Headquarters don't hold water.

We said: "There has to be a decision. And then: Next spring there will surely be a stir in public opinion.

Don-in says: Without waiting for next spring, right now there's already public unrest. There's a lot of talk about perverse doctrine, and it's only because people haven't read the letter that there are these doubts and turmoil.

My humble opinion is therefore that, without wasting any time, Your Majesty should make this letter public, so that everyone can read it, and at once these doubts will be dispelled.

We said: It seems to us that it would be a good idea to make a report of this to the Court of Peking; in 1832, during the English affair, a report was made, and it was undoubtedly a case similar to this one.

Don-in says: This case differs from that of 1832, when English ships landed in the

Hongju district and stayed for more than six days. At the time, they were talking about trade relations and things of that kind, and, since they were kept away by talking reason to them, and there was a special envoy to inquire about their doings, naturally it was reported to Peking. This time, it was French ships that had come to spy off our coast and imposed themselves on the islanders, holding conversations with them, with the aim of getting them to hand over the letter box; and in their talks, if they always spoke of their Emperor, it was a means for them to intimidate, and nothing else. How can you base a report to Peking on vain and misleading statements of this kind? In years gone by, when Europeans were put to death, no report was made; if today we were to hastily submit a report on this affair, there would be reason to fear, on the contrary, that it would raise doubts. Perhaps this proposal comes from the outside, but as far as I'm concerned, sending a report to Peking is not at all certain; however, I don't know what the opinion of all those who are called upon to deliberate on it might be.

We said: In truth, we wouldn't avoid the inconvenience of giving rise to doubt. But for those, there must be Koreans who are devoted to them and who correspond with them. If this were not the case, how would they know the fact of the execution, how would they know the date?

Don-in says: Since the practices of perverse doctrine have been widespread, there are many people who are infested with them. And this time too, if these French boats have come, presumably it can only be because they've been lured and invited to do so; it's all just a parade wall, unfortunately.

We asked: When they say "high dignitaries", do they mean you, the Grand Minister?

Don-in said: Yes, it is.

We said: And when they give themselves away as war ships, isn't it also with the intention of intimidating us?

Don-in says: As he gives himself the title of "Admiral", he also says "warships" accordingly; moreover, this time it was indeed warships that came, so they say. Just today, if we publish their letter in such a way that everyone can see what kind of document it is, and if we behead Dae-geon without delay, making his crime well known, public opinion will be appeased and we can hope to effectively prohibit the practices of perverse doctrine and put an end to them. We said: We need to make a decision!

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8th LUNAR MONTH, 25th day (September 15, 1846).

Don-in says: Your Majesty returned the letter from the French foreigners' box yesterday, ordering it to be circulated among the high dignitaries; as soon as the contents of this letter are known to all, there will be no further cause for false agitation. But as for the Kim Dae-geon case, turned towards the throne, I have indeed received orders to settle the case promptly, yet no final decision has yet been reached, and I cannot know what Your Majesty's intention is in this matter.

We said: This is precisely what we wanted to talk to you about: how can it be decided so that it's right?

Don-in says: On this subject, there is no shortage of differences of opinion out there. There are those who say: when it comes to enforcing the law, there's no such thing as too early or too late, and since it's very difficult to fathom the intentions of these foreigners, if we waited to see and observe their attitude before enforcing the law, it wouldn't be too late. I don't want to say it's wrong, but if we consider the constitution of our kingdom, a rebel who denies his country, a leader of perverse practices, how can we for a moment show him mercy? Even supposing an unexpected event were to occur, given that this individual is absolutely and wholeheartedly linked with these foreigners, so much so that their relations are obvious and

cannot be hidden, keeping and preserving this individual will only serve to create unpleasantness for us later on. That's why, in my opinion, ending the affair by executing the law is really the most appropriate solution. However, I do not think we should rush into this decision. Should Your Majesty not consult the Ministers of the Council and all the high dignitaries who make up the Court before deciding?

We have said: from the moment he leaves for Europe, his crime is such that he must be put to death; if he is kept alive, there will certainly be others who will leave too.

Right Grand Councillor Park Hoi-su said: For Kim Dae-geon's cause, if we consider the constitution of our kingdom and its essential laws, there is no reason to grant a temporary pardon. What we call perverse practices are like an extra charge for him; how can he, a citizen of our country, deny his own kingdom to follow foreigners and come back after ten years! He's a traitor, a rebel against his country; if he isn't put to death in accordance with the law, can we say that our kingdom still has a law? Just looking at the letter from the French, their complicity is obvious and cannot be concealed; the disciples of the perverse doctrine will increase in audacity, and, using this as a pretext, there's no telling what excesses they won't go to. He certainly cannot be pardoned for a moment, and I beg Your Majesty to condemn him without delay.

The acting Minister of Rites, Jo Byeong-hyeon, said: Should Dae-geon be executed or not, the Grand Ministers have already explained their views to Your Majesty, I have nothing to add to them, and I beg Your Majesty to pass sentence without delay. The acting Minister of War, Kim Jo-geun, said: The opinion expressed by the Prime Ministers and high dignitaries is in keeping with the constitution of the kingdom, and I have no other opinion to express.

Heung-keun says: Does the crime committed by Kim Dae-geon deserve capital punishment or not? There is no need to discuss it again; Your Majesty's request concerns this special point: should he be executed immediately or should the execution of the law be postponed? To grant a temporary pardon to a terrible criminal of this kind is to put the law of punishments greatly in default; therefore, it seems to me that we cannot do otherwise than to proceed without delay to the execution in order to preserve the majesty of the law of the realm.

The Governor of Suwon Fortress, Yi Yak-u, said: To pardon for one moment the crime committed by Kim Dae-geon would be to upset the constitution of the kingdom and its essential laws, so the opinion expressed by the Prime Ministers and senior officials is entirely justified: I therefore hope that Your Majesty will decree the sentence without delay.

The Judge of the Royal Family Court, Yi Heun-geon, said on behalf of all the others: All of us have no other way of seeing.

We said: What sentence is appropriate?

Don-in said: His crime should be described as a great rebel and a pervert, as is clear from the interrogations. There are many examples of this kind of criminal being handed over to the military authorities, and this time it seems appropriate to follow these precedents.

Order to execute the criminal of perverse doctrine Kim Dae-geon with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the multitude.

The President of the Grand Council, Gwon Don-in, verbally states the following: To Kim Dae-geon, in view of his crime of being infested with perverse doctrine, as well as being a traitor to his country, he really cannot, even for a moment, be pardoned, and the opinion of the Grand Ministers as well as of the high officials attending the Council, is on this subject unanimous and without dissent. I therefore ask Your Majesty to order that the prisoner Kim Dae-geon be handed over to the military authority, to be executed with suspension of the head in order to serve as a lesson to the people.

His Majesty has consented.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 26th day (September 16, 1846).

The Administration of the Royal Guard informs His Majesty that Kim Dae-geon has been executed with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the multitude.

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VII LUNAR MONTH, 29th day (September 19, 1846).

Order to execute the criminal of perverse doctrine Hyeon Seokmun, with suspension of the head, to serve as a lesson to the people. The Border Guard Administration verbally states that Police Prefecture criminal Hyeon Seok-mun is of the race of those executed in 1801. A fugitive rebel in 1839, he changed his names, prowled the capital and the provinces, sowing and spreading the practices of perverse doctrine, creating a den of infamous disciples. He has confessed to being the author of the plot to send Dae-geon abroad, and of his disguise to bring him back via Pyen-mun. The law against traitors should therefore be applied to him: but given his low status, there is no reason to cause him any inconvenience at the State Criminal Court. It is therefore requested that, in accordance with what has been done for Dae-geon, he be handed over to the military authorities, to be executed with suspension of the head in order to serve as a lesson to the multitude. As for all other prisoners, let the said Prefecture be ordered to distinguish between light and serious cases, and to apply punishments accordingly.

His Majesty has granted this order.

The Administration of the Royal Guard verbally informs His Majesty that the criminal Hyeon Seok-mun was, in front of a large assembly of people, at the Sand Plain, militarily executed with suspension of the head to serve as a lesson to the multitude.

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8th LUNAR MONTH, 1st day (September 20, 1846).

Reports from the left and right Prefectures of Police on the sentences of criminals of perverse doctrine.

The Left Prefecture of Police verbally states the following: Concerning the criminals of perverse doctrine incarcerated, the proposal of the Border Guard Administration, that a distinction be made between light and serious cases in order to apply punishment accordingly, was sanctioned by Your Majesty in the reply to the request. Of all these individuals, Im Chi-baek and Nam Gyeong-mun have practiced this doctrine for many years: time and again they have been subjected to the torture of bone-bending, and they have never consented to apostasy; that is why they have been caned until they died under the blows.

Im Seong-ryong armed his boat, and his companion Eom Su followed him as a boatman; although these two individuals had renounced perverse practices, they could not be treated as ordinary criminals, so they were sent back to the Ministry of Crimes to be severely punished in accordance with the law. Yi Gi-woen, Im Hak-i and Kim Jaesin have all repented and renewed their repentance, so we're releasing them immediately. As for Choe Saeng-gwan, he does not belong to the perverse doctrine, so he is similarly released.

The Right Prefecture of Police reported verbally that, as a result of His Majesty's response to the Border Guard Administration's request, the criminals in custody had again been subjected to the bone-bending torture and to further interrogation; as a result, the woman Simdite the Great Barbara, the woman Heo known as Little Barbara and the woman Kim Sun-i had all declared that they were apostatizing; consequently they had been released. Park Junmyeong was detained because of his son Seong-cheol, a boatman from Im Seong yong, who



had seen the danger and fled; he was ordered to produce his son and was released. Yi Guk-dal was incarcerated as Jae-yong's uncle, but said he knew nothing of the perverse doctrine; he was therefore ordered to produce his nephew and was released.

As for Han Ri-hyeong, and also the woman Yi Gan-nan, the woman Woo Sul-im, the woman Kim Im-i and the woman Jeong Cheol-yeom, they were repeatedly subjected to the bone-bending torture and never consented to apostasy, so they were severely caned until they died under the blows.