The Writings of Saint Antoine Daveluy

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Letters sent to his colleagues from Korea Transcribed by Didier t'Serstevens Translated from French by Brother Anthony

The sign * beside a date indicates a particularly long letter

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The Recipients of the Letters

Étienne ALBRAND 1805 – 1853 left France for Siam in 1832, arriving there in 1835. He left Siam for China in 1846. In 1849 he became Apostolic Vicar of Sura. He was active there and died in 1853.

Napoléon-François LIBOIS 1805 - 1872 entered the Seminary of the Foreign Missions Society on July 29, 1836, and left on February 20, 1837 to serve first as Deputy Procurator in Macao. In 1842 he became Procurator. In 1847, he transferred the Procure from Macao to Hong Kong. In 1866, Fr. Libois was called back to Paris and received as Director of the Seminary but, only a few months later, was appointed Procurator of the Society in Rome. Fr. Libois died there on April 6, 1872.

Sylvestre THIVET 1820 – 1849 left Paris early in 1844 to become Sub-procurator at Macao. Then, as the Procure was moving to Hong Kong, he was appointed Superior of the General College in Penang, arriving there in June 1848. He died in June 1849 as the result of an accident.

Jean-Claude JURINES 1806 - 1846 set off from Paris for Siam in 1834. From there he was sent to Sumatra. He returned to Paris in 1837 as a Director of the Seminary. He resigned in October 1845 and became chaplain of the Sacred Heart in Paris.

Maxime LA BRUNIÈRE (BRULLEY de) 1816 – 1846 left Paris in 1841 for Manchuria. In 1845 he set out for the far North-East, arrived near Sakhalin and was murdered in July 1846.

Jean BARRAN 1797 – 1855 was not a missionary member of the Society but taught in the Seminary and held administrative roles, being the Assistant to the Superior from 1845. He became the Superior of the Seminary in July 1851, was re-elected in October 1854, he died suddenly in January 1855.

Emmanuel VERROLLES 1805 – 1878 set off for Sichuan (China) in 1830, having been ordained priest in 1828. In 1838 Pope Gregory XVI created a separate Apostolic Vicariate of Manchuria and Mongolia and Verrolles was appointed Apostolic Vicar. He was consecrated in late 1840 and Mongolia was then separated and united with Beijing. Verolles spends time in Rome and then in France, dealing with administrative issues and raising awareness of the missions, returning in 1848. In 1849 he again went to Europe and met Pope Pius IX, writing a letter urging him to return to Rome. Back in Manchuria he built several churches. He was in Rome for the Vatican Council (1869-1870) then only returned to Manchuria in 1875, already very old, dying of typhoid fever in April 1878.

François ALBRAND 1803 – 1867 was from 1833-1839 Director of the General College in Penang. In 1839 he returned t the Paris Seminary where he first accepted candidates who were not yet priests. In February 1855 he was elected Superior and continued until he died in 1867.

Pierre-Marie OSOUF 1829 – 1906 left Paris in 1856 to install a Procure in Singapore. He remained there until 1862, when he became Sup-Procurator at Hong Kong, then Procurator there in 1866. He remained there until 1875 when he returned to Paris as a Director. In 1876 he is appointed Apostolic Vicar of Western Japan. In 1891, thanks to him, the Catholic

hierarchy is established and he becomes Archbishop of Tokyo. He remained there until his death in 1906.

Pierre AUMAÎTRE 1837 – 1866 arrived in Korea in June 1863. He surrendered at the start of the 1866 persecution and was martyred with Bishop Daveluy and Fr. Huin. There is no explanation of how Bishop Daveluy's last letter to him reached the Paris Archive. Perhaps, not having been able to send it, Bishop Daveluy sent it with his final letter to Bishop Verrolles?

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Albrand

Roye, June 2, 1842

Who has Jesus has everything

Sir

I am sending you a letter for Mr. Abbé Dupond of the diocese of Arras, missionary in Siam or Bangkok; I stopped at the moment of putting the address, thinking that it would be better to let you put it in full, not knowing exactly where to send it. Until then, he had sent me to Sem. St. Sulpice what he had to send me; if by chance something, for lack of an address, had remained for me at the Seminary of Missions, I beg you to be kind enough to send it to me at the following address that I am giving him for the future:

Mr. Abbé Daveluy, Rue St Leu, 4, Amiens

I hope that this letter will not be long in leaving because it has been a long time since he has received one from me. I conclude, Sir, by recommending myself to your Holy Sacrifices.

Please accept the assurance of the respectful consideration with which I have the honor to be

Your most devoted servant A Daveluy priest

Monsieur Albrand, Director of the Mission of Siam, Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, Rue du Bac 128 Paris

undated

Who has Jesus has everything

Authentic account of a notable grace obtained in the Convent of the Ursuline Ladies of Roye in January 1843

At the beginning of December 1842, we read the Manual of the Archconfraternity which filled us with admiration for the wonders of Mercy worked by the intercession of the Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary and with confidence in her maternal goodness. We needed it, being deeply affected by the illness of one of our Sisters, necessary to the Institute in our nascent and small community; her condition required an increase in the work of the other nuns who were already overloaded with their own duties.

This poor patient had been afflicted for four years with a headache so violent that she was completely deformed, the intensity forced her to rest her head on her left shoulder and to bend her body in a manner as uncomfortable as it was unpleasant. From time to time the pain spread over the whole left side and made half of her body completely paralytic. All the resources of art had been exhausted in vain by several doctors in Amiens and Roye. We saw with the greatest sorrow this stubborn illness making new progress every day and leaving our dear patient almost no moment of respite. A large part of her days were spent in bed; a

little milk in the morning was all her daily food. We were there until reading the manual. I conceived the hope of her recovery through the intercession of the prayers of the Archconfraternity.

I communicated my plan to her, adding that I had a sort of conviction that we would obtain the effect of our request. She explained her repugnance to me, her sufferings being for her a continual occasion of merits. I made her consider how much her cure would rekindle in this country the devotion to the Divine Mother of God and that it could even result in the establishment of a confraternity aggregated to that of N.D. des Victoires. It is in this sense and especially with the aim of obtaining from Mary a pledge of Her protection over the city and the renewal of piety, that a letter was then addressed to the Curé of N.D. des Victoires. These considerations had finally determined the sick woman. We began a novena to the Holy Heart of Mary on January 8, 1843 and the Holy Mass was celebrated for this intention, all our dear children joined in with great fervor. Never did our poor patient suffer so much as during these days. - I did not believe until now, she told us, that this pain could take my life, but if it continues, I will not be able to bear it another eight days without succumbing. - So much the better, we answered her, it is a guarantee of your recovery. Indeed, our confidence increased more and more. On the 15th, she was recommended to Our Lady of Victories to the prayers of the Archconfraternity; on the night of the 15th to the 16th, the last day of the novena, her pains had become so horrible that she kept saying: - Ah! my good Mother! how you must hurry to begin! What you have to do between now and tomorrow morning! Around three o'clock she said to herself: Ah! I have five more hours of suffering. Mass was at eight o'clock and we proposed to take her there, because it was at that time that she hoped to be cured. At seven o'clock, full of confidence, she recited the Memorare; then an unusual feeling gave her the assurance of her cure. In fact, she had been operated on! She got up immediately, got dressed, waited for me as I passed and said to me, radiant with joy and gratitude: - My mother, I am cured - Already, and since when? - This very moment. I sent her to tell the Chaplain who had taken such an active part in the novena: - Sir, it is done, she said to him as she approached him, I am upright - I had dared to hope so. I am going to celebrate Mass in thanksgiving, in honor of Mary. He announced to our children that the grace requested by the novena had been obtained. All of them, immediately, by a spontaneous movement turned towards their dear mistress whom they had taken at first for another nun, being very far from thinking of finding her there. For they had been ignorant until that moment of the intention of the novena. Each of us contained with difficulty her emotion and her gratitude, and united in feeling with the voice of our dear Children who intoned during the Mass the beautiful hymn which begins with these words:

Ah! how good she is, Mary!... Never had it seemed so touching to us. We sang the Magnificat after Mass, which continued for nine days.

From that moment on, our dear Sister resumed all her duties with the students, served them in the refectory, used the same meats and did not leave them until they went to bed. Since that day also she follows all the exercises of the Community, gets up at four o'clock, fasts as prescribed by our holy rules and no longer feels her discomfort.

Immortal thanks be to the most Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary!

Finally, on Septuagesima Sunday, our chaplain celebrated a thanksgiving mass at the altar of the Holy Heart of Mary at Our Lady of Victories to fulfill the promise that had been made before beginning the novena. That day, we had the happiness of being enrolled among the members of the Archconfraternity. But this is not the only favor that we owe to the Holy and Immaculate Heart of our good Mother; the whole Community has experienced a renewal of fervor in the accomplishment of its duties and holy exercises and an increase in zeal for the conversion of sinners, as well as for the functions of our holy Institute. Our dear Children

have participated in the general grace by an increase in trust and love towards the merciful Mary and all have wanted to be part of the Archconfraternity.

Sr. D. of St. Stanislas

I, the undersigned, Chaplain of the Ursuline Ladies, certify that I recognize the accuracy of the details given above.

A. Daveluy,

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Macao

Kim Ka ham August 14, 1843

Who has Jesus has everything

My dear Father Libois

I do not want to leave you without news of Monseigneur (Ferréol) and although I cannot give you any interesting details this time, I thought I should mention without delay our happy arrival in Shanghai. Our crossing lasted eleven days, two of which were spent in a leisurely manner examining the contours of Hong Kong; the rest was a mixture of calm and light winds that each part of the globe sent us and the most accommodating was the east wind which dominated three quarters of the time and without whose help we would still be on the way, because we looked in vain for the southwest monsoon. Monseigneur de Bési himself received us in his house with that kindness and affability which he knows so well how to combine with episcopal dignity. He is very tired from his travels but does not have any illness, strictly speaking. We are now at a Christian community not far from the residence of His Highness in a large house which would almost make one forget China. I am giving a small retreat to André (Kim) whom Monseigneur intends to ordain on Sunday the 17th of this month. Our affairs are going well with the mandarins, but it will doubtless be impossible to have a Chinese boat, all those from Shanghai have already left, but with the Korean frigate, what could we not do? She is almost like Mr Durand's schooner, but higher on the water, and seems very solid. Another day, more details perhaps, today, I cannot.

I am looking for a loan of a thousand piastres which we still need and I am being given a thousand difficulties for Macao. If I cannot absolutely persuade them, I will take the liberty of writing a note to your address payable to Father Feliciani, to whom I am writing a word on the subject today, but it will be a last resort. The houses with which I am making the best arrangements do not want to hear about Macao. I will write again before our departure, which Monsignor cannot yet set. M. Faivre arrived last Tuesday from Tchu-san, he is much better. He was still unaware of the terrible event that took away their Bishop.

André sent you, he said, an immense report; no need to repeat what he said so well. Farewell, my dear confrere, pray always for our mission in Korea so tested by God. My friendships to dear Father Chivet and other confreres old and new, including the Lazarist Fathers.

All yours in Our Lord

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

Monsignor charges me with a thousand things for the dear Procurators and other colleagues

Superior etc of Foreign Missions. June 21, 1844 Who has Jesus has everything

Mr. Superior, Gentlemen,

Our last letters dated from the Cape, have informed you of the happy crossing with which we were favored to this colony; we still have to thank providence for the good weather that it was kind enough to send us in the seas surrounding the Cape of Storms. Certainly, this name has something terrible, but for us, God has calmed everything, softened everything. We would have willingly thought of crossing the seas of the line if a slightly less warm temperature had not been there to disabuse us. We had quite often almost complete calms and never anything that approached the storm in the least. The Mozambique Strait sent us a few squalls mixed with small gusts of wind; this is usually what it shares with those who cross its longitude; moreover it treated us as friends, the tribute demanded was very little. Finally, on June 6, Corpus Christi day, around noon, we dropped anchor opposite Saint Denis de Bourbon. The previous evening, we had seen the lights of the volcano on this island reflecting in the clouds and projecting a fairly bright light seen from twenty to twenty-five leagues away, the distance at which we were; the next morning, we were skirting the island at a very short distance and could easily distinguish the varied and sometimes beautiful coasts of our colony. We deliberated together to know if, given the large number of missionaries, we would go to see the Apostolic Prefect. Not having received any instructions in this regard, we decided to go down to the hotel, to go from there to see Monsignor and not impose ourselves on him. The Apostolic Prefect told us that he wanted to receive all the missionaries, whether there were twenty or twenty-five of them. He says it in a very formal manner and we think that our colleagues, in the future, should present themselves to him purely and simply so as not to displease him. We are housed at the rectory and fed at the home of Mr. the prefect. He acted towards us with all possible kindness, received us as his children and by the freedom and familiarity with which he wanted us to act in everything, he knew how to make our stay extremely pleasant.

Moreover, the circumstances were very favorable. The Sunday following our arrival, the procession of the Blessed Sacrament was to take place; we all attended it with great satisfaction. For a long time we had hoped to have this consolation, our calculations were not wrong. The procession here is done with the help of the authorities; the troop enhances this ceremony by its presence and the brilliant military music came to add to the pomp; a little more order and the thing would have been perfect.

During the whole week, Mgr wanted there to be preaching at Salvation by the missionaries: several contributed to it with the sweat of their brow, but the easy eloquence of Mr Chauveau was the main cost to the lively satisfaction, I was going to say to the great enthusiasm of a beautiful assembly whose ever-increasing number filled with joy the heart of the apostolic prefect as well as of all the missionaries.

On the Sunday of Laetare, we all went to a dwelling in the surroundings to attend a very touching procession of the blacks: 1,200 to 1,500 were gathered there and in an attitude of respect and very edifying piety. The mission of the negroes begun a few years ago offers moreover very great consolations by successes that are hardly believable. We have enjoyed more than once the pious spectacle of their meeting in the church and if this state of affairs continues, there will certainly be in a few years a complete change in the morals and state of this numerous class formed in the image of God like ourselves and consequently worthy of all the solicitude of the priest.

We were given a very gracious welcome in Bourbon, a welcome moreover that all the missionaries receive from the Christian families of this island. It is faith that guides them, that makes them open the doors of their homes to the missionaries. You know as well as we do how all the members of our Society are treated by the pious faithful; we have nothing to compensate for but our prayers; we offer them wholeheartedly for the hospitable persons.

We must leave Bourbon tomorrow, June 20. Perhaps this letter will reach you later than others dated from Pondicherry; that is why Mr. Chauveau had announced that we should not write from here; however we believed that a letter dated from Bourbon would always be well received. From Pondicherry, we will not fail to send you our news.

Please accept in closing, the assurance of the profound respect and the entire devotion with which we have the honor to be

Mr. Superior, Gentlemen

Your very humble and obedient servants

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

.... Thivet Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr Daveluy to Mr Libois, Procurator in Macao Hong Kong July 21, 1845

Who has Jesus has everything

My dear Father Libois

As soon as we arrived in Hong Kong, we had to take care of our affairs; you already know from Mr. Legrand what happened with the ship, where we will be quite well, I believe, for 60 piastres per person, including the servant. We also had to take care of changing our money. I went to Matheson for this, who would only give a ticket to Shanghai at 5%. Father Antonio found this very expensive and proposed other means which did not seem to agree too much with what you told me, and Monsignor consenting, we took the letter at 5% from Matheson, and the loss of a few piastres for the difference in weight. In addition, he refused four so-called counterfeit piastres; Father Antonio replaced them for me and kept the false ones to send them on occasion, since your scolidor is responsible for them. When everything was finished, Monsignor was frightened by the loss that had to be suffered, but the thing was done, we must go through with it. I spoke to him at Matheson afterwards of the authorization that you wanted to have to have Shanghai drawn on you, without further warning; he would only consent for the sum of 3,000 piastres each year, saying that he did not have large funds in Shanghai, and I take this authorization signed by him to his agents. He wants there again 5% and offers to give as to yourself of the Saisis. You will be able to profit from it or not profit from it ad libitum.

It will be good, I believe, that you speak to Father Antonio of these exchanges of money on Shanghai. He believes that he can make almost no loss through the Mexicans; he explained this to us at length after the fact. Is he right? I hope so, you will understand all this better than I; we may have acted a little hastily, but we had to hurry, believing we were leaving sooner and then we needed certainty. You will clarify everything for another time, and perhaps they will be happier than we are.

If M. de Ferrière were to arrive shortly, I could perhaps still receive in Shanghai the letters he brings me; please send them there immediately. In any case the road will not be lost, they will only go higher.

It is very likely that I will not send back the Callery dictionary that I took with me; arrange this as is usually done.

We received letters from André today, July 22. Monseigneur is sending them to you, I believe. As for the letters from Europe, we are told that the trunk arrived since Saturday and nothing has appeared for us.

I fear a new delay for our ship, the bad weather prevents them from unloading and yet, this poor André waits and is not without worries. It seems that we will have another thousand piastres to pay for the good Chinese. If at least we can get in - By the grace of God. Everyone here is usually good-natured; a thousand friendships to our dear little one whom I will never forget and to our other confreres.

All yours in Jesus and Mary A Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Thivet, deputy Procurator in Macao

August 28, 1845 Moutsie near Shanghai *

Who has Jesus has everything

A little word to this dear little Procurator, since Mgr is taking charge of talking to Father Libois about business. Are you going to scold me, or hurl anathema at me, I don't know. But before you condemn, listen. I am not sending the little trunk back to you; but don't shout at me right away. I had a discussion on this subject with Mgr Férréol in which the bravest would have been almost disappointed. I came out the winner, I had only one answer: It is not yours and I promised to send it back. The case was won, but now Master André wants to reward the dear Procurators with pretty gifts. From then on, a big trunk is needed, they can't fit into this little box, what can we do? Consider that I am facing the Procurators, we must either not send it back, or charge for it, empty, a postage of 5 or 6 francs. It is not worth it. In short, I am forced not to send it back, being obliged to send a larger one, and then if despite my bravery and all my good will, you do not give me complete absolution, I am obliged, in order not to fall out with the Procurators, to authorize you to make another one at my expense. So much kindness on my part has appeased you, so I am leaving happy since we are good friends as always. Our frigate is quite ready; Mgr is getting ready at leisure, André only sings departure and is getting a little impatient. I look at everything and I have my opinion too, but I keep it to myself. I believe, however, that in two or three days we will leave Shanghai without a Chinese boat, but what is better, under the protection of Jesus and Mary and guided by the Angel Raphael whose name the frigate bears, having been baptized by the Koreans.

A word of business too. Obliged to borrow a thousand piastres, I have addressed myself preferably to Mr. Emson, agent of the firm Fax and Ramson. Mr. Libois knows him, he is very good-natured. Unfortunately, he is going to leave and will be replaced by I do not know who. There is also a clerk in the firm who speaks French very well. I got this money in bulk seized at three and a half percent, payable in Hong Kong, he does not want Macao. I have arranged things very well with him. At Matheson, they wanted 5%. As a result of this I did not give Matheson's agent the letter authorizing him to give money on the Libois firm at 5%. If necessary, Emson would lend, I think. Perhaps you could arrange things with the house of Fax and Ramson in Hong Kong. Bishop de Besi knows Emson well. Definitely, Mexican piastres are not yet very good in Shanghai; Bishop de Besi has had some for a year which he only got rid of three days ago at a loss of five percent. Often one cannot find them at all. By an extraordinary circumstance, I was able to place Bishop Férréol's 300 at par, because Emson needed them for a payment, but he did not want more. All this for your information; Bishop de Besi would like us never to send him Mexicans, however he thinks that little by little they will become current in this country.

Farewell, my good dear friend, pray for me in your retreat in Macao, I have great need of them and I count on the help of friends. Frank and cordial friendships to Father Libois and other confreres.

Yours in Our Lord A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary I am sending a letter for Mr. You will send it via Suez, either by the ordinary route or via Southampton, at your discretion. But I positively desire that he receives it as soon as possible.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Macao

Kongtong October 26, 1845 *

Who has Jesus has everything

Sir and dear colleague

Despite everything, we are in Korea, but it is not without difficulties, you will see in my letter to Mr. Barran, which I leave open on purpose, some details on our adventures. I move on to useful things. The breaking of the cable, at the moment when we were to go aboard the Chinese ship was a real stroke of Providence. Mr. Faivre had already offered me to go there and without consulting Mgr had responded negatively, fearing that later the Korean boat would necessarily separate and abandon us. When Mgr asked, I wanted to stay, always fearing separation. Finally, God put His hand to it and Mgr told me afterwards that if he had been able to board the Chinese ship or find another one, he would not have set foot on the Korean boat again, seeing no safety there, but would have had himself taken to some port in China, and from there, returned to Shanghai. From then on, we would never have seen Korea. Oh! how I then blessed God for having broken the chain even without knowing if we would ever arrive.

Now, it must be said that the expedition was not very prudently planned; before Andrew left, a pagan who had seen their extraordinary preparations suspected, and said afterwards, that no doubt this ship wanted to go very far. This was already very bad. Mgr's delay forcing the ship into a long absence was a mortal blow, as the sequel proved; they are now looking for this long-missing ship, and if God had let us enter the Capital, everything would have been taken - men and baggage - As for another voyage, these are my current opinions: Korean ships cannot hold the high seas because of the height of the masts, the shallowness of the ship and the weakness of the rudder. We had nothing approaching a storm and we could not hold; it was necessary to dismast, the rudder was broken and yet the masts put in China were lower than the Korean masts. To enter with masts cut off, as we did, is to excite suspicion and to be questioned everywhere as was done with regard to us, the Koreans, not leaving the coast, never cut off the masts. And then ships without decks risk filling up too much. So, if there are no ships cleaner at sea, I firmly believe that to try again would be foolhardy; we have got out of it, but how?

Supposing that we can try again, it would necessarily be necessary for the missionaries to be in Shanghai waiting in order to be less long on the way, which is very serious in Korea, and then I would prefer to take a loaded ship. It leaves the capital to go to another designated port and sell its goods there; it passes through Shanghai, arrives at this port, disembarks the missionaries, sells its goods, returns to the capital and does not excite any suspicion, while this time, our greatest current danger comes from the ship and it is very much to be feared that it will betray us.

We should also not wait until September, we know what the North-East wind is. The Koreans are much more suspicious than the Chinese and guess quite well. We had a nasty story on this subject which I report in my other letter and which may have consequences.

Good Father André is bold, but does not know much about prudence; he could, I believe, have arranged many things more prudently; I do not know what he wrote to you about Korea, but the way in which he told me he had collected the documents he sent you

does not give me much confidence in their veracity. While waiting for their confirmation, I believe that you must place in them a less than complete faith.

During the bad weather, the good Father did not show any composure. The sailors and he were all struck with stupor and did not move, it was only with great difficulty that they could obtain the necessary maneuvers. They all seemed, including the chief, to have lost their heads, and to be stupefied; they only recovered after having cut the masts.

Our goods pass through quite well, especially the white canvases, it is a fairly good way of bringing in money. Mgr has already had some of the Chinese silver melted down by a Christian worker, to convert it into Korean bars, but we are still losing money and what is more the Koreans still recognize some fraud in the difference of silver.

There is no persecution, but I do not know what Mgr intends to do for the students, he does not speak to me about it at all, communications with a Korean or Chinese island do not seem possible; Mgr must however, I believe, have several places examined. The few effects that I brought are quite enough, everything is suspect in Korea and Mgr has told me several times that if he had known the true state of things, he would have left half of his effects in Shanghai, because we had a real cargo. God grant that this does not compromise us. The study of Chinese is very useful for us. Mgr has even written to Mgr Berneux to devote himself to the study of the characters. The little that I know is of enormous service to me. Fortunately, I brought my notes on the Peking catechism and that advances me by more than a fortnight. The Korean catechism is copied word for word from that of Peking; a missionary who understands the latter will easily have the former explained to him by catechists who know Chinese and will immediately find a thousand expressions to speak; there are always catechists who speak a little Chinese or at least know the characters. I can make myself understood with mine for necessary things and that is an immense advantage. I do not know if I have spoken to you about an English, Japanese and Korean dictionary which is sold in Shanghai. I had told Father André who knew the address to buy some that I intended to send you as useful to the procurator and also to Lieou-Kieou. As is his custom, he talked a lot and did nothing, perhaps Father Gotteland could buy some from you; it is doubtless imperfect, but still better than nothing.

You also doubtless know that Bishop de Bési has a small printing press in movable type, which he got in Su-tcheou at a very moderate price. Perhaps it would be useful to you, that is why I am notifying it.

If we are to believe the rumors, and how could they be false? two English ships appeared before Kelpaert and threw the Korean court into some consternation. These ships are now said to be in the port of Kie Kin(?), Province of Tchulla, in the south of Korea. It is said that European ships can easily enter this last port, as well as the one where the Japanese trade; there is plenty of water. Likewise in the port of iimg-Kiong(?) at the mouth of the river of the capital and in that of Mai-Mieng a little further north-west than the preceding. From iing Kium to the capital, it is only eight leagues by land, about twelve by river, but our ships cannot go up this river.

(attached the names of the ports in Chinese characters)

永南濟

宗陽州

The Koreans pronounce iimg Kiung, Nai-mieng, Kio kiu

As for the state of our mission, I tell Mr. Barran all that I know about it, that is to say not much. Minister Tchao, our great friend, is still in power; if we have the bastinado or more, it is to him that we will be indebted. Who would not like him, after that.

I am (a few words are missing), my dear Father Libois, asking you to present my friendships to dear little Thivet, other confreres and to the MM. of St Lazare. If Father Thivet writes to Bourbon, may he be so kind as to recall me to the memory of friends, I cannot do so. Mgr awaits my letters. Farewell, pray for us, for the mission; You are not forgotten.

All yours in Our Lord

A Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

If I have the bastinado, I remember having promised every seventh for the benefit of the Procurators; I will keep my word. Mgr regards our chances as quite probable. Let us wait and see. Please send my letter to Mr Jurines to France immediately, via Southampton or otherwise, it doesn't matter, and even if it doesn't go in a package for our house, you can attach my letter to Mr Barran.

To Madame the Superior of the Ursuline Ladies in Roye (Somme)

Kongtong in Korea, end of October 1845

Who has Jesus has everything

My very dear Sisters in Our Lord

Thanks to your prayers, no doubt, and to those of so many souls who are willing to take an interest in me, my most ardent wishes have been fulfilled: I am in Korea. During a year of waiting in Macao, everything seemed to be arranged to make me leave for elsewhere; despite this, I always hoped, and finally the good Mother obtained what she seemed to have given me pledges of for a long time. Oh! How you must thank God for me. You remember those days when we spoke of Korea. Then, you promised me a continual remembrance before God; I have not forgotten it and I dare to count on your fidelity. For my part, I have not lost sight of my promises. How can I tell you the wonders of mercy that the hand of God has wrought to bring me here; the details that I have given elsewhere would be too long, however I must tell you in a few words that we left on a Korean ship that was incapable of holding the sea. English, Chinese and Christians, all dissuaded us from this voyage, but having no other possible way to enter Korea, we entrusted ourselves to the hands of Providence and left happy and content. We needed trials, they were not lacking; for 15 days we did nothing but come and go. We left, then the bad weather forced us to return to port. Finally, we went into the open sea, the bad weather, the wind, impossible to return, our ship could no longer hold, it threatened to capsize, we were obliged to cut off the two masts and let ourselves be carried by the waves. Tossed in all directions, we have no hope except in God. We were told that the rudder was completely broken, so there were no more resources. That was how we were for more than 24 hours. Then the sea calmed down, we fished out our masts and put them back in place, we remade a rudder as it was, then after three days we set off again. A few hours later the sea was still threatening and at midnight, the mainmast was taken down again. However, this had no consequences. We thought we were near the Capital of Korea. We could see islands and the songs of victory could be heard, real songs of sailors saved from shipwreck. But God wanted to test us a little more. As we approached, we inquired and there we were, instead of being in the capital, we were in the south of Korea, near Quelpaert, more than a hundred leagues from this city. What news! However, we had to move on. We set out on unknown paths through countless islands; we must constantly ask for directions, and in the midst of dangerous rocks, God saves us from any accident. Despairing of going to the capital, we land about sixty leagues from that city and, Oh! Divine Providence! there we learn that searches are being made at the capital to find our ship: if it had not been for the bad weather, we would have been seized immediately upon our arrival.

Now, I am hidden in a small Christian settlement withdrawn in the mountains, there is no persecution at the moment, but our presence once known, it is indubitable; and we cannot conceal that the Koreans are very clever in their searches. So here we are by the grace of God entirely, I am happier and more content than ever, in good health, quite ready to administer to the Christians as soon as I know the language. Oh! what good to do, what ruins to rebuild, what souls to save if God allows us to work for a while. If on the contrary, he wants to grant us the crown, what a beautiful day and what thanksgiving he will demand from you to compensate for what I will not be able to do. That is enough, my dear Sisters, I know nothing about our Christians and therefore, I can tell you nothing; I will have no greater joy

than to learn that the little community of Roye is on the right path to salvation, preserving the spirit of Our Lord, and bringing good to the souls entrusted to it. The cross is a precious thing if the good Lord wants to share it, do not refuse it, wear it generously; what precious stones it will add to your crown. May the spirit of patience, charity and total self-denial spread among you all, my very dear Sisters, and Our Lord will dwell in your midst. The good Virgin Mary has for you, as you know, very special care, she loves you, she cherishes you, so love her always, make her cherish the children entrusted to you and all will be well.

I leave you, my dearest Sisters, and leave you in the arms of Jesus and Mary who love you so much, it is in the union of these holy Hearts that I desire a little souvenir before God so that he may have pity on our miseries. Believe me forever your devoted servant in Our Lord

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary in Korea

Please on occasion remind me of these Gentlemen, to whom I am not writing this time. I often think of all the communities of Roye, of the Brotherhood of the Holy Heart of Mary, and of all the good souls who want to take an interest in me and pray for me. Ask them to continue this good work, I have a pressing need of it more than ever.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois

Corea 1845 Received on April 11, 1846

Sir and dear colleague,

From the depths of my solitude, I sometimes have a short memory and I forgot to ask you, if you can find them: the Treatise of Indulgences, vol. in 18 and the erection sheets of the archconfraternity of the Holy Heart of Mary. Both have doubtless been forgotten by me and must be among my few effects. Perhaps I have also misplaced them on the way. In this case, dear Mr. Thivet will be kind enough to send me two or three of these sheets for the erection of the brotherhoods - he doubtless does not use them - and here, they will perhaps be useful. I hope that this little note arrives in time at Monseigneur's to leave with the rest, because now no more opportunity for a year doubtless. Please send the enclosed note for my family to Mr. Jurines' address.

Yours in Jesus and Mary A. Daveluy, miss. apost in Korea

Sir and dear colleague

There is one thing I ask you to focus your attention on: usually, the letters I receive are very old, some two years old, others even three; this is a fairly serious inconvenience and one that, it seems to me, is easy to remedy. For this you only have to remember that our Korean mail enters China with the embassy in December and returns in March, and to take your precautions so that the letters arrive in time at Leao-tong. I ask Mr. Barran to send me the letters by Suez, warning him that our mission will bear the postage costs; I also ask you to send by the same route those that I write to France. It sometimes happens that with all the precautions taken, there is still a delay; there is no remedy for that. What to do then? We console ourselves.

Send me, I beg you, a good alarm watch, and that as soon as possible. If you did not have it in Macao, you could ask for it quickly in Paris.

I have just learned some news that I do not guarantee, I even believe that it is false: it is all the same, I give it to you as it is. As soon as we learned of the arrival of the French, there was a council of ministers to deliberate on what should be done: one of them was of the opinion to massacre the Europeans; his advice did not pass. The others judged that it was better to consult the Emperor in the present circumstances. So they were sent to Peking, and the Emperor replied that they would waste their time and effort fighting with the Europeans, that the Christian religion should be permitted and that they would enjoy peace.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Jurines

Province of Tchong-kiang in Korea end of February 1846 *

Who has Jesus has everything

Sir and very dear colleague,

Yesterday, taking advantage of a few days of rest, I wrote to one of my sisters some details about our poor Christian community; of course you can read it. Today, I wanted to prepare a beautiful epistle to you, counting on sending it in the year 46, 7, or 8, and now I am hesitating. Should I write it or not? Why is that? This morning I was told that the secret of our presence has been revealed and consequently, in all probability, this letter will never be able to reach you. But no matter. I will relax a little with you, who have understood me so well and then, by the grace of God.

I want to bring you up to date with what has happened over the last two or three months. First of all, we must deny what we had advanced on the faith of the Koreans; they claimed that they were in the capital looking for our ship; Father André, after having made inquiries, saw nothing of all this. It is a tale that timidity has given birth to in their imagination. We have been very quiet until today. God grant that the news of this morning is also denied!

As soon as I arrived, I was sent, as I have noticed elsewhere, to a Christian community, to learn. I set about trying to catch the thread of their language and after seven weeks, I was able to hear confessions sufficiently to administer. Add to that a few unfortunate lessons on the ..illis... in the midst of upheavals, seasickness, discomfort, etc. and we will still have about two months of learning. So here I am at work, but my poor sire, understanding more or less, understood much less, no matter, it was enough to be able to forgive all sins; I thus administered about sixty Christians from the surrounding area.

Then an order from His Highness made me stop: before setting off into the open country, Monseigneur wanted to ensure the secrecy of our presence. It was on New Year's Day that carte blanche was given to me, immediately to set out into the countryside, let's say rather in the mountains. Imagine that this country, in the parts that surround me, and almost all of this province, is nothing other than a series of mountains more or less poorly wooded, then in the valleys they cultivate what they can. Our Christians, as you will have seen elsewhere, always have distinguished localities. If a place is outside the mountains, almost certainly, it is not a Christian village. We must therefore go, let's say better, climb from mountain to mountain and running after the sheep, administering to them remedies for the past, fortifying for the future. To give you an idea of the dispersion of Christians, I will tell you that for about 50 days, I had to run to twenty-five localities to administer to the faithful spread over thirty or thirty-five places. I do not count a few isolated people. So I am always on the run, two, four, six and eight leagues are my usual runs, longer distances are rare for the moment. Arriving in a Christian community, often, I only have to stay twenty-four hours, given the small number of faithful. I must therefore hear confessions immediately, then perform the baptismal ceremonies or administer this sacrament successively to adults and children; very long and rather tiring ceremonies. When everything is finished, it is very late, the breviary must be recited, then remembering the maxim of St. Francis de Sales that one should not put off until tomorrow what one can do today, I recite the rosary in honor of Mary, my good Mother. She will forgive me for having dozed more than once during this time, nature has its rights against which there is no remedy. Finally, I sleep until morning, that is to say early, it is necessary to celebrate Holy Mass, give communion to Christians, then confirmation, then the marriage ceremonies, then join the Holy Rosary and give the Holy Scapular.

You will understand that time must pass quickly and I have not listed the examinations of the catechumens that I do during my meals and the solution of the countless difficulties relating to marriages, and finally a thousand daily incidents. It is necessary to use cunning to recite the breviary, to do a little prayer, to read some of the words of life contained in the Holy Gospel, and to take some rest after the meal.

This is my life, more than half of the stations were done in a single day, seven or eight sick people came to complete the beauty of the picture, some died before my arrival, others made me run very far for insults, pardon the expression.

Today I am resting and in two days I will go back to the country, always under the aegis of my large mourning hat, which Monseigneur calls the cloak of the fairies, making invisible those it covers.

What have I seen during these two months? About seven hundred Christians, very poor, very miserable, with great wounds to their morale, but finally having, I believe, good will; there are great sorrows, I expected them. How to heal without difficulty wounds of seven or eight years, and God knows what a year of persecution is worth. I have also had consolations and great ones. Here, they are old soldiers of J.C. who have not been shaken by persecution, there is a widow who has seen her husband die under the executioners' iron, further away orphans: the father and mother have had the crown of martyrdom; today, it is a young girl who tells of the tortures of her brothers or other relatives, she has not been shaken by them. It is always Christians who, repentant of their faults, weep with joy at the sight of (the one) they have been waiting for so long and when the moment of separation has come, it is a family from which one must tear oneself away, tears, groans. Alas! perhaps, in their life, they will never see the Father again to ease their conscience and unite with their God. Do you understand this series of lively emotions, too lively for my poor heart. Several times, I have fled as if stealthily to avoid these painful and especially dangerous moments. The appearance of a pagan in these moments would compromise everything.

I have not said all my consolations. One of the beautiful sides is that of new Christians. The almighty grace of God knows how to call his elect. Persecution has not stopped conversions, the absence of a pastor has not prevented each year many catechumens from coming to join the little flock to share its crosses, its sufferings, but also its hopes. Now I baptize many of these new brothers and it is not without emotion. I especially like to question the fathers of families before baptism, I like their lively and faith-filled answers; they have left a sweet and pleasant life to ensure another happier life, the others even before their baptism have already suffered some persecution. Some arrive at the eleventh hour; they are old people who, having heard about our Holy Religion, wanted to preserve at least for the good Lord a few years of a life that they see slipping away every day, in the expectation of endless happiness. I remember an evening of very sweet memory. Two well-bred families were to receive baptism. Five adults, a child, then a young boy of seven whose open intelligence made him very interesting. This charming child answered all my questions perfectly, before, during and after the ceremony. I admitted him to the adult ceremonies. This whole family understood our Holy Religion very well and for only a year they have been catechumens; What tears were shed before the holy altar, what fervent prayers, what consolations afterwards when I admitted them to the Eucharistic banquet! Lively faith was painted in all their features. I thought of my good family on a day of general communion, I thought of you, and I would have liked to share my happiness with you.

Do not think that this is the only example, it has occurred many times; grace acts more strongly in these new believers and God rewards the sacrifices that they must always impose on themselves before baptism. The sight of our Christians always impresses me, I always see them on the eve of persecution. Young spouses that religion has united for a short time, perhaps having to leave in a few days with their little children without having any other hope than the promise of him whose hand feeds the birds of the air. Today, they are gay and happy, old men with white hair, children, mothers of families, and if I speak of persecution, they seem to want to sing the Nunc dimittis with the Holy Old Man Simeon; at least, they say, we will die happy, we have seen the Father, we have been reconciled with the good God. Come persecution, after this life, there is another, less tried, less unhappy. I must admit that when I am with these poor Christians, I am almost always content and happy. When in the evening, I am with twenty or thirty people crowded around me, in a poor hut, often I do not have the courage to leave the conversation; it goes on and on, on and on. I flay sentences and words, I mix Chinese, Korean, Barbarian, what do I know? They understand or do not understand, but in the end they are happy and so am I; I have the necessary things interpreted and for the rest, one understands half, another a quarter, many very little, it is the case to say it: Catch who can. Very clever who would understand all this jargon.

Finally I am afraid of tiring you, it is almost chatter, what do you think? - Forgive me, Sir and dear colleague, I am happy at this moment thinking of you, talking with you; it is like a reminiscence of the moments spent in the little room, the isolated missionary needs that and I understand better than ever the advantage of the jokes so praised by Father Charrier. I have finished for this time at least, and if God grants us life and liberty, it will not be the last.

Please accept the assurance of the respect and devotion with which I have the honor to be, Sir and dear colleague, your very humble servant.

Antoine Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

To Mr. Jurines, director of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris

Eurikol July 15, 1846 * fortress in times of persecution

Who has Jesus has everything

Sir and very dear colleague

Amico fideli nulla est comparatio, you wrote to me one day. How well you have understood me. After such an introduction, would it be possible for me not to satisfy your desires? You want some notes on Korea; do you realize that it is a whole work that would be needed and what to expect from a poor missionary who spent only ten months in this country and in the midst of very many occupations? No matter, one must do justice to friendship. I will give little, very little, very incomplete, very incorrect, very confused; perhaps against my will there will be some error; but it is necessary immediately or never, tomorrow perhaps, I will be taken. Well then, from my prison of Eurikol, I begin.

Korea is a small kingdom whose number of inhabitants is not exactly known to us, but everything leads me to believe its population is larger than our European books indicate. Some put it at about ten million, it could be. Here is what I find in a census of 1793. I have only fragments: in the capital, 43,911 houses, 190,027 inhabitants; in the provinces, 1,693,414 houses, 7,152,334 inhabitants. Total: 1,737,325 houses, 7,342,361 inhabitants. It is said that many are not counted, however, I do not think that the omissions can raise the total to ten million. The same census gives: Poor old people supported by the king: 450. They are given each year, to octogenarians, 5 measures of rice, two of salt and three of fish; to septuagenarians 4 measures of rice, 2 of salt and 2 fish. The measure spoken of here can feed an old man about ten days. A recent census of which I have some notes at hand is quite similar, with the difference of 14 individuals. It divides the population thus: Men, 3,596,380; women, 3,745,431. Later, perhaps, I will be able to obtain a complete census.

This kingdom governs itself and is independent. Should it be considered as belonging to China? I dare not decide. Each year, a solemn embassy goes to Peking twice: Once to get the calendar, then again on the first day of the year to perform its duties and offer presents to the great Emperor of the Celestial Empire. What is the scope and necessity of these embassies? I confess my ignorance for the moment. Fr. André supports its absolute independence. I confess for my part that I am inclined to believe it to be somewhat dependent or vassal, and a fact that I will report below seems to prove it. But basically, in the administration, the form of government, it is free and these marks of subjection do not have great consequences.

Korea is divided into eight provinces whose names follow:

- 1° Hang-kieng, capital Ham-heung.
- 2° Piengn-an, cap. Piengn-hang.
- 3° Hoang-hai, cap. Hai-tseu.
- 4° Kang-houen, cap. Houen-tseu.
- 5° Kiang-ke, cap. Han-iang or Seoul, capital of the whole kingdom.
- 6° Tsong-tsiang, cap. Kong-tseu.
- 7° Kieng-sang, cap. Tai-kou
- 8° Tseulla, cap. Tsien-tseu

These provinces are roughly situated in the order marked in the margin, and by means of a map, it will be easy for you to recognize them. The two northern provinces are vast forests very sparsely inhabited. The four furthest south are the most fertile and also the most inhabited.

The administration does not seem to me to be too badly arranged. The king has absolute power. Recently, it is said that he ordered one of his ministers to kill himself. He could not disobey, took poison and died. Then there are three great ministers, then six inferior ministers. Each has his special part. Then finally, come the provincial governors. Each province has one residing in the capital of that province. They are divided into districts themselves administered by subordinate mandarins, residing in the city. In Korea, the residences of mandarins bear only the name which corresponds to our term of city: there are in all 361, one for each district; All the other localities take a generic name corresponding to our name of town or village. Sometimes they are more important than the city, but it does not matter.

There are in Korea two parties which dispute the ministries and other charges, but of course the policy does not change. Their only goal is to supplant each other in order to have honors and money. One is known as Moderate. This is the Sipai party. The other is wicked and feared: these are the Piokpai.

What is the origin of these two parties? Here is what the Koreans report on this subject. About 80 or 100 years ago, an old king had no son to succeed him. On this, the great men of the kingdom were divided: some wanted to crown the king's brother immediately, these were the Piokpai, the others preferred to wait and see if the king could not have a child. The Piokpai secretly sent couriers to Beijing to warn the great Emperor and then have the king's brother crowned (This seems to denote some dependence on China). But the Sipai, warned in time, had the couriers pursued: they were caught up on Korean territory and beheaded. However, the old king died without an heir. The brother was crowned and the bad party that had wanted to crown him in advance had the upper hand. This prince had a very good son, loved by all and gifted with extraordinary strength. The Piokpai in power at the time, doubtless fearing his influence, persuaded the king to have him killed; after long resistance, he consented and gave the order; but no satellite wanted to take charge of it. The son, docile to his father's orders, offered himself to death and no one wanted to give him the cup. Finally the king was persuaded to have a large wooden chest made and the son was ordered to put himself in it, then he was locked up in it and after a few days he died. But since that time, the two parties have remained divided and return each other the hatred that follows one another in the family. The Piokpai have always been considered wicked men since then and the Sipai are more loved. Today, the moderate party is said to have more supporters and is in power. During the last persecution, the bad party was in power. That is Korean history, the fact is assured.

Let us resume: The police, when they are put into operation, show sagacity. It is quite rare for a guilty person to escape searches, provided that he is sought. Each mandarin has a fairly large number of satellites. Some work as gendarmes, others serve him at home, and still others accompany him when he goes out. In serious matters, such as the search for a foreigner, the king sends a host of other satellites to the provinces, often disguised to ensure the success of the searches.

There are also soldiers in Korea; this can, if necessary, form a respectable army without a doubt. Be on your guard: It could make a raid on France. It is said to be 10,000 strong. Later, I hope to have details on the Korean tourlourous.

The different types of taxes are collected at fixed times and fairly orderly registers, it is said, attest to this. However, on this article, there is a lot of arbitrariness on the part of the mandarins. I have proof of this. These taxes are on the territory, perhaps on some professions;

they are sales rights for certain objects, more or less our grants; and as for details, my knowledge is at its limit.

From time to time, His Majesty sends inspectors, often in secret, to monitor the conduct of the mandarins and subjects; Despite this, there are enormous abuses, which are unknown or often which one does not dare to repress. When conscience is not there to put a brake, external rules are very little use. Often, the nobles and the mandarins join hands to cover up their crimes, their depravity. Is it not like this everywhere? But judge of what must take place in these barbarous countries where material force is the only law, where one does not blush at crime, where finally the only interest is the motive of all without exception. One does not even know the love of the fatherland. When will God allow us to open the eyes of so many poor blind people?

The cities, numbering 361, are composed only of mud huts like the villages; they are a little higher and less dirty. That is the whole difference; the roof is made of straw; they use rice straw for this purpose, which is very strong. Tiled roofs are very rare. I have not seen a single house with even a first floor. The Koreans say that there are some in the capital, but few. Everything has a sad and poor appearance, even in the noble royal city, according to The Bishop

The best are the houses of the devil or the gods, but at least on the outside, it is not much. It does not come close to a beautiful Chinese house.

Korea does not have a great trade. It can be said that in Korea, nothing is sold, except at fairs or markets. These take place in different localities spread throughout the kingdom and quite close together. Tents are prepared for the goods; These markets are held in each place every five days, but the places close together do not have it on the same day, so that by making long trips, one could absolutely go every day to some market.

The roads, if we are to believe the common language, are divided into 3 classes. The 1st, which I translate as royal road. It is generally wide enough for four men abreast. It is, like all roads, good or bad, according to the time and the eras. Carriages not being current in this country, at least in the provinces, these roads are sufficient for horse and pedestrian. But it frequently happens that suddenly they are reduced by three quarters by some stone or rock; now, even on the royal roads, these inconveniences are not eliminated; often, one must climb over these rocks in a very awkward way at the risk of breaking one's neck or falling into the neighboring ditches. However, around the capital, the roads are a little better maintained and there is a very beautiful one that leads from the royal palace to the tombs of the kings or the previous king.

The 2nd class will be that of the main roads. Their width, beauty, convenience varies every quarter of an hour. When I see only a bad ... illis ... sente, I ask if it is still the main road, the answer is affirmative; the whole thing is to understand each other. Stones, rocks, mud, streams, nothing is missing. It is delightful. But what can we say about the 3rd class, a foot wide, more or less, visible or not according to the sagacity of the guide, often covered with water when it is in the rice fields, on a precipice slope when it is in the mountains. These are my favorite roads, my daily bread, real railways. Here, I will not mention stones, rocks: there is hardly anything else. This is the bottom kind of road. However, thanks either to the prudence of the grave senator, or to the kindness of the hock, or to the 3rd leg that I usually use, I have not yet broken my neck, nor broken my legs. As for the few falls, let's not mention them, they would make you laugh at me.

For bridges, 3 types to my knowledge: The 1st is that there are none. The 2nd is formed by a few large stones thrown from distance to distance. It is the most common. The 3rd is formed by stakes driven into the water and covered with earth. It is passable, but often well up to date. When the water is abundant, which is frequent in summer, all the bridges are washed away or covered and leave the traveler the pleasure of cooling off as he passes, feet,

calves, thighs, etc. (to the letter). Great lords like your servant, pass on the back of their guide. I forgot the bridges made of boats, that is to say a boat: the considerable rivers are passed like this. Then there is in the capital a stone bridge, magnificent without doubt and assuredly the 36th wonder of the world.

Needless to say to you that the greater part of Korea is in the mountains. You know that. They are not the Pyrenees, but they are very steep and sometimes quite high. Experto crede Roberto. These mountains are usually covered with woods; some form quite beautiful forests. Others are hardly anything but stone and rock, one among others is very high all formed of enormous rocks. I have named it the rocky mountain. A few districts are exceptions and leave the Korean the consolation of knowing more or less what a plain is. I have seen extremely few of them, because 8/10 of my Christians are in the mountains. The provinces I have not been to have, according to the Koreans, even more numerous and higher mountains.

Large navigable rivers or streams are very rare in Korea. Only a few rivers receive boats and that in a very restricted course. Also almost all transport is done on the backs of men or on oxen and horses.

The Korean house, in all its simplicity and poverty is not too badly designed: a few trees, earth, straw, nothing more goes into its construction. It is always a little raised above the level of the ground. This elevation serves to make underground conduits for the smoke; because the kitchen is at one end and the smoke from their large furnaces must pass under the dwelling to heat the apartments and keep them healthy. However, this rule suffers some exceptions, especially in the capital. In winter, it is quite convenient. By this means, I did not suffer from the cold at all, but in summer, what torture! To overcome this inconvenience, the Koreans, in summer, eat and sleep outside and hardly enter the house. The rich have summer rooms.

The ordinary houses of our Christians or of less fortunate pagans have one or two adjoining rooms, rarely three, then the kitchen more or less open to all winds. They always take care to make the roof protrude a lot on all sides, this forms small open galleries, of great convenience. They store many objects there and often, one rests there willingly. This description of the Korean house will give you a very weak idea of it. As it is, it has the advantage of avoiding humidity and the poor suffer little from the cold. Moreover, the small galleries are of daily use. Inside, it is bare, completely bare. Only the rich have the walls covered with white paper inside and sometimes outside. The ordinary floor is earth; in the capital, there are sometimes real floors. A few mats of varying quality cover the ground and each person sits on the part that nature has provided for this purpose. Among the poor, these mats are often dirtier than the ground itself. Large sticks cross the apartment at the top and are used to place the various objects or clothing stored in canvases, boxes or in nothing. The rich and the bourgeois of the capital have small cupboards, perhaps some furniture, I do not know. The bed is all found: instead of sitting, one lies down, then one sleeps. Here again they say the capital is more civilized, but I doubt it. The Koreans are crazy about their capital, everything there is beautiful, rich, comfortable, lies upon lies. Mgr has not seen all these wonders; it is only a little better than in the provinces. Besides, the Korean house is dark, dirty, of a miserable appearance and very rich in vermin of all sizes and qualities. The clothing is like all these peoples, of a remarkable breadth. It consists of a canvas jacket serving as a shirt, then a huge pair of underpants. Canvas socks cover the feet. Then according to rank and fortune, one puts on a second jacket and a second pair of underpants. Then a kind of frock coat; all in canvas, canvas stuffed with cotton in winter. To go out, one also needs a kind of large levite which for a noble must have sleeves like those of the Roman rochets. A kind of gaiters prevent the wide trousers from collecting water and mud. All these

clothes are in white canvas, with very rare exceptions and require, to be kept clean, a terrible maintenance.

Women wear socks and underpants like men. The top is covered by a small jacket, unfortunately a little short; then the bottom is covered by a wide skirt. This clothing would be suitable if the jacket did not open too easily. For the big ones, I do not know, but it must be of the same kind.

The white color is also in continual use for women, children and married women wear, however, at their pleasure, skirts of different colors; but an old woman or a widow can absolutely only wear white and gray cloth. Needless to add that all these clothes are of a crude shape; the sewing is not bad.

The shoes are made of straw; this is the most common; or of string; this is delightful for its beauty, solidity, and convenience. Pebbles penetrate easily and care is taken to leave a hole at the end for the toe, so that, if one happens to hit, the foot loses none of the force of the blow. When there is water and mud, the footbath is complete. Admirable!.... Straw shoes are used for a day's march, some a little more. For three or four sous they are replaced, for two sous even, but this is more common. In the noble capital, very poorly made leather shoes are used. There are also leather shoes, passable, but too stiff to be used on the road. The peasant uses skate-clogs at home. I call them this because these wooden clogs have an enormous heel and a similar elevation on the front, which makes them look like real skates. The Korean, except perhaps in the capital, never wears shoes in the apartments. They are left at the door. From there, a rather curious session is born in our Christian lands during the visit of the Father. In the evening they all come to see the long nose of the Father or for religious ceremonies. When leaving, it is necessary, with the help of torches, that each one finds his shoes; then, shouts, dissensions, etc ... without battle however; and in the meantime, one polishes one's stockings with dust, mud and everything that is found. The hat is for men of an extraordinary width. It is made of very fine bamboo quite well interwoven and is covered with a rather light and black cloth. The head does not enter into the small opening in the middle, it only rests on the upper part and is contained by a bun formed of hair, which enters this opening. For the men keep all their hair and raise it in a bun in the middle of the head; they then arrange around it a kind of horsehair net which does not fit too badly. Children have a hanging braid and only three days before marriage, they are allowed to wear their hair up. Until then they go bareheaded, the hat not being able to stay on the head without the hair pad. In the capital, children wear, it is said, another kind of hat. For work and especially in rainy weather, the Koreans use a huge straw hat that is very light and protects them quite well. If one has to work in heavy rain, one also puts on a collar, or straw coat, and with this one would receive a torrential rain without fear.

Women keep all their hair and arrange it in various ways. The most common is to form a braid and fix it around the head in several circles. This serves as a cushion for often heavy objects that they carry on their heads. When the objects are very heavy, a straw cushion is also put on. When, for example, a woman goes to fetch water, she carries on her head an immense earthenware vase and one would have to have not read La Fontaine not to think of Perrette. I have not seen either the hairstyle or the hat of the nobles, the common man goes bareheaded or his head covered with a simple kerchief.

To complete this sketch, let us add that men in mourning must have the net that contains the hair in gray cloth, then a bonnet of the same rich fabric in the shape of our money bags. Then, on the way, one puts on an immense straw roof that hides the face, a real carnival outfit. Colors are so prohibited for the man in mourning that his cane and the stem of his pipe must be white. If he does not want to buy others, he covers them with paper. It is noble; the remedy is, you see, easy and inexpensive. Then a nobleman in mourning always has on the way a kind of fan in gray cloth again, so that no one can see his noble face, so

everything is in gray canvas, the gaiters, etc. The woman in mourning has no other difference in her clothing than the absolutely obligatory white and gray color. To understand this ridiculous costume of men in mourning, it is necessary to know that in their eyes a man in this state is dead. Hence all their customs, when they speak of themselves, they call themselves sinful men. They no longer see the world, can hardly look at the sky. Their clothes, even for the rich, are always coarse, nothing a little beautiful. If they go out, it is with their face covered. If they are questioned on the road, they may not answer, they are dead! To kill an animal in this state is a crime, even if it is a snake. In the capital, when a nobleman in mourning meets a mandarin, he takes refuge in a neighboring house for fear of being questioned. On the road, and in inns, he retires to a room and refuses communication with anyone. All this is admirable for the holy smuggling of souls, and we mourn without scruple. All these customs do not take place in the working class. There are also rules for mourning the dead properly. This must take place three times a day at a fixed time. On solemn days, relatives and friends are invited to make more noise, etc. A man in mourning should not eat meat, etc. But we exempt ourselves from some of these absurd and excessively annoying customs. Let us sit down at the table. Here is a small table eight to ten inches high brought to me all by myself. It is more or less clean, more or less well worked. Neither round nor square, it admirably squares the circle; what a wonderful discovery! There is a copper spoon, then two sticks of the same metal. The knife is not used in the meal. We must swallow the everlasting rice, then use the sticks to grab a few shreds (literally) of flesh or vegetables. All served in cups or on small bowls. I except the rice of which we are presented with an immense bowl, about a peck of oats. Needless to say, cleanliness is not the privileged virtue of the Korean; at the table one notices it. Salt water, oil, vinegar, onions and garlic, nothing is missing, except what one would like. In a Christian country, one adds a few fruits; I do not know if it is the custom of the country. When these singular meals prepared in the savage way are seasoned by a good appetite, I nevertheless honor them as a noble gentleman. As for wine, I drink it of all colors and of all kinds, except grape wine. Rich Spain could not compete! In the heat the noble uses brandy and honey water, rice water is the most common drink. We have finished, we take my little table away, the stomach is supposed to be full, we are going to digest it while smoking the pipe; let us add, while chatting. This is the Korean's forte, and they do add a few games, but I do not know their names or their rules.

For the meal, each person is seated according to his rank; thus the wife cannot eat with her husband, the children cannot be with their parents; these distinctions are very important. They eat all kinds of meat and vegetables. Their vinegar is sometimes very good, I know two kinds of oils with grains whose European name is unknown to me; the one for the table is edible, but not very good. They also make walnut oil. Their most ordinary wine is made from fermented wheat or rice. Among the distinguished dishes, one must include dog; its flesh is considered delicate and comforting. I was served some once, I ate it quite heartily. It replaces the legs of mutton which are not common in this country.

A word about agriculture. According to what I said above, there are few plains, everything is mountain and valley. In this one the land is good, rice is cultivated and the immense quantity of torrents, streams or small rivers makes it easy to form these ponds necessary for the cultivation of rice. The land is never allowed to rest, it is always in yield. The Koreans have poorly developed ploughing tools, but their iron seems good and solid to me, unless more learned advice comes. The ox is the animal of cultivation, the horse is never used, and one day when I urged my Christians to use my horse for plowing, there was a general burst of laughter, exactly as if I had told one of our farmers to plow with his dogs. Besides, this animal would not live by working in the rice fields, there is water up to the knees; the Korean is almost amphibious. All day long he is in water up to half his body. The mountainous terrain and the non-use of carts for hauling means that everyone cultivates

around the house. Large villages are rare, everything is divided into hamlets of 2,4,8,10,15 houses that cultivate the nearest land.

The main products are rice, wheat, millet, which is often eaten, tobacco, vegetables of all kinds, but all very bland. Cotton and various plants for canvas. The cotton plant comes to them from China; 900 years ago, it is said, there was none in Korea and the Chinese took all possible precautions to prevent the export of seeds and thus sell all the cotton canvas to the Koreans. But one day one of the members of the annual embassy found a way to obtain three seeds in China, he hid them in a pen tube and endowed his country with them, which today has them in abundance. I call it the cotton plant, because it is not a tree, at most a shrub; every year after the harvest, it perishes. It is sown in the spring like wheat and in the same land, then a large number of plants are pulled up so that the remaining ones are about ten inches apart; the weeds must be continually pulled up. The earth is raised a little around the base of the plant, as is done in France for potatoes, and by this means a good harvest is obtained in September. This plant comes here in a climate very similar to that of my department (Somme). Perhaps it could be cultivated there.

To prevent birds from eating the seeds and also the young plants from drying out, they cover their fields after sowing with tree branches and only remove them when the plant is already strong. Since wood is not in short supply in many of these countries, it is not expensive.

Fruits are abundant in Korea. I find almost all those from France there, but what a huge difference. Thanks to the continuous summer rains, they are all watery and tasteless. Apples, pears, plums, strawberries, blackberries, apricots, grapes and tasteless melons that the Koreans absolutely gnaw at like a schoolboy dispatches a pear. A light peel is removed, or not removed, and the so-called delicious fruit is attacked head on.

Animals are also quite numerous, but few of the finest breeds, the horse is small but vigorous; the ordinary ox. Both species are fed with ratatouilles of beans or vegetables of that kind. Everything is cooked and served to them more or less hot. This is absolutely the way of feeding in France. Certain noble animals whose name sounds bad, if this name had escaped your memory, translate porcus into common style and you will have found this term. Dogs are multiplied to infinity; they are sold well, that is natural, but few are beautiful and all excessively fearful. The pig and other domestic animals, etc. Pheasants of various species swarm on the mountains and as they are not expensive, your servant has had a good number of them passed through his throat. Other birds of all kinds: magpie, pigeon, partridge. The detail would be too long in fact of birds. I forgot the tigers very numerous but generally of small species. I must mention here the vermin, fleas, lice, bedbugs, etc. The breed is beautiful, strong, gigantic. Without doubt these remarkable animals are of the bulldog breed. Once they have seized the piece, they do not let go. On this article, Monsignor and I can give ample details, if you wish; we have great experience and varied knowledge. Notice to amateurs.

Korea is abundant in wood, its mountains are covered with it. Pine is the most common. However, beautiful and good wood is not lacking and the northern provinces have very beautiful forests.

It is said that there are many mines of gold, silver, copper. But they are not exploited. In many places, our Christians say they have seen gold by moving the earth very little. But it is difficult to sell it, and moreover, there are such punishments against those who take it that the case is rare. My catechist claims to have seen rivers rolling gold, in sand and in pieces. Their copper is beautiful and good, but for fear of enriching themselves, they bring copper from Japan for consumption. They make a mixture of it with zinc and use it a lot even for meals. Thus prepared, it does not easily take on verdigris. It is said that there is no example of poisoning. Iron coal is of rare abundance in certain parts; recently, Monseigneur

was traveling after heavy rains, he saw this coal for a long time along the roads, it would have been picked up almost like mud. Everyone stocks up on it as they please.

Finally, to end this chatter, the climate seems very healthy to me, and the waters, which generally do not taste good, are not harmful except in a few places in the mountains where they cause fevers.

Korean industry is not very advanced. Everything that is good and noble comes from China. However, the objects made in Korea are generally solid. The canvases of various kinds are sometimes strong, but not very beautiful. Three kinds of canvas are mainly used. Cotton canvas alone is used for eight to nine months. During the summer, hemp and mosi canvas are used. There is very beautiful hemp in the north of Korea, and they make fairly good canvases from it. The most beautiful ones are quite expensive. Mosi is a plant in the hemp genus. It is cultivated in a fairly limited number of districts, not succeeding elsewhere. For two or three years, the harvest is not good, but then it is made two or three times each year; the bark is taken and without further preparation it is spun and made into canvases. Hence it is cheap. Everyone does this at home. This canvas has a fairly beautiful appearance, but little solidity. The silks are weak and not very beautiful but quite abundant. Woollen cloth is unknown, sheep being extremely rare. It is even said that it is forbidden to raise them.

The industry is still practiced in the manufacture of pottery and porcelain. Is there any passable porcelain? I do not know. Their pottery is quite solid and they make it of monstrous size.

They make and export to China large knives, sabres or extremely solid daggers. I have not seen any. They praise this manufacture a lot. Their guns have the barrel well conditioned, but the hammer must receive a lighted fuse, something very inconvenient. All the objects of daily use are generally passable and nothing more.

In this country, each one makes for his use a part of the necessary objects: canvas, shoes, rope, thread, etc. Also, the workers do not have a remarkable talent.

In Korean life, paper plays a great role. It is used in all sauces. It has a strength sometimes approaching canvas. It serves advantageously as cords, either for shoes or for hats and when it is well braided, water does not harm it. The doors of each room have no other panes than the paper; a few bars of wood more or less prepared, a sheet of paper stuck on top, there is the door and often the only opening through which the day can enter. Because windows are little or not used. I said that the panes were not used; let us retract quickly: When a Korean has found a small piece of glass of half an inch square, it is a fortune. Immediately, he embeds it in the paper that serves as his window. From then on, he can see what is happening outside with a tiny corner of his eye and he is prouder than Emperor Nicholas in his palaces in Saint Petersburg. In the absence of this precious piece of glass, each Korean makes a small hole with his finger in the paper of the door and thus sees what is happening. Admirable invention!!!

With the paper we make small pouches, we make tobacco bags, candle wicks, etc. When it is prepared with oil, it is used for packages like our oilcloths and we also make raincoats. These coats are in good taste, your servant has one, it cost me about four francs; long live paper coats! This same paper spread over the large Korean hats serves them as an umbrella; they hardly use any other, except the great luminaries. I have heard that noble women had umbrellas of the Chinese form.

The laundering is done with small boards, the linens are thus washed quite well, but at the expense of the consumer who is obliged to renew them often. Everything is then prepared with starch which prevents stains from penetrating the linen and by this means they avoid them. But if the starch disappears, there is no remedy. They make like us the washing water with ashes, at least in some places. Most of the clothes are only glued and basted; to

launder them, they undo everything, then redo it; you can imagine what a job; we can however have sewn clothes and noble people have them like that.

It is time to tell you a word about the Korean himself. He has the ordinary size. There are large ones, then small ones. It is like in Europe. His head is generally almost round, the oval is rarely found. The nose is small and flattened in the middle of two rather puffy cheeks. The eyebrow a little high. The hair is more generally black. However, brown hair is quite common, even light brown. Many do not have a beard, most have little, a very small number have it a little. I have not seen red hair, but red beards without being frequent are not unheard of. So that Mr. Marquis de la Barberousse, you know who, is not a monster without equal. This is the physique of the Korean; he is vigorous, he has a good appetite, works as much as a Frenchman. The women do not give in to Chinese madness and let their feet come to their natural size. If, moreover, you seek physical beauty, I advise you to set sail for other places. The Korean has a whole and somewhat difficult character, the fruit of the semibarbarism in which this people still exist; education is nil here, even among our Christians whom we will only be able to bring there in the long run. He seems to me to be terrible in his anger. Often the women themselves have nerve and very sharp speech. He is a great chatterbox and quite good-natured in conversation. I would believe that he likes a joke. Let us add that he is an excessive liar and that without malice, so much are they used to it. One never knows what to believe with them. They tell you the most beautiful stories, have seen and heard everything. It is pure joke; judge from that if one should be surprised that we sometimes fall into error, despite all the precautions. A great lover of rest, the Korean does not fear work and even very hard work. In summer, he works all day and sleeps very little. Quite cheerful by nature, the Koreans amuse themselves with music while working in the fields. Often the villages have a box, a few cauldron lids as cymbals, then the country flute. With this, they make noise, then they sing, jump, then after a few moments they get back to work.

Perhaps one would find among these people the gratitude of which the Chinese seem completely devoid. Less enslaved than the latter to the love of money, they would know, I believe, if necessary, how to make a sacrifice quite generously. Less infatuated with their customs and usages, they would seem to me more suited to receiving civilization than the great kingdom of the middle. For the moment, they are crazy about everything Chinese, having seen nothing better; perhaps if foreigners came, they would want to imitate and copy them. I have not seen anywhere among our Christians this repugnance for certain of our ceremonies, which is said to have been found among the Chinese, e.g. anointings, the application of saliva, etc. They are very keen to receive everything. In a word, the Korean character seems very different from the Chinese character.

I will try to give you an idea of their morals. Seeing their frightful dissolution, one could believe all Koreans to be bastards; several times, our Christian women, on the point of being raped, stopped the pagan by saying to him: I am your daughter, you cannot see me. In fact, they do not yet have this dreadful custom and several times, the hesitant pagan withdrew, he doubted if, by the fact, it would not be one of his daughters. Besides, how to stop passion, brothers and sisters sleep in the same room, often with father and mother, and during the summer, they are naked all day until the age of reason and beyond.

The plurality of wives takes place among those who have the means and it is recognized that a woman always finds somewhere to place herself. If she arrives in a village, it is a good fortune, she is sure to be fed, provided that she satisfies the desire of her host. I add some characteristic facts, it seems to me.

A young woman can never sleep alone in an inn, of course, but a single man will not always protect her from violence.

When a young widow does not remarry, sometimes the pagans plan the trick, come during the night in sufficient numbers, abduct her, then hand her over to one of their friends, no doubt after having paid themselves. This has been tried several times in Christian villages on our young widows, fortunately without success.

When they want to marry two individuals and they refuse, they gather many friends, among others the two in question, celebrate, give them a lot to drink; at night everyone retires, and they lock the two individuals, drunk or nearly so, alone in an apartment. Then passion alone speaks, everything is consummated; they are supposed to be married. I have it from a Christian to whom this happened before his conversion. The fact is, it is said, quite frequent and especially for widows.

Koreans mate almost like dogs, the sanctity of marriage is not known. Children are always married without consulting their tastes, even against their will. When they arrive to marry, perhaps they hate at first the person with whom they are united, no matter, they must go ahead. It is not their business, the parents alone are responsible for the choice. Also what disputes in households! divorce is daily. What cruelty for children. I wish our amateur divorce lawyers would see the happy fruits of this custom, they would soon change their minds. In the office, everything is beautiful. Here, the husband is the only master, a woman cannot separate if he does not consent, or else it is by flight.

The children of the common class, in summer, go naked as toads. I have seen some like this even at the age of 10 or 12, although not many. It is a lot when they have a small jacket coming down to their hips. It is a deplorable custom that we are obliged to combat among Christians; with great difficulty one obtains a small piece of cloth in memory of original sin, doubtless unknown in these parts; to hear them, one would believe them in statu naturae purae.

The common women almost always go barefoot, the men the same or at least without stockings; it is economical.

I forgot to say that the custom of exposing children does not exist in Korea. It is at least a fairly rare custom. Also we cannot have baptism conferred as is done in China. We only have a few baptisms of infidel children in danger of death to confer at home.

They do not use cow's milk; Also, children whose mothers die shortly after childbirth are considered lost and almost all die. On the other hand, mothers breastfeed their children until they are 6 and 8 years old, when there are no younger ones; I am assured that many do so until they are 12 years old. It is disgusting to me to see mothers breastfeed children of 5 and 6 years old. To depict the Korean woman, I would like to represent her with an 8 year old child hanging from her breast; what a custom!

I said that the cow's milk was not used. However, the king and some ministers take some, but not knowing how to milk, a great ceremony is necessary. To get the milk, the cow is made to lie on its side, doubtless in the presence of His Majesty and the entire Court, then with boards or sticks, the cow's nipples are squeezed, the milk that flows from it with the sweat of the operators is preciously collected. That is industry; or where to find it? Notice to all our milkmaids.

The Korean woman has a very heavy workload; the preparation of food, the making of cloths, then of clothes, the maintenance and the laundering of these, then in summer she helps in all the work of the countryside. The men whose work is heavy at harvest time rest in winter. They only have to cut each day on the mountain the wood necessary for the fire, then they chat, sleep, smoke the pipe and often go running to see relatives and friends. During this time, the woman works and cares for her children. This last item is no small matter. The baby must be breastfed whenever it desires, that is to say twenty times a day. If it is small, it is taken on the knees; if it is already an adult, the mother bends down and lets it operate alone, exactly as cows do. Then, it must be taken on the back continually and one works with this

precious burden. If there are elders, from the age of six to eight, they carry the youngest on their backs, nothing more comical. Watching them pass, one can hardly distinguish how many there are in this mass of ... illis ... reasonable and unreasonable. Education requires little care. It consists of suckling and doing the four wishes of the child. His faults, his vices, even the grossest, one laughs at them, one is amused by them. If by chance the mother does not do all the child's wishes, she hits and beats him continually. Always the excesses.

Man has yet another task; that of preparing fertilizers. In the spring, it is quite heavy. As soon as the trees are covered with leaves, the branches are cut, attacking only the lower shoots, to then put them on the fields, either in leaves or branches. The other fertilizers consist of ashes, of which the Korean is rich, wood not being generally expensive and the immense kitchen stoves consume prodigious amounts during the winter. Animal manure and even human manure are mixed in, without even losing the water, everything is carefully preserved. By this means, the fields receive quite abundant fertilizers. That is a lot of chatter... we must still add to it.

There are three classes of men in Korea: slaves, the people and the nobles. For the moment, I will say nothing about the regime of slavery. It is especially in the capital and among the great that they remain. I am ignorant of the people, I have spoken a lot about them. But the nobles! Ah! there is the beautiful theme; they play a great role, if only by their depredations.

The Korean nobility seems to me to be the proudest in the universe. Everything trembles around them, even the mandarins. From this, you doubtless imagine something grand, distinguished, majestic. Well! see! whether the noble has crowns or not, it is all the same: he is noble, everything falls at his feet; he acts everywhere as a master. A great number of nobles have no money, they are only more proud; what torture would they imagine to torture me if they knew that I call them the noble beggars. It is the monstrous nobility.

In the absence of numerous satellites, they always have on their clothes, both inside and outside, numerous courtiers. Of this Korean race so great, so gigantic, spare me the details. Openwork clothes are common and the eternal white color often disappears among them under a more or less varied dye, more or less odoriferous.

These are some traits of the noble beggar. There are also rich nobles. I do not know their attire. Now this whole class, whatever it may be, exercises a terrible tyranny over the people. If they have no money, they send satellites to the poor artisan, to the farmer: they are cited before the lord. If on the way they pay well, they are released. If they do not want to open the purse strings, they are led to the palace, the noble's cabin, and there they are beaten. They are forced to comply. There is no mandarin capable of stopping this daily depredation, sometimes it is done under the pretext of a loan, but no one is fooled. A Christian was thus seized while I was in the country. He spat out a few ngiangs and was released. One of these noble beggars, formerly a Christian and whom I saw in my travels, does not live any differently; he nevertheless speaks of returning to better feelings.

When a nobleman buys a field or house from a man of the people, he often does not pay; this is the custom. A rich man, not a nobleman, is torn from all sides, especially in certain provinces where beggars abound. The nobleman almost always has slaves and second-class wives. However, these concubines are below the wife, their children are still noble but of a lower degree. A nobleman must not have as a wife of first rank a woman of lower nobility; or else he is less respected. They have a very ugly custom. After the marriage, the nobleman sees his true wife for three days; then the husband no longer lives with her for an indefinite time, often very long. He makes up for it with his concubines; but for the poor woman, it is difficult to be unfaithful, she moans but is condemned to virginity, more than she would like. The wife of a nobleman who runs away or is unfaithful, if the husband wants

to punish her, he hands her over to the mandarin who often gives her as a wife to one of his servants after having beaten her.

The nobleman is owed endless respect; no one dares to approach him. His house is a sacred place, even entering the courtyard would be a crime. We wait at the door for a reply from his majesty. This rule is so strict that friends themselves cannot be received inside the house, out of respect for women; there is always a separate apartment where friends can be received. These customs favor us singularly; we can thus have houses where the pagan does not enter. Unfortunately, women, whoever they may be, always have the right to enter everywhere. Another favorable custom: it takes place in the capital when we want to visit a house for sale, we warn the inhabitants to close all the doors, then we visit only the outside. When a man wants to go up on his roof, he must also warn his neighbors, so that they are on their guard and close the doors.

A man of the people, if he travels on horseback, must dismount while passing opposite the houses of the nobles. In front of these one cannot smoke the pipe, when they pass one must hide it.

In Korea, a noble cannot go alone on horseback, one must have a man to pull the beast; then according to the condition of the lord, one, two or more followers. One never trots, but the horse always goes at a quick pace. On the way, a noble on horseback makes all the plebeians dismount; ordinarily, they dismount of their own accord, but if necessary, they are urged with blows of a stick. Thus one dismounts before us, when we are on horseback. Are not these respects well due to the ministers of J.C.? I then imagine seeing the devil making a bow and bowing before the Cross.

We always travel more nobili, and by this means we travel freely in broad daylight, we can eat and sleep in inns. With a few precautions and especially with somewhat capable men, there is no danger. They hardly dare to look at the noble; even more so, they will not question him. I believe I said that we use mourning clothes, made on purpose by (=for) smugglers.

The noble is a slave to usage and etiquette. Everything must be done according to the rules, anything makes your nobility suspect. Thus, one less item of clothing, a badly arranged belt, effects not tied according to the rubric, etc. ... everything is suspect. If by necessity, we must lighten ourselves of a burden that is too importunate, we must remove the hat, the belt and the large levite with wide sleeves under penalty of losing face.

The inns are pitiful, impossible to be served a little well there, so the rich take meat that they cook in these moles, otherwise, they would do without it; everything there is full of vermin.

Barns and stables are unknown, at least in the provinces where I have been. A large shed, completely open, replaces them. This is how oxen and horses are housed and I remember seeing this winter, under these sheds, oxen dressed in straw to protect them from the cold. Honor to Korean genius.

In all these customs of the nobility, there is a bad side. Noble women are unapproachable, but absolutely. Many want to become Christians and can neither learn the doctrine nor receive baptism. Asking the husband for permission to go out is persecution; what a pain! many noble Christian women cannot confess, because the husband no longer wants to practice. They cannot go out alone, going home is impossible. What remedy, if not in the goodness of God who sees the depths of hearts.

I end this article on beggarship with two traits of their power. The first happened recently. One of these rich nobles among whom even a sapèque is a rare thing was proudly advancing not far from the capital sitting or riding on a horse carcass. A mandarin coming to pass, he was signaled to get down. His face, his clothing, his entourage, nothing doubtless seemed noble. However, he refused; and not obeying several summons, he was placed near

his noble beast without any oratorical precautions, and despite the mud that covered the path. Stung to the quick and strong in his titles, he went straight to the mandarin. "As you see me," he said to him, "I am noble, such is my family, such are my ancestors; are you going to have the audacious individual who dared to lay a hand on my majesty beaten immediately?" At the sight of this mud-covered beggar, the mandarin laughed. But the other, continuing to decline his titles and threatening the mandarin to have him broken, it was necessary to have the faithful satellite beaten, not a little, but at the whim of the offended nobleman who, unfortunately ignorant of evangelical gentleness, gave him enough to make a lot of colic go away, then, satisfied with the execution, he mounted his nag again and proudly continued on his way. From the comic, let's move on to the tragic. Another individual, undoubtedly a pureblooded noble, is met one day by four satellites looking for a thief. Having some suspicions, they ask him if he might not be that individual. He answers affirmatively and adds: Follow me to my home, I will show you the accomplices and the place where the objects are. They follow him. As soon as he arrives, he calls his slaves, has the satellites seized and after beating them, seven of their eyes are gouged out. There, says the nobleman with a smile, to teach you to see better another time. However, I will leave you one eye so that you can return to the mandarin. He dismisses them and of course, was never punished for this cruelty. That is noble.

Nothing is more curious than the Christian nobles. Among our neophytes, true nobles, there are few, but many, in order not to be molested, go and pitch their tent in unknown countries and pass themselves off as nobles. If the fraud were discovered, they would be beaten soundly, but one can throw gold dust in the eyes of the peasant. With this quality, they are respected, their house is inviolable, there is more freedom for the exercises of piety. True types of the pedant, nothing is more laughable than to see them advance proudly. The tone, the manners, everything about them is noble in the gros-jean. But no matter, when they take the horsehair cap, mark of their distinguished rank, it seems to me to see a village magister donning the cope. I am supposed to be ignorant of their fraud, however I allow myself to joke with them a little. When they are real nobles, they make bitter complaints about this borrowed nobility with which Christian places swarm. The thing is in their eyes a crime, a serious abuse that must be repressed as soon as possible. These borrowed nobles want to treat as equals with the real one. What a crime! Do you conceive the indignity? for me, I laugh at it, I joke with them all, then absolve them without scruple, happy to see them by this means less molested and more peaceful. But the true nobles do not forgive us this tolerance. What a race! what people! Are they infatuated with their titles! they talk about them continually, they dream of nothing else and yet, it is pure misery, vermin in all its freshness, it is beggarly.

The kind of cloth fan that must cover the face on the roads is reserved for the nobles, but in summer, all classes continually use the real fan. They are most of a bare simplicity; I have not seen any that are a little beautiful.

It is rare for the Korean of any rank to go on the road without his pipe. The shape is the same as the Chinese pipe. A long bamboo to which is attached a copper pipe and a mouthpiece of the same material. Every Korean always carries with him a lighter which he strikes when he wants to smoke. This lighter, in the common class, never leaves him; I am ignorant of the customs of the nobles. When at home, one wants to light the light, they use large matches with sulfur. As a lantern, they take a torch. made of three or four sticks and walk around like this without causing too many fires. I have also seen, in the evening in summer, a fire being lit on a stone in the middle of the courtyard and all the members of the family working by the light of this torch. On the other side of the courtyard, undried herbs are lit, the smoke of which is supposed to drive away midges and other insects.

What can be said about the seasons in Korea? It must vary according to the provinces. However, in the center of Korea, in the most inhabited places, here are approximately: Autumn is generally very beautiful. The winter, which is said to have been very harsh, was quite bearable. I was at 34 or 35 degrees latitude. I put the thermometer under the small galleries of my cabin several times between seven and eight o'clock in the morning and I never saw more than 12° Réaumur. But evidently, there were greater colds, because Mgr who was at 37 1/2 and whose experiences were more continuous, found about twenty degrees, and as wood is very expensive in the capital, he suffered a little from the cold; for me, I did not suffer from it. In France, I have heard many people represent Korea as a country of ice and continual snow. This is false. According to what I have just noted, the two northern provinces, very sparsely inhabited and where we have no Christians, nevertheless have very harsh winters. The spring was beautiful, and the summer whose great heat I was made to fear is very bearable. I did not suffer more than in Paris, but not having a thermometer at hand, I cannot give figures. In July, we had heavy continuous rains; this is the usual. Several roads are blocked; August was partly rainy, partly quite beautiful. The measure of the roads is the ly, similar or not to the Chinese ly, I do not know. No one has yet been able to tell me exactly what a ly is, how many feet it comprises; but certainly, ten lys are worth more than one of our leagues. To calculate by our travels on foot or on horseback, we do not think we are exaggerating in putting three leagues for twenty lys, or 15 leagues for 100 lys. The Korean, not having all our travel conveniences, is a fairly good walker, he also carries on hooks quite well combined and almost like the porters of Paris, very heavy loads sometimes during long journeys. The measure of length is the foot, almost double the old foot of France. The only currency in circulation here is the sapèque. Stronger than the sapèque of China, it is the size of a very small sou, and pierced in the middle. Its relative value, relative to our currencies, could be two farthings or two centimes. Most of these sapeques are worn or deteriorated.

Silver is not current in commerce, however there are silver sticks that can be used and sold to certain people. But caution is necessary. Selling silver ingots can sometimes compromise; especially if it is Chinese silver, which they recognize perfectly, despite being prepared in Korean-shaped sticks. Silver is less valuable than in France. The difference is not well known to me at the moment; it would be necessary to know the relative value of the French and Korean pound. That is what I do not know.

Here, fields are bought very cheaply relative to the yield; a good year can yield 30%. Ordinarily, fields are rented by requiring half of the harvest for the owner, who delivers only the land and must pay the taxes.

When you lend money, it is at 50, 60, 100% to thirty percent, it is rare. To make a considerable payment, you need a troop of men, because two hundred francs in sapèques is a heavy burden for a man and everything must be paid with this single currency.

What can I tell you about the Korean language? Is it human or diabolical? It would take a faculty of doctors to decide the question. To read it, to understand the main words, is easy enough. But to speak it is a very difficult thing. Their pronunciation is difficult to grasp, and especially how to untangle their turns of phrase. How to hear all the useless pegs with which their sentences are overloaded? You have to be a sorcerer. So I am always at the same point, understanding little and understanding much less. However, I can say the absolute necessary.

The Korean language should once have been a pure language, but for many years, it has been transformed into a patois of Chinese; and it is easy today to recognize Chinese words and pure Korean words. In a few years, Korean words will have all disappeared, there will remain only Chinese with Korean endings. The Korean's infatuation with everything that has to do with the great empire will produce this effect. Already, educated people who want to pass for capable hardly use anything but Chinese words. Moreover, the Korean language,

formerly very different from Chinese, seems more perfected. Its nouns have their declension, the verbs a multitude of tenses quite similar to Latin in their combinations. Another difficulty of the Korean language is that the endings change according to the person to whom one speaks, so that for example, we cannot speak like those who question us. We are too tall and high-ranking for that, we must speak with endings that we never hear.

As for writing, it is quite true that the Koreans use Chinese characters as signs to write their words. It is good form, and public acts are done this way. I could also write French in Chinese characters. But there is a properly alphabetical Korean writing. There are eight signs for consonants and eleven for vowels, because they have special signs for ia, ie, etc. This writing is in use for ordinary people and women of all classes. It is very old. Has the Korean language always been written with this alphabet? I do not know. Some claim that it is only two or three hundred years old; I cannot believe it probable, and yet, I admit my incompetence, I am silent.

Finally, I will finish. I have already said too much, what a chatterbox, Father Jurines will say. The Bishop has seen all these foolish notes, he does not see any falsehoods in them, however, we are not infallible: I have said what I have seen, what I have heard, happy if there is no error. I have done right to friendship. Friendship will not betray me by making use of these shapeless notes that I entirely disapprove of. You understand that I want to talk about publication. This is between us, remember it well: no betrayal. If God grants us life, later we will be able to send more complete, more certain notes, and thus provide materials to compose an interesting article. But today, it is too premature. I only wanted to give you a sign of life. Please tell me at length what details might interest you.

If you do not have the patience to read this little epistle, skim it, each sentence is proof that I have taken into account your recommendations.

Accept the assurance of the feelings of respectful friendship with which I have the honor to be your very devoted servant and colleague.

A. Daveluy

Apostolic Missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions

Sengstikool August 25, 1846 RSVP

November 1. Little fellow is still alive and as I say to Mr. Barran, the persecution seems to be ending; I will therefore probably not be part of it this time. Let us wait for a better opportunity. I send quite a few writings. I address everything to you and to Mr. Barran. If you could arrange with my aunt Dubois or with my father to have a copy of it, it would be a great consolation for them, although there is nothing very interesting in it. I am still counting on your friendship for that. I preferred not to address it directly to my family so that our house would receive the few details that might seem interesting. Please do me this favor.

Farewell again; I have said everything, I have said far too much; another time I will perhaps correct myself and be more reserved. In rereading these lines that I am addressing to you, there seemed to me to be many childish things; but no matter, you will forgive me; you know how I write my letters, without study, without preparation, currente calamo. If I joked a little, there is no harm. This will prove to you that one does not make too much bad blood in the midst of all the miseries of the body and the mind. For the rest, ask me many questions, give me many indications on what may interest you. I will answer them according to my weak strength. Good will is not lacking. These will be a few notes, I am capable of nothing more. Farewell, in the Holy Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

Your very devoted colleague.

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Barran Director at the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris

Province of Tsongtsang October 26, 1846 *

Who has Jesus has everything.

Sir and dear colleague.

Since our letters of November, what warnings from our Koreans; to hear them, the authorities would have been informed of our presence twenty times. Fables upon fables. The Korean is strong on the article. So we slept very peacefully until the time of the persecution. Today, I am allowed from the depths of a smoky cabin to address you some details on our Christian community. But to give you an exact idea, we must go back to the great persecution where our venerable predecessors received the palm of martyrdom. After the death of the Pastors, all Christian communities were dispersed. Pursued incessantly by the rage of the persecutors, our Christians were forced to take refuge in pagan regions. No Christian region could offer security, everything had been revealed by the traitor. In this new position, each believer had to hide his faith with the greatest care, under penalty of being immediately seized. Several had the skill to do so without compromising their conscience, but the majority, it must be admitted, in order not to betray themselves, participated in the superstitious ceremonies. Constantly mixed with the pagans, the contagion of crime did not spare them, their life had nothing more Christian, the passions had regained all their strength, the example had dragged them into the abyss. However, deep in their hearts, faith was not extinguished, they all sighed for the moment when, freed from these shackles, they could once again practice the exercises of Religion and reunite with brothers. Spouses had been violently separated, hunger and necessity had driven the children far from their mother, brothers were scattered. Little by little these wounds were repaired and as the families were reformed our Christians sought the means to withdraw to remote places where religious exercises could at least be done in secret.

Supported by three faithful servants of our former confreres, their eyes were constantly turned towards the foreign land from where pastors could come to them. Several times couriers were sent to the border of China to seek the envoys of God, but for reasons that I will explain later, all these enterprises did not succeed. This hope, however, led them to meet in remote places. Then a spectacle presented itself which men could not have regarded without pity, and which Heaven contemplated with joy. These faithful Christians were seen to roam the mountains, wandering day and night in places that only wild beasts had fought over until then, and when there was no longer any appearance of habitation, far from all foreign trade, these poor people pitched the tent that was to shelter their miserable existence. All public function being impossible for them, only cultivation remained. But alas! what cultivation! in places where no one had ever thought of throwing seed; only mountains, dreadful slopes, frightful precipices; well, it is there that they go to shed their sweat to fertilize the earth. Rice, the main food of the country, cannot grow there; a little millet, which in France is used as bird food, a little wheat, a few vegetables (and tobacco), these are the only products of these arid lands (and it is always tobacco that makes up the greater part of it). In steep places where we could hardly penetrate, the most fervent having taken the lead, little by little the other faithful followed and also came to populate the mountains.

Each year, the number increased, some families leaving the regions of superstition went to the mountains to gather around the flag; the little flock reformed. Little by little also, the lands became less bad, and the harvest less ungrateful; but for fear that the heart would become attached to the fleeting goods of the earth, God allowed that flight became necessary. After two or three years of residence, serious suspicions arise, their faith is betrayed, they have to move their tent elsewhere; sometimes, they have to do it immediately, forced to abandon an unripe harvest, without knowing which way to turn their steps, having no other guide than the inspiration of the moment, no other resource than confidence in Him who feeds the birds and gives pasture to their young. True Patriarchs, they cannot have a fixed abode, they go from mountain to mountain, taking all their possessions, that is to say, a few miserable clothes. Also their houses are always of the poorest. Why adorn it? why make it at great expense. Today, it serves as a shelter and tomorrow it must be abandoned. From this comes also that they always have few clothes and objects. everything must be taken at once; the mother loads her child on her shoulders, the father brings the objects of extreme necessity. And when the inner voice says to them: Stop!, we build a new one that soon may have to be abandoned. Like the monks of the Middle Ages, they clear arid places and fertilize uncultivated land. Ah! Would to God that in the midst of so much bodily misery, our Christians had at least the virtues of these Patriarchs with whom they have some resemblance, but alas!!! without a homeland they are always wandering, without parents, families are dispersed, without friends, they cannot communicate with their neighbors. They wait for a better life, and yet the road to it is unknown to them; they have no pastors and allow themselves to be diverted into the path of crimes. Indeed, in this state of dispersion, of vagrancy, no education is possible, few know how to read, or if they decipher a few letters, the meaning remains hidden from them. No schools are possible; among the pagans, it is to betray oneself, in their own village, ten, twenty or thirty faithful do not give any resource. Judge from this what ignorance, what spiritual miseries.

I have not said everything. Each year, Christians are recruited in the mountains, all of Christendom takes up tobacco cultivation and the extreme abundance lowers prices to the point that today one has for the modest sum of twenty francs the enormous burden of two vigorous men. If the harvest fails, all the loss falls on the Christians. Almost the only tobacco growers, they cannot help each other; a fire, and they are quite frequent, reduces them to the extremity; the Christians always embarrassed can do little and the pagans with whom relations are rare do not want to come to their aid. What can be said of these knights of industry? Pagans who know the Christians and their lodgings are in the habit of living at their expense. They must be paid, under penalty of being denounced. They thus travel through many Christian countries and everywhere put the poor people to contribution. And the satellites also go to vex them even outside the time of persecution. There are few years when there is not some arrest. To have one or two Christians, these brave police agents travel through the Christian countries and take away the money. In persecution, they raid everything. The system of raids is here put into play with rare success. The satellites fall on a house, chain all the members, take them to prison, including the small children, then sell the house and everything it contains for their own profit; if by chance a member of the family escapes prison, they never forget to take everything they find in the house.

Now imagine how our Christians are always poor, wandering, persecuted, ransomed, they hardly enjoy the goods of this life. Despite this, after the death of our brothers, each year, a certain number of pagans came to reinforce the small faithful army. The first necessary step is to leave a passable house, an advantageous culture to pitch one's tent in the mountain. There the new converts mingle with our Christians, they share their sorrows, their privations, all their crosses, but also their hope. We were able to say on the faith of the Koreans, that there was a great enthusiasm among the pagans, and many conversions. These

good people have greatly exaggerated the thing for us, the truth is that the Christians are very despised outside, although deep down their doctrine is found good. But the forbidding of the king is the only motive of most. Your doctrine is good, it was often said, you are right; but the king forbids this religion.

Every year, according to an approximate calculation, about two hundred new neophytes have come to rejoice the hearts of our faithful, and all this barely fills the gaps left by the great persecution. The Korean, however, seems attached from the bottom of his heart to his Religion, he will endure long privations for it; the torments make him apostatize quite easily, but barely out of the hands of the satellites, if he can go to a Christian region, he will practice his Religion again immediately; rarely does he deny God from the bottom of his heart, only his mouth lets slip this dreadful word. If Religion were permitted, without a doubt, the Church would have great hopes here. One thing struck me deeply in this country. In 1839, the pastors were taken and martyred, the leading Christians, almost all that was notable, had the same fate and Christianity entirely ruined. Well! in spite of this, without an avowed leader, Christianity reconstituted itself by itself. For sixty years, only twice has it been given to see priests and that during short intervals. Well! it has resisted this isolation, it has triumphed over this complete abandonment. One cannot compare this country to China or Tonkin, for example, where there have always been priests, whether indigenous or even European; and everyone knows that the presence of a single one is enough to contain everything. Here, nothing similar and yet Christianity has not been annihilated. For me, I confess, in the midst of the spiritual miseries and hideous wounds which disfigure our Christianity, I cannot help admiring this great fact of a Christianity reconstituting itself by itself, and this great fact fills me with hope, and then will not the blood of the martyrs germinate one day! Martyrs! What mission in our days could count such a considerable number. Several hundreds have borne witness to J.C. in blood. Here we have Laurents, Blandines, Agathas, SS Innocents. All ages, all sexes, all conditions are represented in this noble catalogue that we have just taken from the dust of the tombs where it rested, having in mind a glorious bishop with priests. No, reading these delightful pages, no! I said to myself, we have nothing to envy the first centuries; the glory and strength of the Most High burst forth at the sight of this barbarous people; one day the fruits will come. We have sent it, it is up to you to publish the wonders of the Most High.

Such is the state in which we found this poor Christianity. In the month of January, I set out into the countryside, or rather into the mountains, the snow covered everything, the paths had disappeared, however I ran with all my heart after these sheep withdrawn far from all tumult.

For the arrival of the priest, everything is prepared as well as possible, because our Christians have no country in the same place. A poor hut is decorated with white paper, a poor altar is erected, this is all the ornament of the place where the greatest of mysteries is to be celebrated. It is also the priest's apartment. Then our Christians ran to see the one they have been waiting for seven years. What joy for them! What happiness! It is the castaway who has reached the shore. Tears, tears escape from their eyes. Finally, they are going to put peace in this conscience that so many bad days had overloaded. What moments also for ourselves, how could we not share their emotions. They are brothers, they are our children and they have all the interest of misfortune, of persecution. Several times, I must admit, my poor heart could not hold up before these touching scenes, my tears mingled with theirs. I saw them all before me, our hearts understood each other, speech was useless. And then, what memories! Here, it is an old man who has grown white in the practices of Religion, persecutions have tested him, but he has endured everything, he will find peace of soul before descending into the grave. There, it is a mother whose husband has picked the palm of martyrdom, her children have grown up in the glory of their father, their faith has not been

shaken; it is a brother who has seen in cold blood the tortures of his elder, it is a young girl who relates how separated from her mother she had to fight against hunger and all the miseries of persecution. All, on this day, are in joy; the unhappy days have ceased, there is only happiness, they see, they possess the Father. Who could stop the effusion of their tears? And then they seem to defy persecution. These young spouses, today so happy, tomorrow perhaps will be separated, these children that the mother suckles with so much satisfaction, in a short time, will perhaps follow her in her flight or in prison. No matter, they seem to say, at least we have seen the Father, we have been reconciled with God, we have received him in the participation of the Holy Eucharist. Come persecution, no matter, we have found strength and life again, we will fight valiantly. Their actions, their words filled me with these thoughts and they were happy, I was happy myself. They came then to unload the heavy burden of seven or eight years, their wounds are doubtless great, even hideous, but they reveal them to the great physician of souls, they confess them, they want to repair, we will dress them and with the grace of God, we will restore them to health. In these times of administration, the fatigues and the pains are sometimes very great. They come from the length and difficulty of the roads; the multiplicity of the mountains, the savagery of their food do not tend to strengthen. However, with the grace of God, everything becomes easy. The difficulties of an unknown language, the ignorance of the Christians, their coarseness, even stupidity, are much greater pains. There are in this country a very considerable number of real idiots, instructions fall on these beings like on a piece of wood. Impossible to get any benefit from them. However, they have souls, we must consider how to feed them. The Korean, a great chatterbox and lover of rest, learns very little in the absence of the priest, he is nonchalant and yet, is not indifferent to his religion, but his limited mind makes him believe in the uselessness of religious instruction, while there are no Fathers in Korea. From there comes for many a great ignorance of Religion. She was sometimes carried to the point of baptizing a pagan on the day of her marriage with a Christian, without her knowing what it was about. She believed that the effusion of water on the head was a marriage ceremony of the Christians. She had no idea of baptism, or of similar things. From this ignorance arise serious difficulties, their marriages must be sorted out, their baptisms examined, all through dark clouds that the brightest sun penetrates with difficulty. They have a lively faith, good desires, but alone, without help, without priests, how could there not be miseries. The children are neglected, we fear compromising ourselves. Judge from there what a task, what darkness!

There are also consolations and sometimes even many. Good and fervent Christians, the generous athletes of Jesus Christ console the heart of the missionary well. And then the new converts are one of the beautiful parts of our joys. We can admire in them both the devotion and the contempt for the goods of the earth and all the fervor of a new faith. I like to scrutinize these admirable dispositions by which Providence has brought them to the faith, the goodness, the infinite mercy of God appear there in all their brilliance; I especially like to question fathers of families, their often manly and faith-filled answers gladden my heart. I have administered many baptisms and they were always days of joy. I remember one of these touching evenings. A family of six people was to receive baptism, perfectly instructed in religion, all, up to a child of 7 and a half years old, answered my questions with faith and intelligence, but when the time came to have the regenerating water flow over their heads, abundant tears testified to their happiness. Men, women, all were moved. The next day, they were admitted to the Holy Table. Judge if the missionary should be happy! Another catechumen whom the parents would like to prevent from embracing the faith, does not meet Christians without prostrating himself before them, on the way, he precedes them, and out of respect for the children of God he pushes aside the stones or branches which could hinder their progress. Now he is a noble of the country and for those who know the pride of the Korean nobility, one must admit a very lively faith, a very deep humility to explain such

conduct. Similar traits often present themselves to us. All, whatever their condition, have an extraordinary respect for the priest; a noble in the service of the Father finds himself very honored, however, he would not want to render the same services to the first of the mandarins. Despite their poverty, our Christians do not fear to always make their small offering to the priest and something that we have admired, during the persecution, they dispute the honor of possessing us, of giving us retirement, they would like to feed us for a long time at their expense, ready to borrow from the pagans at high interest the money that they do not have. Generally, they show great devotion to the missionary. The Korean very greedy for objects of piety does not hesitate to buy them at considerable prices. For a medal, a crucifix, a picture, he would give all his possessions and then he would live more poorly to compensate for his expense. All this is not pure curiosity for him, he holds much to indulgences, a crucifix with the indulgences for the Way of the Cross is his first desire. Every Sunday, each Christian makes this holy exercise. If he has some image or medal, everything is prepared for the time of prayer, he uses it to excite his devotion.

We had administered about six thousand Christians spread over two or three provinces, when suddenly a cry was heard throughout Korea. It was a cry of blood. Father André having been arrested, persecution could not fail to break out. Immediately the picture changed, our Christians, remembering the pains, the torments of the last persecution, had only tears to deplore their misfortune. So soon to lose their Father, even though not all had been visited, what a heartbreak. It was necessary to immediately hide all the objects of religion. The Raphael, the ship of imperishable memory on which we landed in this country was captured. Our Bishop lost a large part of his effects, the money of the mission became the prey of the satellites. All the Christian countries were without even the objects of first necessity, everything is hidden underground, carried on the mountains, or sent to pagan relatives. The unripe harvests were abandoned in some villages; every day they expected pillage. In several countries, during the day, a sentinel watched to announce the arrival of the satellites, at night, they slept on the mountain so as not to be surprised, or if they stayed at home, they slept in traveling clothes, their feet shod, the small package served as a bolster, holes had been prepared in the hedges, and at the first noise everyone had to flee through the woods. The capital was, as always, the most tested, many Christians were arrested and thrown into prison. Two villages were completely ransacked, money, food, harvests, everything was pillaged and became the prey of the satellites and what is horrifying, these brutal people held captive people whom they were to employ to satisfy their passions. In the rest of the provinces, few arrests took place. However, this persecution is less violent than the previous one. Formerly, apostasy did not save from death, or at least from exile and prison; this time, the apostates were immediately set free; as in the old persecution the principle was to take and kill the leaders, all our faithful servants are sought, but it is so to speak a matter of satellites, the mandarins refused to get involved in this matter; the satellites, seeing their conduct, accused several of favoring the Christians. In the prison, the interrogations were carried out without torment and without the letter from the French which irritated the king, perhaps a few heads would have been spared. We had 9 martyrs in all, the others were set free.

However, Monseigneur and I had retired to a less exposed place, waiting each day for news of our denunciation. I was enjoying in advance the good opportunity to go and visit the capital of Korea, I polished my boots and prepared my party clothes for such a beautiful day. We were in a miserable little room, equivalent to a prison. It was in the month of July at the time of the strong heat. It was impossible to stay in the apartments heated constantly by the kitchen stoves. Several times, we tried to spend the night in the bedroom, but the multiplicity of vermin never allowed us to close our eyes? We killed the bedbugs every day by the hundreds, we had to give up. We settled outside at the back of the house. A mat about

three feet wide must have received our two bodies for a month, day and night. It was placed on damp earth and during the heavy rains that abound at that time, another mat served as a screen. The food in this poor shelter was in proportion, it was feared that illness would come to visit us; we separated to look for other lodgings and after two months, we met again; during this time, Father André tried to steer his boat to avoid compromising our presence. Some suspicions aroused by surprise letters were dispelled by him; the most worthy were crowned with martyrdom.

Today, we think the alert is over, our presence is not known, perhaps suspected; however we are thinking of going back into the campaign to finish the administration of the Christians. Will we be part of it in some time? God alone knows; if we are caught, what will be our fate? Same uncertainty. If we get our hands on the rabbit and then by some miracle, I get out of these admirable places where the prisoners are, I promise you an article on the prisons in Korea, an article that will serve as a note for the system to be adopted by our legislators, and then another article on the liberal arts in Korea. For Christians, the game of stick is very popular, the Koreans acquit themselves in a remarkable manner, it is the only art for which they are liberal. Patience then and then we will describe... or not describe.

Notice to all those who are not Hercules. I am very well. I have done here in shopping, abstinence, fasting, etc... what I could not have done even in France. One does not die therefore to leave one's country and change climate, customs, etc... One is only better off for it. Mgr can hardly get used to food, but he has the special grace of living without eating. For me, I have become a little more accustomed to it: I eat rice, then rice, then rice.....

I drink wine of all the qualities that the blind would swallow more willingly than other mortals, but no matter. To tell the truth, after a Lent like I spent this year, I am almost convinced that little by little and with patience, one would manage to live without eating. In France, it would be difficult, it will be one of the wonders to note about this known country.

NOTE ON THE DIFFICULTY OF ENTERING KOREA.

Seeing the number of years that passed before being able to return to Korea after the death of the missionaries, many people may be wondering what these inconceivable difficulties are. For me, before entering, I had asked myself this question several times; today, I am admiring how we ourselves were able to enter. It took an act from the right hand of the Most High. It will not be out of place, I believe, to detail these difficulties here, but how can we give all these small details in writing? The general difficulties arise from the moral position of this people. Korea has as neighbors the Chinese and the Japanese, much more powerful than it; hence it is always on its guard and distrusts everything. The Korean is by nature very curious, he questions everything, wants to know the end of everything, and being highly suspicious, his curiosity and his instances increase at the slightest extraordinary thing. What does not usually happen among him excites endless gossip and arouses the alarm of the authorities. The latter has an inconceivable horror for foreigners and sees them even where they are not. Hence a continual vigilance. The land and sea borders are surrounded by a cordon of military posts having nothing else to do than to watch day and night for the protection of the kingdom; dogs come to help watch over the men, moreover the police officers are very subtle and cunning, there are remarkable traits of their skill in discovering everything. Let us add that to enter by land, we are sure to arouse suspicion either in China or in Korea, so much does the way of arranging hair and beard differ. The Chinese shave threequarters of them, the Koreans would be guilty of pulling out the slightest hair. But let us see the difficulties of each route: By land, there are only two, the North, where Mr. Maistre presented himself and the Pien-men road. The northern border: Every two years only, a market is held there during the first moon on a non-fixed day. It lasts two or three days near a Korean city, but the Chinese cannot enter the houses and a large number of satellites watch

day and night. It is therefore necessary to meet and change clothes in the open air, if during the days of waiting, the foreigner mixed up pell-mell with all the Chinese has not already been recognized. This is what happened to Mr. Maistre. Once entered, it would be necessary to travel a month before finding a Christian region, on a sparsely populated road, where inns are rare and devoid of apartments, on a road where the couriers have passed in different attire and the Koreans who live together as a single family recognize people in a surprising way. This happens to all our couriers. However, this route seemed to us the easiest. Today, the expedition has failed, the alarm has been given, the difficulties have tripled and we are too happy that the couriers have not been seized.

Pienmen Road. In all the details that I am going to give you, remember that all our secrets were exposed in the persecution of 1839; the authorities, the pagans, the innkeepers on the road, all know our tricks in minute detail. Every year at a certain time the Korean embassy passes on its way to Peking; it is with this embassy and under the aegis of the mandarins that the couriers must pass. Outside of there, only people from the border town can pass to trade, and only at a fixed time. But whoever the Korean is, he is visited at the door on his departure, searched from top to bottom, and strangers more than others. Often they are refused permission to leave, they must turn back. If they are allowed, they receive a detailed passport. Now at least three couriers are needed for a missionary, and once the border is crossed, on the return, five or six are essential. To wait in the city is to betray oneself, one has never seen anything like it, the Koreans would not be deceived, it is therefore necessary to obtain passports for five or six. they return with a priest, the Chinese customs must be bypassed, then fifteen leagues of desert, there is only one road, on both sides are impenetrable forests. During this journey, one must eat; if one has the misfortune to make a fire, all the travelers run to cook their rice; impossible to refuse them, the danger is great. Arrived on the banks of a large river, there are Chinese guards; A Korean boat receives the travelers and takes them to the customs on the other side of this river. There, the men and the packages are examined and searched, one must return one's passport and one examines one's identity with the personage. The least thing is suspect. One cannot try to pass through the customs, capture would be certain. It is therefore necessary to wait until night on the other side of the river and if it is frozen, attempt a crossing. But there are guardhouses at fairly close distances where surveillance is carried out day and night. There are many dogs in these houses and one must pass quietly between them, then climb the snow-covered mountains, regain some path without being seen, then put on a grand tone to finish the route. Twice this route has been tried through the mountains. The first was before the persecution; the guards shouted; they said they had lost their way, and not having any suspicions at the time, they left them alone. The second time, the dogs gave them way, and Father André who knew the route (he had passed there once on his return) fled to the mountains and disappeared. We wanted to try again this year, the persecution having broken out, it is completely impossible. And then, today we have only one Christian who can pass as already known; he excites serious suspicions, already several pagans have told him that he was doing the business of the Christians. What dangers! and if we do not succeed, what a loss, when we have no men even to accompany us.

For four months, I have been searching day and night, I have been carrying my lantern in vain as Diogenes once did, and a capable man is not to be found. Every year the transport of letters is a difficult and dangerous thing.

Then there remains the sea route. To make the direct route to China and return; this is what we have done. Here are the dangers. An agreement between China and Korea requires that any ship appearing on the coasts of the other nation be captured; the sailors are sent to the capital and return by land to their own country. Father André, with his knowledge of

Europeans and their language, was able to impress the Chinese mandarin by his audacity and succeeded, not without difficulty, in saving his boat from seizure. But without a European, the thing does not seem possible. Who, moreover, could steer this boat and reach Shanghai? No Korean is capable of it and would want to. On the way back, there are a thousand dangers. A ship that arrives from the open sea is suspect for that reason alone, Koreans never leave the coast. Korean sailors always visit each other on the boats. To avoid these visits, we pretended to be nobles. But the remedy itself is very suspect, Korean nobles never board a ship, it is reserved for the plebs and sailors, a very despised race. Also several ships have shown us serious suspicions. But the greatest danger comes from the Korean ships themselves. The slightest wave, without any storm, breaks the rudder and the slightest agitation forces the masts to be cut. To build differently is to change the customs, it is a crime of death in this country for any kind of novelty. At the beginning of the persecution, desperate at ever being able to send students, I offered the Bishop to take students to Shanghai by this route, but all things considered, we believed that this would be going to certain death and tempting Providence. Once, this audacious blow was attempted, Providence seemed to tell us in both routes that a miracle was needed to get out of it. Can we ask for it?

There remains the means of communicating at sea, with Chinese ships. Being ourselves in Shanghai, the most intrepid Christian sailor refused to take us in sight of the coasts of Korea; he only agreed to take us to the open sea, from where we would head at will towards Korea. It was therefore necessary to resort to the pagan fishermen who every year come at the 3rd moon to the coasts of this country. Father André was trying to open this way, when he was caught, our letters seized on board the Chinese ships and the route is now strictly monitored. Should we now be surprised that the Koreans, left to their own devices for seven years, have not been able to succeed in opening a road, and we ourselves, in misery, in need, do not know how to consider how to bring a colleague to us, or to send students abroad. Should we completely despair? No, but the thing is very fortunate; without the current persecution we would have tried this year; now the surveillance is too meticulous, our ruses by land and sea, everything is known; with great difficulty, Monsignor can persuade a Christian to take our letters to Pien-men.

Ah! may the faithful of Europe come to the aid of this poor mission, may your prayers rise warm and fervent to the throne of God so that he may have pity on Korea. We count on the help of Jesus, on the intercession of Mary Immaculate, refuge of sinners; but only how to implore it. I would like to be able to excite in our favor and for our poor Christians, the zeal of so many holy souls who sigh for the extension of the glory of God. A contest of prayers, a stroke of grace, and in this country, the harvest is abundant. Let the walls of circumvallation be overturned, let the Christian people be able to breathe in peace and we will count thousands of new brothers who will console the Church of Korea for its long sufferings. Interest then the holy souls for us, and the heart of Mary will open to pour out her favors on us, and the heart of Jesus will be known and glorified; what more beautiful crusade could you propose? Impiety unites and concentrates its forces, the powers of hell give themselves no rest. Soldiers of Jesus Christ, shall we remain inactive, or rather shall we not implore our divine Master by incessant prayers that he may finally have pity on these countries where the light of faith has not yet been glimpsed. Freedom as in China, for example, and what numerous conversions. But far from it, God continues to test us. This year he takes from us to crown him in his glory Father André Kim, whose loss is for the moment irreparable. I therefore remain alone with the Apostolic Vicar. Judge if we need your help. God has taken from us yet another faithful servant, Charles Hien; his glorious death leaves me without a capable servant. In any case, LONG LIVE JESUS AND MARY, confidence will not be lost, I hope, work will be followed by rest; We pray without ceasing, unite yourselves with us. A little more time and help from on high will appear. Please accept the

assurance of respect and sincere attachment with which I have the honor of being your most devoted servant.

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary of the society of Foreign Missions

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to the Procurators in Macao

From the country of Korea November 1, 1846

Who has Jesus has everything

Gentlemen and very dear Procurators,

For a year, we have been in this country of Korea, and as you will see in our letters, many things have happened. Father André had the glory of martyrdom; for us, nothing at all, except the miseries of the hidden life, almost prison. The great event in all of pagan and Christian Korea is the appearance of the French ships. Everyone comments on it and reads at will the letter from Admiral Cécile. What are the designs of France? for what reason did they act in this way? we do not know. The Korean government is astonished, if France is a great power, at the impunity of the murder of 1839. But they are even more astonished at the manner in which the admiral's claim was made. The letter was given to the first person who came along, and they do not want a reply. This is inexplicable for the ministers. Now, what will be the effects? The first was to hasten the death of Father André in prison at that time; perhaps he could have escaped death, because he was well up the ministers' sleeve. After the ships had sailed, he was executed abruptly, to the great astonishment of all. Our presence is still unknown; if we are discovered, what will happen to us? It is impossible to guess. Before the ships appeared, many Christians said that we would have been sent back to China: this party had many partisans when it came to our brothers in 1839 and their death was the work of the tyrant Tchao, now deceased and hated by all, pagans and Christians. Now the government being moderate, this chance, in case of capture, was probable. Today it is perhaps less probable because of the anger of the king, who takes the French for brave people; their hasty retreat without waiting for the answer to such a serious claim is taken by many for a boast. If next year they return, as promised, to seek the answer, they can hope for good effects, especially if they act frankly, but if they do not return, or do nothing, the mission can only suffer the damage of this appearance. Moreover, our peoples of Europe always act with too much respect and deference towards these barbarian peoples who know only force and cannot have the idea of a strong power; not using one's force, one lowers oneself in their eyes. Today Korea is undecided between fear and security. If one returns with vigor, fear will be at its height. The sequel will let you know what we must expect. The hasty retreat of the French took away all means of communication. We were in hiding places and when their presence became known to us, Mgr wrote to the admiral, but then they left and we could not get anything through. It would perhaps not be useless to know that during the martyrdom of Father Tchou in 1801, the Emperor of China complained about this murder of one of his subjects. They hastened to appease him in the Chinese way, that is to say by sending a lot of money; indeed the satisfaction seemed good, they were silent. Moreover, it is assured that if the Emperor of China told the King of Korea to put the Christians on the footing where they are today in China, the latter could not refuse; perhaps if we absolutely do not want to do anything directly which is so easy (is there a word missing?), we could be useful by speaking to the Emperor of China; Korea would very easily be put politically and religiously at least on the footing of China; the inhabitants would be very happy if this took place without war; they do not fear the help of foreigners and greatly desire all our objects which they receive in part through Pien-men. The government alone has a horror of foreigners. Enough on this article. I could write many pages of condolence on all the troubles of Mr. Maistre, but this year in persecution the thing is completely impossible. See for that

and for the students, my note on the difficulties of entry. As for the students, I think about it day and night, but no Korean wants to lead them; to get the first ones through, it took the coat of Augustin Liou, one of the bigwigs of the annual embassy; and even then, he excited a thousand gossips, a thousand questions. The thing has difficulties of which one cannot form an idea. If there were four or five of us priests, I am ready to risk ourselves at sea, but being only two, it is impossible; we therefore have no means at the moment.

If there are opportunities, please send me writing paper like the one I am writing on, twenty-four notebooks. Plus two folding knives, one with one blade, the other with 3 or 4. Two small bottles (about 1/4 or 1/2 bottle). Remember that empty, they could break. Plus one or two small bottles containing the ration of one or two cruets. If there are corks in Macao, I would like 100. Dear little Thivet has put some very bad ones in our bottles of wine; if it is the economy, it is very badly placed: they will not keep our wine, several have already had to be changed. The wine, moreover, keeps quite well, it is good. What a pity that there is not also a small barrel at our disposal.

I have written so much that it is useless to speak to you about Korea; you can read all my epistles; then please send them all by the first steamer via Suez, to the address of Mr. Jurines. He must put the port on my own account, if it is found too expensive; it is arranged thus with him. Please do not send them by the Cape.

I end by begging you not to forget our poor mission; we are in status quo, but it is certain that freedom would give a great harvest.

Your very devoted colleague

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

Frank and cordial friendships to the good MM. of St Lazare.

Mr de la Brunière Apostolic Missionary in Leaotong October 1847 Korea

Who has Jesus has everything

My very dear colleague,

If we are to believe public rumors, one might think you are descended in a direct line from the wandering Jew. You are, they say, traveling the icy globe and we await your return to the sound of the trumpet of Judgment. However, God be praised in everything, especially if until that time each day of your life is counted by a few conversions.

I received with joy your letter of 45, when you believed me to have left for Liou-Kiou sheltered by Cécile's cannons. I was sailing for Korea in a sabot-barque whose fame will perhaps have reached you, without French or Korean cannon, but certainly sheltered under the wings of our good mother Mary. All the dangers have ended up succeeding for us and today we are still alive. As for Father André Kim, he was hungrier, he immediately took the crown and even the crown of martyrs. The choice was beautiful, but unfortunately, until then no priest has replaced him, there are only two of us and we cannot even form a chapter. This poor Mr. Maistre knocks on every door, everything is locked, kept under surveillance and we do not know how to let him in. I adore God's guidance, he treated me like a child, his trials are for strong souls. Because how could I have supported the one that has weighed on this dear confrere for six years. And then his presence would be so useful to us; only two! What can we do? Every day, we run, we move out, we go and place ourselves for twenty-four hours in the middle of some hut sheltered by the mountains and there and quickly, we confess, baptize, administer everything and then we leave for the neighboring or distant region. The instruction that our poor neophytes need so much is not possible. I lack time and then the gift of languages. Our venerable confreres after three years were not included in the preaching and we cannot be either. We lack capable and educated catechists. Everything is crude, ignorant, I even doubt that such people are of the stuff from which capable people are made. But finally, by the grace of God! They are what they are and we will be too happy if we can make them good Christians and faithful servants of Jesus and Mary. We find here what you find in your surroundings, more evil than good, powerful demons to fight and little external help. In the midst of these miserable peoples, the missionary is also very poor, happy is he whose provisions are strong. How often one thinks of France, where prayer is easy, readings the same, good advice frequent, pious examples continual. What a difference! Alone, always alone, and one hardly finds the good God. However his grace will not fail us; when one has not acted by oneself, when God has arranged everything down to the smallest point, there is no regret to have. The heart can be calm. Here, our life must be all faith and each of our moments, of our acts, can be offered to God as a holocaust, it is the life of the strong; Pray God that I do not succumb to it, because I am weak. To tell you the state of the mission, we have about ten thousand Christians and last year, I mean between two administrations, we hope to find about two hundred new Christians. Our job is therefore a small earner. In the eyes of God let us both try to make great profits, and for that let us always be more and more united. As in Issy. Do you remember those charming days? About that Mr Libermann, with his society for the Negroes, is prosperous, the subjects abound and several countries are evangelized. Farewell, my dear colleague, my regards to my colleagues, my respects to Mgr Verrolles, whom I knew for half an hour. Yours in Our Lord.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Macao

Korea, October 1847

Who has Jesus has everything

Sir and very dear colleague

I received last May your letter of August 1846, plus an enormous package of other missives and also the small pious images that you sent me. Everything got through despite customs and the two extraordinary mandarins sent expressly to monitor the Christians. This measure was taken this year following the seizure of a Chinese letter from Father André in which he spoke of Pien-men. Our courier had the good fortune to learn not far from Pien-men of the rigorous measures employed at customs, he quickly returned to this city and deposited some small suspect objects there. It was a good thing for him, because this year, each package was transported to a room, opened wide and meticulously searched by the envoys: the objects would certainly have been taken. Deo gratias, our letters were able to get through. Since last year, we have been in status quo, the departure of Mr. Cécile has given rise to bad words from the mandarins, however until now no persecution, but for this year, it is too strong. Coming again then leaving without doing anything! Tell our French, admiral and company, that I blush at this name, it is booed and despised here to the last degree. Our commanders are people without honor and without word; they have fine philanthropic words and they come to these coasts without doing anything, as if to laugh at the misfortune of the Christians, and to excite persecution against them. Beautiful humanity!! This year, during the stay of the ships, the most threatening words were heard against our Christians, who, it is said, attract foreigners. If the foreigners leave again, say several mandarins, we will put to death all this race of traitors to the fatherland. This is the fruit of ridiculous apparitions, harming France and its honor, to French people residing in Korea, and to all Christians. Boast of philanthropy, your acts are barbaric, and all people without words. How many tears flowed among our poor neophytes at the departure of the ships and who could dry them while persecution is expected to be imminent. For us, God has not allowed us to communicate: a ship chartered for this purpose was abandoned by the sailors and sold without our knowledge; a second put to sea broke up, a sailor will doubtless die of his wounds and the others only escaped death providentially. The men sent with our letters were unable to go on board; even today one of them returns, he went three days with my letters on some false rumor of the return of the ships. Everything failed. By the grace of God! Pray, these gentlemen, never to reappear on our coasts, unless they are determined to act, implore them, spare us from misfortunes and spare the blood of our Christians. If, moreover, they want to return, say that near the place where Mr. Cécile anchored, in sight of an island named Weun-san, an English ship remained 3 months at anchor, the harbor is not bad there, and this place is much preferable to the distant place where the ships anchored this year; but the best would be to approach the capital by going further north. There is at the mouth of the river which passes near this city a large fertile island named Kang-hoa. By having the roads visited by longboats or small ships, perhaps a way could be found to get corvettes and frigates there. From there, the capital is reached directly, the anchorage is safe according to the Korean sailors and it must be. According to a very high-ranking pagan, if foreigners took this island or any other point, the king could no longer refuse anything. Now, all one has to do is set foot there for it to belong to whoever wants to come; all will flee in terror. We know very well the fate of the Chinese with the English, and the Koreans regard the Chinese as stronger than themselves.

That's too much, but Father Libois, save us either by delivering us, or by removing from our coasts Frenchmen unworthy of the name. All yours in Our Lord A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

To the Ursuline nuns in Roye

Korea September 1848

Who has Jesus has everything

My very dear Sisters in Our Lord

You will not attribute to indifference the silence that I have maintained for a long time; it has not been the silence of the heart, but circumstances do not allow me to take up the pen every day. The union of prayers that I promised when I left has been faithfully kept on my part, I dare hope that it has also been in the small community of Roye.

I do not know where your affairs are at the moment, the details that I have received on your position and the trials that the good Lord is sending you have deeply afflicted me. I have prayed a lot so that he will finally dispel these clouds and let us glimpse more peaceful times.

But whatever happens, the greatest evil would be for boredom and despair to enter your soul even a little. If there are crosses, should we not bear them? If there are pains, sent by the hand of God, would we dare not accept them? Would it be to seek comfort and wellbeing that we entered religion, or rather have we not placed ourselves from that moment in the hands of God so that he may turn us and return us at his good pleasure? And besides, my dear Sisters, what community has grown without trials as also what soul has sanctified itself without tribulations? These are the thoughts of faith, which you have not forgotten, I know, but the keen interest that I have for you urges me to repeat them here to plant them deeply in your hearts and that they may be ready to bear everything for the glory of God. We must always move forward, whatever the obstacles, and to look back when there is no order from superiors is to throw ourselves off the path traced by Providence, and consequently, to at least evade privileged graces. It is not up to me to direct you, but in any case these principles are true and to put them into practice is the only way to aim for the perfection that we all seek. Courage then, my dear Sisters, and when these lines reach you, if the storm has not passed, you will steel your souls against these trials. You will be as unimpressable as the diamond and thereby your hearts will become as dear to God as this stone is precious. What can I tell you about these countries? Other letters may perhaps give you details; let it suffice for you to know that trials are not lacking, the cross is everywhere and is not planted without storms. God does not allow other collaborators to come to us, I am alone with Monseigneur, and then the iron yoke is far from being lightened. God has not allowed the hand of men to help us and has caused all the projects that were intended to be useful to us to fail; we therefore remain alone in the hands of God without human help. our Christians increase little, most of the pagans are frightened by the symptoms of storms seen on all sides; the hope that had risen with the arrival of the French has turned into black despair; our Christians too have not yet been able to dry their tears. God doubtless wants to do things alone, or perhaps the time of martyrs has not yet passed. The land fertilized by so much Christian blood is not yet purified of all the filth and abominations that still cover this unfortunate country every day, and a king, young, frivolous, debauched, infatuated with his title, seems to be reserved to still satisfy divine vengeance. In any case, pray, pray a lot for all of us; that we may in peace teach and practice the laws of God, in war not fail in our feelings and still honor the name of the Lord. May all our Christians receive the spirit of strength and know, if God does not spare us these unhappy days, to confess the faith that they have embraced.

I leave you, my dear Sisters or rather, I join you more than ever in the Heart of Mary, each one will bring his sorrows,

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois.

Korea September 1848

Who has Jesus has everything

My very dear colleague

Long live the Koreans, when it comes to doing things stupidly. Last year, after the departure of the French, having again sent couriers on false rumors, they went near the place of the shipwreck and reported to me that the French had left with their ships and their baggage and that absolutely nothing remained. I therefore believed that the ships that had been repaired had not remained and I was later surprised to learn that ships and effects, everything had remained. That is indeed the Korean, take the opposite of his words and you will have the truth. That is why, this year again, it has been said a hundred times that the ships had returned. I sent to the very place and we saw all the shipwrecked effects that are carefully preserved. We have not heard of a letter to the king, it is only said that a box addressed to the king or to the minister has been sent back and is now with the objects left. The foreigners have been expected this year and the gossip has not ceased. Some threaten and promise to take revenge on the Christians when the French are no longer in sight, others say that the French are very foolish and act like children; for if they want freedom of religion in this kingdom, why not speak frankly and ask for it loudly, they are strong enough to obtain it; they must go there openly; and if they do not ask for it what foolish grimaces do they come to make on our coasts? This is the language of all and the conduct of France is despised. God knows if from all these words we will reap persecution or tranquility; but our king is a very bad subject who promises nothing good to his people and is cordially hated by all. It has even been said that a war on the part of the French would be good in order to be rid of such a bad prince. Finally, enough, this year all our expenses and preparations have been for the King of Prussia; I expect that it is over, that the ships will never reappear and perhaps we will be more peaceful. It is therefore useless to describe a path sounded by a Christian sailor and which could lead foreign ships not far from the capital, a little lower than the mouth of the river. In short, on this, complete silence. France has nothing to do for us despite Guizot's fine words. God alone will help us, or if he prefers, will continue to test us. Certainly, it is not a small test that he puts us through without being able to receive any help, any colleague; it would however be very important if Mr Maistre and Thomas came to us, the task is all mapped out, all ready, we expect them from day to day. Let us adore the designs of God and be patient, we are still less tested than those who strike on all sides and cannot enter.

The rumor is going around here that the English are waging war on Japan; I dare not believe it, and then we have brought back from Peking notes that are very unfavorable to foreigners. They are represented as brigands and act as they please, strike everywhere and abuse their force. The French, despite their pusillanimous conduct and their policy of bowing, are put on the same line as the English, without exception. A small note relating to religion, seemed to say that it was still prohibited and provided for by the authority, far from speaking of its emancipation. This is the policy of the Courts.

As for our position, see my letters, no need to repeat; please give us some news, we are more dry than the Trappists. The last joint letter that you announced to us was sent has not even arrived with the letters. Pray well for us, that God casts a merciful glance upon this country, believe not to be forgotten by me before God. I am in continual union with you.

All yours in Our Lord A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Thivet, Procurator in Hong Kong

Korea, November 4, 1849

Dear Sir and Little Procurator

I know very well that you wish to receive news from us, and I would like to be able to give you more often, but alas, our fatal destiny rejects any attempt whose aim is to make communications easier.

Moreover, by some fatality, last year, no letter from Macao or from the House of Paris reached us. Could little Thivet have not even written a word, or would this word have been lost? Only an autographed postscript relating to the French Republic has reached us. That is all... What to do? What to think? What to conclude? What to hope for? This time, will we be happier? God alone knows.

To know our position, see my unsealed epistles, you will see nothing there, because there is nothing. We are here, alone, able to do little, getting by, and not knowing the future, even as well as Mathieu Lensberg.

I have thought and reflected in vain, nothing curious, nothing to say. The death of the king that you will know elsewhere will perhaps give you hope for improvement for us; for me I see nothing better, the future will decide.

You will be kind enough, my dear little procurator, to have altar canons prepared for me, folding and covered not in paper but in calfskin or other, as well packaged as you can, all very solid and to be used until 1900.

If by the occasion that Mgr indicates, there was room, you would send me a hundred piastres, but deep down, I would prefer objects. Now, in our position, what objects to receive? Send me please, those that would be at the procurator, especially the religious objects if you had received some for me. Farewell, I dream; read my other letters for more details. Yours in Our Lord

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois Procurator in Hong Kong

Korea October 1850

Sir and dear colleague

I received your letters of 48 and 49 in January of this year, I see that dear little Thivet has left you, but what was my surprise and my sorrow when Father Thomas told me that he had perished miserably in Pinang. I hardly expected this sad news. Everything dies and everything disappears. And this winter, I almost went to join him. I escaped the illness by I don't know what protection from God. It was in January and although the illness has passed, I am far from being recovered. I have lost all my strength and almost my faculties. I don't know if I will spend many days in this country. I really should go and see you in your beautiful palace to comfort myself, but we are too locked up and caged to give me this freedom. I am waiting here for God's order without knowing if I will receive any more news from you before the great journey of eternity. Pray to God that everything happens for the salvation of my soul, because that is the important thing, Father Libois, and I fear that it will not succeed.

As soon as I learned of your mother's death, I, by offering the Holy Sacrifice, fulfilled the duties of a good friend, so you see that everything is not in words only.

Nothing great to tell you, we are spending in peace these days, not knowing what God has in store for us for the future. I fear that an English newspaper, the Repositori I believe, will get involved in talking about our mission and will make the Chinese aware of what is going on. If our Koreans learned the details of our Christianity through Peking, it would be a nasty story. If need be, ask him to be so kind as to say nothing, that would be best. And then I admire your policy. We respond very graciously to all our French authorities, we praise them with pleasure; we want to make Peking speak in favor of our Christians, but the Chinese, who are smarter, tell the Koreans all the bad things they can about the English and the French, whom they put on the same footing, except that they add that they are a little to be feared for their strength; so I urge you to continue, but above all to ensure that everything is not a lie and deception. The Chinese trust the Koreans to tell them more or less their thoughts on the Europeans.

If you have not been able to send me the effects to my address by sea and by the entry of the missionaries that Mgr expects in the spring of 1851, I ask you to send them to the north in one or two small and light boxes; perhaps a new stratagem will be able to make me receive them. If there were a lot, you could send only half of them in case there were favorable opportunities elsewhere. You will judge for yourself. For money, I have no use for it. Last year I told you that you could send me a hundred piastres. If they have been sent, I ask for nothing more. I will only take care of the students, not having the strength to do the administration. I would like to be able to send some abroad to some place. Mgr will, I believe, arrange the thing this time. It will be a good deal.

No longer hoping much to be part of mortals, I ask more than ever for the help of your prayers; do not forget our needs.

All yours in Our Lord

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

As you will see from my letter to Mr. Barran, I ask for a few small objects, by sending a few at a time by Pien-men, there is hope of getting them through: What I say for

the future, because if the objects now at the procurate do not get through by sea in the spring they must be sent as indicated above and we will try.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Hong Kong

1849

Received on April 18, 1850

My Reverend Father Libois

What is happening to you? and until how long will you keep silent, buried in the big green hood surmounted by three generations? Do you know that not a word from your hands has reached Korea this year, we are fasting; not a word from Paris either, what a Lent!!!!!!!!

What are the plans of Providence: this time again our sea couriers do not meet the missionaries, our boat returns empty to the great despair of all!!! What to do? and what means to take again?

Monsignor indicates another expedition to you; if there is a way, send me a little of what is addressed to me to the procurator and then, most bravado Father Libois, pray well for us; our business is going slowly, it must be believed that you do not pray well, we others, we are a burden.

I do not tell you anything about our business, see the letters. I am fed up. Goodbye. I always think of you before God and am with the usual friendship your very devoted colleague.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois

Korea, November 1851

Sir and dear colleague

It seems that despite your good looks, your plumpness and the greatcoat that covers everything, you also have some of the human miseries and are not entirely unassailable; take care of yourself, Father Libois, do not follow my example, there is nothing to gain, neither for the body nor for the soul; it is better to take care of yourself than to be reduced to vegetating as I am doing now, without knowing when the end will come either of the illness or of life, to be almost useless, no longer good for anything while waiting for God to declare whether I should ever see days of health again. At his will! now therefore, I hardly do any more administration, I have been confined to a so-called college, where 1° the house, 2° a teacher 3° students are lacking. That is to tell you that one does not do as one pleases in this country.

We must crowd into a mountain hut and try to gather a few children, difficult to find, more difficult to keep, and then we must supervise and instruct what there is, being half the time lying on the pallet, or unable to do anything. From there, little progress among them, and perhaps more frivolity and inconstancy in their dispositions.

I earnestly desire that His Highness take a decision to send abroad some young people either one way or another, but on the one hand the difficulty of the roads, on the other the hope of training them more usefully in this country has prevented until now this sending from taking place; and every day, I tremble lest the slightest event come to trouble everything without having even a few pupils in reserve. This is, I confess, one of my greatest worries; and for this there is no other remedy than to pray to God and to entrust everything to Him. Every year too we are disappointed in the hope of receiving some confreres; this spring again our people have been waiting in vain at the designated place. What then are God's designs? I still often speak of trying to send a boat to Shanghai; we would have priests, effects, we could send students, assuming that everything succeeds; but until then, no decision has yet been made on this subject, and I do not know if it will ever be made. God closing all roads to us and not allowing other enterprises to succeed perhaps wants to put our faith to the test. For my part, I strongly desire this decision, extreme it is true, but it seems made necessary by the uselessness of so many efforts on this side and others.

What more can I tell you, except that Monsignor and Father Thomas do all the work; I rarely leave my hole, God blesses the work and each year, there is a small harvest; we count this time 364 adult baptisms; it is already better than nothing, but when we see so many souls being lost through ignorance or fear, should we not groan and ask God for better and freer days? He alone knows at what time these days are reserved for us, humanly speaking nothing to hope for; the dispositions of the government always seem the same and many enemies still exist; it remains to be seen whether there will be some circumstance which excites their ill will and puts them in a position to pursue us. In any case, we have against all hope completed the administration of the Christians six times and if we must now disappear, there will be fewer regrets. Pray a lot for us. You speak of being useful to us through Chinese policy; believe me that it is too deceitful to do such a meritorious act, and that of this country would in any case be deceitful enough itself to play the Emperor and make him believe that nothing exists of what he said. Such are our rulers, so I hope for nothing from that side; however, far be it from me to dissuade you from any step whatsoever. But do not take their word for it. If the Americans wanted to open some highway, it would be more beautiful, easier. But let God

arrange everything. In the meantime, Father Libois, think of us, and if there are opportunities, send us something. If everything cannot pass, you could set aside the objects that can pass in the eyes of the pagans, and send them separately by Pien-men. These objects are those that you can imagine, for example letter paper, objects of curiosity requested last year, canvases for the altar service, perhaps braid for ornaments, etc., etc. You can almost guess what can pass, trade items coming from Peking, those can pass ostentatiously, the pagans bring them every year; see and arrange everything for the best. And then, please send another Latin grammar, something by Cicero like his letters or similar things, easy, Epitome Historiae Sacrae, Christian Doctrine by Lhomond or other esteemed authors, the Explanation of the Psalms, 2 volumes bound in one, in Latin, which I left when I left Macao; a small solid music box with several tunes, recipes for some liqueurs and especially for vinegar syrup, an ordinary cookbook. If there was a good opportunity, the books in Chinese published since our entry either by you or elsewhere, all to be received after my death no doubt, but finally by the grace of God.

Farewell, good Father Libois, pray for a wretch who needs it so much but do not forget you.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

It is said that the Documenta rationis of Mgr Taberd were printed in Chinese characters in Tonkin or in Cochinchina. If this were true, I would like you to try to get me a copy; it would be good here. There is also a work entitled Seng Kiao xe i, in twelve volumes. In this kingdom it has never been possible to have more than one volume. However, the whole thing must exist in China, would you have it? or could you get it for me?

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Barran Superior of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris

Korea, October 18, 1852 *

Sir and respectable colleague,

Should we first congratulate you or congratulate ourselves on your appointment as Superior of our central house? For a long time we had expected the loss of the Venerable Mr. Langlois, whom his age and infirmities could not hope to keep for long. I prayed as best I could to try to be useful to him, if he ever needed it, which is doubtful, his whole life, all his works are a recommendation to God quite different from the help of his colleagues. After having deplored this loss as all the members of the Society will have done without exception, it was for me, I confess, a great satisfaction to learn of the choice that had been made of you to replace him; These new functions, moreover, will doubtless have nothing incompatible with those that you were willing to fulfill more specifically for our mission; you will be able, I hope, to continue and this will be an opportunity for me to provide some more frequent reports, which I am very pleased about.

I am undertaking to give you a brief account of a year that has passed rather peacefully. Around the month of November, I left His Highness, everyone's duties were more or less the same as in the past. The Bishop had to devote himself to the administration with Father Thomas and your servant had as his post, as in the previous year, a sort of boarding school or college, where rest was easier for me and time was used in a not useless manner.

Things went off without anything extraordinary, but a first accident occurred: the couriers sent for the dispatches having encountered unexpected difficulties, could not cross the barrier until a little late, the Chinese Christians unfortunately hardly waited and the exchange of letters could not take place. We had one more sacrifice to offer to God. Our regrets would have ended there, but a letter from Mr. Maistre indicating a meeting for the first moon had not been received; this colleague therefore came unexpectedly and after vain waits, was able to let us know that he was on the coast. Immediately the means to receive him were prepared and even His Highness had consented to two students being sent; they left, I thank God for such a great favor; but Mr. Maistre's pilot not having wanted to wait any longer, the journey was useless; he had already moved away and our young people returned after a month of vain searches.

During this time, the Bishop tired from several years of administration which is overwhelming in this country, had a first attack of I don't know what violent illness. In half a day he was believed to be at the last moment. Immediately they called Father Thomas who was closer than me; On his arrival, things were better, he soon separated from His Highness; but a few days later, his illness resumed in a very frightening manner. I had to go ex abrupto to the capital where I administered the last sacraments to His Highness, expecting every day to receive his last breath. It was in this position that, on rumors of an appointment given by Mr. Maistre on the 4th moon, I had to send a new expedition to try to receive this colleague if he showed up; two months of waiting and searching were useless, the expedition returned, we were left with the expenses. However, the illness of the Bishop, after ten or fifteen days left some hope; there was a real improvement and on the day of Corpus Christi, His Highness, assisted by me, was able to celebrate Holy Mass. That very day, I left the house to administer to some Christians in the city. I had hardly begun the confessions when a person was sent to me, the illness had resumed with all its gravity. What is this illness? It consists of a kind of deposit below the stomach and the region of the heart. This deposit is very large and very

hard, it seems to be the cause of dreadful and continual vomiting which makes it impossible to take absolutely anything and at times the exhaustion is such that nothing allows one to hope. We have called in the Christian doctors whose reputation is great throughout the kingdom, and have also consulted the pagans; no remedy has been able to have any real effect; all the remedies have not changed the state of the disease, which has alternatives as to vomiting, but whose cause is still there. After two months and more of staying near His Highness, a few moments of tranquility allowed me to return to visit my students. In my absence, it was as before, one day better, one day worse, when after about six weeks, I received an accelerated courier: His Highness had had a violent attack; nothing gave me hope of finding him alive; I ran, things were a little less bad. This lasted a few days and then similar relapses.

It was around this time that Mr. Maistre introduced himself, as he himself might have told you. This news in the midst of such a sad, painful situation, was, as you can imagine, a great consolation to me; could it have happened more appropriately? Immediately he was sent to be fetched from 40 or 50 leagues away where he was and after fifteen days, he was reunited with His Highness and me. A few days passed and the illness not having its crises for the moment, we separated again. Mr Maistre is going to study for a while to soon do the administration of the Christians and I have again returned to our children to devote some care to them, but how can I be at peace! I cannot believe that His Highness is recovering from this illness, the body is becoming weaker and weaker, the stomach cannot keep any food, and no remedy has any effect. All the doctors say the thing is almost incurable; it can drag on for a long time, there is no hope of seeing it stop. The Bishop is almost always lying on his bed, cannot do any work, read very little in good times. Writing is not possible, the head and presence of mind, except in moments of violent crisis, are almost in their natural state... What can we do, if not throw ourselves into the bosom of God's mercy and wait. On the arrival of Mr. Maistre, we made a novena to the Immaculate Conception; Mary does not seem to have answered our prayers. What else can we do?

I have admired the dispositions of Providence. Since the month of March, I have had to travel quite long distances several times, I have had to experience violent emotions, my stay near the Bishop was not without fatigue, and I also had to administer in his place some of the Christians during the great heat. I had found, it seems to me, strength that I did not believe I had, but all this having been crowned by a dysentery that kept me for twenty to twenty-five days, I found myself at the moment in a great weakness of which you have no idea. The pen does not flow, even my ideas are as if numb, however, not having any illness, I think that rest will give me sufficient strength to fulfill the various functions that His Highness entrusts to me for this year.

Should I, in passing, give you an idea of the administration of the capital? It is a kind entirely apart. Most of the Christians are widows from all classes of society (sometimes from the houses as servants, etc). Now as in all cities of this kind the houses are cramped, the rooms small, the Christians who want to participate in the sacraments come during the day and often, at night, pile up (that's the word) on top of each other to be able to fit into these small apartments; impossible to breathe, and this summer, in great heat, I don't know how they could live and me too. Others are wives who practice without the knowledge of the whole family, and slip away at certain times propitious to household affairs to go to me. Many seek for months on end the means to slip away in this way.

Further on, come people whose own family knows the religion, but here again, what hassles, what difficulties! A good number come at night and return before daybreak. I have seen some leaving their house at night, while the husband is in the neighboring apartment. If he wakes up, if he feels like coming to the apartment, what will become of us? Trusting in the mercy of God, they come to receive the sacraments in the shadows and yet, the Guardian

Angel spreads a soporific balm on the husband, the children, the servants; nothing is known. Others suffer domestic persecution and do not give up.

Would to God that all were like this, but there are many; others who are not Christians, are involved in superstitions, would like to practice, do not have the means and at least come to greet us for their consolation. Oh! how many touching things there are in the midst of these painful positions and how sometimes the heart of the missionary is well rewarded for his vigils, his works! If it were given to me to tell you everything, if I could only tell you some part of it! How good God is, how merciful he is, how just and profound his ways are. I saw this year a good old woman baptized in illness in her childhood, something she was absolutely ignorant of. When she reached the age of 35, an uncle on his deathbed announced her baptism and some truths of religion, he left her two or three prayers in Chinese and recommended that she be instructed and practice well. She received the faith, learned prayers that she did not understand and recited them several times a day. She wanted to learn more, but how could she meet Christians? For about thirty years she continued in this way without any success. One day the family of a Christian who had been proscribed in 1846 came to settle in the village. Everyone said to each other: They are Christians, they are relatives of such an exiled person for religious reasons. The good old woman heard the gossip and leapt for joy, she went to find them in secret, told her story and soon after she was at my feet at the tribunal of penance. What a miracle of mercy! The same day, a Christian woman baptized by our former confreres presented herself; persecution had made her lose sight of Christians for sixteen years; she nevertheless practiced and sought to find Christians, and God had just granted her this grace; she received the sacraments with the greatest fervor. Some time later came another old woman, who knowing of our presence was prevented from going out by her parents. This year only she came to me. Then another young person who hearing about religion from her mother, a new Christian, also wants to embrace it. She learns the doctrine without her husband knowing. One day, he comes across a catechism in his house and burns it. Soon after, seeing that his wife continues, he beats her violently, she runs away. The Christians tell her that one should not leave her husband like this, but suffer for God. She returns to her husband and continues to practice; he, furious, beats her with great blows of a stick. She takes everything calmly and says to him: hit me at will, I am a Christian and always will be. You can kill me today, I do not fear it; hit, but to leave my religion, I cannot. Desperate to make her change, he leaves her alone. After such scenes, she learned enough and came to ask me for baptism. You can imagine if I had to grant it to her with joy! How sweet it is to baptize people who have been so well tested! Forgive me, Sir, I cannot write at length as I would like. You always reproach me for not telling you enough, but what do you want? You want details about the country, about natural history, but one must not talk too much when arriving, one exposes oneself to too many errors; this is why I am very angry that my letters were communicated to Mr. Veuillot. I had written on arriving and many things are not exact. I had asked that they not be published. I regret that my pen is used to confirm errors. Please wait until things are done more maturely. If you want details about natural history, please help me: I have little knowledge and often ideas are obscured. If you have a way of getting me, for example, a complete Buffon with colored engravings, or any other work of this kind, compact edition, it could help me if necessary and allow me to give some details. Besides, the Bishop and I are far from rejecting what you want, but first we need experience, then the time and the means to deal with this.

Do you want another word on our political position? The young king, released from prison to sit on the throne, has been administering by himself for quite a long time. I mean that he was emancipated and received by right the reins of government. But unfortunately, his incapacity and his ineptitude can hardly leave any doubt. A few great, very powerful, reign in fact. Now the spirit of the men who dominate today is very bad, they dream only of money.

The places are sold publicly, it is like a market: prices are discussed, any combination that can bring benefit is adopted immediately, whatever the harm that the people have to suffer from it. Not an idea of justice, not a thought for the people and their wellbeing. It is claimed that things have never been brought to this point and that it is the sign of the fall of the current dynasty. The sibyl of Korea also announces as imminent the ruin of this family and names the family name of the one who will have to replace it. The people no longer have any love, no attachment for their princes, they see only brigands, leeches; they desire change in order to be less molested. In such circumstances, the agitation of minds is inevitable. Everyone expects great events. Some hope in a party of rebels which broke out in a northern province towards the end of last year; this beginning of civil war was stifled, it is said; However, no leader could be taken, nor could the lair and stores that must exist be discovered, and whose existence seems even proven by several facts. About a month ago in a province of the East, there were also rumors and shadows of a revolt not yet appeared; whether or not they are in agreement with the people of the north, it is difficult to say, but everything seems to indicate that some event will break out; the people, far from fearing it, desire it; they even say it quite loudly, what formerly no one would have dared to do with impunity. Others hope in foreigners. Every time a ship comes, they see it leave with difficulty, hoping that the foreigners would do something to improve the position. I do not know if the number is large, I even doubt it, I only say this on the basis of stories that I have been assured of. We must not count on it too much. Moreover, the people now knowing that the Christian religion is good, can well in their despair have some idea of hope in the foreigner who by a good religion would regenerate the kingdom. A certain number of pagans say to the Christians: if there are troubles, we know that you have secrets and that you fear nothing, do not save yourselves alone, save us also. The people do not fear religion, which they know only very vaguely. From all this it seems that we could well have a rather uneasy year and that the government could well have bad times.

I have not told you that we have suffered a famine this year from which the people have suffered greatly. Considering the harvest, this famine would not have been very severe, but the spirit of agitation and trouble which circulates having destroyed all credit, the poor could obtain nothing and trade was very difficult. I have seen rice at four times what it was in the best years, and it has almost always remained at three times the usual years. This year's harvest is looking better, however, the price of grain does not seem likely to fall back entirely to its usual rate.

I have only spoken to you about this country, and have not even told you that 4 letters from you have reached me through Mr. Maistre, including the one from March 52. I thank you for the care you take for my little affairs, this time again, nothing has arrived, but Mr. Maistre gives us great hope for next year.

It is said that there is talk of dividing the province of Kiang-nan into two vicariates. Oh, Sir, if you could obtain something there for our Society! This is a point that has become necessary for Leao-tong and for us. It is said that these gentlemen of Leao-tong are suffering greatly from losses and delays in the absence of a colleague in Shanghai or nearby, and we, who will soon have little contact except directly with Kiang-nan, what harm will we not suffer? Everything is in place for that; relations by sea will finally have the upper hand, that is indubitable. Make efforts proportionate to the gravity of the thing; such an opportunity will not arise again, do not miss it. What regrets would you have later! Besides, these are not my ideas alone. Mgr Férréol often spoke of it, and if he were healthy, he would have written to you about it at length. Private consultation. Do you think that in the position we are in, if the assistance of any Christian is judged necessary, either for the service of the priests, or for long and dangerous journeys, we can make it an obligation for this Christian under penalty of refusal of the sacraments, when he refuses them for more or less strong reasons?

In a mission of the Society where there is no special Regulation, if the apostolic vicar wants to make a common purse and not distribute the viaticums, either as in Sutchuen, or as in Tonkin or otherwise, are the missionaries obliged to accept this regulation? Would a majority of the missionaries' votes be required for this or would unanimity be required?

You would please me by answering these two small questions.

I end by asking you to accept the assurance of the deep respect and devotion with which I have the honor to be, Sir and respected colleague, your most devoted servant and colleague.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Hong Kong

October 20, 1852 Korea

Dear Sir and dear colleague,

You already know that last year our letters could not be exchanged at the border, the Chinese Christian, too eager to withdraw, did not wait for our mail, which some difficulties in crossing the barrier had delayed by a day or two. Your letter therefore only reached me in September by Mr. Maistre, because this dear colleague was finally able to reach us thanks to the good old native who accompanied him. This time again, the effects could not enter. I do not know what reason prevented the Chinese boat from waiting a few days: when ours went to the place, everything had already disappeared and like all the other times, we got off with our expense. Previously, we had already sent, to introduce Mr. Maistre, first on the 2nd moon, then on the 4th where he had supposedly arranged to meet; but finally since he has entered, we must no longer think about this series of terrible expenses which have been occasioned by his travels and his useless attempts. God be praised! He arrived very opportunely, all the more so since for six months, we have been under the weight of a very heavy and very painful cross. His Highness since about the month of March has been suffering from an illness of which you can see the details in my letter to Mr. Barran, and I do not retain the hope of seeing him recover. Almost always lying on the bed, he can do nothing, it is a series of very cruel sufferings and we are reduced to waiting for God to declare his will. I fear that the flock will soon find itself without a first pastor and this is not a small worry. In a letter that I wrote under his dictation, he gives you the arrangements to be made for the year and I have nothing to add. Mr. Maistre will also give you the details of his entry....

I therefore have nothing very important to communicate to you. However, let me invite you to make every effort to obtain a small piece of land in Shanghai for our Society. Since it is a question of dividing the vicariate, the moment could not be more opportune and without it our affairs will hardly ever be able to be arranged easily. We seem to be approaching the moment when our relations will have to take place directly through Shanghai and if we do not have a colleague there, what losses, what delays! The matter seems of the highest importance. It is said that Bishop Forcade played a trick on the Society and changed his mind. God grant that it was a holy inspiration, but that seems doubtful. We are waiting for what will be decided on the mission in Japan, which moreover seems to have remained closed for a long time. And our French, what are they doing? Mr. Maistre speaks highly of them; let us wait for God to manifest his will and yet let us pray. The little news that I have to give you is in my letter to Mr. Barran, I can only write a few letters this year, excuse me; I am exhausted as much by the fatigue that His Highness' illness has caused me, as by the consequences of the dysentery. However, with a little rest, I think I will be well this winter. I also had to write all of the Bishop's letters. I am very tired of them. I learned with great difficulty of the trouble caused to Mr. Dupond by a letter from me. I do not remember the expressions of this letter, but in any case I thought that anyone seeing this letter would have the good sense to take jokes as such and not to make any more of them; I hope that something similar will not happen again on my occasion. It is a matter that has been very sensitive to me.

I end by reiterating to you the assurance of all the devotion of your affectionate colleague.

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

I forgot to tell you that in the 2nd moon, the Bishop had agreed to send two students, who spent two months at sea for the King of Prussia. Next year, we will make efforts to send some. I very much regret that they are going to Pinang. What can we do there? By the way, is there a Chinese teacher in Pinang?

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Hong Kong

Capital of Korea end of February 1853

Sir and dear colleague

If you have received our letters of 1852, you will have seen that His Grace had been confined to bed for many months by an illness from which no cure was expected. Our fears were unfortunately only too well confirmed. After several more months of painful suffering and unreassuring alternatives, on February 3 of this year, our bishop gave up his soul to God. At the time when I was leaving His Grace a little before All Saints' Day, he received Extreme Unction from the hands of Mr. Maistre. Then he sent us to the provinces for the administration. I was about 20 leagues away. Around December 12, learning that the illness was getting worse, I informed him of my intention to go up to him; He answered me with reassuring words but which did not reassure me; at the same time, he indicated to me a line of administration to follow by means of which, after about two months, I should be at the capital. I answered immediately that this route would take me too far; His Grandeur told me to act according to his orders. Four letters that I sent to change this determination produced no effect. His Grandeur thought he could wait several more months; however, on receiving the 4th reply, learning from those who surrounded him that the illness was making rapid progress, I believed I could foresee contravening His Grandeur's intentions and gave orders for the couriers necessary for my journey to assemble. We did indeed go up, but before my arrival, His Grandeur was already no more. Judge of my pain, of my desolation; not only is Korea losing its apostolic vicar, I am losing a superior in whom I had confidence, who had been willing to grant me his and above all had been willing to honor me with an intimate and complete friendship.

During the seven or eight years that I was with Bishop Férréol, all of His Highness's relationships were those of a friend; he knew how to forgive me what escaped me, never did the shadow of disunion appear; what a void for me in particular. For me, His Highness does not seem to be able to be replaced. Let us adore the will of God which allows total abandonment; may I bear it well. His Highness, despite strong entreaties on my part, did not consider it appropriate to appoint a coadjutor. We have therefore fallen into the provisional. Mr. Maistre having had letters from the Grand Vicar for ten years has become by right administrator of the mission. This provisional state will necessarily last a long time. Please, however, make every effort to ensure that the Court of Rome immediately provides for the replacement of Bishop Ferréol. The Christians are urgently requesting this, and I have already received letters from them to pray the Sovereign Pontiff to appoint without delay a successor to the deceased Apostolic Vicar; you can imagine how much the prosperity of the mission is concerned; a provisional administration never has the strength and the happy effects of that which comes from the Apostolic Vicar. Although until the last moment I was alone in communication with His Highness and the confidant of all his dispositions, I do not know of any which should be transmitted to you. His Highness, about ten days before his death, said to those around him that he had many things to communicate when the time of my arrival came. There were, it is thought, some testamentary dispositions. How can we know? I wrote letters five months ago under the dictation of His Highness to his family. No testamentary disposition was mentioned there; It was only said not to think of collecting anything that had to do with the Bishop. His Highness wanted as many masses as possible; remember that the

3,000 francs income placed on the Naples funds, I believe, must, according to his intentions, be immediately sold and converted into masses for the repose of his soul. His Highness has recommended this to me many times. By communicating the news of his death to all the missions as quickly as possible, we will still obtain very valuable help. From here, I cannot do it at all. Please take this care immediately. In the midst of such great sorrow, it was very sweet for me to render to His Highness the last duties of the Burial myself. I did it as suitably as possible in the position we are in; the body will however not buried until after the thaw. I am trying to send this letter by the Chinese boats on one of which Mr. Maistre came last year at the 2nd moon; this route will become the safest and easiest, without a doubt. Please do not neglect it; Christian boats also come there; If next year there is something to send me, load it into some Christian boat with some signals. I have great hope of receiving it. As for the effects of the mission, not having to deal with them, I say nothing. I am convinced that once opened and the places known, the sending of men and objects from Korea to China or from China to Korea will no longer be difficult; let us wait, but always try. M. Maistre, who was held by fever for six weeks on his arrival here, is rid of it and is handling the administration. Nothing new.

Accept the assurance etc...

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

The first European who sees this letter is requested to give his salary to the bearer and to pass the letter on to Mr. Libois, Procurator of Foreign Missions, Hong Kong, near Canton, China.

P.S. I cannot receive now the books that I left in Macao, but if new ones or other objects arrive, I ask you to send them to me by the usual route or by the one that the Bishop indicated. Perhaps they will no longer arrive. But anyway, we must try to get. A.D.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois.

June 3, 1853 Province of Kieng-kei

Sir and dear colleague

I am sending you a short greeting in three lines. There is a thousand to bet against one that this letter will not reach you, but finally, who knows? I ask you to pass on a letter from February that I am leaving as it is; it will give you, if it arrives, some details on our very painful loss, while waiting for a short article that I intend to write on His Highness, for the autumn mailing.

Ah! good Father Libois, how God tests me! I cannot get used to the separation from Mgr; for five months, I have regretted it more and more; I now find myself alone, without support; what a void! Will it ever be filled? and from there what changes! Ah! God protect us! There was an opportunity for Peking at the 3rd moon; I had thought of taking advantage of this to inform of the death of His Highness in China and in Europe; there was hope of success. Mr. Maistre, doubtless relying on the arrival of French ships or for other reasons, did not think it appropriate to try this route. When will we be able to inform you of this loss, and then the main thing is to obtain masses very quickly; here, we are only three priests who have more or less numerous obligations; it is very painful; if you receive this letter, be diligent, Father Libois, so that all the members of the Society come to the aid of the soul of the Bishop.

As for me, I am pretty much as I am. The administration, the illness and the death of the Bishop have harmed me greatly; however, a consistent treatment gives hope of removing the root of the illness and allowing me a few more years of work, God willing. His Highness once urged me, if there was an opportunity, to go and spend a few months under the shade of your greatcoat so that I could then work more freely and longer for the salvation of the Koreans. Really, if the opportunity were good, I could well make the proposal to Mr. Maistre; it remains to be seen what he would think of it! Not everyone is thinking the same under the cap of Heaven. Time will tell. Whatever happens, think of me more than ever in your prayers and holy sacrifices. If God wants me to work a long time longer in the vineyard that he has entrusted to me, he will know how to find the means without our feeble thoughts having anything to do with it, and humanly speaking, it does not seem impossible, especially if you send me some essence of bread and leg of lamb. I say nothing about the mission, this is a lost note with no hope of crossing the sea. We are, moreover, quite peaceful and our little works have had almost the same success as in previous years. If you are asked for workers and they can reach us, that will be very important. Besides, I have no doubt that Mr. Maistre will do it; a single campaign has greatly tired him and he is astonished by the general commotion he has experienced. So pray to the Lord of the vineyard to send good, holy and vigorous workers.

All yours in Jesus and Mary, your affectionate colleague A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

P.S. Not knowing when another opportunity will arise, I will add a word. The Koreans are sorry that the Bishop has not designated a coadjutor; judging by Mr. Maistre's words, this reproach also seems to be addressed to him from overseas. I believe we should not make this reproach too loud; Monsignor acted neither through negligence nor indifference; he has often thought about the matter. I do not know whether His Highness has made known to the Sacred Congregation or to Paris the reasons for his conduct; if he has not

done so, it is not for me to make known what he has judged appropriate to keep secret. But above all, let not the blame be spread too much on this fact, without knowing his motives. It is easy to blame, to speak lightly, often it would be better to remain silent. During His Highness' illness and until the end, I often engaged him, even pressed him to arrange this matter; His Highness did not fear the judgments of God on this article.

Things remained in status quo.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Barran, Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions.

Korea, September 6, 1853 *

Sir and respectable colleague,

I suppose that you have received our letters of 1852 and the sad news that they contained on the critical position of His Highness, have made you presume the sinister event that God has permitted in this mission. The fact is only too true. Divine Providence, whose views are still unknown to us, took Monseigneur from us while still in the prime of life and at a time when his knowledge of the country and the language enabled him to render more important services than ever to this mission. May his will be blessed, we must resign ourselves to everything, whatever the cost. This mission loses an enlightened, prudent, vigorous prelate, capable of resisting fatigue and maintaining order and discipline, and I have lost in my bishop a guide, a support, the best of friends. Long years spent with His Highness, perils, persecutions shared with him, had, despite the difference in character, formed between us a strong and very consoling union. The confidence that Monsignor had been kind enough to grant me allowed me to treat him as a true friend, everything was communicable to him and the little time that we could spend together was very sweet, very consoling; What a void for me, Sir, what an ordeal! Seven months have passed and nothing has been able to fill it; I am still in pain, in isolation, I was going to say without support, except that God and Mary protect me and support me. This loss will never be repaired for me and I feel it after the event more keenly than I could have thought. Having been until the end the only companion of Monseigneur and the only depositary of his thoughts, I cannot leave to others the task of reminding you in a few words of the principal circumstances of the life of this venerated and cherished prelate.

Bishop Férréol left France, I believe, in 1839; by a circumstance quite by chance, I was at his departure from the Seminary of Missions. I did not know him, but having among those leaving a friend, Mr. Dupond, all the missionaries received my farewells as friends. Bishop Férréol received them also without suspecting that one day I would have to work in his diocese and become his sincere friend.

He was soon destined for the mission of Korea and left for Leaotong from where he received from His Holiness coadjutor bulls which immediately made him Apostolic Vicar of Korea, by the news of the death of Bishop Imbert. Several years passed in useless attempts to enter his mission. When, despairing of being able to return by the Pien-Men border, he sent towards the end of 1844 André, a Korean deacon, with orders to try to come and get him by sea at Shanghai. However, Mgr went to Shanghai and from there came to Macao where I was, waiting for the opportunity to go to the Liou-Kiou Islands for which I was destined. A month or two passed when against all hope, Mgr received news of the arrival of a boat at Shanghai to take him to Korea. Not wanting to enter his mission alone, my destination was changed, I followed Mgr Férréol and became the inseparable companion of his travels and his works. During the crossing of Korea, you remember the trials that God sent us and the serious indisposition with which Mgr was attacked at sea. He confessed to me since that he had never had to endure such strong, unbearable sadness as at that time, and this sadness must have been a major factor in his indisposition.

Having arrived happily in Korea, Mgr began to repair the wounds inflicted on the mission during six or seven years of widowhood; less than a year had passed when

persecution took away from us Father André, our introducer, whose special mission seems to have been only to give an Apostolic Vicar to Korea. This persecution took place while I was largely in the company of the Bishop and the clouds having dissipated, the administration resumed its course and having only me as a companion, he set himself entirely to visiting the Christians, of whom each year he administered at least half for his part. His Highness never feared the length and difficulty of the roads, often he reserved the most tiring parts for himself and only in the great heat of summer rested a little from so much work. Even this rest was devoted to translating or revising books for the instruction of Christians. Each year expeditions were sent here and there to try to bring in some confreres; all failed. Father Thomas, a native priest, nevertheless arrived at Pien Men after two or three years. This reinforcement did not slow down His Highness' work; the Christians often admired how he could bear the journeys and fatigues of the ministry with such ease; however, the strength which did not seem to diminish, diminished in fact. Towards the end of 1851, he placed me in the college permanently and took charge of the administration that I was not supposed to do; That winter, the fatigue was greater than ever and when around Lent of 1852 he returned to the college, I thought I saw in His Highness's physique an exhaustion that he did not admit or feel.

Two months later, this illness suddenly began from which he could not recover. Since May 1852, he could only celebrate Mass once, assisted by me, it was on the day of Corpus Christi. It was his last Mass; until the end he did not dare, because of weakness or vomiting, try to go up to the altar.

You have seen in the letters of last year the phases of this illness. In the meantime, around the feast of the Nativity (September), Mr Maistre arrived by permission of God. His Highness, whose illness was dragging on and seemed likely to last a long time, assigned each of us an administrative district. Accustomed to transacting business with me, he gave me the part nearest to his residence and continued to pass on all his orders to me. Until Christmas, everything remained more or less in status quo. At that time, there was a change for the worse, and I wanted to go up to the capital to see His Highness: He prevented me from doing so and forbade me to leave the administration, saying that I should have myself called if things were serious. I sent four letters in succession to His Highness to obtain permission to go to His Highness and each time I received the same answer: that the danger was not pressing and that I should finish such and such an administration before going to him. He did not think that his end was imminent; however, on receiving His Highness' last answer, seeing that his illness was progressing, I believed I could pass on His Highness's orders and that my duty was to go to him immediately; I had the bearers come; the illness had been more prompt: when I arrived, His Grace was no more. On the last day of his life, he felt his end, repented of having made me delay my journey; he greatly desired to meet me and wanted to arrange some more affairs of the mission; he could not, his agony was short and less painful than had been various attacks of the illness. He breathed his last on February 3, 1853 around six o'clock in the evening. He was, I believe, 45 years old.

Judge my pain, my dejection when I entered the house where all was mourning.... I will not try to tell you everything that happened in me, nor the pain of our poor Koreans, you will guess it enough. To avoid bad business, we had to hide from the pagans the death that took place in the house; from the evening of my arrival, I rendered to His Grace the duties of the burial. The undergarments were put on according to the custom of the Koreans, then I dressed him in the priestly ornaments with only some part of the episcopal insignia; and that very night, towards the middle of the night, I had the body transported to another house, where there was less danger. The next morning, I went to say mass near the body of His Grace. The body was placed in a pine wood coffin, and covered with a thick layer of varnish. On this varnish is the inscription of the name and title of Bishop and the whole still covered

with a small coffin which must preserve the varnish, etc. all according to the custom of the country. The snow and ice not allowing the burial to take place immediately, the body was entrusted to a faithful Christian and on the eleventh of April in the night I had again the honor of rendering the last duties to His Highness by presiding at the burial which took place near the tomb of Father André, opposite one of our Christian communities. We would have liked to place it near the venerated remains of Bishop Imbert and our confreres, we were prevented from doing so by the pagans, perhaps the translation of the remains will take place in some time.

Monseigneur was an enlightened, prudent, firm and at the same time indulgent prelate. Many thought that he should be severe with his colleagues; I never tested him; if he wanted the execution of duty, he was a very good friend and considerate in all ordinary relations. He has sometimes been reproached for his lack of efforts in communications abroad; Monseigneur made his efforts every year and those who are on the spot cannot make this reproach; only, he never dared to consent to having an overseas expedition made: he feared the too probable death of those who would be part of it. If we are to believe some rumors, he was also reproached for not having named a coadjutor. This article, for my part, pained me a lot. When I went in the month of May to His Highness, thinking that he would not survive twenty-four hours, I pressed him a lot to make the nomination, and I believed I had succeeded; but surviving the attack, things remained undecided. During the whole summer, I pressed him several times and notably at the time when Mr Maistre arrived: I could not obtain anything. It was not indifference or negligence on the part of His Highness; it was a considered thing and shortly before his death, he said he did not fear the judgments of God on this point. I do not know if he thought it appropriate to make known the motives of his conduct to the Sacred Congregation or to the Society; if he did not do so, it is not up to me to discover what he believed he should keep secret.

After the death of His Highness, Mr Maistre, by virtue of the letters of vicar general received from Monsignor while he was still in China, took over the administration of the Mission and is our provicar while waiting for His Holiness to directly appoint an apostolic vicar. Christians are impatiently awaiting it, and after the death of Bishop Ferréol, I received letters from several Christians asking me to urge the Sovereign Pontiff to do so as soon as possible. I had immediately sent a letter to our courier returning from Peking, so that he could communicate this news to the Leaotong; the letter did not reach him. In the fourth moon, an opportunity presented itself, but uncertain and rather expensive. I informed Mr. Maistre of it so that he could take advantage of it if he thought it appropriate; this dear colleague, either counting on French ships or encountering too great difficulties, did not believe it necessary to send in the midst of dangers. This difficulty of communications means that for a year, no member of the Society will be able to come to the aid of the soul of Monsignor; here, we offer for him as many masses as we are permitted to do; please do so also as soon as possible and render this last service to our Apostolic Vicar.

After these details so sad, and so painful, let me say a few words to you about our mission. The year which has just passed was quite quiet, although crossed by local vexations. The administration was shared by His Highness between the three priests who are here. From the beginning, Father Thomas had to encounter some difficulties. Some bad Christians, in concert with the pagans, tried in several places to prevent the priest from visiting; it was necessary to use extreme precautions and to take at night, by detours, roads formerly quiet; One day among others, they had concerted to seize the priest. They knew without anyone suspecting it, the day of the priest's arrival and the time of his stay; everything being prepared, they came in number ten to twelve towards night and rushed to the place of the meeting, certain to seize the great criminal. But by a permission of God, Father Thomas, without any intention, had been able to leave a day earlier than they thought; and upon their

arrival, they found no one and, quite disconcerted, had to return after a sort of fight. Things ended there. In all the surroundings, the threats and bad words could not be carried out and not without difficulty this part of the administration was completed as desired. Several Christians were taken and detained by the nobles of the surroundings who obtained ransom before releasing them. We feared very much that things would come to the point of persecution proper, God again protected us and nothing serious happened. In the other parts everything was more peaceful. However, there were also skirmishes.

Towards the end of the first moon, after having arranged some affairs following the death of His Highness, I returned to administration; my first steps were towards a rather isolated and insecure community; my stay there was peaceful; but a few days later, the satellites went to the house where I was supposed to be staying, seized the master of the house and accused him of theft in concert with strangers. He was beaten and plundered without orders from the mandarin; not wanting to reveal anything and responding in a firm and threatening manner, he was taken to the prefecture. The mandarin being absent, the matter was brought before his deputy who is a friend and relative of some Christians. He understood that the satellites wanted money, blamed them for having acted without orders, punished them and sent away the Christian who got off with the loss of part of his furniture and some rather ungainly blows. This Christian behaved very well throughout the whole affair and it was good for us, because I do not know by what means these satellites had learned everything and even the name of the region where I went after leaving this post, about eight leagues away. If they had been dealing with a cowardly and timid Christian, we could have come to bad times, especially since I was not at all on my guard. At the same time also, a non-practicing Christian was seized in the capital and thanks to the favor of the mandarin, son of the one who in 1846 saved us from a general persecution, this affair again had no consequences.

The administration took place in all its parts, nothing remarkable happened there; we still had the consolation of meeting new brothers and you can well imagine that it is always a great joy for us. The good people who have opened their eyes to the light and their hearts to grace are for us and our Christians of great edification. Their words, their demeanor, their tears are indications of the inner happiness that God grants them as well as of the liveliness of their faith. There are those joys that we encountered in France during the first communion of children; everything is simplicity, fervor, but will there not also be less beautiful days later? This year the summary of the administration shows four hundred and sixty newly baptized. This is, I believe, more than in previous years. However, the increase must not be considerable; more indulgence and ease of admitting to baptism in a large district must almost cause this difference. However that may be, we are not retreating. There is certainly gain for us on all sides. Public spirit is coming closer and closer, while some wicked people are trying, perhaps out of spite, to vex our dear Christians more. The government also seems to take it upon itself not to worry the Christians and many mandarins immediately stifle some affairs that arise. Some say that it is out of fear, so as not to attract business with the French, others think that the principal heads of the government, having recognized that there is nothing bad in religion, they no longer fear the Christians and do not seek to destroy them. Whatever the final word, our position, although critical and too embarrassed, seems to be turning towards improvement and leaves us with hopes for the future. There is in this country a germ of good, which, if only a little supported by circumstances and fertilized by grace, could obtain beautiful results for us. When will God permit it? Most of those who can hear and reason about religion, do not remain indifferent to it. They immediately recognize the truth and make few objections to it; they desire that such a beautiful doctrine could be practiced publicly, but for fear of persecution, they cannot resolve to practice it at present. The number of these men already covered in the heart is quite large, and on occasion they can render us some service, but that is the limit of their good will; they leave the rest to the great day of the freedom of Christianity; and I do not know by what good inspiration the opinion is spreading more and more in the kingdom, that one day more or less near, necessarily, religion will dominate this country, some even want to give as a foundation for their opinion so-called miracles or extraordinary facts which would have been, it is said, presented in various parts of the kingdom; I do not put much faith in such facts, far from being well proven, but as they are, they are all in our favor and can accelerate the good.

Such good dispositions had long made us desire an attempt at direct propaganda among the pagans. For several years, His Highness, fearing the outburst it might have and the dangerous consequences, did not dare to consent to make the test. Last year, after new solicitations, I finally obtained permission to send some Christians here and there to make religion known, not publicly, but with caution and only to those whose spirit seemed more disposed and who in any case would not seem likely to seek to harm the Christians. The choice of these Christians is very difficult because if all or almost all are under the reign of terror, few possess true prudence and the tact necessary to know how to direct their conduct well. Some Christians were therefore sent with elementary books and already we have reason to rejoice. Things will succeed, I hope, but slowly; an interview is not enough to break all ties; it is necessary to prepare imperceptibly; in a year I hope to announce to you some consoling progress. Already some of them are practicing. In one of these excursions, a catechist was able to evangelize twenty-three people in a few days. All surrendered and promised to practice, but the devil also plays his drums. The catechist having left, lukewarmness and timidity caused nine to remain there. Two died after a few months receiving baptism at the hour of death, one died without baptism, finding no one who could confer it; and eleven remain firm in the desire to practice as they still do today; several will doubtless soon receive baptism or at least the catechumenate. Some parts of the mission are giving us good hopes at this moment. I await news every day of several excursions which, I dare to hope, will bring us the faithful. But we must act with great prudence; by wanting to go too quickly, we would be exposed to losing everything.

I cannot keep from you a beautiful trait of one of these new catechumens. The brother of a satellite administrator of a district having known our holy religion, immediately began to practice it and to learn it. His elder (the administrator) having learned it, wanted to oppose it and to divert him from it many times by threats and other means; not being able to obtain his goal, he went to extremes. One day, taking a large knife with him, he called his brother aside and, again forbidding him to practice religion without success, he drew his knife and said to him: Well, if you do not renounce this religion I cannot leave you alive, from this moment I will put you to death. The neophyte, firm in his faith, uncovers his chest widely and without weakening answers: I do not fear death, to die for God is a very beautiful thing; strike without fear, I have nothing to regret. The elder, astonished, does not dare to strike and finds himself obliged to leave him alone. Since that time he has said nothing more. But now the wife of the elder hears about all this; she also wants to know what this religion is that makes one not fear death; she educates herself and wants to be one of us. Difficulties of all kinds have not allowed her to practice until now, but last year she was able to see the priest for a moment as he passed by and we hope that she will persevere. There are therefore still souls in Korea who do not bow before the sword and on occasion could undoubtedly confess gloriously the holy name of God. May God grant that the opportunity does not arise, but in any case, we have a good number of Christians who, with the help of the good Master, would not yield to the first martyrs; faith is the same everywhere and grace from on high is no less powerful today than in other centuries.

Think often before God of our poor Christians, but also think of so many infidels who are only waiting for a clearer knowledge of Christianity to convert to the religion of

Jesus. Ask above all that God send us workers according to his heart, pious and prudent catechists, and then that our daily miseries may not be an obstacle to the outpouring of his graces and the propagation of his Church.

In September, when several of my letters had already been begun or completed, everything seemed calm, but suddenly, from three or four sides, quite serious vexations were made to our Christians by satellites from several districts. All this was without orders from the mandarins, but the Christians seized with their religious books having been taken to the prefecture of the district, the mandarins could not help but imprison them. Some showed themselves quite favorable to the Christians and even under various pretexts by immediately sending back several without an act of apostasy or anything similar. However, a certain number are still in the dungeons and a provincial governor in particular seems little inclined to send them back for free. We hope, however, that there will be a way to compromise and that with money a very big affair can be avoided.

Should I say a few words about your servant? The painful impressions of last winter had done me a great deal of harm and in the spring I felt very tired; fortunately the help of art and the rest of the summer were able to recover me a little; and this autumn, with a small salary, I am feeling passably well; I am even promised, and I have reason to hope, that the evil will be completely eradicated and that I will still be able to face the duties imposed upon me. This year, I must do part of the administration as in the past. I have already begun it and must continue it without ceasing; help me with your prayers; for I do not fear physical fatigue so much as illnesses of the soul. Now in our position, there is reason to fear for the spiritual, having no external help and continual dangers. I have just, by the grace of God, spent a few days of retreat with Father Thomas. Pray to God that I may long retain the fruits of this and that, more faithful than in the past in responding to all the graces of God, I may not put any obstacles in the way of the good of religion and the salvation of souls.

I was counting on being able to speak to you a little about this country this year, but having had to compose a book for the use of Christians during the summer, I was unable to take, as I had intended to do, the notes and information that I desired; we must wait. I have therefore had to limit myself to giving you, as usual, the details of our current position; it will seem to you, as it does to us, rather better than worse in several respects. Since provisional administrations never have as happy results as ordinary administration, please use your diligence so that the Sovereign Pontiff may give us an Apostolic Vicar as soon as possible. Mr. Maistre reminds me of the article of the Regulations of the Society, relating to the case of the death of Apostolic Vicars without designation of successor and to the vote that each missionary is asked to make for the choice of the successor. In this mission, there is only one confrere and I have not been able to know him until now. If the administration of Mgr Férréol was found to be severe, the news is much different and censures could also be frequent. To give my vote to someone, I would need knowledge of the cause and reasons for or against. Do not find it bad that in such a serious matter, I abstain from voting. You will be better placed than I to know and give the appropriate information to the Sacred Congregation.

Finding ourselves short of mass wine, we made wine with wild grapes. It is not at all acidic, we mix it with European wine; if necessary, it even seems that we could use it as is. What do you think?....

I end by reminding you of His Highness' positive intention for the sale of his income from the Naples fund so that it may be converted into masses, and by asking you to inform his family or the Society of which he was formerly a member of his death. He will doubtless obtain many prayers there.

That is enough for this time; I commend myself once again to your prayers and to those of all our confreres whom I do not forget before God.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor of being your very humble servant and confrere

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

October 27, 1853

If you do not know the home of my aunt Dubois in Paris well, I ask you to pass the letter on to my family, it will reach them easily.

Please add to my books an elementary treatise on physics where there are many experiments, especially easy ones, and common things.

P.S. November 7: I am assured today that the provincial government must not pursue the Christian affair any further. We will get off with about two thousand francs. This news seems well-founded and worthy of belief. Do not be too worried about us. God is clearly protecting us.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois Procurator of Foreign Missions in Hong Kong

Korea, October 25, 1853

Sir and dear colleague

Two letters written previously and which could not leave the kingdom have recently reached me: I am sending them as they are and without going back over what they contain. I am adding a few words. You will have known that nothing has yet been able to reach us, only a few letters on the return of the embassy. Monseigneur was not able to receive the little note that you addressed to him; the letters arrived too late. You believed us to be placed in a better place by the sword of persecution; until then it has not yet been raised, God protect us.

His Highness, taken by a violent illness, leaves me on the battlefield. Who would have thought that I would survive him? I have spent a rather painful year, especially because of the impressions felt at the death of His Highness. However, the summer was quiet and for a small month's salary, I am promised, and I hope, to uproot the secret evil and to be able to work again in the Lord's vineyard. For the moment, I am in administration and all is well. Trust in God. Since the autumn, we have had some local vexations and some imprisoned Christians. What will become of it? We hope, however, that a little money will open the prison doors. The Christians were seized without orders from the mandarins, some books were taken and in such cases, the mandarin can hardly send gratis pro Deo; the gendarmes and their chief must be paid. Besides, we cannot say anything specific. A bad moment is enough to make things go badly and cause a great uproar. Everything is in the hands of God who will, I hope, have pity on the poor mission.

Two years ago, I asked you to send part of the effects to Leaotong addressed to me, in order to take advantage of the opportunities on both sides. This year, the Leaotong road will be good, an interpreter who follows the embassy will assist our business, although he is not one of us. If you have been able to get something through, it will be easy for me to receive it and probably in the following years too. Thus, if opportunities by sea are not more reliable than in the past, please always send a part of objects to Mr. Berneux and there will be a chance of reception. I am talking to Mr. Berneux about some purchases for me; please honor all the bills he could draw on me in Hong Kong, it would be included in the annual account. I left some books at the procurator's office, I do not know if some have already been sent as we requested two years ago. I especially want the Bible of Menochius, Theology of Perrone, Selected Works of St. Francis de Sales 2 vols., Deligny, 2 vols., Psalterium Davidis 2 vols. bound in one, Ep. of St Paul by Piquigny 1 or 2 vols., A million facts, 1 vol and others according to the occasions.

If the spiritual combat and the introduction of St Francis de Sales have been translated into Chinese, you would be kind enough to send them. In addition, some books that were not printed when we left. Everything is precious.

Do you know of a work entitled Seng Kiao xe i in 10 or 12 vols. Plus Seng Kiao tsien xoo 3 vols. I want them very much.

I do not remember if we had asked for braids for chasuble; unless you are certain that there are enough in the package from Shanghai, please send me some yellow and white ones, each about for two ornaments.

Farewell, Father Libois, pray a lot for our poor mission and for me in particular, believe on my side that I do not forget you.

All yours in Jesus and Mary A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

I want a portable sundial, small enough, either a compass-sundial or something else that is simple and easy to use.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois Procurator

January 27, 1854

Sir and dear colleague

I have just received your letter of August 1853 with a few others; there is little news. Will Mr. Maistre have any? I do not know. This little letter will be brought to you by three students, if the attempt succeeds. They are my choice (except the last one, who could well be the best). I say it to my shame, but having absolutely no one and thinking that they will absolutely be able to obtain what is necessary, I preferred to offer them as they are to His Highness, last year, than not to send any at all. If, after all, they are found incapable, I accept the dishonor. From God, I will have the reward, I hope, whatever happens.

Have you received our letters sent by Leaotong? You will have seen there that we are without an Apostolic Vicar and even without a designated successor. What a loss and what pain, Father Libois! Such is the order of God, fiat! For the mission, what a painful position, but God will know how to provide for everything. I have made my efforts many times with His Grandeur to obtain a coadjutor, I have pressed in genere, I have pressed in specie, things have not succeeded, what do you want to do? Moreover, he was not without taking care of this matter, it was not with him lightness, indifference, and yet no coadjutor. On his deathbed, he told me that he did not fear the judgments of God on this article and that the Court of Rome would designate his successor. You ask me if I am ignorant of the reasons for his conduct and seem to reproach me for not having communicated them to you. To tell the truth, how could I ignore them after, for three or four years especially, he had shown me such an intimate friendship that nothing was secret between us, but brave Norman, you who have known him and seen all his letters every year, should you not know them? and if by chance you do not know them, should I betray the confidence with which Monsignor honored me and let you know in secret what he perhaps did not consider appropriate to make known? If he did not say them, he had his reasons for keeping them secret; why look further, and even today let us leave things as he left them.

After the death of His Grandeur, Mr Maistre, by virtue of his old letters as vicar general, became our pro-Apostolic Vicar, while waiting for the Court of Rome to directly appoint the Apostolic Vicar, which we wish to see accomplished as soon as possible for the good of the mission. Since the happy entry of Mr. Maistre, I have been convinced like you that we should send couriers to Shanghai and that from then on we could obtain confreres. The thing does not seem very difficult to me and if His Grace had survived, I think that he would have easily accepted and used this way. Today, I do not know the intentions of Mr. Maistre. I intend to speak to him about it shortly and would like them to be sent this winter. But the extreme reserve of the new administration does not even let me suspect what his intentions might be.

Farewell, Father Libois, pray a lot for me and for the consolidation of my health, if indeed the will of God and the good of my soul must be found there; I do not forget you at the holy sacrifice. May there above all be our rendezvous on earth, we will find there the means to accomplish the will of God for us, and beyond that, what could we desire?

All yours in Jesus and Mary

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

I do not know where the students are to be sent, but I presume it is to Pinang. Now what you tell me about the study of Chinese breaks my heart. Here, it is of the highest

importance for the students; to us, this ignorance is passed on to Koreans, it is not forgiven, and the native priests will ipso facto lose a great part of the esteem, the consideration, the confidence that they need; especially if we had a little more freedom and relations with the scholars, this deficiency would be very deplorable. Pray with us for our dear mission.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Barran, Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris

Korea, November 1854 *

Sir and venerable colleague,

It was after Passion Sunday. God, looking for a moment with an eye of compassion on our poor mission, pushed towards our coasts the Chinese ship carrying Mr. Jansou and all the baggage with which he was loaded. The meeting took place quite happily. This dear colleague arrives with all the baggage and in exchange we entrust to the sea three students who are the hope of the mission, although they do not seem to be famous. Having nothing better, we decided to send them to the Providence of God who, from stones, can raise up true children of Abraham. This dear Mr. Jansou was received as you can imagine, the welcome, the envoy of Providence, our help, that of Christians. Joy and gladness had not shone so brightly for us for a long time. But, says the Scripture, mourning is found at the extremities of joy. Scarcely had he arrived, when this dear colleague was attacked by brain fever, the germ of which he had doubtless contracted at sea. He spent a very painful fortnight in the capital with Mr. Maistre, then, having the appearance of improving, came to find me in the beautiful mountain where I live. The good air that one breathes, the kind of freedom that one enjoys, guaranteed all the good that one could hope for one's health. But the illness still existed and this dear colleague, for nearly six weeks could never regain his cheerfulness, his natural air and none of the functions of the body were passably functioning. However, I thought I was seeing him a little better, when the illness resumed in all its force and in eight days spent in the midst of the scenes that this illness can lead you to presume, he was exhausted and gave up his soul to God in my arms on June 18. Fiat, voluntas, yes, fiat! and if it pleases God, I will say it again many times. But the designs are very impenetrable, his judgments very severe on our poor mission. To try to tell you the blow that this event dealt either to us or to the Christians would not be an easy thing. I will not stop. This dear colleague had seemed to me even under the weight of the illness, capable and above all of an admirable character. The few Christians who approached him were enchanted by him; his outward form was also not extraordinary and he could almost have mingled with the Koreans. Everything, in a word, was for the best. When God wanted to call him to Himself and take him from us, ... resignation ... submission ... nothing more. This dear colleague told me that he had a great fear of Korea since the seminary in Paris, he even said he had communicated it to you and claimed that his illness could have come from there. I do not know to what extent this is wellfounded, but perhaps there is some truth in it. Today, there is no remedy. I do not know if he had scruples from then on, but he was very tormented by them here, to the point that one could believe his scruples were the cause of this catastrophe. But finally, it is over; pray for the repose of his soul, make sure that others pray for him too.

But you are still waiting for a few words on our Christianity. You will have doubtless received my letter of last autumn and that of January. By the protection of God and Mary, the vexations and even the chances of persecution in which this country found itself had no consequences. Moreover, the capture of some Christians towards the second moon showed us again that the government does not have at least very hostile intentions for the moment; despite the request for serious prosecution from the prefect of the satellites, the affair had neither outburst nor consequences. The prisoners were released, many of whom are not even practicing. You will therefore have great thanks to render to God in concert with us.

The administration was carried out in all places and was as in the past; I was also able to give a little helping hand; but I am a dwarf compared to my dear colleagues, the giants. However, I bless God for being able to still be of some service. If my strength is no longer what it was ten years ago, I see with sorrow that of the others diminishing as well. Dear Mr. Maistre, without having any illness, is no longer so strong, but above all, Father Thomas, whose journeys are frighteningly long and difficult, falls each year towards the end of the administration into fatigue and lassitude which do not fail to give cause for concern. Fortunately, I have just seen him leave well recovered by the summer rest, and everything suggests that he will be able this time again to cope with his too heavy task.

I would like to be able to announce to you significant progress and great things; unfortunately they are not found in this country; today as yesterday we are on the same footing and in the same situation. The part that I administer has offered me, so to speak, no new Christians: twenty-odd adults are the only proselytes that I have been able to regenerate in the waters of baptism. My more zealous, more fervent and perhaps happier colleagues have been able to meet more and you will see the figure in Mr. Maistre's notes. We are talking about nearly three hundred. I do not know the exact number. So again this time a few souls snatched from the power of the devil. God grant them perseverance! The old Christians are always the same and here as in Europe, we have reason to lament the weakness of human nature. These good people who for their faith are always under the weight of anathema and who suffer many contempts and daily privations, are here, as everywhere, some fervent, others lukewarm, and others still lower. The annual administration supports them fortunately, without this there would undoubtedly be even more misery; were it the only effect of our presence and our efforts, would it not already be a lot, for those who weigh things in the balance of the Cross? But although we cannot communicate directly with the pagans, our presence and our efforts can also be of great help to them. Despite our little freedom and resources, many pagans are evangelized each year and as formerly at the Areopagus, some refuse, many postpone until other times or the discussion or the practice, then finally some become children of God. But the seed once sown, there will certainly be more or less abundant fruits thereafter; it is received lightly and nevertheless does not fall in vain. Experience frequently proves it.

Among our new Christians are two or three men who by their position and their capacity will be able to help us a lot, provided that their faith is unshakeable. I recommend them especially to your holy sacrifices. They can open up paths that have been closed until now and bring subjects very useful to religion. We lack such men and the little good, the small ground where we are confined seems to come mainly from the lack of capable men. Oh! if God would send us some lay apostle, how great the effects seem to be! Prayer and confidence on our part. The arm of God is not shortened. And then, could you think that, for almost ten years that we have been pounding the roads of Korea, followed by more or less widespread gossip, there are still Christians who do not know of our presence. Each year a certain number catch the thread and come to find us. Again this year, a good old man will probably have the happiness of seeing the priest. He left a long time ago a dignity that he had and the hopes of a brilliant future to practice religion; he was even obliged for this purpose to pretend to be an imbecile and to pretend to be sick. Since that time, he has practiced alone, at home, and cannot have relations with Christians. This year, the chain is renewed and despite his 70 years he is looking for the means to leave his family for a moment to come and receive baptism. The thing is difficult, but the goodness of God will know how to grant him the reward of so many years spent in his service even before baptism. Truly how consoling it is to think of such people. Is not their constancy and fidelity the condemnation of our cowardice. I would like to tell you a lot, but nothing remarkable has presented itself, and then also time ... illus...

Do you know that I am writing to you in the middle of the administration and consequently surrounded by Christians and many affairs. This will explain to you the lack of consistency in my ideas and the few words that this letter contains. Do not reprimand me too much, I have never lacked the good will to satisfy your desires, but I do not have the means to fulfill them. This summer, with the intention of being agreeable to you, I made the translation of a kind of chronology of Korean history. If you saw this work, you would believe that it was the work of a few days; but my incapacity, my ignorance of languages and then so many other causes made it a great work. I did not even have time to put it in order to send it to you. Despite all my desire, I even doubt that I will be able to send it to you by sea in February. Besides, do not think in advance of meeting anything interesting; No, it's perhaps curious as it probably doesn't exist in Europe, but it has nothing to do with it and I would still hesitate to put it in writing, if you hadn't told me so much that everything will please you. To this end I will finish it if God permits and will send it as is when it is ready. Seeing the notebooks of the Annales, I blushed; at the time, I wrote for fun some notes on this country, praying that they would not be published as incomplete and too inaccurate. You were kind enough to go over it and I see now that there is falsehood and many things inaccurate to be incomplete. It is unfortunate that in a serious publication one encounters such things, and I say my mea culpa; spare us more for our honor; I would almost dare to accuse things of indiscretion.

I beg you to send me at the first opportunity: Explanation of Christian Doctrine or Three Catechisms, by Father Bongeant. In addition, the recent and more complete health directory, by Raspail. Finally, treatise on the duties of bishops and priests by La Luzerne, 1 vol. at Migne, if however this book has been received and approved as it seems to be said. I would not like a biased book and entirely based on Gallican doctrines; you will be able to judge by that if this book is to suit me. I would like something else, but books are so troublesome that we must do without them. Formerly, I asked you for a collection of the Annals of Propagation; if it has not yet been sent, please do not do so. Last year, I asked for a detailed and remarkable work on the duties of parents and children; if you have not yet determined it, perhaps it would be in the great catechism of Montpellier; however I wish that the choice remains with you. I add that I also desire the most beautiful of all the Morals in action, old or new.

But I forget to thank you for all the objects that you have sent me; everything, I believe, has arrived safely. The chasuble is very beautiful and now made, it shines in the eyes of our Christians. The well-preserved reliquaries, although too fragile, the other objects also bring joy to our Christians and consequently to the missionary; you will share it too, I am sure, since it is for them that you have worked.

I end by asking you to accept, as well as all these Gentlemen of the Seminary, the assurance of my profound respect and my entire devotion in Our Lord.

Your servant and colleague.

A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois, Procurator in Hong Kong

November 1854 Korea

Dear Sir and dear colleague

Your letter of August 53 reached me and was, as usual, received with joy and thanksgiving. Then we were able, as you knew, to receive both dear Mr. Jansou and the various objects that had been awaited for so many years. It was a beautiful day for all of Christendom, joy and gladness spread everywhere and we thought that God had finally had pity on us. You will see from other letters that crosses always follow joy, since we had to almost immediately lose this dear colleague who could only resist until June 18. Our state is therefore the same, or rather the pain is all the more acute and the mourning all the greater! Let us adore God's designs and at least try to take advantage of the trials that he allows to come to us. The time of mercy has not yet arrived; we must pray for it more and more and do violence to the Lord. However, our little mission is going along at a leisurely pace; apart from this trial, which is greater than I can say, we have had nothing extraordinary. The administration has been quiet and done in almost all places. I have been able to do some of it, less than the others, but finally I have given the machine a little boost, and God has allowed the year to pass without much disruption? I am holding my own more or less, and that is something in the state of destitution in which we are. It is more unfortunate to see my other colleagues weakening from year to year. Mr. Maistre himself is much less strong than when he arrived, and Father Thomas, who in his capacity as local priest visits the most distant and dangerous places, has been weakening a lot in the last two years in particular. There is no remedy for this except in Providence. In the state we are in, I do not know if Hercules could hold out for long without weakening. God will doubtless have pity on this mission and will grant us the means to keep it, but when will he do so? Let us pray and wait. You will see a few words addressed to Mr. Barran or rather you will see nothing, because I have nothing to say; we are what we were, nothing new, nothing changed, nothing consequently worthy of attention to communicate. Everything is bland for those who are outside, but not so bland for us who see that nothing great is to be hoped for at the moment, too happy that God allows this little good, this little status quo, I would even say this little extension, because finally, we are rather ahead than behind, and that is what maintains us, consoles us, and excites us to continue. Bless the Lord, then, for the little that he is willing to grant us; it is a lot, and little by little the foundations will be formed to do more on a grander scale. Having received from me or from others many books requested last year, I ask you to pay attention to the following note and the books including those arrived at my address, please do not send them, but either sell them if necessary or leave them in Hong Kong: Catechism of Migne, 2 vols. in 4°, Works of Bourdaloue, Fables of La Fontaine, The Book of the Chosen by Father Ste Jure, Meditation of Kroust, Elevations of Bossuet on the Mysteries, Exposition of the Christian Doctrine by the same, Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. All this is in my hands, please, I say, do not send them again to my address.

I would like to have the instruments with which one writes six or eight copies at a time. Mr. Jansou told me that they were used a lot in Shanghai and Hong Kong, and that the process is simple; if there is a way, please get me some.

I have finished, while assuring you of my respectful attachment in Our Lord Your colleague

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

I forgot to tell you or rather you probably know that the Russian ships came to visit us. They landed by the East Sea and had letters delivered to the Government in which they testify the desire and intention to establish communication with Korea. I do not know if and how they were given a reply. Provided however that in a spirit of propaganda, they are not hostile to us. The sequel will show their designs; Let us wait. If you have not sent it this year for the mission, please send me a copy of the History of Religion before J.C. by Lhomond. In addition, in Chinese books: Explanation of the Gospels, 5 copies; lives of the saints 5 copies, catechism of Sutchuen, 5; Jen haing ki lio or the words and acts of J.C. 10 copies. Seng kiao tsee iao or explanation of the sacraments 10 copies. But tell me, Father Libois, could it be that you are no longer printing anything new? When I left you, you were preparing the publication of two or three works that are almost impossible to find; have you abandoned the project? In any case, if there is any new work coming out of your presses or elsewhere, please send them in duplicate each. On the note of the price of the books brought by Father Jansou, the price is sometimes in abbreviated or unusual characters here. I have not been able to guess it. Please in the future have it written more correctly.

copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois Procurator in Hong Kong

Korea February 18, 1855

Reverende Pater Libois

The years piling up above and below the greatcoat, I also see myself forced to pile up respectful epithets all the more so since we are on the Chinese and Korean New Year, my letter must pass in part as a New Year's letter, so that you can regain all the vigor of youth and administer ad longos annos the financial part which serves as the foundation of our strategic operations, and then accumulate many merits for Heaven. My wishes containing both the spiritual and animal part will leave nothing to be desired, especially for those who know the extent of the sincerity and friendship which dictate them. After this exordium of circumstances, I will tell you that your letter of the month of August reached me a few days ago with a few others addressed to me. It gave me the greatest pleasure and especially the news of the appointment of Bishop Berneux could not be more joyful. I dare not hope that he will arrive in March, which would have been the height of joy; we must wait for God to send him to us and he will be received by all our Christians as the messenger of God and the blessed of the Lord.

We are still in difficulty, for lack of workers, because our letters of November will have informed you of the death of the good Father Jansou, whom all those who saw him naturally cherished. We are made for trials and we do not lack them. God grant that some fruits of them remain. Besides, nothing remarkable has happened among us since that time. The administration has been done and is still being done in a fairly calm manner and I must tell you, it has been more than four months that your servant has been on errands and visits and everything has happened without a violent relapse of illness, but fatigue is at its height and before continuing, I will take a little rest after a few days. So, God allows that I am not completely useless, if however my work must produce some fruits of salvation for the Christians. We have enjoyed the calm until now, because we must not count too much on a few arrests that have been made and are still being made for the moment; things, without being arranged, are not of a very serious nature and if you send us one or two good workers in the month of March, we will probably be able to receive them peacefully.

In recommending our mission to God and Mary, pray above all that he raises up for us some capable men; this is truly what we lack the most, and if we had some on hand, the work of God would expand. There is a small corner half-open that may provide us with some. And it was with great excitement that two days ago I was still hearing the story of events, but since things are not finished, we must not count on it too much. The big step remains to be taken and that is the most difficult. I am going to send a preacher to these parts who must for several months secretly stir up those from whom we can hope, and with the help of God, he will not return empty-handed. We have had the consolation of meeting new neophytes as in the past, but since the administration is not finished, I will not give any figures; I do not know the number of baptisms. Yes, Father Libois, things are going well and the work of God is progressing; we are not in decline. And then we still have a few students, more than in the past, several seem much better than those you received so well last summer; little by little, there will be a way to do something. No, God does not abandon us and if the trials he sends us are harsh and cruel, he also wants to support us and make all things turn to his glory. Gratias Deo amplissimas.

I have nothing special to add; the news you give me from Japan is very consoling, this land of martyrs will have to open up at last and then will no one have pity on little Korea? Let us wait in prayer. Will not the great Napoleon, namesake of the great Procurator Libois, also have some of his thoughts? Hope and confidence. The letters from France are also consoling, good is being done there in great measure. Yes, God still loves France and perhaps we will see beautiful days there.

In union of prayers and holy sacrifices, receive the assurance of my entire devotion in Our Lord.

Your colleague

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Please send me the following books

天靈性

主言理

實蠡眞

義匀傳

10 3 10 copies

And then I am impatiently waiting for the Chinese translation of the Documenta rationis made in Tonkin. Don't forget it, Father Libois.

Please tell me how to turn wine into vinegar and make this vinegar delicious.

[End of a cahier, signature Delpech]

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Barran Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea February 22, 1855 *

Sir and respectable colleague

Fine diamonds do not lose their brilliance over the years. One of these jewels that dates back to the first entry of priests into Korea having fallen into my hands, I believed that it could form one of the jewels of the Korean Church and I send it to you.

This is the free translation of the martyrdom of Ni Paul in 1798. The account is not very correct and not very careful, my translation is even more trivial, but I do not have time to take care of it. It was made in the middle of my administration and please look only for the facts.

Ni Tokei, named Paul at baptism, was a native of the district of T'sieng iang, in the province of T'sioung t'sieng. he had neither studies nor knowledge, but lived in a certain small comfort. After his conversion, his small property used for the conversion of pagans gradually dissipated. Five or six times, he had to change locality and each time he made many conversions in his neighborhood. Finally he pitched his tent in a pottery factory in the district of Tieng-san and lived there from the sale of pottery. Now all there were pagans; having applied himself to making God known to these poor people, he succeeded in converting the whole village. After the martyrdom of Ioun Paul, Tsi Sabas and T'soi Mathias, the persecution did not slow down and in the province of T'sioung t'sieng imprisonments took place everywhere. In the meantime, Han, called ieng hoa, a cruel man, became governor of the province; he immediately gave orders in all the districts to search for and seize the Christians. The mandarin of Tieng-san named Tsai ioun tsien i, faithful to these orders, also made some captures. A pagan named Kim living not far from Paul's home designated him to the public as leader of the Christians and announced that he would denounce him to the mandarin, Paul hid his books and other religious objects and waited. His wife urged him to flee for a while, he replied that he could not do so for several reasons. First, it would be going against God's order; 2° the pagans that I have converted trust me; if I flee, what will become of them? 3° finally, it is not right to go against the orders of the mandarin; for you, he added, you can flee.

1797 That very day, 8 of the 6th intercalary moon, Paul was at home making straw shoes, when suddenly men appeared outside the hedges saying: Is so-and-so at home? - Here I am, he replied, who is calling me? Immediately holding his pipe with one hand and inviting the men to sit down with the other, he said to them: What reason brings you here? They replied: We are people from the praetorium and in search of a slave from the prefecture; having learned that you have a calendar, I wanted to see it to carry out my searches. It is because in the calendar, there are superstitious words that one uses to help oneself in research. Paul replied: I do have a calendar, but it only indicates the sequence of time. And he brought it. - Read for me, said the satellite. Paul replied: I do not know how to read these characters (The calendar is in Chinese). The satellite continued: So you only know how to read the books of the religion of the God of Heaven! then raising his voice: Bind this individual for me!

Immediately a dozen men surrounded him and tied him tightly; his arms and chest were in great pain, he could hardly breathe. Then the satellites entered the house, searched and seized an image of the crucifix with some books. After which, they dragged Paul to the

east side. Not far from there was a large wood; with straw bands they hung the Christian from a tree and beat him with rods indefinitely, saying: Who taught you? Who are your accomplices? What is your name? Paul answered: no one taught me and I have no accomplices. They stopped beating him and untied him because evening was approaching. Paul and the other Christians taken with him were taken to a poor inn where at the innkeeper's request, all were untied. From there, having arrived near the city, the satellites said: the mandarin's order is to bring you bound, we must bind you again - Do as you wish, said the Christians. When they arrived at the gate of the praetorium, the mandarin was warned. He took the image of the crucifix and gave the books to an old satellite to read. After which he called many satellites and said to the Christians: Where did you live before? Paul answered: I lived in Tieng iang and now I live in Tieng san. The mandarin: Who taught you? Who are those you have instructed? Paul answered: I have neither master nor disciple. The mandarin: You are a being worthy of death; if you have neither master nor disciple, where do these books and this image come from, tell the truth. And he had the satellites placed on one side, and on the other the boards, instruments of torture - Paul did not answer. They put the cangue on him, tied his feet and hands and led him to prison. The other Christians questioned all submitted to the mandarin's order, with the exception of one who did not surrender and was also led like Paul to prison. On the 10th of the month, six ly from the city, a market was held. The mandarin said that these two prisoners would be paraded around the market. Paul answered: Since for the cause of Jesus Christ we must be made to walk around the market in the midst of all the people, I have no expression to express my feelings of gratitude. On the 10th, early in the morning, the mandarin brought the two Christians before his bar and said to them: The doctrine of Fo, Confucius and Mongtse is true; for you, refusing to learn about it, where did you find this false doctrine and why do you seek to infatuate others with it? Your sect knows neither king nor parents, you interfere impudently without distinction of sex, not paying attention to the king's prohibitions. You follow this doctrine, it is a great disorder, you are worthy of death. Paul answered: Being ignorant, I do not know the doctrine of Confucius and Mongtse, as for that of Fo, it concerns only the bonzes. The Christian doctrine on the contrary is for all men; your servant will tell you something about it, words. First, God alone existed, then all things were created. After the creation of all things, there were spouses, after there were spouses, there were kings and subjects. Fo, Confucius, Mongtse, kings and subjects are posterior to the creation of heaven and earth; the master and preserver of all things, the true father of all peoples, the true source of filial piety and fidelity to the prince. Filial piety and fidelity are commanded to us in the 4th precept of the ten commandments; why are we reproached for not knowing the parents and the king? The mandarin answers: If it were so, first the king, then the mandarins would know it and through them the people would learn it. Why then do the king and the mandarins prohibit your religion? This doctrine being the ruin of Korea, the king defends it; you stupid people, not wanting to submit or point out your masters, your death is just. Paul answered: to die for God is the glory of the soul.

The mandarin had them taken away and both of them outside the gate of the praetorium were heavily loaded with bonds; their hair was tied behind their heads, they were made to sit facing the sun and the satellites tried to make them recant. The two Christians not giving in, the satellites spat on them, slapped them, climbed on the wood of the cangues to make them suffer more, overwhelmed them with insults and mockery and struck them with their feet, saying: today, after having made you go round the market, you will be killed, and then shouting: These scoundrels are going to go up to Heaven. After this, they are smeared with lime on their faces, an inscription is attached to their heads, a box is imposed on their backs and in this attire, they are made to march hurriedly in front of the mandarin who follows on horseback. Behind, they shout loudly: These are Christians who are going to be made to go around the market. A large crowd presses to see the scene. The mandarin urging

his horse, the Christians are also urged with whips and the boxes they are carrying are beaten. It was about 9 o'clock in the morning. All around the market, they are the target of insults and mockery from all the people assembled in large numbers. The mandarin says: These two beings there being Christians, are no different from rebels; they do not serve the king, do not respect parents, break the natural laws; after the tour of the market they will be put to death. Then he has them given ten blows with the thieves' board, ordering apostasy. (This board is made of oak, a fathom long, 3 to 4 fingers wide, 3 to 4 centimeters thick in the middle and a little less on the edges). Paul says: I have already answered all that, I have nothing more to say. The furious mandarin has him pricked on both sides with sticks adapted to this torture and orders him to apostatize. Paul answered: If I should die ten thousand times, I cannot apostatize; and all the people said to themselves: This one certainly will not abjure.

The mandarin had him taken back to prison, it was nearly seven o'clock in the evening, the satellites came there and said to him: If you do not apostatize, you cannot avoid death. - I know it, answered Paul. The satellites making with their tongues a noise of ..illis..., said: He is a terrible rebel.

On the 14th, the prison guard came and said: Tomorrow, the mandarin must have a great feast prepared in the market; the non-apostates will be tortured and designated to the chief of the satellites of the province. The apostates on the contrary will be feasted; tomorrow, in the market, you will see. Saying these words, he goes out and closes the door. The other Christian said: Perhaps religion will become public. Paul answered: That is not so, and even if the mandarin were to release me, I do not want to leave the prison, and if he forces me to leave the prison, I will remain in the city begging without going anywhere else, and then we must not believe the words of the jailer, it is a trap to put our hearts at ease and then move us by the tortures. The other Christian, seized with fear, puts his head in his hands, without saying anything. Paul said to him: Why do you act thus? He answers: Really, how to bear the tortures, what to do? Paul said: It is true. and I too suffer greatly, I who am older than you; I must also have great difficulty in bearing the tortures; but is Heaven then bought at a low price? Sufferings are the true currency with which we buy eternal happiness; therefore endure the sufferings for a few moments.

The next day, the jailer takes the two prisoners to the market; In the middle of the square, a large tent had been set up and the mandarin was sitting under it. He ordered the first apostates to be given clothes and to be seated near him and had the two Christians go up to the place of torture; then having tables set and served, he had some given to each apostate and said to the Christians: Paradise is to have here below good food, good things, beautiful music, that is paradise. You others who want to go up to heaven, how can you climb its thirty-three stories? Abjure and you will be treated like these; if you do not do it, I appeal to the great chief and you will be put to death; answer immediately. Paul answered: I have already answered, however I add a word: God is the only master of everything, of life and death; how could I deny him? On this, the Christian his companion apostatized and the mandarin said to Paul: Come, you also, abjure and revile the God of Heaven. Paul answered: The law comes from the king and is transmitted to the people; how dare you, mandarin, tell the people to curse their true father? Among us, no one curses their parents. The angry mandarin orders the satellites to burn the book seized from Paul, then to circulate the image of the crucifix in the market, saying: This individual makes his God of the men you see in this image; is it not dreadful?

It was about noon. Suddenly the weather becomes dark, a violent wind rises, thunder rumbles, the sticks supporting the tent are uprooted, the screens and curtains are overturned, the mandarin himself was almost overthrown. The apostates who under the tent were taking part in the feast and rejoicing, frightened by this scene, flee without leaving a trace of them. Paul on the contrary was calm and in thanksgiving. When he heard that the books and the

image had been burned, he was very saddened, lifted up his heart to God and wept much. When the people saw the storm and the thunder, they said that they would do well to release the Christian, but the hardened mandarin had him beaten once more and taken back to prison. Paul was so exhausted that he fell to the ground; a man was hired to carry him on his back, and when he reached the prison, a large cangue was put on him; it was towards evening. He was calm and occupied himself with meditation.

In the autumn, he underwent another interrogation and was struck with the thieves' board; those who saw him said: He will die under the blows of this board; Paul answered: To die under the blows of the rods or under those of the boards, everything comes from the order of God, why should I not thank him? And he continually asked God to die in tortures. In the prison, little by little, the provisions ran out and his clothes were worn out, who could say what he suffered from hunger and cold? His wife, collecting some money, brought him some wine and a little meat. He answered: The holy Virgin having placed me on the cross, it is not fitting that I eat this; I have heard it said that Jesus on the cross, had nothing but sufferings, but I have not heard it said that he had taken anything delicate. But I too am on the cross, I cannot take what you offer me. His wife, pressing him two or three times, he was forced to eat. Sitting or lying down, he was constantly thinking of God; once, having suddenly heard these words of the angelic greeting: The Lord is with you, he gave great thanks to God and Mary (The narration makes many believe that it was a miraculous voice, the text does not formally say so).

During the winter, his wounds and the tops of his knees suffered greatly from the cold and he had difficulty in bearing it. On Christmas Day, having been beaten once, the wounds and the tops of his knees became hot like fire and he said: The Lord, fearing that my heart will grow cold, by a special favor warms me by means of blows. After the New Year, he suffered the question three times; The third time, the mandarin said to him: If you want to abjure, I will give you rice to treat your wounds and after healing I will give you a position as county chief, this position alone is enough to make you feel comfortable. Paul answered: Even if you gave me the whole district of Tiengsan, I could never deny God. The mandarin said to him several times: You claim to honor parents, but your 4 children, since your incarceration have not come to see you once; has anyone ever seen such hearts? He answered: To obey one's parents is to honor them, but I have repeatedly recommended to my children not to come near me for fear that we would suffer harm on both sides, without having any advantage. It is this prohibition which does not allow them to come. To obey parents, is it not filial piety?

In the 4th moon, he suffered cruel torture once. In the 5th moon, the satellites came frequently to the prison and did not guard the door much, seeming to indicate to him to flee. He answered: He who imprisoned me is the mandarin and not you. If the mandarin orders it, I can leave.

The Christians outside said to him: The words of the satellites are only the expression of the feelings of the mandarin, why do you not make arrangements to escape? After reflecting a little, Paul answered: If we let ourselves be caught in the snares of the devil and lose our soul, all its past ornaments are no longer found. My house is so poor, do you think it is difficult for me to be in prison? here, I am at peace and eat well, everything that my family strive to do for me pains me; then he said to his wife: Those who pray for me, if it is to make me still enjoy the things of this world, they must be prevented; If they pray for my soul, for my eternity, to prevent me from forgetting the merits of J.C., recommend me well to them, without taking into account quarters of an hour, or hours, or days, or nights. I also hope that my family prays in this way for me. Then again: As for my food, bring me according to your means, either a liter of rice per day, or even for two days, and when you cannot even do that, do not worry; if the body does not have the strength to leave here, the corpse will have

the strength. He added again: From now on, everything that is said to you, even if it is from Christians, if it is not in accordance with what I have said above, do not even report it to me. My weak heart could perhaps be moved by it. From that day on, if his wife came to the prison, he would answer without going out: If you bring anything, leave it with the jailer and return in peace.

In the 5th moon, he underwent torture once and on returning to the prison, three satellites came to tell him: The head of the satellites of the province has just executed Ni Tson tchiang (he was a Christian of distinguished family) and he is transmitting orders to have the prisoners of Tieng san executed; if they apostatize, what are you going to do? - To abjure is to follow the inspirations of the devil, not to abjure is to follow the order of God; even if I had to die ten thousand times, I would not abjure. The satellites slapped him and left. Two days later, the mandarin said to him: You have been deceived: In China, Ni Ma tou (this is the Chinese name of Father Mathieu Ricci) has infatuated the world with his knowledge, how do you not see that these are deceptions. Paul replied: Ni Matou too is a man who had father and mother; the doctrine that he has spread in China and elsewhere is the doctrine of the Great King of Heaven and Earth; why do you say that it comes from him? If one must publish with minute attention the orders of the kings of the earth, all the more (reason) the orders of God which are more terrible, more formidable, more lovable than those of kings; he is the almighty, the most high ten thousand times more admirable than the potentates. In the face of such orders, how could one preach religion carelessly, receive it coldly, learn it slowly? That is why I too, relying on the order of God, should suffer several times to the point of death, each time I must endure them; for a single moment the thought of denying God cannot come to me. The mandarin had him beaten in an unusual manner and sent him back to prison.

Two days later, his wife came to the prison and said to him: What is your pain and the horrors of hunger? How many blows have you received? He answers: I do not suffer, I do not feel hunger, I do not know how many blows I have been beaten. He adds: Take away the prayers and the calendar of festivals that I have here. His wife says to him: Afterwards will you no longer use them? He answers: I have read all that I had to read. As for my food, it is enough that I have enough until the tenth of this month; I do not know what there will be later. It was the 3rd of the 6th moon. He recited his prayers with more clarity than before and then understood their beauty better than learned people; is it not supernatural? And then to say that after the tenth, he no longer needed food, was it not knowing his martyrdom of the twelfth? His wife, not knowing the cause of these words, returned desolate.

On the 8th, the mandarin came unexpectedly and said to him: The orders of the head of the province are to put you to death if you do not apostatize, if you abjure immediately, you will live. If you do not do it, you die. He replied: Since I have known religion, and many years ago, I have known that it is right to die for God, how could I apostatize? He was tortured once and sent back to prison. On the 9th, his wife and three or four Christians came outside the gate, he asked them the reason for their coming. - It is, they say, that today you must undergo cruel tortures and we have come to witness them. Paul answers: At the sight of sufferings, even a fervor of fire can easily be caught in the traps of the devil, return home at once. As his wife and the Christians were delaying: Why, he said, do you not do what I tell you? If the Lord does not reject me, the most cruel sufferings are easy to bear; but if he rejects me, the least sufferings are unbearable. Considering only my strength and my actions, it would be impossible, but God and Mary support me and I see nothing difficult to bear. I urge you with all my strength to withdraw. And of course, they left.

On the 10th, the satellites came to warn him that that day at the market, the mandarin was to execute him. At this news his joy was great; he seemed to jump and his face became radiant. Those who saw him said to themselves: It is astonishing! since this man has been in

prison, when he is not tortured, he is thin, pale, and colorless; after the tortures, on the contrary, his face becomes radiant; today that they announce his death to him, his face is more than ever bright and radiant. This day was the anniversary of the one on which he was made to go around the market. A small cangue was put on him; Paul walked in front, the satellites carried the instruments of torture and the mandarin followed slowly. They arrived at the market called Tsi seng. The mandarin dismounted from his horse ordered him to be tortured. Immediately he was tied to the torture board, the cangue was drawn from behind and having blocked all the spaces, Paul found himself so tight that he could hardly breathe. His two arms are tied to a large stone and his hair tied behind his head. The satellites surround him, some seizing the cangue, others his bonds, and they beat him with a triangular board, two cubits long. What a terrible torture!! After having beaten him, the mandarin asks him if he is not yet ready to apostatize; barely a breath of life remained in him; he could not answer him. A satellite approaches and says to him: If you apostatize, it is not yet too late. Paul, gathering all his strength, says with difficulty: I will not do it. His lips were then black and dried. They beat him again and again a satellite approaches and says to him: Do you not yet abjure? Paul, exhausted, cannot answer, but only makes a negative sign with his head.

Suddenly, he looks up to Heaven and says: Ave Maria; then lowers his head and seems dead. The people in the market said: Because of this creature we have drought and we are all dying of hunger; we must kill him with kicks. And the crowd gathered around him; Paul's wife, seeing this, came forward to support him. The satellites beat her with their feet, others with whips, saying: This woman is even worse than her husband. They beat her, they pushed her, she was knocked down and seemed lifeless. The mandarin had Paul beaten again; it was the third time that day, nothing can describe the state of his wounds. The legs had been broken below the knee, the bones were shattered and the marrow fell to the ground. He was untied and the martyr fell motionless to the ground. The Christians who witnessed this torture could not bear the sight of it and left. His body was placed on a mat without removing the cangue, he was tied on it and men were hired to carry him to the prison; the door was carefully closed, and the mandarin said: If anyone dares to give him even a glass of water, I will have him killed like him. From that day until the twelfth, he did not receive a drop of water and his family could not even know whether he was dead or alive.

On the 12th, towards the evening, the mandarin seated on his tribunal said: Although I have orders to beat this Christian to death, I cannot bear the sight of it, you others, finish him off. I will remain here while waiting. Take him out of the prison, see his face, feel his pulse; see if he is alive or dead. If there is any life left, beat him outside the prison walls until he dies and keep me informed of everything. The satellites carry out this order and after having beaten him without measure, there is still a breath of life left. It was towards evening. One of them hit him with stones, the other with a stick, except for the belly and the palms of his hands, no part of his body was without wounds, but he was not dead. He is thus brought to the mandarin who says: If you do not finish him off, I will have you put to death. This troop of satellites returns, beats him again and Paul, breathing his last, flies up to Heaven.

His death is announced to the mandarin who, fearing that he would come back to life, orders him to be beaten again to take away all remains of life. The satellites then beat the corpse, one of them climbs on the cangue and tramples it underfoot. The end of the cangue resting on the chest, the flesh falls in shreds, the bones break, the blood flows in great streams, his face all scarred no longer had any human appearance. He is covered with a mat and kept that night. The next day, his wife is warned who, all speechless and unable to support herself, came and saw red blood flowing from the wounds. Paul seemed still alive. The mandarin ordered the inhabitants of Paul's village to bury him; These people took him away, and buried him. After seven or eight days, Christians from a hundred lys away took the body and buried it behind a Christian house. Paul was 56 years old; it was the year of J.C.

1798, the 12th of the sixth moon. To console his wife, the jailer said to her: Do not be too sad, because on the 12th, during the night, a great light surrounded the corpse. Other Christians report that Paul's wife said that one could not believe the jailer's words.

There, Sir, is the narration as I found it, my translation not always literal, seems to me nevertheless accurate. It was done at a run and is very bland. But I repeat, I have been in administration for more than four months and I had to do it immediately in the midst of fatigue so as not to miss the opportunity that presents itself. If you are grateful to me for this little work, pray to God that he comforts me and I will have other things to send you. In the meantime, I recommend myself again body and soul to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices and ask you to accept the assurance of my deep respect and entire devotion.

Your very humble servant and colleague A. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions

ff 197-209 (below) is the same story as 184-196, with a slightly transformed vocabulary.

Letter from Mr. Daveluy, apostolic missionary in Korea to Mr. Barran
Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris

Korea, February 22, 1855 *

Sir and venerable colleague

I have just found one of the most beautiful jewels that make up the crown of the Korean Church; it is the martyrdom of Paul Ni in 1798. Although of a somewhat ancient date, as the passage of time does not take away from precious stones anything of their price, nor of their brilliance, I send it to you, convinced that it cannot fail to interest you? These acts are of a style not very correct and not very neat, my translation is perhaps even less so, having done it in the rare moments of leisure that the administration of the Christians leaves me. Please look for the facts

Ni Tokei, who received the name Paul at baptism, was born in the district of Tsieniang, province of Tsiong-tsieng. In the absence of studies, he had many virtues and possessed a small fortune which he used entirely for the conversion of pagans. His zeal attracted the attention of the enemies of our holy religion, which forced him to change his residence 5 or 6 times; but each of the places where he retired soon became a fervent Christianity. Finally, he came to pitch his tent in a pottery factory in the district of Tieng-san and lived there from a small business of this kind. Now around him, everything was pagan; he applied himself to making the true God known to these poor people and he succeeded so well that in a short time he converted the whole village.

After the martyrdom of Paul Youn, Sabas Tsi and Mathias Tsoi, who had introduced into Korea the first Chinese priest, Father Jacques Ly, which martyrdom took place in 1795, the persecution did not at first slow down; and in the province where Paul lived, a large number of Christians were arrested. A pagan named Kim, living in the neighborhood, designated the latter as the leader of the Christians and threatened to denounce him. His wife urged him to flee, but he refused for fear of going against the will of God and scandalizing the neophytes who had placed their trust in him; he only hid his books, his religious objects and waited. On the eighth day of the sixth intercalary moon 1797, he was at home busy with his work, when suddenly, men appeared and asked through the hedge of his garden if he was at home. - I am, he replied, who is calling me? He immediately went out, brought them into his house, invited them to sit down and inquired why they had come. - We are, they said, people from the praetorium, busy searching for a slave of the prefecture who has run away; now, having learned that you have a calendar, we wanted to see it to facilitate our searches. The calendar contains superstitious words used to find lost objects. Paul answered: I have a calendar, but it only indicates the sequence of time. And he brought it. - "Read for me," said the chief of the satellites. "I do not know how to read the characters" (the calendar is in Chinese which is very different from Korean). "You can then read only the books of the religion of the Master of Heaven," replied the satellite. Then he gave the order to arrest him. Immediately about ten men threw themselves on him and tied him up tightly. The house was searched, where a crucifix and some books were discovered. He was dragged into a nearby wood, and while he was being beaten with rods, the chief interrogated him to learn from him the priest's retreat and to force him to denounce the Christians; but it was in vain. The torture did not cease until evening. As night approached, he was taken with some other Christians taken with him to a poor inn, whose master, moved with compassion, obtained the release of the bonds which caused them much suffering; but when they reached the city, he and his

companions in suffering were again loaded with iron. After examining the crucifix and the books, the mandarin, surrounded by numerous satellites and instruments of torture, brought the Christians before him and first questioned Paul. What is your abode? - I lived first at Tieng-ian. I now live at Tieng-sen. The Mandarin: Who taught you and who are your disciples? - Paul: I have neither master nor disciples. - Where do these books and this image come from? and with an energetic gesture, he showed him the instruments of torture. Paul did not answer; he was led to prison, his feet and hands chained and the cangue around his neck. The other Christians did everything the Mandarin wanted, with the exception of one who was also put in prison.

The next day, six ly (about 3/4 of a league) from the city, a market was held. The mandarin threatened them both with being taken there and exposed to all the insults of the multitude. "It is for the cause of J.C.," replied Paul, "we can never sufficiently acknowledge such an honor." Early in the morning, the mandarin brought them before his tribunal and said to them: "The doctrine of Confucius, that of Mong-tse and that of Fô are true. As for you, refusing to learn them, where did you go to find this false doctrine that you follow, and why do you seek to infect others with it? Your sect knows neither kings nor parents, you give yourself over without restraint to the most monstrous inclinations, you follow this doctrine despite the king's prohibition; "It is a great disorder and you are worthy of death" - "Ignorant as I am," replied Paul, "I do not know the doctrine of Confucius or that of Mongtse which are for scholars. That of Fô concerns only the bonzes; but the Christian religion is made for all men; your servant will tell you something about it: In the beginning, God alone existed, then he created all that exists; after the creation, there were spouses and families, then kings and subjects. Fô, Confucius, Mongtse kings and subjects are posterior to the creation of heaven and earth. God, such is the true king of heaven and earth, the master and preserver of all things, the true father of all peoples, the true source of filial piety and fidelity to princes. Filial piety and fidelity to the king are ordered by the 4th of the ten commandments; Why reproach us for knowing neither the parents nor the king?" The mandarin replied: "If that were so, the king, the court and the mandarins would know it and it is from them that the people would learn it; on the contrary, they prohibit your religion which would bring misfortune to Korea. And you, stupid people, who refuse to obey and denounce your masters, you deserve death". "To die for God," Paul replied, "is to assure my soul eternal glory".

They were taken out of the tribunal, the satellites loaded them with chains, made them sit facing the sun and tried by a thousand means to make them apostatize. As they constantly refused, after the insults, they came to blows; some gave them slaps or kicks, others covered them with spit or weighed down with all their weight on their cangues while shouting: Today, after having made you go round the market, we will kill you. These rascals will ascend to heaven, cried the others. Finally, they smeared their faces with lime, attached an inscription to their heads and on their backs an enormous drum. The mandarin appeared on horseback and with blows of the whip, forced the two confessors to run before him to the market. During the journey a considerable crowd pressed on their passage, attracted by the cries of the satellites and the redoubled blows of the drum. It was about 9 o'clock in the morning. When they arrived, the mandarin spoke: "These two wretches," he said, "are Christians and their crime is that of rebels. They do not serve the king, do not respect their parents, infringe the natural law. When they have gone round the market, they will be put to death!!" Then he had them given ten blows with a board (this board is made of oak, a fathom long, 15 centimeters wide and 5 or 6 thick; it crushes the flesh which, after a few blows, detaches itself from the bones and leaves them exposed) and ordered them to apostatize. "I have already answered all these accusations," said Paul, "I have nothing more to add." They struck his sides with the points of several sticks at once, repeating the same order. "Even if I die ten thousand times," said the confessor, "I cannot apostatize." The people admired his

firmness and said: Certainly, this one will not abjure. It was seven o'clock in the evening when they were taken back to prison, after a torture of more than 12 hours. The satellites tried again to shake Paul by representing to him that if he did not obey the mandarin, he could not avoid death. He merely replied that he knew it well. What a rebel! said the soldiers with vexation.

Four days later, the jailer came to tell them that the mandarin had ordered a great feast to be held the next day in the public square. The apostates were to take part in it with him; the confessors, on the contrary, if they persisted in their resolution, were to be put to death. Paul's companion did not understand these words well and believed that perhaps peace would be restored to the faithful. "It is not so," said the latter... "Let us not give in to a vain hope which would make our tortures more painful. As for me, I want to remain in prison, and if the mandarin forced me to leave, far from fleeing, I would stay in the city." His companion, seized with fear, hid his head in his hands and remained silent. "What is the matter with you?" Paul asked him. "Really, I do not know how to bear the tortures... What can I do?" "It is true... I too suffer greatly and as I am older than you, my age makes the tortures even more painful; but can Heaven be bought at a low price? Sufferings are the currency with which one buys eternal happiness! Take courage and suffer a few moments longer." The next day, they were led to the market square, where a large tent stood, and under this tent the mandarin's tribunal, surrounded by several seats where the apostates dressed in fine clothes took their places. The feast began, while the two prisoners stood at the place of execution. The mandarin said to them: "Paradise is to have here below good food, beautiful music and everything one wishes. You who want to climb to heaven, how will you manage to climb its thirty-three stories? Abjure and you will be treated like these; otherwise I will bring you before the great tribunal and you will be put to death. Answer! - I have already answered, said Paul, but I will add one more word. God is the only master of everything, of life and death, how could I deny him?" His companion, less courageous, did not dare to resist the judge and was weak enough to do what he ordered. Encouraged by this success, the mandarin then said: "Come, you too, insult the master of heaven. - When the king makes a law, replied the generous confessor, it is transmitted to the people and you, far from violating it, you see to its execution; How then do you dare today order the people to curse their true father? In our country it is not customary to curse one's parents." The mandarin, in anger, ordered the books seized from Paul to be burned and the crucifix to be passed around the market, saying: "This man makes the one you see his God. Isn't it dreadful?"

Around noon, while this was happening, suddenly the weather became dark, thunder rumbled, and the wind blew violently, carried away the tent and almost knocked the mandarin over. The apostates who were rejoicing and enjoying themselves were frightened and fled. The people were moved and said that they would do well to release the Christian. Paul remained calm and prayed inwardly; but when he was told that the books and the crucifix had been burned, he was distressed and wept greatly. Far from being moved by what had just taken place, the mandarin had him beaten again and it was not until evening that he was taken back to prison. But so exhausted that he fell to the ground and was obliged to be carried, which did not prevent him from being loaded with a heavy cangue.

In the autumn, he underwent a new interrogation and was again struck with the board. Those who saw him said: "He will die under the blows of the board; - To die under the rods or under the board, said Paul, all comes from the order of God. May he be blessed with everything." He asked incessantly for the grace to die in tortures.

He suffered greatly from hunger and his clothes having worn out, the cold increased his pains greatly. His wife collected a little money and brought him wine and meat; he refused it: "The holy Virgin," he said, "having placed me on the cross, it is not fitting that I eat this. I have heard it said that Jesus on the cross had only sufferings, but I did not see that

he took anything delicate. I too am on the cross, I must do as he did." He nevertheless had to yield to his entreaties and accept this relief. Usually sitting or lying down, he thought incessantly of God and often received abundant consolations from him. One day he heard a voice saying to him these words of the Angelic Salutation: The Lord is with you. And he felt filled with joy (the text suggests that it was a miraculous voice, but it does not say so formally). He also seemed to have received an extraordinary and supernatural intelligence which made him appreciate the beauty of Christian prayers, better than the most learned. He also knew how to take advantage of all circumstances to revive his fervor; during the winter, his wounds made him suffer a lot, because of the excessive cold which was contrary to them. On Christmas Day, having undergone a cruel interrogation, he was seized with a burning fever: "See," he said, "the Lord, by a special favor, so that my soul may not grow cold, warms me by means of blows."

After the New Year, he was questioned three times; on the third time, the mandarin said to him: "If you wish to recant, I will give you rice, I will have your wounds treated, and I will give you a position as county chief which will suffice to put you at ease again. - He answered: Even if you were to give me the whole district of Tieng-san, I could never deny God." The mandarin said to him several times: "You claim that Christians honor their parents, but your four children have not come to see you once since you have been in prison. Have hearts ever been seen so degenerate?" - He answered: To obey one's parents, is that not to honor them? Now I have many times recommended my children not to come near me, for fear that it would be more harmful than useful to both; it is this prohibition which prevents them from coming."

In the fourth moon, he underwent torture once cruelly. In the 5th moon, the satellites often came to see him and did not guard the door much, seeming to invite him to flee, but he would not. When he was invited to do so, he replied: It is the mandarin who had me put in prison, I can only leave on his orders. Some Christians came to see him and told him that the conduct of the satellites could only be dictated by the mandarin, he should not have any scruples about fleeing. He reflected a little and replied: "If we allow ourselves to be caught in the devil's traps, we run the risk of losing our soul with all the merits it has acquired. My house is so poor that it is not difficult for me to remain in prison, where I am at peace and do not die of hunger. Everything my family do for me pains me." Then he said to his wife: All those who pray for me, if it is to make me enjoy the things of this world again, they must be prevented; but if they pray for my soul, for my eternity, so that I do not forget the sufferings of Jesus Christ and his merits, recommend me to them so that they pray without ceasing; I hope that it is in this way that my family prays for me. As for my food, bring me according to your means a bowl of rice a day or every two days and when you can do nothing, do not worry about it. If I cannot leave here, my corpse will be able to. From now on, he added, when you are charged to tell me something, even if they are Christians, if it tends to shake me, do not tell me; my heart could be weak." From that day on, if his wife came to bring him something, he refused to see her and was content to address her from afar a few words. In the 5th moon, he suffered torture again and when he returned to prison, the satellites came to him and said: "The chief of the satellites of the province (Governor) has just executed Ni Tsontchiang (he was a Christian of distinguished family) and he has sent the order to execute the prisoners of Tieng san, if they do not apostatize. What do you want to do? - "To abjure," he replied, "is to follow the inspirations of the devil, not to abjure is to obey God. Even if I die ten thousand times, I will never apostatize." The satellites withdrew, not without having mistreated him. A few days later, the mandarin said to him: You have been deceived. In China, Ni Matou (this is the way the Koreans pronounce the name Ly Mateo of Father Matthew Ricci, the first apostle of China) seduced the people by his science; How do you not see that these are deceptions? - Ni Matou, resumes the confessor, is a man like the others, but

the doctrine that he has spread in China and elsewhere is not his own, it is that of the great king of heaven and earth. If one must publish and listen with scrupulous attention to the orders of the kings of the earth, all the more so the orders of God which are more terrible, more formidable and more lovable at the same time than those of the kings of this world. He is the almighty, the most high, ten thousand times more admirable than all the potentates. When he orders, how could one preach religion negligently, receive it coldly, learn it with indifference? That is why, supported by his grace, I must bear and I will bear patiently all the torments, but I will never consent to apostasy." The mandarin had him beaten more than usual and sent him back to prison. Two days later, that is, on the third day of the sixth moon, his wife came to the prison to inquire about his condition and what he might need: "I am not suffering," he said, "I do not feel hungry; I do not know how many blows I have been struck with." At the same time, he gave her a calendar and prayer books, assuring her that he no longer needed them and that it was enough for him to have provisions until the 10th of the same month. He did not explain himself further, but it is easy to understand that he had received from Above the knowledge of his approaching martyrdom. On the 8th, the mandarin had him brought and repeated to him the orders he had received to put him to death if he persisted in his refusal to apostatize. The martyr's answer was always the same: "For several years that I have known religion, I know that it is right to die for God, do not therefore hope to see me abandon it." He was tortured and taken back to prison. The next day, his wife and 3 or 4 Christians came to find him; he asked them what they were looking for: "It is," they said, "that today you are to be subjected to cruel tortures, and we have come to witness them." He begged them to withdraw for fear that their presence would make an impression on his heart that he dreaded. As they remained, he added: "Why do you not do what I tell you? If the Lord sustains me, the most cruel torments are easy to bear; If he abandons me, the slightest sufferings are unbearable. If I were left to my own weakness, it would be impossible for me to remain firm, but Jesus and Mary supporting me, nothing frightens me. I implore you to withdraw." They then withdrew so as not to afflict him.

On the morning of the 10th, the satellites came to warn him that the day of his death had arrived; he leapt with joy and his face appeared radiant. "It is astonishing," said the people of the praetorium, "since this man has been in prison, when he is not tortured, he is thin, pale and dejected; on the contrary, the torments seem to give him life, and today that he is being told of his death, he has never been seen so radiant." It was the anniversary of the day on which he had been made to tour the market. A small cangue was put on him and he advanced towards the square, surrounded by satellites who carried the instruments of torture and followed by the mandarin. The latter dismounted and ordered him to be tortured. Then, he was laid flat on his stomach, his head held by his long hair and his two arms tied to a large stone. The cangue was tightened almost to the point of suffocation and several executioners struck him with a triangular piece of wood, a sort of axe, each blow of which left a wound. After having struck for a long time, the mandarin asked him if he did not want to apostatize. Paul, exhausted, could not answer; then a satellite approached and said to him: If you want to abjure, there is still time. The martyr gathered up what was left of his strength and said: Never. His lips were black and dried up, he hardly seemed to have a breath of life left. The torture began again. He was interrupted again to be asked if he did not abjure yet. Unable to speak, Paul answered with a negative nod. Suddenly, he raised his head, looked at the sky and said: Ave Maria, then he fell back and seemed dead. However, the pagans said: "It is because of him that the drought is devastating us and that we are dying of hunger. We must finish him off with kicks." The crowd pressed around him. His wife wanted to approach to relieve him, the clamour rose against her; mistreated, beaten, trampled underfoot, she was carried away unconscious. Paul having regained consciousness, the mandarin had him beaten for the third time; nothing could describe the state of his wounds. His legs had been broken below the

knee, the shattered bones were exposed and the marrow flowed to the ground. When he was untied, he remained lying motionless. Without removing his cangue, he was thrown on a mat and four executioners carried him back to the prison which was carefully closed. The mandarin said: "If anyone gives him even a glass of water, I will kill him like him!" For two days the martyr received no relief and no one could know whether he was dead or alive. On the 12th, towards the evening, the mandarin sat on a tribunal and said: "I have orders to beat this Christian until he dies, but I cannot bear the sight of it; go to the prison, take him out, see his face, feel his pulse and if he is still alive, finish him off and come and report to me." The satellites carried out this order and with blows from stones and sticks put him in such a state that except the palms of his hands, no part of his body was unwounded; however, he still had a breath of life left. This was announced to the mandarin who said to them in anger: "If you do not finish him off, I will kill you all." The satellites therefore returned to the prison and this time did not set a limit to their fury until the martyr's soul had flown to heaven. However, the mandarin, fearing that he would come back to life again, continued the torture on the corpse. One of the satellites, pressing the end of the cangue on his chest, climbed on top. The bones broke, the blood flowed in great streams, barely a semblance of human form remained. The body was covered with a mat and kept overnight. The next day, the people of his village buried him by order of the mandarin, but 7 or 8 days later, Christians about 10 leagues away came to take him and buried him honorably in their home. Paul was 56 years old. His martyrdom occurred in the year of Jesus Christ 1798, on the 12th of the 6th moon. To console his wife, the jailer said to her: Do not be too distressed, because on the 12th, during the night, a great light surrounded the corpse.

This, Sir, is the narration as I found it. My translation, without always being literal, is exact. It was written in a hurry and is very imperfect, but I repeat, I have been busy with the administration of Christians for four months, and I had to do it in the midst of much fatigue, so as not to miss the opportunity to send it to you. If this little work is agreeable to you, pray to God to strengthen me, if he finds it good, and I will have other interesting things to send you. In the meantime, I recommend myself body and soul to your prayers and holy sacrifices and ask you to accept, etc....

Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary of the Congregation of Foreign Missions.

To Bishop Verrolles

Korea, end of October 1855

Monsignor

I would like to be able to satisfy the desire that Your Highness shows to have many details on our Christians and on us, but what can I say that is a little interesting? Last year is the present year and vice versa. Nothing remarkable, nothing serious in these parts. We do in Korea what is done in Leaotong, that is to say that our efforts and our works are far from having brilliant successes. God is the master of hearts and he alone knows when there will be some notable change. If the personnel of the mission were increased, there could be a few more conversions; the opportunities would be better followed and the efforts pressed from several sides would not be without some result. Providence has not allowed it so far, we must resign ourselves to it. Moreover, the few people that we are see their strength diminishing each year instead of increasing. And without speaking of the others, I do not know too well what I will be allowed to do this winter; it does not announce itself under favorable auspices; what will be the end? Please do not forget me before God, so that at least I will not be surprised. If we do not advance much in conversions and in numbers, one can say nevertheless that we gain.

Tranquility reigns everywhere and does not seem to be seriously troubled. Each year a certain number of facts reveal a more conciliatory spirit in the people and the government; this is what makes us hope a lot for a more or less distant future. Little by little, the truth will come to light and the number of worshipers of the true God can only increase; this is what sustains in the midst of fatigue and combats; if it is not given to me to see the harvest, at least I will have, according to my strength, prepared the way for more worthy and happier workers. All is for the glory of the great Master, and he knows how to take us into account. Last year our attempt by sea failed, without our knowing the reason; will we be happier this time? How the missionaries are desired here! How we await them with impatience! Pray well, Monsignor, that this time, things will succeed for the glory of God, the salvation of the Koreans and our consolation.

I believe I can assure you that if we had the means of communication of Leaotong, our work would have more abundant fruits. but we are not there yet. Not knowing the number of baptisms, I cannot let you know. Mr. Maistre will doubtless keep you informed. For my part, I have visited about three thousand Christians and heard two thousand confessions, that is not much; my colleagues have done more and especially baptized more, because in my district, the baptisms are each year only a very small number, about thirty. Fortunately the other parts are more advantaged. I end this little letter here, Your Highness will excuse me, fatigue hardly allows me to write. I recommend myself again to your prayers and ask you to accept the assurance of my profound respect and entire devotion in Our Lord.

Your very humble and very obedient servant. Daveluy, Apostolic Missionary Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Barran Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions. Paris

Korea, November 1, 1855 *

Sir and respectable colleague

Providence has not allowed this time that a few lines from your hand reach me. I attribute it to the same cause that prevented this spring the meeting of the ship from Shanghai and no doubt your letter will be returned to China. What are then the designs of God for us? We thought the communications were well established and here they have not succeeded again this time. May his holy name be blessed. But how painful these trials are for our mission, always without reinforcement of missionaries; and the few who are at work are far from acquiring new strength, it is always on new colleagues that our most ardent wishes are directed. We feel the need, the necessity even, whether for the Christians, or for us, or also for the extension of our work. Man proposes and God disposes! As every year, let us say fiat, fiat! and ask all together for help from on high so that it may comfort us, console us and make us profit for his glory from so many setbacks.

You expect from me this time a few interesting lines; I blush as I put my hand to the pen, but your expectation will not be fulfilled this time. - You are a Gascon, you will say, never anything but words and no effects. I feel the full weight of your reproaches and yet I dare to affirm that all these reproaches would be unfounded. I have done all that I could, more than I could and here I am again empty-handed, overloaded with work that I cannot cope with and necessarily putting off a thousand things to the future, and if I could multiply myself, I would be overloaded again. What a busy man, isn't he? Well, would you like the summary of my year? Here is the bulletin: To do like the others, I took up administration, but not passibus aequis: some steal, others run, and I drag myself along. Let's say better; I have myself transported from mountain to mountain and arrived among our poor Christians, I do a little work while waiting for a new departure and new places. In this way, I have visited as best I could about three thousand Christians and administered two thousand confessions. This is my small part in active work. I should have always done like the others, but unfortunately, the temptation of singularities took hold of me in the spring and leaving the common path, I had to rest for nearly two months in the midst of the sufferings that Providence sent me. Having left there supposedly safe and sound, my administration being finished, I set my sights on two pressing and difficult tasks. The first was the revision of a book for our Christians and what I thought I would do in twenty days took me nearly two months. The heat is approaching, we must hurry, to realize the second, I am transported by six days of march to an old mandarin, a distinguished doctor to work with him on the preparation of a dictionary. Gigantic work that I should doubtless have left to others, but that I try to make use of the few years of use that I have in this country. Never has a Korean dictionary been conceived in this country; how could it have seen the light of day? Up to now, we are far from having been able to even gather all the words, but as it is, I spent three months sketching a Korean Chinese and French or Latin dictionary. It is far from being finished as you think, but tired of this distant country, I had to get closer to the center of the mission and for the moment I must still devote very little time to work while waiting for God to make known to me his further will. This is how a year has passed with the speed of lightning; little fruit and great weakening. What I must send you has not been forgotten. But all these much more pressing occupations leave me no time; I had planned to be able to devote twenty to thirty

days this autumn to collating and transcribing my notes in order to satisfy part of your requests, but on the one hand my weakness and on the other the slowness with which everything is done, without counting the loss of time on the way, all this means that this autumn I can do nothing and I am even forced to write very few letters.

But that is too much on the article; you will know at least that if I have not done much, I have always been occupied according to my strength for the good of the Christians and of the mission. Now is that not our goal? And the regret of not being able to do more is, say the spiritual authors, more natural than supernatural. I would like very much, according to their advice, to stifle all these feelings of nature, but is it so easy? Pray to God that he helps me, for I foresee well that it will be necessary to do even less in the future. Obtain for me a perfect resignation to the will of the good Master and I will be the happiest of men.

During the course of the administration, nothing remarkable happened; it was almost everywhere great tranquility; we are not worried, what more can we wish for; for the moment, it is already a lot. You already know my district from the letters of previous years and know that new Christians are rare there. So this time again, almost no baptisms on my part. In these parts, the pagans know religion in great numbers; they fraternize quite well with our Christians but also do not have the thought of embracing it, at least as long as it is prohibited. If sometimes one speaks to them of converting, they listen like people jaded on the subject and answer coldly: This religion is good, but the king forbids it, I cannot practice it; and then things remain at the same point. Sometimes, when they are old or at death, they remember something of heaven and hell and want to be baptized. If the house has a name and a position, you understand that the difficulties increase and consequently the number of catechumens of this class is still less. However, some come closer or begin. Each year, some facts reveal a tolerance and a spirit unknown before, from which the pagans take occasion to say that such a minister or such a great personage is also Tsien tsou hac, because this is how the pagans call religion. We laugh about it under our breath, but it is not so. This spring, the governor of a province had a newly converted noble seized and imprisoned. He had been accused by enemies on several counts, the first of which was religion. The governor, after some torture and about a month of detention, sent him back at the request of several pagan friends. Everyone knows that he was not even asked to apostatize; he returned home and one of the city's satellites said: It is clear that this religion is no longer forbidden. From that day on, he allowed his family to be educated and he himself also seems to be leaning towards practice. The event made quite a stir in the city and since then, four or five families have begun to educate themselves. This fact is quite striking and denotes great changes. The man who is currently the most influential in government is very close to a family, several of whose members practice. He has said several times that Christians are not dangerous and does not worry much about them and their leaders. Moreover, a short time ago, he wanted to have an interview with the famous Ni Matthieu, a distinguished scholar and doctor, formerly a follower of priests and released without apostasy in 1846. This family, for 50 years, has been outside the law because of its religion, and until now has not been able to be reinstated. Everyone knows that it still practices. Well, the factorum of the kingdom wanted to have an interview with this famous Christian. He did not surrender and the interview took place only under the pretext of a medical consultation. He was treated quite as a friend, there was talk of the fall of his family and the minister spoke of it in quite extraordinary terms; many rumors circulate on this subject, but the fact is still striking and denotes a spirit that is not very hostile. Pray to God that all this continues and that finally his name may be known throughout this country.

Do you want another little story? It was after Easter, I set out to visit some neophytes in the center of the pagans; three bearers and two followers form my entourage. We arrive at the Christians around two or three o'clock in the sight of several pagans, but

everything is quiet and without the slightest suspicion. That day, a Christian woman who hardly practices, through stupidity or malice I do not know, but the fact is that she betrays the secret of my presence. Around midnight in the rain, a mischievous pagan came to knock at the door, he asks to see me and despite the rain, refuses to leave. He cries out loudly and stays until sunrise. As a result of this the Christians cannot meet, and for fear that he will not return according to his promise, I had to abstain from saying mass; several Christians and relatives were near him and things were arranged so that I would be at peace. That day, pouring rain prevented me from leaving, besides the fact that I wanted to try the next day to give the sacraments to the Christians. But lo and behold, during the day, the same woman made it known that the village chief had come secretly to me. Immediately all the parents met to discuss what was to be done. It was decided that to teach me a lesson and take away my desire to return, the roads would be watched and that as I passed I would be seized and dragged ignominiously by the whole village with other threats for the future. In the evening, around eight o'clock, the village chief sent me these details with a request to leave before midnight. A terrible rain did not allow me to think of it, and we waited. In the morning, despite the rain, the roads were guarded and I was watched. The Christians went to try to compromise, but they answered that they must teach me a lesson face to face and that there was no arrangement to be made. Two or three attempts were unsuccessful. However, the rain decreasing, and I wanting to leave, they negotiated again and the pagans promised to let me pass. Then pretending to withdraw, they returned. Among the Christians, some told me not to go out, others that one could trust the promise of these men. In short, I believed that it was better to attempt the passage and in the midst of the tears of the Christians, I went out with my small retinue, banner unfurled and drums beating. Some pagans looked at me, but from a distance; the passage was open and I made good progress. A more worthy man would not have failed to contumeliam pati pro nomine Jesu. I did not deserve it; it all came down to a few heart-throbs while waiting for the outcome. We must laugh about it, but later, how these poor Christians will be visited, I do not know. For having a traitor among them, each year, the difficulties must be the same. Besides, the neighboring countries should not have known anything about all this.

Time is pressing, we must finish. I had a few books to ask for, but I no longer remember them and then they would arrive too late for me. It is useless. I limit myself to asking for a book that treats the mystery of the Incarnation in sufficient detail for the use of Christians. As for images, the Christian year by Bassot and the saints published by Taille seem good to me. Please send, especially images of the Blessed Virgin with the Child Jesus and of Saints Peter and Paul. Medium-sized images are the most fashionable, very small ones are not very desired. Then again, no doubt for my successors, please send me a small bookbinder's press. The iron screws, the space between the two screws would be about two large hands. It is necessary to add a well-conditioned cutter and do not forget to put a rod on the press to receive the cutter. If I could have another tool to make wooden screws a little bigger than a candle, and the instruments for the nuts, it would be very useful.

Please accept, Sir, the assurance of the deep respect with which I have the honor to be your humble and devoted servant and colleague.

A. Daveluy, apostolic missionary

Pray a lot for me, because the future is more than ever in the hands of Providence.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois procurator in Hong Kong

Korea, November 3, 1855

My venerable,

How has the machine been going for a year? The years are piling up with commensurate merits and accumulating from all sides, you must be well above the common. This is the reason that makes me pray to God to comfort you and preserve you ad multos annos.

The white hairs are coming and we will all be speaking of the venerable Father Libois in increasingly refined terms. Do you know that at home, the wig changes color. - It is very early, you will say; but I hope by this to conciliate the respect of a people who sometimes need external stimulant; and then, at the moment of obtaining it, I could well pass ad patres, where honors are given to each according to his rank, without injustice or anything similar. My half-white hair is therefore increasing every day, and if this continues, I shall soon be nothing more than an old crust good for nothing.

In the meantime, I have spent this year much as before, with less strength, however. About three thousand Christians were visited by me, including two thousand confessions. Is this better than nothing? Yes, I will answer, if they had been well visited; but for several years now my visit has been very cold, very incomplete and consequently without much fruit. The rest of my time is spent either in languishing or in reviewing books, or in working on the Korean dictionary. When will there be one? I do not know, because it is a dreadful work and I do not have the strength to do it; on the other hand, I do not know that others are working much on it; it will therefore be left to the following generations.

Your letter reached me by the North and you know that the sea route has failed. Sit nomen Domini benedictum! but it is very painful for our mission which languishes for lack of workers. This time, will we be able to receive our bishop? We ardently desire it, we pray for this purpose, and that he is not alone! Will God hear us? or will he not allow more trials? all this is in his hands and we must resign ourselves to it in advance. As for me, I doubt I can wait until spring and have the happiness of seeing him installed; however, who knows if I will not have to live several years with him? The rest will answer. We have no news: by a rumor about Japan, nothing clear about China and even less about the rest of the world. Your good letters will doubtless teach us something; here, no interesting detail, except perhaps that of the drugs that I take without much success. See my letter to Mr. Barran, it is empty. Oh! How I regret the good Mr. Jansou, he seemed to me to be a worker and we need them in all respects. Send us strong, vigorous missionaries, good walkers, not afraid of the mountains and lovers of study; there is so much to do here. People of my caliber would not live long; I do not know how God gave me the grace to come here, but I was able to work very little. Try to make others hold out longer. Our colleges are not brilliant, but nevertheless, there is improvement and our Christians seem to want to start some schools; that would be very advantageous; pray that it increases.

Please send me two or three knives with very good blades, whatever the handle. Then for my successors, a candle mold and a candle mold not very long; I believe they are made of tin and for several candles at a time; see what will be most suitable. I finished this letter not without difficulty, my hand refusing its service. This will explain its brevity and its

bad turn of phrase. Since Bishop Berneux cannot receive my letters before his departure for Korea, I am not writing. I hope that His Highness will not hold it against me.

All yours in Jesus and Mary; pray for me, living or dead, pray, but a lot. My regards to Mr. Mounicou.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

But tell me, P. Libois, you are not sending me any new Chinese books. I do not know the reason. When I was with you, such and such a very rare book was to be printed soon; why is it that they are not being made? Do you have any more sapèques? Should I even help the printing house with fifty francs, I very much desire some rare books which are not here, and especially the Documenta fidei translated into Chinese by the Tongking. The Korean letters enclosed here are for our students.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Albrand at the Seminary of Foreign Missions

undated

Sir and dear Brother,

The couriers have just brought us letters and I cannot tell you how much the news of the loss of our respectable Superior and Procurator Mr. Barran struck me.

I was far from thinking that he would end his career so quickly, so necessary moreover to the whole society and in particular to our mission. Really what are God's plans? In so few years He has twice called to him the Superior of Paris, and yet we must always believe that he protects us and watches over us - In the midst of this pain Mgr Berneux wrote to me that he has appointed you Procurator and I thank him for it, I have no doubt that you will do all you can to support us and render service to poor Korea. So Sir and dear Brother I wanted to get in touch with you immediately under this title and while waiting for something else I dare to hope that you will be kind enough to pray for us all the more since our ties have become more intimate. I have nothing more to recommend to your kindness this time.

I wrote a few small details in September addressed to Mr. Barran. Nothing new since that time except that I am even more useless than in the past. Ask God for patience for me and resignation to his will, in life, in death and in eternity.

We enjoy peace with the hope that it will not be troubled immediately. If Monsignor can come to us in the spring we will thank God generously.

Accept the assurance of my respect and affectionate devotion in Our Lord.

Your servant and brother.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Please send me the new prospectuses of the Abbé Migne bookstore with his projects etc. then a report of the Russian war, no doubt some have already appeared.

My parents or other people will perhaps come to see you for the relations or affairs which concern me, no need to recommend them to your kindness which is known to me.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois

January 1856

Dear and dear Father Libois

Your letters have just arrived safely, thank God! But all the news is far from good. The loss of Mr. Barran is very painful to me and it was completely unexpected. I thought he was the support of the Society and I hoped that God would keep him for a long time, what a trial! and then he will not be easy to replace in Paris, after all what can we do? Except to pay him before God our tribute of gratitude by weak intercessions. Not a word of our missions, no common letters, not a word of Japan, in a word almost nothing, it is sad.

Nothing either on Shanghai, nor on our letters nor on the prospect of a Bishop. Will it at least be able to happen to us? I desire it more than ardently, and it will be a beautiful day for Korea when she sees a Bishop again. I pray unceasingly on this subject, but I fear above all, having learned nothing of the causes which last year caused the sea expedition to fail.

Let us therefore always be in trials, but let us be above trials and walk firmly under the hand of God. You will perhaps receive this letter before those of September. I told you that I am becoming a completely useless being, I resign myself to the will of the Lord, may he have pity at least on my soul.

Nothing new under the Korean Heaven, we have peace and an abundant harvest. For the moment the Christians do not seem to have to be worried, that is a lot. The faith is spreading slowly, but it is not diminishing, some openings are always opening and bringing us a few sheep, unfortunately until now the men a little capable of rendering service do not come.

There are so many difficulties to overcome that if they come to know the truth of religion they will stop there. We must therefore wait until God wants to give us more freedom and ease. Our successors or rather my successors will perhaps enjoy it. Mr. Maistre and Father Thomas are on distant errands, they have a lot of fatigue to bear and I cannot help them as I would like. - May God send us help and allow Christians to feel the influence of missionaries more. When things are too far away, they always languish and from there good cannot succeed. -

I have written quite a few letters, I will not tell you more. Pray especially for me, I do not forget you before God. Your most devoted servant and colleague.

A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris.

Korea November 1856

Sir and dear Brother,

This spring I sent you a little note that must have been carried by the ship on which Bishop Berneux and his two companions arrived. If it has reached you, you will have already surmised our joy, our happiness - for God truly in his mercy has visited us. The arrival of His Highness and company is the great event that excites our thanksgiving and rightly so. All is for the best. Our work is strengthened; everything gives hope that the future will meet our expectations. I will not speak to you of the new Apostolic Vicar and our new brothers, it is enough to say that in my thoughts the finger of God is there and that we could not hope so well. The Mission will win every day, I have no doubt; His Highness' views are all just and suitable for this country, what happiness, what a blessing.

To tell you just a word about our position, because so many others will do so in detail, you will learn that the year has passed quite well, but above all the government seems to have taken it upon itself not to raise any issues against the Christians. Father Thomas, after being surrounded by a traitor and his satellites, managed to escape and the battlefield remained in the power of the Christians. The traitor then denounced us to the government, giving them all the possible details, but when he presented his notes and documents the minister who manages everything for the moment called him mad, insane, chased him away without wanting to listen to him and some even add that he was beaten. This at least is what we have been able to gather as probable on the traitor's underhanded machinations. Shortly afterwards, Christians were seized in two provinces. In one their trial ended with exile; in the other, it has been going on for five months and would give rise to real concerns if we did not have on the one hand the support of God and on the other the persuasion that the government does not want major affairs for the moment. This is what makes us calm, and the administration begins on the usual footing. My part in the work of the Mission has been small this year. The sedentary life appearing to be the most favorable to me, I only do a small part of visiting Christians and the rest of the time is spent on work, useful moreover to the Mission. His Grandeur's intention still seems to keep me in this position which moreover would not be at all painful for me if I could get hold of some men capable of helping me with the work I am dealing with. Let us hope however that if Providence wants me in this state it will also allow the necessary men and means to present themselves. For here, more than elsewhere, we have only Providence as a recourse, and it will not fail us. You will see from the letters of the other confreres that we are all satisfied and that there would be many things to do here on all sides.

But let us not be more hasty than God himself, pray a lot for our Mission and the Lord, by sanctifying us, will himself lead his work to its destination. Think especially of me before God so that I follow in all his will and that I make myself less unworthy than in the past to work for his glory. I also recommend myself to the prayers of all our Gentlemen for whom moreover I do not forget to implore the help of God.

Finally, accept the assurance of the respectful attachment of your very devoted servant and

confrere A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary.

P.S. You will find enclosed a letter for a young priest, nephew of Mgr Ferreol by his sister, he signed his letter studying theology at the Seminary of Aix. But since I cannot have his letter at hand and do not remember his last name, I ask you to take the necessary steps to have it sent safely.

If you would like to know a few small details that I am writing to my parents, you can.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Daveluy to Mr. Libois, Procurator General in Hong Kong.

Korea November 1856

Most Reverend Father Libois

Did you sing a solemn High Mass followed by the Te Deum?

It was well worth it; you know and I won't tell you again that Bishop Berneux arrived safely a few days after Easter. Thanks be to God for this benefit so long desired and awaited. All our Christians will be comforted by it and will receive a little boost. And then again you are right to think that we will be satisfied. I don't know him, but the relations I had with His Highness in the spring and in these days for the past two weeks, make me augur great benefits for the mission. Yes, Providence loves us since it arranges things so well for us. The Bishop will do perfectly here; all his views seem to me to fit in with our needs and all his good qualities will be appreciated. May God preserve him for a long time and allow him to accomplish all that we hope for. Unfortunately this summer passed very painfully, His Highness was almost always ill, and I feared that God would demand another great sacrifice from us. Fortunately His Highness returned an enormous stone some time ago, which gives hope that the cause of the illness could well be none other than that. Since that time he has been doing guite well. The administration of the Capital has already been done by him and that of the province will soon begin. The two good confreres who entered at the same time were welcome. For so long we have felt the need for reinforcements, our wishes have been fulfilled, and certainly there are not too many of us. Each of them is at his work and promises us great help. With this the Bishop thinks he can give me a little rest. I have spent a year of little use to Christians, but nevertheless entirely devoted to the good of the mission. The sedentary works which seem to suit me better for the moment are in great number. If I were to go several years without administering, all that there is to be done would not be nearly finished. So I am happy in thinking that this position still puts me in a position to be useful in the work to which I have dedicated myself. If there is suffering, where is there not? If God wants to use me in this part, it is already a lot. - You will know from other news, the capture of some Christians, the exile of two and the still pending affair of the others. That is to say that we do not have peace and that however the persecution does not seem likely to be violent.

By the grace of God as in the past, but there are still many enemies and especially a famous traitor who has many bad intentions. - Towards the Assumption a French ship appeared on the west coast. Mr. Mounicou sent a little note which, if it had been communicated immediately to the Bishop or to me, would have made us meet him. Considerable delays caused me to arrive too late, this ship had disappeared and I searched for it in vain for twenty days. I do not know what they came to do, they sounded the Gulf of the Capital, I do not know to what limit, but I believe that they did not see a route practicable for large ships, they should have entered the Gulf much higher and headed for Ieng Tchong Island. It is said that this is the best place and it is also a place very likely to accelerate the success of any approach; now there are two voices, one for fear which wants to be on its guard to avoid the anger of foreigners if they come, the other which wants, before giving them time to return, to strike at what are called internal enemies. God is there and will decide

alone everything that will happen thereafter. We hope however that there will be nothing serious. – Please buy for me a map of China in Chinese characters, printed, it is said, by the Protestants; then a Chinese dictionary of Kiang hi of the beautiful edition that is said to have been made in Quang Tong a few years ago, by choosing it well, the Bishop says that it is beautiful and cheap, our colleagues know it anyway. Farewell, good venerable, keep the hood, i.e. what is underneath; pray for me as I do for you, after all that is the main thing, isn't it.

Your very devoted colleague A. Daveluy Apostolic Missionary

If the large dictionary of De Guignes brought from France by Mgr Chauveau was still at the procurator, His Highness having allowed me to have it at the time of our separation, I would like you to send it to me by the boat that Mgr Berneux indicates to you in his letters.

To Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria

September 21, 1857

Monseigneur,

The letter that your Grandeur did me the honor of addressing to me fortunately reached me by the ordinary route and gave me all the pleasure that you can imagine. Your couriers are fortunate enough to fulfill their mission each year, but how rare news is in this country; common letters, if they are still written, only reach us from time to time, sometimes one, often not at all. Your Grandeur will understand from then on how precious the smallest details in private letters become to us. Besides, nothing yet here that could suggest that we want to do something for Korea, no news from outside and the interior is in a calm but not lasting state. Everything is at the mercy of a few great men, the government is absolutely useless, the spirit of plunder is increasing visibly among the mandarins, nothing is done except by money and for money and the spirit of the population is denatured in proportion to these excesses which damage the people and reduce them to the greatest misery. This is where this poor kingdom has been reduced. However, we do not talk too much about worrying us, everything remains on the same level of small tolerance which lets us breathe. Bishop Berneux, entirely devoted to his business, strongly encourages the Christians; a great deal of good has already been done among them and we hope to extend it much further, but it would be desirable for this good Bishop to take care of himself a little, which he does not know how to do at all and we will end up falling back into mourning, unless there is special protection from divine Providence. - That would be very unfortunate, His Highness has everything he needs to make this mission work and has already succeeded beyond our hopes. Please pray to God so much that he will preserve for us a pastor so necessary in the circumstances in which we find ourselves, it will be an act of charity, an act that will go straight to the glory of God. And your Mission, what developments is it taking with the new workers that your Grandeur has been able to receive? I hope to learn that you are making large establishments in Manchuria and that all these vast regions are finally submitting to the yoke of the Gospel. It is high time that everything comes out of its apathy and finally gives glory to the divine Savior of men; news on the progress of this great work would fill me with joy and I dare to wait for a few lines from your Grandeur on this subject. If we could also open some way in the North, we would perhaps find ourselves one day on these borders, as we hope to succeed in getting closer to Pien men and establish relations there. But time is needed for everything and especially to advance in Korea, your prayers will help us and God will do his work. Please, Monseigneur, do not blame me too much for the new signature that custom imposes on me. – I was determined to avoid this burden but circumstances have forced me to bend; yes and I bend too much under the weight; Deign to help me by your prayers to bear my position that I regret and will always regret. I was not made for such places and yet the will of God seems to declare itself, and however hard it may be, I believed I had to follow it; provided at least that my regrets do not exceed the limits of this life!

Accept the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor to be, Monseigneur

Of your Grandeur the most devoted servant.

+ M.N. Antoine Daveluy Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy via Mr. Libois

October 23, 1857

My letter of last autumn will have given in advance the answer to your good letters of August and December, and explained to you in detail why we do not go to the coasts of the East to meet ships that we do not know are there and that in any case we could not have reports in the East from here; it explained to you moreover that with preparations for voyages, expeditions at sea, etc. I was not able to compete with the sailing ships of the imperial navy nor consequently reach them. All this will have been clear to you. But your letters and the stories of Father Féron are and remain a problem that all of pagan and Christian Korea cannot resolve because here we are on the eve of All Saints' Day without anyone being able to explain a single word of the enigma. Now we had batteries established at several points, scouts, dispatch riders, all to help spend our sapèques that you were pleased to consider so numerous while we live in the hope of receiving them to fill the gaps that are too great that we experience. Perhaps new letters will give us the last word on such pompous announcements, but in any case we are as in the past, founded on Providence alone, and will try to continue the work begun with more or less great chances of success. We think only of setting out on campaign to follow the little train to which long years have accustomed us.

You will know from Mgr De Capsus that we have spent another year in peace, the greatest peace, supported not openly but effectively by the principal agent of the government, who lets all the affairs in which we could be compromised fall into the water and thus wants to sail his boat without exciting major affairs. Afterwards God knows what awaits us. The old queen died a month ago, as a result it is feared that our protector will be flushed out and from then on it would seem likely that power would pass in whole or in part into the hands of our enemies.

An address has already been made to the king to recall the services of those who in 1839 rid the kingdom of rebellious subjects. - The address remained without effect and without response, and nothing serious is foreseen for the moment. The kingdom, moreover, is falling more and more, it is in a state of weakness and discredit difficult to describe. All the laws, customs, old beams that support the throne are shaken and almost put aside, we expect more than ever some outcome, there must be catastrophes there, the public spirit can make them arise without any other cause; will all this have useful or harmful consequences for us, the future will speak. I am neither a doctor, too bad, nor a doctor, so much the better; but I do not know where we will be led. Pray to God that He may always be our compass in the midst of all events. While all our brothers are running and campaigning far away, I am sedentary by the orders of His Highness. I am not feeling bad about it and do not complain about it. This new regime suits me well in every way. There is only a new burden too heavy for my shoulders that His Highness should have spared me, I have already groaned about it ... illis ... and I am only at the beginning. God help me to carry it, you understand me, what a pity to see myself thus burdened. I am busy with language work, books etc. and the complete history of our Martyrs ab initio. We will have a lot of trouble getting details on the old days, but finally something will be done. I ask in Paris, all that there is and if you could find in Hong Kong, Macao or Manila documents on our mission in the early days, I would ask you to have them copied at our expense and to send them to me as soon as possible; if you have them late, you will send them later, at any time any document will be received with gratitude; please search well and inform yourself from all sides, your efforts will be paid by our martyrs, and by the glory which, we hope, will reflect on the whole Church. You will understand that in

this new position I am very little informed of all that is happening in the Mission, I have no details to send you, if I find any you will find them in my letter to Paris but in fact there are none. All matters will be communicated to you by His Grace Mgr de Capsus, no need to speak of it twice, it would be less clear. — And then under what title should I bid you farewell; not very well informed about the affairs of the Court of Rome I do not know whether to address you as Reverend, Venerable or better still. I admit everything and while praying often for old Father Libois I recommend myself more than ever to your prayers, Holy Sacrifices etc, often think before God of the one who is so happy to call himself forever your very humble servant.

A. Daveluy Coadjutor of Korea

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand, Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea, November 21, 1857 *

Dear Superior,

I have received through the usual channels the two letters that you did me the honor of sending me in February and July 1856. I thank you again for the kindness with which you sent me various items; Mr. Féron fortunately brought me the small box of cards, pictures, etc. Bishop de Capsus must inform you of the result of our deliberations on the regulations and the procurator of our Mission, I will not dwell on that, I dare to hope that the desires that you had expressed will be fulfilled for the general good of our missions and that God will increasingly bless the seminary which must supply our great needs. But allow me to move on immediately to the few details that you expect from me on our position, because time is pressing.

The administrative campaign of 1856, that is to say the autumn of that year, opened with a signal blessing of Providence which opened the hearts of the Missionaries as well as those of the Christians to confidence. During my dispatches of last year, you will doubtless remember that we still had five of our neophytes in prison whose position, without giving rise to great concern, did not fail to keep us a little on the alert. Shortly after the departure of our letters, God permitted them all to be released. The hope of a ransom had delayed their release, but finally the ransom not being announced, they all five left as they were, several without seeing even the shadow of apostasy. Returning home, they still call themselves Christians and strengthen the whole flock by their happy deliverance. Could this be the dawn of an era of tolerance? This is what we wonder and we await with some hope.

Meanwhile, the small, very distant Christian community in the province of Hoang Hai that Father Thomas had visited was receiving the trials promised to the disciples of the Cross. The priest had barely left when the rumor of his visit, which had been leaked, caused a coalition of the people of the neighborhood, the outcome of which was the expulsion of the family of the Christian who had received the Priest and the surveillance of all those who had taken part in the dreadful plot. The authorities did not get involved, everything was done by the people and the brave persecuted man had to flee, hide and to this day is pursued when he is found. However, let us hasten to say that the temporary dispersion of the sheep and their relations with each other, hindered on all sides, did not succeed in ruining this nascent Christian community; most of them have remained and recent news tells us that they want to try to receive the Priest for next spring. I would dare to excite your piety to think before God of this part of our Christians who can and must render us eminent services if we can put it on a good footing and give it a little extension.

If from there we turn our eyes towards the East where our College is now located under the direction of Mr. Pourthié, the cross still bears its fruits. Serious vexations made to Christians in the surrounding area made us fear for a certain time an affair of great importance. Everything had to be on the alert and most of the furnishings hidden underground. But the Savior once again *imperavit ventis et mari et facta est tranquillitas*.

The mandarin seized of the affair and brought for the Christians had them justice done without the word Religion having been able to be placed and without appearing to touch it, very skillfully rendered us an eminent service. In the midst of these repeated skirmishes in several other places, strong in the support of the Most High who reveals himself at every moment, each of the missionaries was able to make his visit in peace, and gather the consolations with which God deigns to fill us. All our Christians were administered and five hundred adult baptisms have increased our small columns by the same amount. To God all the glory. With what goodness he allows us to always be a little tested, to prevent no doubt that one falls asleep in the shelter of security. And see what his adorable designs will be —

A catechumen dies baptized by a catechist at the hour of death. That same night a kind of rainbow appears over the house of the deceased, several pagans and Christians see it, they are in admiration, the pagans want to follow the Religion of the deceased and around the month of April about fifteen began to learn - Whatever the cause of this phenomenon or prodigy, God has already drawn glory from it and the salvation of some souls. What to think of all this? Some conversions are made singularly, pardon my expression. Recently a marriage was concluded with a pagan against the rules of the Church. Bishop de Capsus interdicted the parents of the young person. Not knowing what to do, the parents went to find the young pagan groom and said to him: We are because of you under the weight of a serious punishment, you must immediately learn our doctrine and get us delivered. This one listens and says: It seems that everything is well regulated in this Religion, it must be good; he begins to learn and knows almost all his catechism. It is hoped that he will be baptized soon.

— A woman who practiced without her husband's knowledge knew little catechism, she is urged to learn and she pretends that it is impossible, her reasons are not admitted and she is forced to learn the doctrine better under penalty of refusal of the sacraments. Very distressed, she says: Since it is so I have only one way, it is to warn my husband and try to convert him. What was said was done and the husband docile to the grace which solicited him through the mouth of his wife consented to be a Christian. These little details are very petty in themselves, but to me it seems so beautiful to see all the forms that God takes to attract his elect, that I thought I would please you by reporting them to you as they appear to my memory.

After the end of the administration, the largest and most solemn meeting that has ever taken place in this Christendom was to take place. Bishop de Capsus, after having received from His Holiness the necessary powers to choose a Coadjutor, did not want to wait any longer to use them and His Grandeur urged me to accept this formidable charge. My natural repugnance for this position alone was enough to lead me to refuse, I never believed myself made to command, it is already a lot for me to know how to obey; on the other hand the real exhaustion of my strength followed by the loss of my intellectual faculties did not allow me to accept this burden, but His Grandeur spoke to me in terms which made me fear that an obstinate refusal would put myself and the Mission out of the way of Providence, and I had the misfortune to give my consent. The day of the consecration was therefore fixed for March 25, the day of the Annunciation and Fathers Maistre, Petinicolas and Father Thomas were gathered for this ceremony which prudence did not allow to be done among Christians. It took place in the house of His Grandeur, during the night in the presence of the Catechists of the Capital and a small number of Christians. The locality and the secrecy did not allow great pomp; it was almost like in the catacombs. How painful it was for us not to be able to satisfy the desire of all our Christians, they have never been given the opportunity to contemplate the majesty of our ceremonies and they are inconsolable for not having been able to attend the only one that will perhaps take place in their lifetime.

Today everything is over, but, if it were not for me, it would be a real consolation to think of the progressive march of Religion in this country. Here too the Episcopal Consecration has been given, the hierarchy is established in the usual rules of the Church, is it not a great step, an act of the greatest consequence for the future of our dear Neophytes?

Yes, this land so fertilized by the blood of martyrs will bear its fruits and I dare to expect the protection of so many valiant athletes whose heads carried to the scaffold serve today as a basis for our divine Religion in this country and consolidate the weak works that we can undertake. Land of martyrs, Korea will bear its fruits I have no doubt and this is what consoles me in the midst of the dejection in which I am... Events are hurrying and all seem to have a stamp of grandeur.

From the day after the Consecration the land of Korea could contemplate its numerous clergy, (the expression has become just) gathered in Synod to try to regulate everything according to the spirit of the Church and for the advancement of our Mission. Pressed by circumstances, only three days were devoted to this happy meeting, where our rules for walking safely and the bases of the operations that seem to be permitted to us were more clearly laid down. Discipline is strengthened, minds tend more easily towards the same goal and above all the union of charity is admirably tightened, what thanksgivings should we not render to God? Despite the fact that these works were very incomplete, we expect great fruits from them, yes great fruits of salvation.

It was necessary to separate, Father Thomas had already left for the administration, Mr Maistre was to follow him on Tuesday, but now Heaven sends us a new mark of its prodigious benevolence. Around four o'clock in the morning we are woken with a start. The Father has arrived, they say - What Father? - He has arrived from the sea - We jump, he was not expected. In fact, dear Mr Féron presents himself and finds us astounded with happiness. What a miracle! By some misunderstanding we thought that no Priest was to be sent to us this spring by sea and our boat had not been to meet him. By what means then was he able to introduce himself, him, alone and without Koreans? Here shines all the wealth of the resources of Providence. By chance, a boat of Christians chartered by a pagan to go and trade with the Chinese boats, met the one where Mr. Féron is. Despite the presence of the pagan our Christians do not hesitate, they receive the Priest on board and bring him to us fortunately. The pagan robbed us in a big way, it is true, but finally dear Mr. Féron is with us and supports us. So here is this Korea closed for so long as by a triple enclosure which receives a Priest without anyone getting involved, Providence alone leads him to the house of the Bishop of Capsus. A thousand times, ten thousand times thanks to this God of goodness. What an omen for the future of the Mission! How everything is going to go! Was I right in saying that the great events and the prodigious benefits had come one after the other. In the midst of our joy, our unspeakable happiness, the first words of the new brother pierced my heart. Mr. Féron spoke to us of certain projects for France, etc.

All this excited my regrets again. I would have liked the Consecration not to have taken place, since then I believe nothing could have decided me. But since everything is done, pray, pray, pray for me. You know by His Highness that for a year I have been little occupied with Christians, and entirely devoted to sedentary work judged necessary. This new position also suits me very well and my health seems to be improving a little. The Bishop has charged me, among other things, to collect everything that could be found for the complete history of our martyrs and of the Mission of Korea. We have here very few documents on the persecution of 1801, from which it was decided that you would be asked to have a copy made for us of all the documents that you could find in Europe. His Highness must warn you to advance all the necessary expenses. There may be documents at the house in Paris, perhaps also at the Fathers of St Lazare and in Rome; wherever they are, please have them copied quite finely and very clearly, it would be good to send them by Suez if possible. Mr. Féron says that we are on the point of printing the history of our Mission, we believe it important to wait until we have been able to communicate our documents to you; there are necessarily in those that you possess errors, obscurities, incomplete facts, I believe I am able to make the greater part of them disappear, this reason alone would be enough to make us wait. Another

reason. Until now the proper names have been put sometimes with the Chinese pronunciation, sometimes with the Korean. But they differ so much that it is often impossible to know if it is the same name. It is necessary in publishing the history to put them all uniformly and the Korean pronunciation must be adopted, since it is the only one that can be given in the letters of the missionaries who work in this country. I hope that these considerations will encourage you to wait until we have been able to return to you all your documents corrected and enriched by a good number that I have here and that Mr. Féron says is not with you.

I beg you at the first opportunity to send me a mosette, taking care to have it made of a material that is both strong and very light, so that I can use it in the summer. You would be kind enough to include gloves, stockings and shoes for ceremonies; you would put a red pair and a white pair of each. I have taken the liberty of writing on this sheet the size of my shoes so as not to make any unnecessary expense. I am ending this letter to continue a document addressed to you, I recommend myself more than ever to the prayers and Holy Sacrifices of all the confreres, my needs have greatly increased, I hope however that God and the good Mother will help me. We are quite peaceful, however a Christian has just been imprisoned two leagues from my home, he has already made some denunciations, it is said, but let us hope that the Lord will support us as in the past, we are not very worried. God has his designs, will there still be some bloody scenes before a new era appears? The sequel will teach us.

Please accept the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor to be, Monsieur Superior, Your very humble servant and colleague.

+ Antoine Daveluy, Bishop of Acônes, Coadjutor of Korea, of the Society of Foreign Missions.

There has been so much talk of revolt that no one believes in it any more, however there is at this moment such agitation, such astonishing ordinances and such serious measures taken by the Government, that one cannot help but fear. A civil war is expected at any moment and the king ruined by his excesses could well die. He has no heir, which would complicate matters. The horizon is very dark; pray for poor Korea; we have for us the Morning Star and the light of the World.

They will guide us, I hope, through whatever happens.

Copy of a letter from Mgr Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

1857 *

(Martyrdom of Laurent Pak)

Dear Superior

I did not intend to send you immediately some rich documents of our ancient martyrs, but only to gather them together to offer them to you later, but the dear Mr. Féron having shown me on the one hand the pleasure that the account of the martyrdom of Ni Paul in 1798 caused you and on the other the impatience in which you are, he says, to receive news, I cannot not try to satisfy your desires, it is therefore a simple flower that I hastily detach from the beautiful garland that today adorns my room, may it spread among you the good odor of virtue with which it perfumes our surroundings. I have chosen the life of Pak Laurent, who for sufferings, is not inferior to his famous patron, you will be able to judge:

Pak Laurent was born in the village of Ouen-tang-san in the district of Hong-tsiou, of poor parents and of the lower class. He had a firm and determined character and did not do things by halves, it is said. He must have been about twelve to fifteen years old when his family was instructed in religion, he immediately embraced it with fervor and his heart overflowed with joy thinking of the benefit that the Lord had just granted him. From then on he bore with pleasure all the pains of life which followed one another in the midst of the works that he had to exercise by state. Assiduous in all his exercises of piety, his words and his actions became the model of his acquaintances. Shortly after his marriage the reading of the lives of the SS. Martyrs and Virgins excited and exalted him greatly and forming himself also the design to live in continence, he communicated it to his wife, and by mutual consent, they took the resolution to which they have been faithful since. To devote himself more easily to the practice of all his religious duties, he soon left his country and his acquaintances to go live with his mother near other Christians, and there he was able to freely devote himself to all that his fervor inspired in him. The opportunity to burst forth outside the ardor with which his heart burned did not take long to present itself. In the year 1791 several Christians were imprisoned in the city of Mien t'sien and among this number was the elder brother of Laurent. Laurent full of compassion for the Christian prisoners had been several times to see them and console them and everyone admired his zeal and his charity, but seeing these poor unfortunates in prison already for several months, he could not contain himself any longer. One day, when lunch had just been served to the Christians, he knocked violently on the mandarin's door, appeared before him and said in a loud voice: Cruelly beating innocent people, keeping them in prison for several months, what do such principles mean? The angry mandarin asked who this individual was, and was told that he was the brother of such and such a person who was then imprisoned for religious reasons. The irritated mandarin had a large cangue placed on his shoulders and ordered the satellites to beat him violently, they gave him a large number of blows with sticks, but Laurent did not weaken under the blows and said to the mandarin: This wooden cangue is too light, impose an iron one on me, these wooden sticks are too soft, have me beaten with iron rods. The mandarin's position was becoming difficult, the whole city was in turmoil, and in expectation of a great event, the Christians for their part saw this as a completely supernatural exaltation. Laurent was transported to the criminal prefecture of Hai-mi and then to that of Hong-tsiou where he was

again beaten with many blows from large sticks, but he held firm and did not give up for a single moment. After a month and a few days, new orders from the Court having arrived, he was released and returned home. How can I tell all the reproaches and insults that he then had to endure from his uncle and his pagan acquaintances, but he was not troubled by them and continued to practice his Religion, devoting himself to all the duties of filial piety towards his mother and to acts of charity towards his neighbor. Five or six years passed in this way. In the year 1797, on the 19th of the 8th moon, persecution having arisen in his district of Hongtsiou, they wanted to seize him again. Laurent, distrusting his own strength and fearing that he would not be able to bear the tortures, believed it necessary to hide himself according to the rules of prudence. But his young son having been taken captive in his place, his mother said to him: Now you cannot avoid surrendering. On this word and trusting in the help of God, he went of his own accord to the prefecture. The mandarin at first reproached him for having fled, but Laurent replied: I had left before your order reached me, but having learned that you had seized my son and on the order of my mother I have come, what business makes me call? The mandarin: Why do you follow a bad doctrine prohibited by the king and the mandarins. Laurent replies: I am not a bad doctrine, I only observe the ten precepts of the true Religion which teaches to honor the God Creator of all things. I honor this God, then the king, the mandarins, my parents and other superiors, I love my friends, my benefactors and my brothers and all other men. The mandarin: you have parents and brothers, it is also said that your whole village follows the Christian Religion, denounce everything to me. Laurent: I only have my mother and no younger brother, but in the whole village I am the only one to practice the Religion. The mandarin: You disregard your parents, the king and the mandarins, you abuse other people's women, you dissipate your wealth in futility and do not make sacrifices to parents, why thus violate all natural principles? Bind this individual for me and beat him up and put him to the question. Laurent: the 4th precept orders us to honor parents and superiors, the king and mandarins and to love our brothers and our relatives, are these not the true natural principles. As virtue is the food of the soul, material objects are the food of the body. Thus, parents after their death can no longer come to eat what is offered to them, we do not offer them. A true doctrine rejects vain things and only attaches itself to realities. Moreover, we make the burial of the dead following all the rules of propriety. The 6th commandment strictly forbids us from all kinds of impurities and the 9th from even desiring the wife of our neighbor. The little that I have, I use it to relieve those who are naked or in need, this is not to dissipate one's wealth in futility. The mandarin ordered to put the cangue of unpolished wood around his neck, saying: By whom were you instructed? Who copied the books you have and who are your accomplices? Laurent: I was instructed by Tsi Hong-i of the Capital who was beheaded for his Religion, the books also come to me from there, it is right that I die. The mandarin, Would you like to die like Tsi Hong-i by any chance? What is so good about dying? Laurent: God has filled me with boundless blessings and my sins being numberless, it is quite right that I die. The mandarin what sins have you committed? Laurent: I have not observed the ten commandments in their integrity. He is taken back to prison. There the jailers put his feet in the shackles, lay him on pieces of tiles and press him hard while demanding the jailers' right. After making him suffer a lot, two executioners show up again to demand their salary. Laurent told them that he was willing to die for justice, but that if he had wanted to give money he would not have come this far. He had barely said these words when they began to beat him again with countless blows with different large torture sticks; he was completely confused and could not rally his ideas. At the second interrogation, the mandarin said to him: Will you not change in the end? - No, he replied. They placed him on the torture board and made him beat and then pulled with pliers. - Will you still be stubborn in ignoring parents, king and mandarins? Burn your books, crosses, medals and images, all these are bad things. Laurent: Should I die, how could I burn such precious books.

- The servants said to themselves: he calls his books very precious; and gave him a volley of blows on the legs. - Who is God? Where is he? He wants more of this malicious doctrine. - Laurent says here a few words about the Incarnation of J.C., the merits of his Passion, his Resurrection, Ascension and his second coming.

Three months after the cangue was put on Laurent, Christians from different places having come to see him obtained from the jailer for a price of money to have his cangue taken off and only then was it taken from him in the prison. At the third interrogation and then at all the others, they always begin by threatening him with death if he does not retract; the mandarin says to him: You child of Korea, how can you persist in doing what all the Saints and famous men have never done. What do you have to gain by violating the law of the kingdom, your conduct is not reasonable. —Laurent: Since God has granted me the grace, me a vile creature, to know what these great men have not known, I am all the more grateful to him. The Mandarin: But what pleasure do you have in dying? Laurent: The king may well be master of the body, but God is master of the soul, he has established rewards and punishments after death and no one can avoid them. Should I die this time, what does it matter to me? Is not this life like the dew that dissipates? Life is a pilgrimage, death is only a return to the homeland.

For seven months he was always under the weight of a heavy cangue and always overcome by the civil and criminal mandarins who used persuasion and threats in turn, one can imagine the painful position he found himself in. The 4th interrogation took place on the arrival of a new mandarin, who said to him: Why after violent torments do you not want to change again, then still having your mother how can you want to die? What stubbornness carries you away then? Laurent: Death is of all the miseries of this world the greatest, the desire for life and the horror of death are a feeling common to all, but God being the grandparent of all and the Sovereign Master of all things, should I die for him what do you want me to do about it? - There is nothing to be done with him, said the mandarin, and he had him beaten with extraordinary sticks and then sent to the prefecture of Hai mi.

This criminal judge sitting on his tribunal said in a terrible voice: Bad being, unspeakable individual, what do you pretend to do? You too are covered by Heaven and you dare to disregard parents, king and mandarins. I will have you killed -

A terrible apparatus of instruments of torture was spread around him on all sides and the cries of the satellites: 'speak frankly' stunned him. Laurent said: I follow the ten commandments to honor the great God of Heaven and earth, if I did not honor my parents, the king and the mandarins I would be guilty before him. The mandarin: God who is he? Where is he? Can you know him so well, you? If this doctrine were true, would not the king, the Court and the mandarins follow it? Laurent: God is in Heaven and he makes his orders known; if you carry them out, he makes you rise near him; if you resist him, he casts you into Hell. This is a punishment a million times stronger than one can imagine here below. No being is outside his benefits, but a creature such as myself having received more than all my Superiors, even if I were to die, how could I deny him. The mandarin: After your death, your mother will also be put to death because of you. Laurent: After my death, that of my mother is indeed in your hands; however she too was created by God, could he not think of her? The mandarin: Is it out of fear of Hell that you act thus? Laurent: That is also good, but in any case how could I decide to renounce my God. He had him beaten fifteen times with the big board, then he was sent away; when he had gone out the servants began to beat him again with various sticks and much more than before the mandarin, his position became more and more painful. Three days later, at the 5th interrogation, he was beaten severely to obtain denunciations; the threats were as stiff as the hoarfrost of autumn; a being such as you, you will be put to death. Laurent said: Since today I must be put to death and you treat my religion as vain, I cannot keep silent. Know this then, at the end of the world, after the

annihilation of all kingdoms, all men of all ages, great and small, kings and people will be gathered before the Son of Man descended from Heaven and carried on the clouds and he will judge the men of times past and present. The good will be carried to Heaven with the Lord Jesus and the saints and will enjoy a happiness ten million times greater than all the glories and pleasures of the world. The wicked will be swallowed up in Hell by the earth that will open under their feet and will suffer pains ten million times greater than the pains of this world, plunged into a blazing fire that will never be extinguished. Once arrived there all regret is late and useless. Each will receive according to his works. Since you want to kill me, now turn my body over and strike me on the throat kill me straight away. The Mandarin: You will die under the blows of the thieves' stick. He is beaten with twenty blows of this stick, then to get out he drags himself with difficulty, during this time on each side executioners continue to beat him until he is outside. The praetorian of crimes says: Even if his throat is cut clean, this rascal will not say that he will no longer practice. At the 6th interrogation the mandarin says: It is because of these beings who follow this bad doctrine, that drought and famine are raging, all the people will perish. Declare the places where you practice and your leaders; it is said that they are gathered in the mountains, denounce everything. Laurent: We have no leaders; that the Christians are in the mountains I do not know, if you know why ask? The mandarin: break the leg bone of this rascal and beat him to death so that he does not leave here. We carry out his orders. On the 9th of the month the governor wrote: The doctrine of the Europeans is dirty, horrible, malicious and bad. Beat these people on the legs and if at the fourteenth blow they do not surrender, defeat yourselves by killing them. Terrible devices are accumulated and vociferations are heard: Today is the day of your death, denounce everything. They tie his feet and hands and beat him amidst curses. Do you not then wish to see your mother? What is so good in dying? Laurent: My desire to see my mother is inexpressible, but even if I must die I cannot change my service to God. The mandarin: put him on the torture board, I will have him killed. Laurent: Do as you wish, I have nothing to say; two executioners surround him and beat him thirty times, he suffered horribly. On the 24th of the month he is brought again and badly beaten; then three days later suffered the same tortures again. - After about ten days he was brought before the court again, the civil and criminal judges held a council and again urged him to recant; and on his refusal they ordered him to be beaten until he apostatized; Lawrence remained firm and was taken away. The executioners continued to beat him outside; the rain having fallen he was lying on the mud and water was flowing from his whole body. One of his arms being completely out of order, he leaned on the other and dragged himself with great difficulty to the prison. Several times the jailer and the praetorians were sent to try to win him over, but Lawrence would not be shaken; He was then beaten with twenty blows of the big board, after which the mandarin had people from the market come and ask them if it was right to kill a being who did not know his parents, king and mandarin, and on their affirmative answer he was given ten more blows of the big board and sent away. At the 7th interrogation he was beaten again twice with thirty blows from the thieves' stick and urged to save his life by apostasy, but Laurent replied: It is written in our books that a faithful subject does not serve two kings and a faithful woman does not give herself to two husbands.

At the 9th interrogation he was tempted by the example of some apostates, but Laurent replied that religion forbids scrutinizing the conduct of others and that he did not know what they had done, the mandarin had him beaten forty blows from the thieves' board, saying: If you do not die from this blow, I will have you beaten even more. At the 10th interrogation, the same insinuations and the same response followed by thirty blows from the thieves' board. Around this time Laurent wrote a few lines to his mother, the letter was worded as follows: To my Mother; I, Laurent, ungrateful son, from my prison I address to you the expression of my feelings: I had always resolved to be devout towards God, pious

towards my parents and my brothers and to fulfill the orders of God in all my thoughts, words and actions. On the contrary, I have sinned against God and have not fulfilled my duties towards my parents and my brothers. Having been unable to defeat our three enemies, my sins are without number. My Mother, forgive me my disobedience; my uncle, my brother, my sister-in-law, forgive me for not having treated you better and pray to God to forgive me my sins and to save my soul, by this God will forgive you all your sins too. Spring and autumn pass like the flow of waters, time is like the spark that springs from the stone under the blows of the lighter, it is not long, above all be on your guard and faithful to the orders of God. About two months after my arrival in prison I was looking for what I should do to obtain the grace of God, one day during my sleep I glimpsed the cross of Jesus and he said to me: Follow the cross. I saw it confusedly and until now I cannot forget it."

On the 16th of the 12th moon, at the 12th interrogation, he was questioned again as in the past and struck with 50 blows of a stick, his reason was completely disturbed, he was almost reduced to death. He was told not to eat any more and hesitating to know if it was really God's order, after three days he began to take food again. The 1st moon of 1799 passed without anything new. From the first days of the 2nd moon to the 13th interrogation, same questions and same answers. He was beaten with 50 blows of a stick, he lost consciousness and could no longer move his arms and legs. The mandarin said: I cannot see him die under the blows, make him die of starvation. On this order of the mandarin he took no more food but fearing that it was a temptation he asked with trembling for the grace of a good death. On the 25th of the 2nd moon of 1799, he wrote again: I am worried thinking that my mother, my wife and my children will have difficulty in conforming to God's order, if you conform well I will myself be in joy" At the 14th interrogation he underwent a violent torture, his whole body was nothing but a wound. In all he had received more than 1400 blows of the stick. For eight whole days he had not taken a drop of water, that day he received another 50 blows of the stick of the thieves, he was expiring. That night the jailer thinking that it was his end, stripped him of his clothes, washed his bottom with cold water and left him lying exposed to the night dew. The mandarin to hasten his death ordered him to be beaten while pouring water on him at the same time. It is a refinement of torture that is said to be unbearable. However, he did not die. All around him was in a hurry and agitation. On this, Christians were able to enter the prison secretly and urged him to eat despite the mandarin's prohibition. He did so and took some strength, the jailer did not prevent him. On the morning of the 28th, the practor in charge of the tortures urged him again to apostatize with a promise to release him immediately: - I am at death's door, replied Laurent; not even being able to drag himself along, he was taken to the tribunal and the judge said: There is no more questioning, kill him with blows. Six vigorous executioners were chosen who beat him without stopping with a hundred blows of the thieves' board, and as he did not die, he was sent back to the prison. The executioners dragged him, then carried him and threw him halfway, they pushed him back with their feet, hit him with sticks with numerous blows. Laurent lost consciousness and appeared dead, he was carried and thrown near the prison door, and from there the jailers dragged him to the door of the room where he had been before. There were then eleven Christians in the prison, looking some time later they saw that Laurent had himself put down his cangue and had entered the apartment, he was lying there. The jailer having seen him there, made serious reproaches to the Christians for having helped him; he said: This being does not die, although we do not give him anything to eat, we can beat him however much he wants to die, then he added insults.

Laurent called him and said to him: I will die neither of hunger nor under blows; I will die like Tio Seng-Sami; Now this one was a homicide hanged some time before. On the 29th in the morning the criminal judge asked if he was dead, the answer was negative; The angry judge had the jailer beaten and threatened him with torture if he did not kill the

Christian. Seeing this, the jailer's son ran to the prison, stripped Laurent of his clothes and set about suffocating him. The jailer also arrived and, in a rage, began to beat the Christian at random with a stick as thick as an arm; the Christians, unable to bear this dreadful spectacle, withdrew, and yet the jailer, believing he had beaten him to the point of death, lay down in the room and was sleeping. The Christians, who had returned to see the end of things, could not see any trace of wounds on Laurent's body; he was as usual and was talking with them. While the jailer was sleeping, Laurent changed places and went behind the prison to relieve himself. The jailer waking up and no longer finding him went to look for him, dragged him to the place where he had been before, then taking a straw tie he strangled him and killed him in the manner of the notorious thieves, it was about eleven o'clock in the morning, the 29th of the 2nd moon of the year Kei-mi, the year of J.C. 1799.

Thus perished at the age of 25 to 30 this distinguished athlete of the faith after a long martyrdom. - For more than eighteen months each of his days was, so to speak, marked by some torture, each of his steps left bloody traces. It is hard to believe that a human body can resist torture for so long, but besides the fact that God for reasons worthy of his Wisdom has at all times preserved the life of his confessors in the midst of torture, the tortures that great criminals endure in these countries also make the thing less incredible. What constancy, what merits, also the places near this long martyrdom have always been the principal nursery of this Christianity, here as elsewhere *Sanguis Martyrum semen christianorum* - Happy land so generously fertilized, has it arrived at the day of harvest, or must the heavenly gardener still fertilize it? Seventy years of sowing in blood, will they reap abundant harvests in the midst of exultation? The future will answer; pay attention to events; but today as always the Cross is planted only by the Cross. *Crux de cruce*: This is the motto of our first Chief, how can we not follow him under this flag? Our hearts or rather all hearts sigh in expectation. Prayer, Hope! In any case God is there.

Pardon the style, I hastily made a free translation from Korean.

Accept the assurance of the deep respect with which I have the honor to be Monsieur the Superior Your very humble servant

+ Antoine Daveluy, Bishop of Acônes, Coadjutor of Korea, of the Society of Foreign Missions.

To Bishop Verrolles

Korea October 1858

Monsignor,

The kind letter that your Highness deigned to send me by our mail last winter, fortunately reached me and showed me again all the interest that you are willing to take in our Mission and in us. I saw with great sorrow the difficult position and the worries in which the impudence of two young missionaries has thrown you and since that time I have been eager to have new details on the consequences of this unfortunate affair, may God grant that it has not turned the whole country upside down. Has your Highness been able to try to extend the limits of his work and do we finally have some hope of seeing the northern part endowed with some Christian communities. Your Mantchous do not seem very inclined to take the bait, they are however of the kind of wood from which good Christians are made. I will never cease to pray to the Lord that he deigns to bless your constant efforts and bring about some advantageous result.

Our year for us has passed amid blessings interspersed with trials, and the strongest of these was without a doubt the painful loss that we suffered in the person of Mr. Maistre. Your Grandeur knew him well enough to know all the advantage that could be drawn from him and all the good that he seemed called to do in this mission, God did not allow it, we must submit, but would regrets be forbidden? Some imprisonments of Christians also gave us trouble during the winter, and one of these arrests in particular was already taking on a very serious character, when God suddenly stopped the interrogations and searches without our being able to guess the cause. A well-established apostasy wounded our hearts, the rest was more or less bad and we did not speak of it again. The continual illnesses of Bishop de Capsus are not one of our least troubles, this mission needs the presence of his Grandeur and has reason to promise itself great fruits. Who knows the designs of God, then especially that he allows our best workers to be taken from us. Pray a lot with us, Monsignor, I implore you so that such a great loss does not come to afflict us further and stop all our work. Moreover, we have not remained behind and besides the fact that everything is beginning to settle down and be on a more stable footing, we have been able to gather new proselytes as in the past and dare to hope to expand further soon. For my part, I support this movement very little and take part in few active works. -However, I have been able to occupy myself without interruption with what has been entrusted to me and have not found myself disturbed by the illness, each one bringing his small part, things have gone well.

But our French! what famous men, it is still today as in the past when the chambers chattered a lot to never do anything. Supported by your Highness' letter and the previous ones, I let myself be deceived by false news and lost ten days this spring to go to the sea. Since that time, I have not thought about them and do not concern myself with them any more. Whether they do or not, our thought is to expect nothing except from God alone and from then on no more distraction in this regard. But frankly they are too Gascon and only know how to talk, still not always. It is all the same, our affairs will not go less well, perhaps even better, because to tell the truth can we trust them, and are they not often a plague for those who approach them. God is steering our little boat, that is enough, good is being done and will be done very slowly, let us leave the big blows to old Europe, please God that it does not crack and collapse too quickly underneath. I dare to hope that Your Highness will deign, as in the past, to honor me with a few lines from your hand and keep me informed of everything that may interest us.

Please accept the assurance of the profound respect with which I am and always will be, Monsignor,

Your Highness's very humble servant

+ Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

If through the Lazarists in Peking, your Highness could obtain some documents on our mission in Korea, we would willingly bear the cost of the necessary expenses and you would do us a great service by trying to obtain them for us.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand, Superior of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris

Korea, November 7, 1858

Dear Superior,

Since the history of our martyrs could not be sent this year, the Bishop of Capsus decided that we should send this year a selection of our Martyrs, asking you to be so kind as to present it to Rome according to the formalities required for the purpose of introducing the cause of their canonization. Bishop will doubtless tell you a word about this. But having been charged with the research, I must give you some explanations on this Choice that I am sending you, all written in my own hand.

Having to date three hundred and sixty-some names entered on my list of Martyrs, I have made a choice among the best known and had to write the notebook before the summer. I have not included all those that I could have presented with confidence, and could add still others.

On the other hand, I had placed there some very well-known names on which I was waiting for new precise testimonies, and having been unable until this time to receive any response from the various provinces, I have put notes to some names and ask you to receive them with the notes.

Thus the martyrs to whom no note is attached are presented purely and simply because the testimonies being numerous do not leave me reason to doubt the truth of the tradition. I have noted to wait for new testimonies for some on which I wish to be more assured. - Finally for several I have put in note the few authorities on which the tradition is based, with the intention of adding later the new testimonies that I will collect, they will be admitted or rejected as one judges appropriate. It is good that you know that until now I have done little more than collect documents without noting many particular testimonies, this second work is in progress.

I must say a word to you in particular about Tieng Augustin whose testimony I have quoted several times. This witness seems to me to be of the greatest weight. An educated man of recognized probity, he took part in everything that took place during the introduction of Religion in Korea and wrote down notes on a certain number of facts and people that he knew very well. He did not hide in his book his apostasy and that of several of his brothers, parents or friends, which adds much weight in favor of the veracity of his story, and finally I can assure that until now I have found nothing in his book that was contradicted by other traditions. - Let us add that this book remained buried in his house and that they did not want to communicate to anyone is still today unknown to the Christians with the exception of a very small number, from which it follows that the general tradition could not have been based on this book, but has its sources in other witnesses. This man whose stories are short and precise later returned to the practice of his duties and died in a consoling manner, after having written his notes.

In what I call testimony I do not count the people who cite a name without being able to give details but only those who seem well informed of the facts, this is why several martyrs will count rather few testimonies; they would be very numerous if I wanted to count all those who say they learned by tradition, that such and such a person has indeed confessed the Faith. In the notices that I send I believe I can certify that the martyrs cited have indeed confessed the Faith, and this based on the written tradition, or oral tradition of Christianity.

As for the other actions of their life, I was less difficult to accept them and consequently cannot put them on the same footing. Often these are stories reported by one or more people in the family and that I have accepted as they do not see any inconvenience in it. – If the Court of Rome requires depositions from eyewitnesses, we will not be able to satisfy them for most of the ancient martyrs, they all died, most of them without putting anything in writing and leaving only their stories in the memory and hearts of our current Christians; but we dare to hope that after having passed over many formalities for the Martyrs of Tonquin and Cochinchina, His Holiness will be kind enough to do the same for ours, who do not seem to me to be inferior to the venerable Annamite Martyrs.

Please, therefore, Mr. Superior, put all your care into pushing this matter which I believe must contribute to the glory of God and the universal Church, as well as to the glory of the Church of Korea, which will also reflect on the Society and will help us to continue the works that Providence has been kind enough to entrust to us. — In this hope I will continue my research as much as my strength will allow me and will try to send you new documents in the spring, if we have the opportunity.

Please accept the assurance of the respect and affection with which I have the honor to be, Mr. Superior,

Your very humble servant and colleague + Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor of Korea Korea November 7, 1858 Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea November 1858 *

(The rest of the very interesting letter was sent to the editorial office of the Annales during the course of 7bre 1859 (Note from Mr. Albrand))

Dear Superior,

I do not know if my letters of 1856 and 1857 fortunately reached you, but our mail this past winter did not bring any letter from the Seminary of Paris to my address, and the Hong Kong procurator having also let us down, we were left this time as if excommunicated. Let us admit that we are unhappy, because it cannot occur to me that this is an oversight. You have doubtless already heard of the cruel loss that we have just suffered here, because it is assured that our courrier learned of it in time to be able to transmit it by word of mouth to Leaotong. – Yes, it is only too true, on December 20th, after only a few days of illness, our dear Brother Mr. Maistre gave up his soul to God; the Bishop of Capsus will doubtless give you the details of this Holy death of which His Highness was a witness, and I will not tell you anything here, but how terrible this blow is and how it leaves one to think! What are then the designs of Providence for us? We are hardly a little less overloaded and can we glimpse the means of giving our Christians the most urgent care, that each time God calls to him one of the workers. And among others for the one whom we regret today so rightly, we cannot hide from ourselves that it was the one of the Brothers on whom the Mission could count the most; his almost unalterable health, his virtues, his experience, all made him the most precious to us and it is he whom God takes from us. To all the Supreme Orders Fiat a thousand times fiat, yes without doubt; but the trial is great and the judgments of God very impenetrable. I do not know how many colleagues the Bishop of Capsus has asked you for, but please do not refuse us help. You must not be unaware of how pressing our needs are, the work here increases every day, things are expanding, needs of all kinds are being felt and for lack of workers we cannot provide for the circumstances.

A few words from overseas seem to make us believe that we are considered to be in sufficient numbers, that would be a deplorable error. For my part I can assure you that I have never been so busy and pressed as for the past two years, always behind and without being able to get my hands on many urgent works. Now the loss of Mr Maistre still leaves an immense void in addition. And then what I cannot recommend to you enough is the choice of subjects. The Bishop of Capsus's health always gives us real worries and every summer is spent in work. - Are you counting on me? I do not want to complain of suffering, I have very little of it, but I am so old, so broken, so worn out and deprived of the use of my faculties that one cannot reasonably think of a future even not very distant; therefore one must think of ensuring the future of this Mission. The facts are there to demonstrate the hope that this country gives, but be convinced that if you do not send some really capable subjects, things will not go well here, and you will lose everything. It seems to me before God that you must penetrate yourself with this thought. I have heard it said several times that in such and such a place, the choices made very little, please believe at least that it is not so for this country, and that it is on the contrary of the last consequence, and I implore you to have regard for it for the good of souls and the glory of God; one must think of providing for the conduct and direction of this Mission. You have probably seen the letter from Bishop de Capsus to the

Prefect of Propaganda and the request that His Highness makes at the end. I flatter myself that Propaganda will not allow His Highness to withdraw, and also that if necessary the Seminary of Paris would prevent it. I do not want to diminish here in any way the sufferings and the very difficult position in which His Highness finds himself each summer, but nevertheless the courage, zeal and strength of Bishop of Capsus have made him do until now, during the moments of respite, more than any other missionary does. Moreover, despite the often very violent illness, His Highness has fortunately kept intact the use of his faculties and can easily respond to all needs. It seems to me that to grant His Highness the object of his request would be to compromise very seriously the Mission, which rests solely on Him and moreover would set a very unfortunate precedent for the whole Society. Mgr does not testify the desire to rest, but only the inability to which his health reduces him to satisfy the requirements of his office. Now here I can declare without fear of being contradicted, that it would then be necessary to first send his route sheet to the Coadjutor and only then sign the passports of the Vic. Apostle. Besides I am so convinced that Rome cannot grant the request as it is, that I refrain from speaking about it at greater length.

You now wish a little overview of our year, well miseries upon miseries, but everywhere great protection of God, and in the midst of miseries advancement of the work, gratias Deo super inenarrabili dono ejus. Even before our letters were sent, a Christian had been seized and imprisoned by a great informer sent by the king with unlimited powers to secretly visit the provinces. The Christian was locked up in a town two leagues from my residence. He was taken for reasons of Religion, but also probably for some other subjects. In any case, he had been treated quite well, when the criminal judge to whom he was entrusted seemed to want to raise a serious matter. He questioned the good old man of 70 years about our presence in the kingdom, our comings and goings in his village and other very unreassuring details and added a few tortures to his interrogations. The good old man answered quite skillfully, knew how to decline direct answers and without having the courage to confess his faith openly, was able to avoid a formal apostasy. The informer who was not badly disposed, did not show himself difficult and little by little without much noise the Christian was released after about two months, without Christianity having to suffer.

At this same time a pagan enemy of Religion and who knows all its secrets quite well, Religion being practiced by several of his relatives, wanted to raise a persecution on a large scale, he made a list of more than a hundred Christians that he believed to be the most important and had it presented to this great informer. He received it while he was near another very high-ranking mandarin. The latter having read it, said: Here are in one go more than five hundred people to be condemned (he was speaking of the families of the denounced) Is it just to carry out this butchery, or is it not better to punish only one man, it is up to you, Informer, to decide. On this the Informer immediately sends his satellites to seize the accuser and has him bound with the red rope reserved for thieves and criminals. The pagan was beaten, sent from prison to prison and had great difficulty in being released with his life saved after more than two months. I don't know if the thought of accusing the Christians will ever come back to him. But isn't it a stroke of Providence?

Again at about the same time, i.e. at the end of November, some pagans driven by greed wanted to ransom the Christians and, to better succeed, made a fake seal of the great informer. The Christians, not fooled, went to denounce them to the mandarin and they were seized and sent back to the informer of the province where I am. The scandal had taken place in a village two leagues from my home and where we have many connections. One of the pagans seized knew all the affairs of the Christians, he knew of our presence and must even know my residence, it is said. To justify himself before his judge, he accused our Christians and one of them was cited by the informer who questioned him in moderate terms

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea January 1859 *

Dear Superior,

By a blessing of divine goodness which continues to support us in this poor country, I received a few days ago the two letters with which you were kind enough to honor me dated August 1857 and 1859. I saw with pleasure that our dispatches had reached you with the account of the martyrdom of Laurent that I had been asked to send you in advance. If the new dispatch that I was able to send by the last mail of Pien-men and which has already reached Leaotong can reach you fortunately you will have more or less the main notices that one can collect in this country. I have occupied myself as actively as possible with the research on our martyrs and the main facts of this Mission ab initio; Unfortunately I see clearly now that it is too late to have all these details, which the scraps collected make us regret even more. It would also be necessary to travel to the various parts of the Mission, which will perhaps not be possible for me, given the few workers who work here and also the difficulty that the roads present to us in this country without resources, especially when one has lost the use of one's legs, as it pleased the Lord to take them from me.

However, after the three months of travel done in the spring of 1858 for the administration, I believed I could undertake some more distant ones in the autumn, to help on the one hand our brothers who are too overloaded and above all to collect for myself the traditions of these regions, which our other brothers, because of their little knowledge of this country, can only do too imperfectly. Providence has deigned to support me again in the midst of these fatigues and has allowed at the same time that precious information came to crown my efforts. Charged by the Apostolic Vicar with this difficult but very consoling task, I will tell you that it has become in some way my only thought, so not a day in the course of this administration where I have not spoken at length about all these events and I have been able to know a thousand little things which have a great value for this work and can only be known by chatter, pardon the expression. Now my satisfaction was such in many circumstances that the fatigue of the long journeys of the day was forgotten, and the night necessarily being spent in large part in collecting all that I could catch, the body was found renewed the next day as if I had slept long.

This little excursion took me another three months and a few days, it is pure gold, to consider not so much the facts as the precious testimonies that I was able to collect and already in a note which will be attached to this letter I communicate to you a part of my happy research to confirm the truth of the story of our confessors. I am preparing a work that will give for each martyr in particular the foundations of the tradition, but you understand that it will require a lot of time, less to write than to collect, and I cannot assign a time to announce its end.

While seeing with happiness the Decree of Our Lord the Pope for the introduction of the cause of 83 of our martyrs, a thought pains me and pierces my heart. It is that many of our finest confessors will not have been able to be put on this list, and I fear that this first step taken, it will not be easy to have added in Rome to this Catalogue, so many others so brilliant and so rightly venerated. Communications with our Korea are so difficult that I do not know how to provide you with our research a little quickly, already necessarily very slow. Please

make every effort so that the martyrs known only through our last dispatch are not set aside, and are associated with those of the first list, which I ask you to be kind enough to send me in detail. You will be kind enough to congratulate me on taking charge of the history of our Martyrs, which is that of our Mission. I first thank very sincerely our fellow Directors of the Seminary of Paris for the interest that they are kind enough to show in our Mission, and for the echo that the thought of a complete history has found in their hearts. This thought, as you know, was that of Bishop Berneux, and the honor of the enthusiasm belongs by right to him. The Bishop having charged me with this task, I understood that no one at the moment in the Mission was in a position to work effectively on this research, my refusal would therefore have compromised this work and I accepted, promising to collect all the notices of the martyrs and even to form a continuous history of them, as I could. In fact I was able to achieve these two goals in large part; but besides the fact that I have never been able to write anything that was bearable to read, the current weakening of all my faculties, the half-lost use of my mother tongue, and the languor that affects everything that now comes out of my pen, have prevented me from ever having the thought of writing this history to offer it to the public. It can therefore only be a sketch where the facts are more or less linked and coordinated, and if we want the public to enjoy it, the task will necessarily remain for you to choose a capable man who can recast this first work, clothe it with colors, and then only call upon pious readers to be edified, and to rejoice in the glory of God in these Saints.

There, Mr. Superior, are things as they really are and I believed it my duty to give you these explanations in advance, to avoid you on the one hand an unfortunate disappointment and to keep in mind to choose a man who can put his hand to the work, as soon as we are given the opportunity to send you the sketch, that is to say, at the end of this year.

As I write these words I reflect that since I lack the documents from Europe, I must first receive them and from that I cannot fix a date, I only wanted to say that the materials I have here at hand will, I hope, be coordinated and put into the form of a history during the course of this year, but you will easily understand how insipid and defective this first draft will be, made in the midst of distractions of all kinds that our position does not allow us to avoid. I would also like to have a work that would give me the ratios of the Chinese year to the European year, and could have me mark each day with our calendar, but does it exist somewhere? I do not know. If I have to calculate each year myself, what a waste of time, besides that I will often make gross mistakes in these calculations, would there be any good way to get out of it? (Since that time I have written this whole calendar day by day, so no more research to do)

I add nothing else, except that we are quiet; there are not far from my home serious vexations of the pagans to the Christians, and many are forced to emigrate despite the famine of this year. However the mandarin being favorable to Religion, I do not think that any serious business will follow. I asked you for dissertations on Revelation, miracles and prophecies, not theological dissertations, but within the reach of the people and to make you better acquainted with my thought, I would like them to deal with the possibility, the existence of Revelation, miracles and prophecies and the proof that they bring for the Religion in favor of which they were made. If the conferences of Frayssinous were not made directly against the ideas of our modern unbelievers, this genre could perhaps be suitable, see if you find what I desire.

Accept, Sir Superior, the assurance of the respectful sentiments with which I have the honor to be

Your very humble servant and colleague.

A. Daveluy, Bishop Coadjutor

R.S.V.P. (Please Reply)

I am willing to do what is in my power so that the Annals of Propagation alone publish the news of our Missions. But in the current organization of our Society, I do not believe that we can force the Brothers to send all their letters to Paris open, and even less authorize the Directors of Paris to open sealed letters. We can therefore only urge the Brothers to send open to Paris any letter that could have some interest. Besides, I do not see how the members of the Council of Propagation can be frightened by a few rare letters published in the newspapers, when they can only publish themselves a small part of the numerous documents that they receive. Despite this reflection, I will do my best to ensure that their wishes are fulfilled.

I had prepared my notes on the Martyrs attached here and had to complete them these days in a short trip that I am going to make, but a setback forcing me to send these letters immediately I see myself forced to ask you to wait before presenting to Rome some of the names that are there, it is not that I have doubts, but wanting to present only those on which I have gathered a number of precise and imposing testimonies, I do not want to deviate from this line, they will arrive to you a year later, I have little doubt, however let us not advance too much. Mr. Féron believes that Ni Pierre called Seng houni, supposed to be the first introducer of Religion in Korea, is on the list of martyrs that you have in Paris. He was indeed beheaded at the beginning of this persecution, but it is certain that he had not practiced for a long time, and unfortunately I cannot find any document that announces his repentance or his retraction, and he is here considered a victim of his enemies, without any merit before God. He must therefore be erased as soon as possible. Things are even clearer for the man named Ni Kahoani, in the event that he is in your catalogues, he cannot remain there.

I have found many names unknown until now and several seem to be fine confessors, however I have not yet been able to do the necessary research and am forced to postpone sending them.

All this will drag on, but there is no remedy.

Mr. Maréchal Superior of the Seminary of Issy

Korea August 1859.

Dear Superior,

Any letter dated from the Seminary of Issy always makes an impression on my heart that would be difficult to describe, but it was much stronger this time when I saw your name at the bottom of the letter that reached me. The few relations that we had in the past are nothing compared to those naturally contracted by the assiduous care that you were kind enough to give to my dear brother. I cannot express my gratitude enough to you, as well as the details that you were kind enough to send me about him.

When I left France, foreseeing the possibility that one of my young brothers would be destined for the ecclesiastical state, I implored my father, if the thing happened, to do everything possible to send him to Issy. I had experienced impressions there that were too strong not to be jealous of sharing them with those of my brothers whom God would call to his sanctuary, and by this I tried to show my gratitude to Our Good Mother Mary, who had filled me with so many favors there. My father was kind enough to realize my wishes for Isidore, and you would not believe how much joy I felt at this news. From then on I continually referred to it and tried to attract to myself a small share of the graces that he was going to receive there in such great abundance. Is it a pure idea? Is it reality? ... It seemed to me that I was receiving new benefits from Mary and I found myself comforted in the midst of heavy work that is not lacking in this field that the Father of the family has given us to clear. So here again glory and love to Mary; and it seems that God wants to continue to always spread his favors on me through the channel of St Sulpice. This spring, seeing before me 6 to 8 free days, I decided to make a short retreat.

I was alone in the house of the Apostolic Vicar and going to choose some books to guide me and help me during this holy time, I noticed the life of Mr. Olier. My choice was soon made. It was the summary that the respectable Mr. Faillon had given to the public, I read and reread it with delight and I believe it did me a great deal of good. I believed I was still at the Seminary and was receiving again all the instructions that I enjoyed then. Thanks be to God first, then also to the tireless work of the venerable author whose thought has been more present to me than ever since that time.

I am very happy to learn that your house is receiving more and more of God's blessings. I see every day how much the future of the Church depends on the Seminaries and yet in the position in which God allows us to be, there is no way for the moment to form any here, we do have a few small simulacra of colleges, but what is that? You will be kind enough to compensate for what we lack, by forming worthy priests, some of whom, I dare hope, will later be destined for us by the mercy of God. I do not say this to encourage you to push young people towards the Missions, and even less towards the Society which has kindly given me a place among its members. Absit, I would believe myself guilty of imprudence, seeing more than ever the terrible dangers of the Missions. I only want to wait for those that Providence reserves for us in its goodness, and after all the mature trials indispensable here more than anywhere else, if some are attracted by grace, I will bless God and, knowing that they come from the house of Mary in Issy, I will regard them as a great favor from this sweet mother. In this case they will find as desired pains upon pains, cross upon cross, daily martyrdom instead of the martyrdom of blood and with perseverance eternal life.

I wanted to tell you a word about our dear Mission, and seem to have forgotten it. It does not appear that persecution will be renewed here soon; less ferocious ideas, or perhaps

fear, seem to direct the current rulers in another way. May the will of God be accomplished, we win by peace, as by war, and without having very resounding successes, I believe I can say that our Christianity is strengthening and putting itself on solid foundations. The number of our dear Neophytes is also really increasing; it has almost doubled since God brought us into this kingdom and the zeal of our current missionaries will, I hope, obtain successes. As for me, I am doing in this country almost what the venerable octogenarians who were numerous during my stay at the Seminary did at St Sulpice. Almost good for nothing anymore, I work a little to give books of instruction to Christians and my errands are reduced to very little.

Here again *fiat voluntas*. God also tests us by the death of our brothers that the works reap in a few years, so that the workers are too lacking for us. Pray then the Lord to send us many, but especially interior men, men of study, tested men, because only those will save themselves and save others. Please also pray a lot for me, you will have been astonished to learn that God imposed such a heavy burden on my weak shoulders, I am confused every day and especially frightened. His powerful mercy alone can pull me out of the bad situation, deign to draw it upon me by the merits of the Divine Sacrifice. I do not know which of my respectable Directors or Brothers can be found near you, please give them the assurance of my gratitude and my union of prayers. In this way the strong will support the weak and Joshua leaning on Moses will be able to fight the battles of the Lord. Please accept the assurance of all the affection in Our Lord with which I have the honor to be, Mr. Superior,

Your very humble servant Antoine Bishop Coadjutor of Korea. Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary

Korea end of September 1859 * + Dear Superior,

I had the honor of sending you a short letter in January to try to get it sent by the boat that was to bring our brothers this spring, unfortunately it came back to me and so as not to go back over the facts it contains I am sending it to you with this letter having only added a few important words. Excuse this liberty that the multiplicity of writings that I have to do has led me to take.

The happy entry of Bishop de Capsus and that of Mr. Féron had made Korea look almost open and its barriers almost broken down, we blessed Providence and did not doubt the success of the entry of fathers Landre and Joanno; moreover everything seemed so clearly decided and our measures seemed so taken that we were really going there for sure. What misfortune or setback has occurred? We cannot conjecture, but the return of our boat empty was a terrible moment for the whole Mission. Should we see in it God's design to test us again or is he preparing a large compensation for us, the sequel will tell us; but humanly speaking it is very sad and very hard to bear. These Gentlemen were expected here not only as dear colleagues, but as helpers who have become necessary. The work of the Mission has increased in enormous proportions, and everything remains halfway due to the lack of workers who can put their hand to it and the sight of health which is consumed each year by pressing necessity and the overload of work is something very painful to bear, I fear that most of our colleagues will come to exhaust themselves in a short time, but deep down what remedy to bring, when God allows it thus. It remains for us therefore to sing the refrain of the Missionaries resignation and confidence. Ask the God of mercies for good for us.

Moreover, we have only thanksgiving to render to him for the year that has just passed. His goodness is manifested at every step. The general peace has not been disturbed and the administration has been carried out happily almost everywhere, but the devil, doubtless jealous of the tolerance of the government and the goods that result from it, aroused in many localities pagans or half-Christians or bad Christians who tried to disturb our tranquility and would certainly have lit the fire in times not yet remote. But thanks, after God, to the progress of ideas, our Christians did not feel any violent commotion. Here it was the satellites who asked a provincial governor to stop the alarming progress of Religion. He was content to ask them: Do the Christians wrong the king? A. No! Do they wrong the governor and the mandarins? A. No. Do they wrong the people and the satellites? A. No. Well! since they do no wrong to anyone, leave them alone. There a mandarin before whom a so-called new catechumen accused the Christians of his village, instead of receiving the accusation had the bad guy seized and made him parade around the market with a placard stuck on his back. It read: Thus will be punished whoever goes to stir up trouble among the mountaineers (this is a term by which the pagans designate the Christians)

In another district, the wicked people brought a long trial to a village and in agreement with the satellites had pillaged our neophytes; the mandarin had them return everything they had lost, he had it is true, put four of them in prison, because their imprudence would have compromised him too much, but he had them released the following night with the simple injunction to leave the district, and during the whole time of the trial,

this mandarin covered the Christians better than a Christian mandarin would have done. However, this village, against which the surrounding area is too much set, will have to emigrate this autumn to avoid the consequences.

In addition to many cases of this kind, Father Thomas, a native priest betrayed by a bad catechumen, had to endure a rather turbulent affair in an inn where, surprised by the night, he had had to take refuge. Serious suspicions having aroused the attention of the master, who was very unsociable by the way, he was denounced to the mandarin and all his servants seized as suspicious people, had to undergo a harsh beating with orders to withdraw as soon as possible. It seems that the mandarin knew who he was dealing with, the satellites, sure of the blow, wanted to open the Priest's effects, they held firm to do it only in the presence of the mandarin, and as he did not allow it, the Priest, surrounded by this greedy band, was finally able to escape from their hands and continue on his way, obliged however to abandon for this time the neighboring communities where the danger would have been too serious. You see by all these details that hell is stirring, and the line of conduct secretly traced to the mandarins by the government, seems to appear very clearly there. Whatever the motive for this tolerance, it is manifested a little everywhere, and we believe, for the moment at least, that we have to fear only the people and the satellites, and still many in these two classes are far from being hostile to us.

While all this was happening in winter, a great amnesty was granted by the king throughout the kingdom, on the occasion of the birth of a crown prince. Directly or indirectly, a means was found to extend this grace to eight exiled and imprisoned Christians and we saw these neophytes separated from their brothers return from their distant stay, some since 1839, others for several years. The boatman of Father André, martyr in 1846, is one of them. It was he who had brought us to Korea. What is remarkable is that for many, there is no mention of apostasy, which is usually legally required; and even those who were supposed to promise not to do it again, got off with evasive words, perhaps not very reassuring for the conscience, but which would certainly not have been enough in the past. These favorable dispositions of the rulers made me urge some others to also ask for their freedom, and I learned the day before yesterday that two prisoners had obtained their release in recent days. There remains only one prisoner from 1839, whose trial, not yet finished, puts him in a singular position, where all the king's favors do not reach and I do not know if he will be able to leave his place of detention.

I must however add to them some children of our martyrs of 1801 exiled in the islands at a young age, and several of whom are said to exist. But being without communication, and all their parents dead, no one can take care of their business and implore a grace that they could well receive also if they were in a position to claim it.

All this seems very significant, not only do we secretly stop the vexations against the Christians, but we set them free, while we know very well that we are there to make propaganda, and that our small progress itself is known. You will bless God with us and pray him to help us to take advantage of the circumstances to extend his reign in this country. Despite this, a fairly widespread opinion here is that before seeing the spread of Christianity free of all hindrance, there will still be a bloody melee. Not claiming to be a prophet, I say nothing for or against; let us wait for the designs of Providence to take shape and ask him only that, if he deigns to call me to confess his holy name, he gives me the grace not to remain below my Mission and from then on what would there be to regret. The particular vexations to which our Christians are subjected are one of the means used by divine Wisdom to spread her cult. The young woman Kim Barbe in the Capital, who for two years feigned paralysis to avoid any competition with superstitions, was finally summoned to speak clearly before a large assembly gathered for the sacrifices, she did not hesitate, made her confession of faith and as a reward for her frank freedom, was publicly chased away and sent back to her

own parents. The neighbors had often admired the beauty of her behavior, and struck again by the calm with which she endured this scene, they wanted to know what Religion was. They inquired and touched by the beauty of the Christian doctrine, several of those who had contributed to her being chased away, went to apologize to her, bring her presents and it all ended with the registration of about ten people among the catechumens.

Barbe's paternal aunt, shortly after undergoes the same treatment in her husband's family, she publicly refuses to participate in the sacrifices, is thrown out and the same investigations being also made by the people of the neighborhood, eight to ten people pass through our ranks.

We very much hope to see Religion spread in these parts. Some villages also in the provinces seem to be shaking and want to bring us some families. In one year two small hamlets have been completely converted, with the exception of two houses, there are more than fifty adults there. Recently one of our good catechists emigrated, called by a pagan village which includes about fifteen houses, we hope that everything will happen to us. There are many others, but they do not come to mind. The shipwrecked man from Quelpaert, baptized two years ago in Hong Kong, returned to his country, preaches Religion to his relatives. Unfortunately he was listened to by very few, his wife and children alone are decided to practice. He came to see us this spring and he hoped to be able to form a small Christianity there, he is looking for ways to come and settle on dry land. We must not lose courage, however, and I trust that God will one day use him for the salvation of his compatriots.

Here everything is going well, our excellent confreres are all happy, there is life and everyone is content even in the midst of difficulties, what great grace and what results can we not expect from it. The Bishop of Capsus, always tested by his health, spends the winters quite well and the summers too painfully. The administration always does him good, and he carries it out with a zeal and activity that excites everyone. Despite his too frequent sufferings, He is truly the soul of the entire Mission, pushes things from all sides and renders such palpable services to the Mission that no one would believe the thought expressed two years ago in a letter to the Sacred Congregation and which I hope will have no follow-up. As for me, I have no reason to complain of sufferings, divine goodness spares me them; broken and worn out, I have no illnesses and am a young old man whose memory and all faculties are disappearing. Unable to bear great fatigue, and to devote myself to work that requires restraint, I can continually occupy myself with ordinary things. Also, thanks to God, I have not wasted my time.

After a long stay in the Capital for the affairs of the Mission and the reception of the Confreres, our common disappointment ended with the conclusion that each one had to redouble their strength and work to make up for those who had not come. I therefore left and began to devote my last care to the publication of two important works for the instruction of our Christians. Surrounded by two copyists, I pressed things hard, even during the great heat and everything went well. But here come unexpectedly two large quartos on the affairs of 1801, which I had said to try to steal from the pagans. What a treasure! Yes, but everything being in Chinese, i.e. in Hebrew for me, it was necessary to quickly send for a learned copyist to sort through everything in a very short time and not let the owner know that these books had come to my house, otherwise a great fuss would have been made. God allowed that a capable man came to find me and while pushing my two writers of books of doctrine, it was necessary to decipher and take note of everything contained in the precious in 4°. It was then in my house a very invigorating activity of work and I was in heaven. Everything went well and I acquired there documents of the highest price, among others I took a copy of the long letter of Hoang Alexandre, which contains many details on the martyrs, before speaking of his projects and requests to force the government to no longer persecute. All this took me a

lot of time and the translations are far from being finished, but I have the main thing in my hands and little by little everything will be understood and translated. Pressed on all sides, it is in the midst of all these occupations that I had to write a part of the history of the martyrs so as not to put it aside completely. Judge if it should be taken care of, but everything must be done and I was only able to add 120 pages to the history during my summer. Besides, I had to write the oral tradition on each confessor, and put 75 years of the Korean calendar, in relation day by day with our ecclesiastical calendar. You see then that I did not waste my time.

So after the Assumption I went to rest for a few days near Mr. Petitnicolas, I needed it, my head and my strength were exhausted. Now I have gone up to the Capital near His Highness, do my correspondence, enjoy the research on our martyrs and will soon go back down four days from here for the administration where I must, for lack of workers, occupy myself for a few months. I would like to advance our history this winter, but I doubt I will be able to carry out this project, the Administration entrusted to me being too long to leave me time. In any case we will try. With all the work arising from all sides, I have not been able for two years to take a single glance at the dictionary that I had to complete. Fortunately Mr. Pourthié can devote his attention to it in part. This dear colleague is a worker called upon I believe to render us great services, he can already devote himself to many useful works. On the other hand, Father Thomas is advancing his work on the translation of the main prayer books for the whole year and he will perhaps be able to finish next summer after returning from his long tour. You will judge by this if we are idle in Korea, but I repeat everyone is so happy to have so much to do, that we will do so much.

You can well imagine that everything has to be created in this Mission still in its cradle, especially pray to God to keep its worthy leader, because only he can put things on a good footing, and if he were to be missing, things would no longer go well.

I am finishing here this letter which will briefly keep you up to date with our affairs, please send us good subjects for the salvation of this people, serious men especially, workers, saints and all will be well.

By the way, it is possible that you go to the diet of Syngapore, our Mission voted to send one of us, if that were possible, but since the possibility does not exist, no one will go. Try to do something good for the Society, that is my only desire, while not daring to hope for anything, and fearing that these enormous expenses and losses of time will have no beneficial result. Let us pray always and God will help.

Accept, Mr. Superior, the assurance for you and all our confreres of the Seminary, of the entire devotion with which I have the honor of being Your very humble servant.

+ Antoine, Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar

Korea Sept. 1859

Monseigneur,

The letter with which your Grandeur was kind enough to honor me last winter fortunately reached me and I saw with satisfaction that your tranquility had not been seriously disturbed during the course of this year, but what will have happened to you subsequently? I do not know, and the beginning of the great affairs that you announced were being prepared on all sides, leaves one to wonder. What is the situation today, nothing can make us guess, withdrawn as we are in the last corner of the Orient; however the public news is too unclear to allow us to think that the Europeans have done anything remotely clean in your vicinity. All their announcements and all their steps seem to be stamped with the seal of fear and they will doubtless only gain shame from all this as in the past, they are being fooled, and are wasting men, money and ammunition uselessly. Napoleon himself, if he is still alive, is doubtless allowing himself to be drawn into the path of his predecessors, and nothing great will doubtless be done in China. All the more reason must our little Korea remain outside all these maneuvers. Besides, the more I think about it, the further I am from wanting to desire the arrival of the Europeans; I fear that their presence will bring us much misery and grant us no benefit. The best thing is to wait for Providence to manifest its designs, and besides, what means is there to escape them? All these great events, supposedly near and imminent, make all heads move, and put the whole population in the air, and that is all. Do we owe to all these rumors the advantage of the peace we enjoy? I would not dare to answer in any sense, but the fact could be called into question. In any case, the mercy of God has again shown itself in our favor; by its help the government has not sought to harm us, moreover, it has suppressed many bad affairs instigated by the enemies of religion and none have had serious consequences that they should have produced at any other time, and the daily progress of events does not make us foresee any ill will on its part for the moment.

As a result of this we have continued our small works, everything seems to be strengthening and getting on a good footing and to top it all off, the catechumens are arriving in good numbers. Unfortunately God has not allowed the two brothers expected this spring to arrive, and we are reduced to making a thousand very sad conjectures on their account, especially when the need for workers is becoming so urgent and all our work for progress is ipso facto hindered and stopped. Korea therefore remains always the same, that is to say, an inaccessible country, and what can be done with so few people except to ruin the health of all the overworked brothers upon their arrival, without even being able to give the desired care to their flock. Let us submit, however, since God permits it.

As a result of all this, no one among us will doubtless be able to go to the council or diet of Syngapore. I see with great sorrow that many Bishops or Vic. Apost. are not to go there. What then will this assembly be? I am only on my own account to wish that it does not do harm, far from hoping that it does good. God grant that my predictions do not come true and that people do not repent of having proposed and voted for it. I do not know if some great questions will be discussed there. The program was very pale. Unable to go there, we will be all the more free to continue to give our care to the Christians who need it so much; it is not unfortunate in this respect, because I hope that our poor mission, well conducted as it is and vigorously pushed, will progress and develop. All the confreres seem so content and so happy, that everything must be going well.

Please, Monsignor, help us with your prayers and think especially before God of me whose strength is too much below the heavy burden that weighs on me; Deign also to accept the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor of being of your Grandeur

The very humble servant.

+ Antoine Daveluy coadjutor

Since I am busy with the history of Korea, dare I ask your Grandeur to inquire if there would not be among the Lazarists in the diocese. from Peking, old documents sent by Father Jacques Tsiou and by the Christians of Korea. It is certain that many things have been sent, if we still have them and you can obtain a copy of them, we will gladly bear the costs, in addition to the recognition that we will keep for them.

Copy of a letter from Mgr Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

1859 *

Defense of Youn Paul di tsi tsioungi, 1791

For the cause of the accused ioun: Early working to prepare for the exams, I had the thought of fulfilling public duties and my humble desires were limited to satisfying the duties of devotion to the king, of piety towards my parents and of friendship towards my brothers.

In the spring of the year Kiei min (1783) I obtained the bachelor's degree called Tsin sa and the following year going during the winter to the Capital, I went by chance to the kim pem or middle class in the Mieng niei pang kol district. There were in this house two books entitled, one True principles on the Master of Heaven, and the other, the seven capital virtues. Having gone through them, I perceived that the Master of Heaven is our common father, creator of Heaven, of the earth, of Angels, of men and of all things. He is the one whom the books of China call Siang tiei - Between heaven and earth man was born, and although he received flesh and blood from his parents, deep down, it was God who gave them to him, a soul is united to his body, but he who united them is still God. The basis of devotion to the king is still God, the basis of piety towards parents is also the order of God. If we compare all this with the basis given in the sacred books of China, namely to serve the Siang tiei with all my heart and with the greatest care, I believed I saw much conformity there. The practice is contained in the ten commandments and the seven capital virtues. The ten commandments are: 1° To worship one God above all things. 2° Not to take the name of God in vain to make false oaths. 3° To observe feast days. 4° To honor one's father and mother, the gloss says that the king being the father of the whole kingdom, and the mandarins fathers of the people of their district, one must honor them equally. 5° Not to commit homicide. 6° Not to commit impurity. 7° Not to steal. 8° Not to bear false witness. 9° Not to desire one's neighbor's wife. 10° Not to desire unjustly the good of others. These ten Commandments relate in short to two points, namely: To love God above all things, and to love all men as oneself. The seven capital virtues are: 1° Humility to combat pride, 2° Charity to combat jealousy; 3° Patience to combat Anger, 4° Generosity in almsgiving to combat Avarice, 5° Temperance to combat gluttony. 6° The repression of Concupiscence to combat lust, 7° Assiduousness in good to combat laziness. All this being clear, precise and easy to help practice, I borrowed these two books, put them in my sleeve and returned home to the province I copied them, then in the spring of the year eulsa (1789) returned the books to their owner.

Only three years later, having studied and meditated on these books, I began to practice, and two years later having learned that this doctrine was severely prohibited I burned or washed these volumes and did not keep them at home. I did not learn it from anyone, as I did not communicate it to others, but having once recognized God as my father, I could not dispense with following his orders, and the tablets in use among the nobles, being prohibited by the Religion of the Master of Heaven, according to this Religion I cannot not conform to its commandments. The 4th commandment ordering us to honor our father and mother, if by the fact our parents were really in these tablets, every man who professes the Religion should honor them all the more, but these tablets being made of wood, they have with me no relation of flesh, blood or life, they had no part in the labors of my birth and my education. The soul of my father or grandfather having left this world, can no longer remain attached to these material objects. Now the denomination of father and mother being

something so great and serious, how could I dare, taking an object made and arranged by a workman, make it my father and mother and really call it so? This not being founded on right reason, my conscience could not submit to it and should I thereby make myself guilty towards the nobles, I did not want to make myself guilty towards God, so I buried my tablets under the floor of my house. As for what is said that I burned them, Religion not making it a precept to us, I do not know either what lips could have formulated this rumour or through what ears it passed.

The offering of wine and food before the dead is also forbidden by the Religion of the Master of Heaven, and those who follow it must here again conform to its laws. When indeed the Creator arranged the different species of Creatures, he wanted material creatures to use material things and immaterial creatures to use immaterial things, this is why virtue is the food of the soul, as material foods are the food of the Body. Even if one had excellent wine and delicious foods, one could not nourish the soul with them, for the reason that an immaterial being cannot be nourished with material things. The ancients said: "One must serve the dead in the same way as when they were alive." (Note. This is a maxim in the books of this country.) Now since during life their soul has never been able to use food, much less, after death, the soul who is entirely spiritual cannot be nourished with wine and other foods. A man, however pious he may be towards his parents, does not offer food to his father and mother while they are sleeping, because sleep is not a time when they can eat; if this is the case with sleep, how much more when they are asleep in the long sleep of death, to offer them food would be not only a vain thing, but also a false practice, and how could a child resolve to honor his parents by vain and false practices. Thus, putting aside the use of foods which have no true fragrance, applying oneself with all one's strength to the practice of virtue in order to make its effects reach the parents and at the same time nourish our soul, this is the true way, the right doctrine, and even if I should thereby make myself guilty towards the nobles, I do not wish to make myself guilty towards God. However, considering that although the people do not erect the tablets, the government does not oppose them; Although the nobles destitute of everything do not make all the sacrifices according to the rules, the government does not reprimand them severely, in my humble opinion, the non-erection of the tablets and the non-offering of the sacrifices is simply for me a faithful observation of the Religion of the Master of Heaven and does not seem to me to be a violation of the laws of the kingdom.

I am still accused of prohibiting condolences after death. Making and receiving condolences after death is a duty of man; when I am given condolences on the death of my parents, I am more afflicted, and while impressed cannot stop my tears; how could a child prevent those who come to give him condolences!

If you do not believe me, there are people who have come to condole with me, you only have to make an inquiry and you will recognize the truth of what I say. It is added that I did not bury my parents: My mother's death took place this year on the 5th moon and I performed the burial ceremonies on the last day of the 8th.

As for the burial, the coffin, the tears, the mourning clothes etc... the Christian Religion recommends that we do everything with the greatest care and I performed these ceremonies and chose a suitable place, as do all the others. The plague being then in my house, I was not able to get in touch with strangers and all my relatives and friends were not able to come to attend the procession, but all the people of the village, big and small, had come and worked there, here again you only have to get information to know that the rumors spread are false and misleading. The word Christian Religion is a handle that is used to raise all the blames, one speaks of it to another, this one to a third, one lie makes another spread and little by little it has come to say that I refuse to receive condolences, that I do not even bury my parents. The accusation of having burned my tablets is also without foundation,

made in the air and without motive, it is used to implicate me and implicate me again and to have me condemned, it is a slander a thousand times deplorable. I am still called Bishop in Religion. In all the kingdoms of Europe there is indeed the dignity of Bishop, but it is not given to children or novices; how much more I who have lived in a remote place in the province, who have seen and heard nothing from the side and others, who alone by means of two or three volumes have worked to put myself into practice, having received lessons from no one and having propagated this doctrine nowhere, to say that I am Bishop is too ridiculous and I have no answer to give. Born a child of nobles, having finally more or less discovered the origin of Heaven and man and the true foundations of devotion to the king and filial piety, my weak desires have been limited to cultivating virtue and trying to serve God properly, beyond that I have nothing more to expose. For the cause of the accused Kouen, being first cousin of ioun t'sioungi by his mother, and living in the neighborhood, I lived at his house and borrowed from him the books entitled: True principles on God and the seven capital virtues. Many years ago, it was before Tsi t'sioungi had burned or washed his books, I did not copy them and only read them. I have, it is true, ceased to offer sacrifices, but I have neither burned nor destroyed the tablets, the boxes are still at my house and the mandarin of Tsin San having noted everything on the inventory he made, it is useless for me to speak further about it. Since I have been practicing the Religion, all my relatives have looked at me with evil eyes and poured all sorts of blame on me, then seeing that I no longer made the sacrifices, they all said with one voice: Since he no longer makes the sacrifices, the tablets become useless, certainly he will end up burning them. Having thrown this word into the air, each one added to it, then spread it everywhere and we have arrived at the point where I am today. Moreover, having lost my father and mother early, since I have been practicing the Religion I have not had the occasion to perform the burial ceremonies of my parents. Apart from that, all that I could say is not different from what Tsi t'sioung i declared and I have nothing more to say.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy Bishop Coadjutor to Mr. Libois Procurator in Hong Kong.

received on May 1, 1859

Reverend, Venerable and well revered Father Libois,

The titles are piling up to your address in proportion to the anxiety that torments me. In the mail of last winter, not a word under the article Libois, immediately paleness seizes me: what has happened? Would the finest of Normans have let himself hang on the hook or, inconvenienced by the vital air, would he have buried his head under the hood to the point of no longer having any relations with humans?

Terrible anxiety for anyone who has devoted attachment and veneration to you as I have. The next mail alone will be able to allay these alarms and if by chance it should be the bearer of sinister news, nothing could console me except the immediate dispatch of the Capote to warm my decrepit flesh. You may still be expecting me in Hong Kong, but apart from the fact that good opportunities are not presenting themselves, the time of crises seems to have almost passed and the little fellow is heading slowly and silently towards the common terminus, waiting for a light gust of wind to come and extinguish the wick and its last glow. But all this is still in the future contingents, while our venerable Brother Mr. Maistre, the strongest of us all and the most suited to the work, was suddenly called by the Lord and left us. Our consolation is in the holy death he made and in the beautiful examples of piety and self-denial he left. It is a great void for this mission, we feel it every day and our Christians too. Thus we must always be ready for anything. In the midst of all this, the worst thing is that the health of the Bishop of Capsus still gives us great concern. Far from recovering, His Highness's position is getting worse. His courage allows him to do a lot, but frequent attacks and the exhaustion that each summer brings only allow for sinister conjectures. However, this Mission rests solely on his head; His Highness has been willing to provide for the future by a consecration of Coadjutor, but this future, according to all human predictions, is not one; it is a beam that is externally standing, but all eaten away by worms, which will fall when we do not think about it, and cannot preserve the building; moreover, if the fall surprises someone, it will not be me, it seems to me imminent and inevitable, unless there is an extraordinary disposition of Providence.

This is how our little Mission, which is doing quite well, taking on a little life and giving us consolation, is nevertheless threatened from many sides and does not offer a reassuring future. If His Grandeur succumbs, all life disappears immediately and the death of Mr. Maistre will then be felt more and more. Let us leave this distressing theme however and say that while waiting for the future orders of the Lord, He allows for the moment that good is really done; we are still moving forward and this year still gives us hope for real improvements. I will not go into details, you will be able to see them in my letter to Mr. Albrand, and the volume of the choice of our martyrs which must accompany these letters will tell you that my time has been and still is rare, especially since the pen no longer knows how to slide or run. It is not to be regretted moreover when it is used to glorify these generous confessors and to add a new jewel to the history of the Holy Church. The general history of the Mission or rather of the Martyrs requiring research that has become very difficult and necessarily very long due to the dispersion of the people to be interviewed, it was decided that this choice would be sent first and the rest ... on the job with the hope of showing itself later. But God knows when? If I can carry out the long distance trips required ad hoc, the rest

of the facts would perhaps be ready for next year, but the writing will have to be entrusted to a less heavy and less wigged pen.

Everyone does what they can, don't they? I have finished, dear Brother, we are happy, all is well, pray to God that he supports us and comes to our aid, his glory is interested in it.

Receive the assurance of the inviolable attachment of your very devoted servant and brother

+ Antoine. Coadjutor Bishop

I am surprised that in the printing house of Father Libois they are having fun changing the stories of the Old Testament, I am assured that the Korean is faithfully translated into Chinese. Reread the article of St Raphael on October 24 and you will understand that it is not permitted to change the Scripture in this way, please have this corrected.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Libois in Hong Kong.

Received on May 11, 1860

Very Reverend Arch-Procurator

I deeply regret that my imagination and all the flowers that this precious power knows how to create have long since taken leave of me. Today I would have been less at pains to celebrate your new titles and congratulate you on the new rank to which long and eminent services have brought you and for which you are undoubtedly partly indebted to the venerable hood; in the penury to which I am reduced, it only remains for me to simply decline my compliment and to express to you all the joy that I feel in seeing the networks of actions that you direct for the greater good of all our Missions extend far and wide. Besides, it must also be said that I do not have much time to devote to letters of congratulation, the cases multiplying here in a frightening manner, a Procurator would hardly get by, an Arch-Procurator would find some expedient, but for me who am neither one nor the other I do not know how to get myself out of all this confusion.

We received the mail by Pien-Mien and the letter that you were kind enough to address to me reached me to distract me and cheer me up. The French go almost everywhere, except to Korea, Bravo! To arrange things as they do, what is the use? We will show them that with the help of God we can do without their help and our affairs go no less well, who knows besides if they would not spoil them? We are enjoying peace and it seems to want to last, everything is going well, everyone is pushing on their own here and doing what they can, everyone is alive and happy, even in trials and difficulties, what can we not hope for. Obviously the good Lord helps us and supports us. You will not learn again this time of the conversion of all these people and we will be careful not to cry wonder, however we will cry prodigy, thinking that there are so many countries where nothing is done and that here there are conversions in great numbers despite all the difficulties, soli Deo honor et gloria. Little by little also our little Mission will be organized. Bishop Berneux is an admirable man, who deserves and has all the confidence of his Missionaries. If God wants to keep him for us, everything will be on a good footing. The winters are still passable for him, but the summer is always very difficult, and at times, I really fear, pray then to the Lord that he gives him time to complete what no one else seems to me to be able to do and to strengthen this mission too long desolated by so many trials

One of those which afflicts us at the moment, is the failure of our efforts to introduce our two confreres last spring. The letters of the winter will perhaps tell us the reason for their non-arrival, but in the meantime we have only very sad conjectures to make. We must say Amen, but it is difficult when we see from day to day the impossibility of being sufficient for everything and that we cannot support all the good that there is to be done here, and then when will they come or will they be replaced? You have doubtless received and sent to France the numerous documents that I sent last year on the martyrs, I have placed them under the protection of Mary and our blessed confessors and am confident that they will not be lost. I have continued the research and this time do not have much to send, however my efforts have not been in vain and everything is becoming clear. Monuments of the highest importance have come into my hands providentially from the pagans. I believe that God looks favorably on the enterprise that he suggested to the Bishop of Capsus and that he wants to make known the principal confessors of his name in this country. Everything will go well, but slowly, because it is necessary to go so far to question a little completely, and then there

are so many other things to do for the administration of the Christians and the books that are necessary for them, that always divided between so many affairs, I can only give myself to it at times and not put myself into it entirely. God grant that I am not ill, always weak, increasingly old and good for nothing, but almost never unable to devote myself to the various tasks entrusted to me. Let us hope that everything will be done and in the time that He wants it.

Could you provide me with a few copies of the work entitled:

(초성학요)

It is complained that in many books from your printing house there are omitted or transferred pages, not to mention printing errors.

Copy of a letter from Mgr Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea November 12, 1860 *

Dear Superior,

It seems that the good Lord definitely wants to test us, you will have known before receiving this that our new attempt in the spring to receive the confreres who are sent to us, had again been without success for reasons that we cannot even suspect, and today you will learn that to complete our isolation, the winter mail among the letters that it brought did not present any from the Seminary of Paris. It would therefore appear that some package was lost or delayed, because that is the only way to explain the fact. This lack of letters was very painful for us, as you can imagine, moreover I wait every year for the historical documents that I had the honor of asking you for three years ago and I have not been able to have any news of them. Have they gone, gone astray, or lost? This is how all work languishes. Besides, I can only predict the history of our Martyrs, and its completion is becoming quite problematic. The first draft is, one can say, finished, I have only a few things left to write and at the first free moment, it will be done. But it is clear that this series of facts thus written cannot be presented either to the public or even to the Society and the more I advance the more pitiful the writing becomes. I had first intended, a first draft being on paper, to redo it myself, not to present it to the public, but to make it a clear and somewhat neat whole that could at least satisfy the members of the Society. The ever-increasing stupefaction of my faculties makes me retreat, assured that nothing in it can be even slightly satisfactory. Then the idea comes to me to send you as is all my shapeless writings, entrusting you with the task of making some use of them, and I almost still recoil at the sight of so many old and modern publications which are far from presenting anything true. The editor, whoever he may be, left to his own devices or wanting to put some colour into his work, will disfigure it so much that he presents things in a very different sense. Now, whether at the end of everything my name appears or does not appear, it is clear that all the responsibility will rest on me and the faults imputable and attributed to me; this is something I can hardly accept without knowledge of the facts. I would therefore like to find a way to have the editor before my eyes to direct him, bring him back and have no responsibility other than that which I believe I can accept. In the position in which we are, not seeing any way of putting this plan into execution, everything is stopped for an indefinite time. Moreover, during the whole course of this year, I have not been able to advance this work by a single step, prevented by the persecution, and it remains at the status quo, i.e. finished for the documents that we have here. Having nothing to send you, I had thought of sending you the work on the tradition and the witnesses who have given us testimony in favor of each martyr in particular, then here again the persuasion that this work cannot have important results in the hands of anyone foreign to this country and not knowing the depositaries, determines me to send you a big zero. Little by little we will see what there is to do, but I repeat if some circumstance does not come to rejuvenate me and put me in a position to use my old faculties, please do not count on me any more.

The same reason makes me regret every day having accepted the Coadjutorship of this country, I hoped then to resume some life and to be able to render some service, the years have passed and I have only seen old age arrive with all its paraphernalia, no more memory, no more recollection of principles and their application, writing French with a dictionary and wondering where the few words of Korean that I had learned have gone. How with that to be

at the head of others and to direct them. God will arrange everything according to his good pleasure and will make each of us subsist according to his designs, but I speak frankly in saying that if circumstances put me at the head of this mission I would not accept the responsibility. Here is a very discouraged man, you will perhaps say? Please do not believe it, nor worry, Korea will possess my bones anyway, so reassure yourselves and do not think that these lines have a bad scope, I am old and worn out, but nothing more; I do not complain about my health, I have to suffer quite rarely and less than many others, but for work of composition, reflection, etc. the time has passed, unless there is an unexpected change, that's all. I am far from being discouraged, the persecution and all the ruins it has caused around us, have thank God impressed me less than many others, because I foresaw them more or less as the event has brought them about, but I also have confidence that our losses will be repaired with time; what is more I dare to expect good from these dreadful evils that God has allowed to happen to us by trial or by punishment, or rather for these two reasons combined, and without being a prophet I imagine that it takes two years to feel the good that God wanted to provide us; and to achieve this result I dig every day, I form projects not castles in Spain, and hope to put them into execution immediately, and finally since I was able to come out of my retirement holes I have worked on the works that I had at hand with the same happiness and the same continuity as I could do in previous years. Since I could only have Korean books on hand, I set to work in earnest and our Christians will now benefit from these small jobs that have brought me joy, my consolation, my life.

Speaking of work, God seems to take pity on our efforts for the history of the Martyrs. No longer having a home, I had deposited the bulk of my belongings with a Christian in pagan country who seemed to have nothing to fear, not even persecution. However, unfortunately he was denounced by a traitor and the satellites went to seize him. Finding him absent, they rushed to the house and the furniture, and took 200 francs that I had also deposited there. The mother of the Christian managed to prevent the satellites from entering the apartment where all my belongings were by threats. They withdrew to go and get the master. During this time God allowed a Christian very far from there to arrive by chance, they loaded him with my effects, (two loads of oxen) he took them and the next day the satellites who had met and captured the master of the house returned to pillage the house in large. Can one see a more attentive Providence, it is too striking and from that moment I dared to flatter myself that the persecution would not go to the last extremity. Now in these effects were all the Korean and Chinese originals of the acts of the Martyrs, all my notes in all languages on the history and customs of this country, all my notes on the Dictionary, and for the preparation of a new dictionary of scholars etc., What a blow for me if all this had fallen into the hands of the satellites. Thanks to God and to Mary our protectress. So our work is going at its little pace and will advance God helping and little by little we will have the consolation of seeing some good results, this is my intimate persuasion. I am not talking to you about the persecution, because it is not interesting and besides the stories will not **** you, I think it is over. But the war in China! It is making a lot of noise here and causing great agitation, we have no true news of it, but it is dragging on and that is a bad sign, so true is it that we must expect nothing but from God. Our turn will come sooner or later without a doubt, but will we not be worse than in the past, that is very much to be feared.

If we come here and Catholic thought is not the dominant idea and the motive for all engagement, it is better not to come, shout it out loud; the Christians will be more despised, Religion vilified and France considered as a foolish scoundrel who will throw a few words on all the ravages to strut her plumes, like children would do. Shame and pure shame will fall back on his nose. Pray for us, because serious circumstances await us. Cholera in August and September has wreaked terrible havoc in all parts of the kingdom, now begins a year of famine that must bring many troubles according to human predictions, ask the Lord to deign

to continue his protection and strengthen us in the midst of so many evils, and that he also deign to spare this people and give us time to make them know, love and serve their God; this people is brought closer to the true way, do violence to the Lord and abundant fruits will soon be noticed.

I end by recommending myself to the prayers of Mr. Mrs. the Directors and of the whole community and by asking you to accept again the assurance of my sincere and complete devotion in Our Lord

+Antoine, Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Please send me the method for the instruction and education of deaf mutes. Choose the most generally approved one, I would like it not to be in large number of volumes.

The Bishop fortunately endured the summer, less badly than in the past, I attribute it in large part to the company that His Highness has had frequently and I am convinced that a little freedom and exercise would complete the cure at least of the strongest. His Highness showed me the Cardinal's response to the permission that He had requested. I fear that this response will have bad consequences and if His Eminence does not speak of it any more, the mission will doubtless suffer serious damage.

So where is the introduction of the cause of our Martyrs in Rome?

Copy of a letter from Mgr Daveluy to Mr. Libois (?)

Korea,

November 12. (?)

Items to send

Meditations by Beuvelet, as small a format as possible.

Priestly Meditations by Father Chaignon.

Concordantia Bibliæ (to search for texts) I would like an edition in a small format in 12 or 8°

Explanation of ceremonies by Falise.

Catholic Institutions by Pouget. The smallest possible edition. You can send it to me in Latin if there are convenient formats.

Roman Breviary in 12 in 4 vols. No red characters. Choose an edition that does not tire the eyes, because my eyes are going. Very recent edition.

Two copies of the sheets of the new offices of the Imm. Conc. to put in each volume of breviaries, in 18 format. (These are the sheets for the recitation of the votive office)

Two copies of the new Mass of the Imm. Conc. in 8°

A Bishop's hat and a belt like those previously sent to Mgr Berneux; the outline of my head at 58 centimeters.

Material of three cassocks, it will be very light and strong canvas that you will have dyed in a suitable purple. (I do not want silk or cloth)

A pair of black Beaver shoes, very flexible and thin sole.

A small silver-gilt chalice, whose foot is a little heavy, and which unscrews to be stored in a flat case, like the cases given in my time.

A penknife with several blades.

A watch, silver case and 'old system' if possible.

In addition a desk clock, with alarm and striking the hours. There are some very small and cheap ones, like the alarm clocks that several missionaries brought, they are put in small cardboard boxes and easily fit in a small package. I do not want any with pendulums. If we could not find a solid one with an alarm clock and striking the hours, we would buy the clock and the alarm clock separately.

Two chasubles, one larger, the size of Mgr de Capsus, the other my size, but both in the same style. It will be very solid silk, without being too stiff, white on one side and red on the other, all embroidered in silk, with designs that stand out well.

Two pairs of spectacles, bluish lenses, the lenses will be put on one of Nos. 8 and on the other of No. 14. In addition, please also put in the package lenses from Nos. 10 and 12, which can be adapted to the two arms of the spectacles.

Finally, a lorgnette, in the form of a spectacle, which opens and closes at will and can be put in the pocket. The lenses would be No. 7. This form is nothing other than spectacles which do not attach to the ears, but are held by the hand in front of the eyes momentarily.

These are many requests, yes; it is that when approaching the tomb one usually puts on a good face, and if these objects no longer find me here, I would bless the Lord who would have deigned to remove me from this too heavy burden, so no regrets.

You can use the money you have for me if you have any, besides I have more at the procurement than you will use.

I would also like to have a photographic instrument, if I were certain of succeeding in using it with the instructions that you would send me at the same time, or if we could have some exercises taken by the colleagues who would bring it. This would be less of a game for me, than a way of making up for what is difficult for us to paint without these countries.

Because these paintings that I promised you are not too easy to obtain and I lost some in the fire this spring that I will probably not be able to replace. In any case, you will judge if it is easy and appropriate to send me this shipment which would also be paid for by me and does not seem to me to be pure fantasy. Mgr de Capsus also knows that I am talking to you about it and approves of me. We would need paper or cardboard capable of receiving groups of people etc. (P.S. It seems that photography is very difficult and very expensive, if that is the case I will simply give it up.)

12 Nov. Mgr de Capsus seems to have been rid of his fever for a fortnight and is recovering quite well, but His Highness being too stubborn not to take remedies and sufficient rest precautions to avoid falling back, I dare not hope that the winter will go well and the day after tomorrow I am leaving again for the administration with a very heavy heart.

Your very humble servant and colleague.

+ Antoine. Bishop Coadjutor

If you do not have any details about our mission, I authorize you to read the few words that I am writing to my parents, I will try to remember not to seal this letter; but it is impossible for me to write more, I have had to shorten my correspondence this time more than usual.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Libois Procurator of Foreign Missions in Hong Kong

Korea November 12, 1860.

Very dear and Reverend Procurator,

Your good letter of September 1859 reached me by our mail of Pien Men with a good number of other letters, all of old date, this seems to indicate at least one lost or misplaced package, it is very sad, because all the business suffers from it. Not a single letter from the Seminary of Paris, and nothing of what was announced from the Court of Rome, What to do about it? - I see with pleasure that you are supporting yourself very gently, it is necessary to work a few more years before receiving the crown, and if all the old ones disappeared what would become of the helm.

I have spent my year as it was, nothing serious has shaken my old frame, but all the time has passed almost without doing anything by the permission of God who has deigned to visit us with his punishments. The persecution kindled towards the end of December by the Grand Criminal Judge of the kingdom, raged for five or six months and did not really end until after ten months. It has revealed to us the weakness and timidity of the Christians and proved that our works are far from having a great success. The government has constantly kept itself out of the affair, it does not dare to blame it directly but its conduct has revealed its feelings in a palpable manner and would be a real victory for us if our Christians had known how to show themselves and take advantage of the fine position in which they found themselves; a little firmness could have far-reaching consequences for them. We were searched for directly and with trumpet sound for several months, but here again the government not wanting to get involved in the matter, the searches could not be severe, the satellites found themselves very badly received by a certain number of mandarins, soon got bored with their useless routes and the great Judge after having dishonored himself and turned the public spirit against him was too happy that they agreed to remove his place and to leave the outcome of things to the care of his successor, who little by little finished everything quietly. But despite this we have received a failure, and suffered immense losses in half of the Mission and it will probably take a long time to get back to the point where we were, all is not lost however and with efforts and work we hope to heal these wounds, moreover we will only know our position well by the experience of a year.

There is much intrigue about the war in China, of which we have no credible news, but it seems clear that it is dragging on, and would it not give rise to another shameful scene like in Cochinchina - how sad it all is! It is likely that they will end up coming to Korea and that they will also do stupid things there, ah well! rather leave us alone, because that would be adding hatred to the persecution and that is too heavy. Please, if they do not want to act in earnest and show themselves to be Catholics above all, obtain that they do not interfere with us, that would be much better than being whistled at again here by this weak people who do not even have cannons. Spare us so much harm and the infamy that would fall on religion itself. All or nothing. This is the only acceptable option, and yet I fear that we will not go through a happy medium, less nauseating than the old happy medium of terrible memory. Another useless attempt! No colleagues, things are getting complicated and we can do nothing about it. The galley sails on, God knows how much we need them and he will end up, I hope, by sending them. Mr. Rousseille announced some effects to me by their occasion, but besides these effects there are various others that were announced to me by Paris several

years ago and which have not yet been mentioned. Thus a bookbinder's press and trimmer, frames, fine combs etc. ... All this would not have reached Hong Kong. Really I dare not ask for anything more, because our Korea is too surly. The general assembly is postponed, they say, God willing, it will not be a question of it, because to deal with three and a quarter articles, who would not regret the hundreds of thousands of francs that it would cost and the time that so many necessary men would spend outside the missions, and then few Vic. Ap. going there would it not be a real farce? I have nothing this time to address to you on the martyrs, I have not been able to make history and research take a single step during this whole year and do not know when I will be able to resume it. The work elsewhere becoming completely impossible for me, I do not know if there will even be a way to finish it, the rest will speak, God having his designs, let us not worry. I do not receive the papers requested in Paris, and God knows if they are on the way, that is the advantage of doing work 10,000 leagues from the center of the **** eras. Farewell my reverend, please let me know if my packet of letters has arrived sealed or not, this knowledge will be very useful to me. Accept the assurance of my veneration for the hood, and how much more for the one it covers.

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes. Coadjutor

to Bishop Verollles (?)

Korea, November 13, 1860

Monsignor

Despite a thousand dangers and all the bloodhounds of the anti-Catholic police, the letter that Your Highness was kind enough to send me last December fortunately reached me, protected no doubt by the banners of Our Lady of the Snows. It was most welcome and despite the delay in the mail from Shanghai which kept you short of news, it was still through your kind correspondence that we learned more or less the bulk of the events, apart from that not a word even in the form of an episode. All the letters received in the Mission were of old date and it is very sad to see each year packets of letters lost or delayed by I know not what circumstances; In addition to the pain that everyone naturally receives from it, many businesses are hindered by it, especially when the next mail must be delayed for the whole of a year, as is the case for our dear Korea, whose barriers, far from being toppled, seem to be rising even higher. You will undoubtedly know, without waiting for our dispatches, that the new attempt made this spring to introduce the brothers who have been announced to us for years has again failed, without it being possible for us to guess the cause, and Providence seems to persist in leaving us in our isolation. I adore the designs of her mercy, which does not prevent me from strongly desiring that she will finally deign to grant us this help so desired and so necessary, and this is perhaps the only good side that I believe I see in the opening of this country to European trade, if however this opening supported on bastard bases does not come to ruin all the hopes that this country gives rise to. I therefore await the accomplishment of God's designs without daring to desire or ask for anything except Adveniat regnum tuum. What has become of all the hopes of Cochinchina and then what misery in China, yes truly Bonum est sperare in Domino quam confidere in principibus.

Our little kingdom is full of rumors of the war in China, without it being possible for us to know anything about what is happening there. It seems clear, however, that things are dragging on, which is a bad omen and makes me fear that the Europeans have botched this affair again with very heterogeneous ideas and that they will be driven down for the twentieth time. How I long to have some positive details, and also to know what they will want to do in Korea, because in the end they will undoubtedly come there. But really would it not be better for them to abstain from it. To come here without frankly stating that one has come to ask for an exact account of past acts, and without placing oneself on entirely Catholic ground, is to spit in one's face. The opening of Korea has no great advantages for trade, and to achieve it at the price of shame, of infamy, by passing oneself off as beings without principles and without feelings, would that not be deplorable? and yet that is what will happen if someone does not open France's eyes and does not determine its representatives to do everything or nothing; that is the only acceptable motto and I believe that one can shout it without fear of being mistaken. So, not hoping that things will be done in order, one would do us a service by persuading these gentlemen to stay on the other side of the Yellow Sea, until they have been able to at least understand the scope of their acts in this country.

That's too much, I'm moving on to another subject. Your Highness will learn from all the letters of this year that God has sent us trials and tribulations. The persecution has reappeared on the mountains of Korea, raged for five or six months and was not fully resolved until after ten whole months. It presents very little interest in details and I refrain from tracing them in order to make you follow the rest. This persecution was incited by the greed and hatred of the Grand Criminal Judge of the kingdom, he began it himself and at first

displayed an activity which was to push things to the last extremity in a short time. Also in a few days all our Christians of the capital and the neighboring province were in flight to the number of many thousands, and from the first blow about thirty prisoners were locked up in the dungeons of the capital. At the same time the pillaging of all these provincial Christianties took place, while our neophytes were day and night taking refuge in the mountains in the midst of the snow which was then very abundant, in a cold of 12 to 15 degrees and without having with them a single food - men, women and children, everything was there more or less. The Judge having informed the governor of his exploits, the latter seemed very unsatisfied, would have liked to blame him loudly but did not dare for fear of compromising himself, and nevertheless refused to take charge of the affair, leaving all the responsibility to the Judge, who understood the critical position in which he was being thrown, and did not dare either kill or send back the Christians.

It was thought that things would end there, but the government having always persisted in not getting involved in the affair, the Judge did not know what to do, was day and night in a trance and could not stand it any longer. To get out of this bad situation, he thought of seizing one or more Europeans to force the government to take matters in hand. He immediately sent his hordes in pursuit of us in the provinces, with a prohibition to pillage and torture the Christians, and orders only to bring in foreigners. This prohibition that the spirit of the government imposed on him tied the hands of his satellites, who left in spite of themselves for the most part and were all the more easily disgusted, as they received little welcome from most of the Mandarins. Some prohibited any search in their district, others, while allowing it, knew how to make it useless and burdensome, some, however, happy to be able to exercise their hatred against the Christians, carried things to unprecedented excesses. From there great devastation in many localities. In short, the satellites soon returned to the judge, tired, bored, and new orders to leave were evaded by pretexts, they almost declared outright that they could not obey. The Judge was furious, the blame of the public mind against his odious acts increased day by day and his position became more critical. He had gone so far as to say that foreigners were circulating in the kingdom, had thrown trouble everywhere under this pretext and had taken none, this fact alone could compromise him to the last degree. Finally, not knowing where to turn, he obtained as if by grace to leave his place, and withdrew all ashamed and dishonored; then his successor little by little arranged things without too much fuss.

Such is the sequence of events and it would have been a victory for us, if our Christians had stood firm and had a little resolution, but accustomed to fleeing, they did themselves and religion incalculable harm - their excessive timidity ruined them, dishonored us very seriously and puts them to this day in a deplorable position. Moreover, the prisoners are far from having all done honor to religion so that after the recovery of peace, we have half of the communities ruined, more shame than honor, the courage of many and especially of the catechumens defeated, this is, Monsignor, the subject of our tears, and a glimpse of the trials with which Providence has nourished us. However, we do not lose confidence, we are going to work to recover everything, and still hope for a few small, slow and rare successes. Please therefore pray well for poor Korea, all desolate. I am happy to learn that the meeting of the Society will not take place, and hope that it will not be discussed again, it would have been in my opinion an immense waste of time, an immense waste of money and little fruit.

I recommend myself in particular to your good prayers and to those of all our dear colleagues and ask you to accept again the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor to be, Monsignor of your Grandeur

the very humble servant

+ M. N. Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Paris

Korea January 25, 1861

Dear Superior,

Our courier has just arrived from China, he brought me the two letters that you were kind enough to write to me in September 1859 and August 1860, and I am trying to answer you in two words in case this time our boats could meet.

In addition to the deep pain that we feel from the overly critical position of the Sovereign Pontiff and the very deplorable tendencies that are manifested in governments, two things have pained me greatly in the letters that you addressed to me concerning the matter of our communications and our martyrs.

You seem to doubt that His Grace has taken all the desirable precautions and made the necessary efforts to ensure the success of the communications, adding that we can be quite certain that the Procure would not fail to meet. Now without wanting or having the thought of accusing anyone of negligence, the facts have proven that we have always been faithful to the appointment, and that each time a station of at least fifteen days has been made there, despite all the difficulties that one encounters there. Believe me, Sir, that we have enough desire to receive the requested confreres to do everything that is in our power.

You would like us to establish Christians in Mé-lin tao; we will try to do it if you are willing to send us for them dispensation from all the indispensable superstitions, in other words it is absolutely impossible. Sending boats to China is literally sending them to their death, to bet a hundred to one, now who could blame them for preserving their lives, and who would dare take it upon themselves to give them this order.

I therefore see no way of doing better and we must resign ourselves to the trials that God deigns to send us, this one, believe me, is not the lightest for us, but with grace we will not be discouraged.

For the matter of the Martyrs, I examine my conscience, thinking that everyone will do the same and I examine where the fault that is imputed to us comes from. We are reproached for not having satisfied the requests made by the Holy See in the letters remissoriæ. I am willing to believe that these letters have been sent, but please also believe that no one here has received them, and what is extraordinary is that the text of the decree authorizing the introduction of the cause of the martyrs, dated 1857, only reached us 6 days ago in January 1861; Is it we who should be blamed for such delays, and calculate by this the time when the letters remissoriæ of which we have no knowledge should arrive? What information could we give without knowing what the Court of Rome asks of us.

You seem to believe that I have taken it as an honor to finish the history of the martyrs rather than to deal with this information. Please disabuse yourself. If there were not an order from my Apostolic Vicar I would not have the courage to finish this history. I admit to having spent a lot of time on it, and to have wasted little time in recent years, but it was only out of duty.

Moreover, thinking that the Holy See might well ask us for some information, I believe I have already had the honor of telling you that I have written down the whole tradition and the witnesses on each martyr, to facilitate the work of those who will be responsible for the information either without me, or with me, or after me. The work will be completed more and more, but ignoring what the Court of Rome will ask of us and the forms

it will require, I have not been able to send this notebook, copied in duplicate in the Mission as a precaution and that is all my fault if there is one.

To conclude, please Monsieur the Superior write expressly to Rome to make known the unfortunate circumstances which shelter us from the reception of the documents of the SS. Congregations and assure his Eminence that if the documents reached us there is not a missionary who would not willingly bend over backwards to accelerate the success of the cause of the Martyrs. I dare to answer for all my colleagues, because each one has looked at it and looks at it as the Cause of the Church, of France, of Korea as a very personal cause.

I have said too much, I stop with the hope that you will be convinced, persuaded. I can add nothing except that we are peaceful and hope not to see the peace disturbed. I commend myself to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices, and also of all the members of our Seminary and ask you to accept the assurance of the deep devotion with which I have the honor to be

Your very humble servant and colleague.

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

You seem not to have received all the lives of the Martyrs sent two years ago and of which Mr. Libois acknowledged receipt, I do not know where they would be lost?

R.S.V.P. (Please Reply)

About the revision of the regulations, I am surprised and even frightened by the tendencies that are manifesting themselves in many members of the Society to recast it so much that our Society would no longer be itself. I fear very bad consequences and see little way of stopping them. Could it not be an effect of the current political ideas with which too many young members of the Society unfortunately seem to be imbued that it seems important to me to suppress these ideas in our Seminary! It would be good, I believe, for all the Directors to consider together how to uproot them from the hearts of the Aspirants, because later it is no longer time and the deplorable consequences will make us groan.

Let us pray, pray and strive, each in our position.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Libois Procurator in Hong Kong

Korea October 1861

My very dear Arch-Procurator,

I call you by your honorable titles; accept them therefore and let us not speak of them any more. That is why I begin by acknowledging receipt of your dear letter of last September in which I have always recognized your sincere friendship and thank you for the details that you are kind enough to give me there. So here is Peking opened and all of China with it. From the moment we marched on this city, there was no doubt that it would be taken, this is only the prelude, how will be observed this time the famous treaty which seems quite well planned and whose honor, it is said, must not go to Baron Gros, a very worthless and rather ill-disposed man.

The letters of the winter, if they arrive, will doubtless tell us about the consequences; then about the affairs of poor Cochinchina. What has been done by this and will we be able to repair so many scandals and bloodshed. Truly if France has a great deal of honor she cannot leave Tu Duc on the throne, he is a ferocious beast and nothing more. And then above all when will we have news of the Holy Father. Alas! what trials there are for the Church, while universal peace was announced; in such cases one would like to see the insurmountable barriers of Korea fall in order to have news. Outside of this one hardly dares to desire it, for fear of paying too dearly for a phantom of freedom. God takes care of us, why worry? Finally His divine Providence has opened the two leaves for a moment and our dear square battalion has entered and is with us in joy. A thousand and one thanksgivings to the Lord, constancy overcomes everything. Our joy would be even more complete, if God in his adorable designs, had not judged it appropriate to immediately remove from us the too regrettable Father Thomas, he died on June 15 after a short illness and his loss leaves here an immense void that will not be filled soon. You knew his good qualities, his good spirit, his tireless zeal, When will he be replaced? Submission to God's orders is difficult, the more I think about it, the more I am saddened by it, we must come to terms with it, ask God for complete resignation for me, because it is not yet frank.

Divine protection was manifested on us all year, tranquility was not disturbed, and almost all the Christian countries were able to be visited. How many evils has this kind of persecution produced! It is incalculable, however, with the help of God, it will be remedied, and already things are more or less back on track in a large number of places, little by little it will no longer appear so and perhaps we will find our advantage in extending ourselves further, as has already begun. The fugitive Christians have had proselytes almost everywhere and have already brought us a fairly good harvest which by the grace of God will be able to grow further. Thus it turns out that the arrival of 4 priests relieves us very little, each one keeps almost the same burden and your servant finds himself twice as overloaded as before. It is all the same. Providence is there and will know how to give us the necessary strength to make ends meet, or if it calls us, we will try to make our sacrifice to it. Bishop de Capsus did not have a bad summer, the ailments were less frequent and less severe than before, only his strength has been exhausted since last year and His Grace can no longer even try to do what he undertook every year so thoughtlessly until now, the excess of work has ruined him and one could well have foreseen it. I hope that God will preserve him for us because his presence

is necessary here, there is still no one to steer the boat. Here is Paulin back, we will see what advantage we can take of him, but it takes time and effort. I did not recognize Father Libois by the weakness he showed in letting him do his bidding and that was very harmful to him. Various confreres have also spoiled him by their excessive kindness and flattery. We do not know what harm such considerate and friendly treatment does to these young people. But above all the affair of the watch would make me believe that you are no longer Norman, and that the regulations of the procuracy have undergone a terrible revision. In any case we will try to reform his character by patience, but of all those who are here, he seems to me to be the only one who does not despair of succeeding. He is at the college for the moment and his test is being done there.

- This year I am not sending anything on the martyrs, the history is finished, as much as it can be here and I would have sent it, if I could have had a copyist at my command to keep a copy here necessary for all these future affairs. But how to have this enormous work copied? I do not know if it will even be done next year, because for me I do not see a way of doing it with all that I have on my hands. Farewell my reverend continue to pray for me and for all our mission, we will not be ungrateful and God will repay you well I hope.

Your most devoted servant

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Copy of a letter from Mgr Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea October 1861

Superior,

By divine protection our couriers from Pien men were able to bring us the dispatches from Europe, as you will have doubtless learned from the letters of the spring, because this time to crown all blessings Providence allowed our sea expedition to succeed and our confreres have fortunately arrived to us. To tell you of the happiness of all of them, our happiness to ourselves and the exultation of all Christendom at this news, would not be an easy thing, thanks be to God! yes *gratias amplissimas*. I leave it to these Gentlemen to give you an account of their voyage and its details, because they will certainly do so, and I will move on to our little affairs.

I thank you warmly for the care you took in purchasing the various objects brought to me by these Messrs. Everything has arrived safely and will, I hope, provide the services I can expect from it. As for the documents relating to the history of our Martyrs, I could perhaps thank you for the care you thought you had taken, but certainly not for the care you have taken. For in the 4 or 5 years that I have made requests, not a line has been sent to me; I was still waiting for the arrival of the Brothers, presuming to find these documents in some trunk, but this time again not a line. This is too much; while it is a matter of general interest, specially recommended to you by the Apostolic Vicar himself ab initio, and recalled each year by the Coadjutor of the Mission, you are good enough to write to me that Mr. Chamaison has sent everything; I like to believe it and yet nothing has arrived. But besides the fact that it was difficult to trust Mr. Chamaison, when he had done his research and prepared the materials, was it not the duty of the Procurator of Korea to receive all these documents, to see for himself roughly what there was, and to send them himself? If things had been done in order, I would doubtless have received valuable and necessary documents, whereas today I have nothing.

Hand on conscience, whose fault is it? As for me, I wash my hands of it. Mr. Féron, who had requested some documents several years after my requests, received them through the care of the person to whom he had addressed them, these documents being only an abridgement cannot suffice for me, I only see that there are very valuable documents in Europe which must shed great light on many facts. Disgusted at having waited so long in vain, and at receiving nothing this year, I set to work writing the old part of our history and have finished it entirely. There are many obscure and inaccurate things, which the documents from France could doubtless clear up and rectify, but many years of experience having taught me that no one in Paris wanted to deal with them, I did not think it necessary to make new requests and passed on at the risk of falling into falsehood. This history would have been sent this year if there had been someone to make a copy of it; for I am obliged to keep one here; and if it should reach you later, please remember that it will still have to be conferred and completed by the notes that you have or may have in your hands. Besides, it is only an unwritten draft, which must be colored by some skilled hand, my part is finished, all that I could do here would be wasted time, having nothing more at hand. As for the investigations ordered by Rome to prove the facts, The Bishop informed you this spring that no letter from Rome on this subject has ever come to these parts, we are waiting. When they arrive we will follow these instructions immediately; I already have in writing the testimonies collected by

me on each martyr and this will facilitate the subsequent inquisitions, however the letters arrive to us each year in January, and each missionary having already made part of his tour, it is not probable that all the investigations can be sent the same year, do not be scandalized if there is then some delay.

A sentence in your letter frightens me, telling me that you have not received the lives of the Martyrs sent by me. I hope that this is a misunderstanding between us, because all the letters sent by me at the same time arrived in Paris and to my family. Now Mr. Libois received, read, and sent by mail this collection of notices. Please send me the list of Martyrs whose notice you received, to clarify this doubt. This would be all the more unfortunate, since in too much of a hurry then, I sent three or four lives without making a copy here, and this work would have to be started again ab ovo.

The Bishop sent this spring the vote of the Mission on the sheet to be used to revise the regulations. The meeting of some Bishops in Paris was rejected, and in fact it is useless. My thought is that the gentlemen of Paris should do the revision themselves and send it to each Mission, each Mission would give a first vote on each article, which it should send to the other Missions; and after having enlightened itself on the votes and discussions of all the Missions, each would send to Paris a second definitive vote which would fix things.

It would take several years, but what does it matter?

I will not give you any details this time about this year, the very regrettable death of our dear Father Tchoi Thomas overloads me a lot and I do not know where to turn. You will have these details from others and if by chance you do not have any, you could ask my parents for communication of the little that I send them.

Please recommend me to the prayers of all our confreres of Paris, I do not forget them before God. Finally, accept Mr. Superior the assurance of the respectful attachment of your very humble and very devoted servant.

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria.

Korea October 1861

Monseigneur

The letter that your Grandeur did me the honor of writing to me last December, fortunately reached me by return of our faithful courier and gave me all the pleasure that can be caused by the very interesting details that you were kind enough to put at length; it is through your letter in fact that I found myself a little informed of the great affairs of China to which we attach great importance. So this famous Peking expedition has ended, of which we have spoken for so long and of which we have finally seemed to understand the necessity.

It has succeeded as we had no doubt in the material respect, but only the sequel will show the effects that it will have in the moral and religious respect. Will effective measures have been taken at least this time to ensure the execution of the treaties and will we not once again be duped by Chinese trickery? We await the knowledge of subsequent facts to reassure us in this regard. Moreover, it appears that Baron Gros was a sad man, having very little at heart to seek to be of any use to us, thinking only of finishing it as soon as possible and at any price, worthy in a word of most of the representatives of France. It is said that the expedition carried out on Cochinchina, what will have been done there? Affairs, even in administrative terms, were very badly directed there, it is said; we are eager here to know if the laws of honor were not trampled underfoot too much and how everything ended, because with our impious government and our debauched officers what good can we expect for religion and in favor of its ministers? The affairs of the Holy Father worry us even more, the European war and the triumph of the impious are indeed to be feared, we have not ceased to pray for the Church, it will not perish but what storms will it not have to endure

Parce Domine

In the midst of all these crises whose outcome is unknown to us, God has this year covered us more than ever with his favors. You already know without doubt that our attempts by sea have finally succeeded and that 4 confreres have fortunately arrived to us. What joy what exultation for our little Church barely emerged from such a deplorable storm.

Please help us to thank God less unworthily and pray to him to soon put these dear confreres in a position to render all the services that our position requires. Because there is to be done, on all sides, activity is needed and despite this reinforcement, we will be far from being a little comfortable; we suffer above all a great void by the death of the excellent Father Thomas whom God called to him in June after a short illness. I doubt that we will find a native priest as solid, virtuous and zealous, as full of the spirit of his state and capable of doing honor to his ministry, as of ensuring its success. I do not need to recommend him to your prayers, the esteem and affection that you had for him, will lead you enough not to forget him. Since last year we have been busy recovering from the violent commotion that so strongly shook Christianity and all is not over. Tranquillity has been well restored, but there remains an inexpressible malaise among many of our Christians and very bad effects follow, let us hope however that this will disappear. Moreover, the greater part of the administration has been able to be done, many weak ones have been relieved and the wavering ones strengthened, the new Christians have presented themselves in large numbers and in summary we have a very satisfactory administration table, as your Grandeur will doubtless see from the letters of the Bishop. The health of this good Bishop, while leaving much to be desired, has also been fairly stable but his strength has completely disappeared. His Highness

has lost everything and feels it well. Despite this, I hope that the good Lord will preserve him for the good of the Mission because his presence is necessary.

If the question of the Shanghai procurator is raised again, we can try again to have one, especially when the state of things is well known; however, allow me to tell you that you have false prejudices against Mr. Aimery, he does not deserve the reproaches that you seem to address to him, our confreres have had nothing but praise for him, they told us. We seem to be in fairly good agreement with the Leaotong mission for the revision of the regulations, I hope that despite our vote Your Highness will not need to bother and that Paris will make the advance, but I would like each Mission to send its votes to the other missions and not send its final vote on the articles to Paris until after receiving and examining the different votes of the other missions, to be enlightened by the lights of all it will then be necessary to wait several years, but what does it matter, if good is to result from it. I end here Monsignor by recommending myself to your good prayers and asking you to accept the assurance of the deep respect of your very humble servant and colleague.

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes coadjutor

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar

Korea October 1862

Monseigneur,

The letter with which your Grandeur deigned to honor me last September has fortunately reached me and as always was welcome and gave me some of the news from the continent, always so rare in our peninsula whose walls remain as closed as you know. Many details also put me somewhat in a position to judge your position and above all allowed me to guess what our French are doing in Peking or rather what they are not doing, that is indeed their role from now on, one had to expect it and nothing is surprising when one sees their line of conduct everywhere and especially their disloyal conduct in Europe. Nothing to hope for from a government of this caliber, usually so well served by its insignificant representatives. Also more than ever it is in God alone that we must place our trust, from this I imagine well that your position a little improved in the material respect will hardly be changed in the respect of religious influence and it could well be that the Chinese conceive even more contempt for the Europeans and their religion. At least this is the effect which should result according to me in our small kingdom, if we saw the representatives of Catholic France, so full of carelessness, parading their misplaced arrogance.

Your Grandeur full of interest for us, wants to push us to obtain more freedom in our evolutions, this is certainly one of our great desires and for a long time my wishes were directed towards intervention, especially since Napoleon acting as a Catholic gave hope for frank and consistent results. Today, when the facts speak loudly as a result of the affairs of China and Cochinchina, I no longer know which way I should lean and I am beginning to fear that the day of our personal freedom will become at the same time the opprobrium of the French name and the depreciation of religion. For to do things as merchants with atheist labels or almost, I see for us only derision to devour and for this people only the contempt for persons and Catholic doctrine. If the English or the Americans make an intervention of this kind, we have profit from it; on the part of France on the contrary we should only gain the loss of our current position and influence and consequently, that our true cause will gain. These ideas which will perhaps seem singular to your Grandeur, are however for me the effect of reasoning and if we had here the repetition of the scenes of Cochinchina, I do not know if the best would not be to pack up as soon as possible. Is there then nothing to do or to try? I do not claim it, but therein lies the difficulty; with governments and their representatives as they are, how should things be combined to remedy the inconveniences?

I fear any direct communication with the French, if the chargé d'affaires does not have a little of the ideas of Mr. de Montigny, the only one who has understood his role well; but will we ever have him? If we could have him I would accept without fear and if we had him his successor would spoil everything. If without moving from Peking we could arrange something frankly, there would be less to fear, but what efficiency will we obtain? we should at least be able to count on the government to support its first steps if necessary, can we hope for that? and besides, after the various letters sent by several representatives to the King of Korea, how can we begin negotiations without talking about the murder of 1839; and if we do talk about it, should we not be prepared to support his honor in the event of a disdainful response; How then can we establish relations without compromising ourselves? If the French, in agreement with the regent of China, asked for the frank extension of the Chinese treaty to Korea, promising impunity for 1839, perhaps there would be some good effect; but

China would have to be supposed to take the first steps and take up the cause of Korea to avoid its punishment and obtain its pardon against the just vengeance of France, and even in this case the honor of France would hardly be saved and the treaty would be very vague for our purposes here. However, it would be a real benefit, provided that later France did not get the idea of coming to avenge its old injuries again, because then it would be a breach of good faith. From all this I conclude that it is difficult to arrange things well and I do not dare to put myself forward to push for some intervention; the last combination stated above is for the moment the only one to which I would dare to push a little and which I leave to your reflections. And who knows if it is not reserved for Your Highness after having successfully completed these negotiations, to come yourself equipped with the powers of the Emperor and of France to realize what is today only in imagination.

To tell you now something about our position, it is rather sad, very precarious and yet it still has its consolations. Very sad, because the attitude of the government which is to turn a blind eye to the affairs of the Christians has had the effect of persuading the ill-disposed mandarins that they could vex without any fear and the bands of satellites that they were free to pillage with a guarantee of impunity. Hence the vexations and pillages which become customary every year, ruin the Christians and discourage them by the thought that there is no foreseeable end to these continual evils; they do more harm than a real passing persecution and must also bring about some persecution sooner or later, against the will of the government itself because necessarily these continual skirmishes must give rise to some affairs serious enough for the government to be unable not to deal with them; and as on the one hand we have frank enemies among the high-ranking and on the other not one of the great well-intentioned will ever have the courage to openly take up the defense of the Christians, we do not know what will happen, and our flock will find itself in a malaise which is difficult to describe but which is very pronounced.

Despite this we have the consolation of seeing almost the same number of pagans arriving each year as in the past. We still have this year our 650 adult baptisms and the catechumens in large numbers, is there anything to complain about?

The death of the good Father Thomas required me to make the long tour of the South of France that he was responsible for last winter. I therefore went further than I had ever been and visited our new Christian communities in the South-East. There is much to hope for, but nothing is yet in order; the continual vexations where they are targeted, greatly delay the organization, but they are growing in spite of that and the forced dispersion gives us neophytes over a large area of the country, we have a few points on the shores of the Sea of Japan and little by little the horizon clearing, we will try if there is a way to communicate with our confreres in this country - not immediately however.

Fatigue and illness did not allow me to complete the entire tour that I had proposed, a third was left aside, and since that time, without having any illness, I have been so weak and dazed that I have not been able to engage in any serious work, without daring to hope to see my strength and faculties return, to the point that a letter is a great work for me. - By the grace of God! Our brothers have also spent the year rather painfully, several have been tested by illness, we hope however that each one could face his task, which is not a small thing, because it really multiplies singularly. Please pray the Lord to help us and to enable us to extend his reign by the conversion of the infidels.

Finally, deign to accept the assurance of the profound respect and the entire devotion with which I have the honor to be of Your Highness

The very humble servant

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

P.S. Yes indeed, things could well succeed, also, it would be necessary for the Embassy to persuade the Regent Kong sang to act as an intermediary to avoid Korea the vengeance that will sooner or later be taken for the attack of 1939; if he were of good will, after having taken the instructions of the French government, we would head peacefully to Korea by Pien men Mr Glykonski, Your Highness and if necessary some Chinese representatives, we would have the Chinese treaty received there very quietly with some additions that would be discussed here in concert with the Bishop, the goal would be achieved without hurting anyone. The regent should be flattered, it will be honorable for the Embassy and we will have the immense happiness of seeing your dear Highness, nothing is easier, fiat, fiat.

On November 8 and 9, finding myself at the Bishop's, His Highness presented me with some little extras in honor of certain anniversaries that you cannot forget, judge by that if your Greatness is forgotten in Korea.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea October 1862

Superior,

I begin by acknowledging receipt of two letters from June and July 1861 with which you have kindly honored me and at the same time thank you for the details you give me on what may interest you, they are received with all the more pleasure, as they are rarer in Korea, the common letters no longer mentioning anything. My intention was to speak to you in detail about the small events that have happened here, but I am obliged to give up, because to tell the truth I can no longer, if no letter gives them to you, you could take note of the one I am sending to my father and mother, and in the event that it is under seal, ask them for it, because this time I have to speak to you about other affairs that are perhaps no less important. And first of all, not having received the letters of remission and seeing the old Christians disappearing day by day in a frightening manner, it was decided with the Bishop, that the principal oaths on the constancy of the Martyrs would be taken immediately in the whole Mission, which is almost carried out, but there are barely any eyewitnesses left for the old times and perhaps half of those who had given me the first depositions have already failed. This measure taken without having had knowledge of the trials required by the Court of Rome will undoubtedly be quite insufficient, however to avoid greater losses, it seemed necessary and will also be a proof of the activity which will be put in place as soon as we have orders. Moreover, it is good to point out to you that since the letters from Rome are due to arrive in the spring (if they arrive), it will be completely impossible to satisfy what is asked of us during the summer, because we cannot then meet the Christians, and therefore we will not be able to send anything by the couriers of that year; it is absolutely necessary that we have before us the last months of the year, together with the spring, that is to say the main time of administrations, and I am very happy to warn you of this in advance so that you do not expect a more prompt reception, which is impossible on our part here.

Whatever the fate of the documents on the martyrs that I had requested from the Seminary, it is clear that I have nothing more to expect from them, and despite the bitter regret of not being able to profit from these pieces, several of which would have had great significance, we must submit to the force of events. I am therefore sending this time to Mr Libois to pass them on to you by the safest means he can find, all my notes on the history of the martyrs. They have not been written despite all the prayers you have made to me, but for me it is a physical impossibility that you cannot reproach me for. I was already worn out and without intellectual faculties and the long race that necessity imposed on me last winter has reduced me to the point that after many months of so-called rest, a page of writing is still a burden to me and my intelligence is so exhausted that I am searching for words with each sentence and making an effort to try to put my sentences together; with that how can I attempt any writing. You will say that a little rest could dispose me to it, I answer that the thought of rest cannot come when on the contrary I see every year the charges and obligations double; and I add that in our position there is no possible rest, since there is not even a place to settle down quietly, not to mention all the privations with which each of our stages is richly endowed, to speak of making a little good of oneself is a mockery, experience is there to prove it. If I insist on these details, it is because several of your last letters seem to make it

my duty to do everything by myself, but no one is obliged to do the impossible. I do not refuse any work, especially of this kind, but it would then be necessary for someone to put in my hands the means to be able to do it, but you will have to admit that I do not have them at all, so I cannot do anything. According to this, here are some ideas that I confide to you: If you only want to deposit these monuments in the archives, that is the easiest, and they will remain there in peace. If, on the contrary, you wish to make some publication, here are my intentions to which I ask you to adhere strictly, because I cannot change my way of seeing things and I do not recognize anyone's right to depart from them.

First of all, I expressly forbid that any of these notes be published as they are, in whole or in part, even in the Annals. If they are to be entrusted to someone who can write them successfully, I agree on the condition that all parts of this new work be communicated to me before publishing them. If Mr. Veuillot wanted to take charge of it, he would do so very well, but I understand that since he cannot have a conversation with anyone about the countries in question, he finds himself in a bind. I have not written down the stay of our colleagues in 1835, etc., nor the years since my entry until the present day because the documents are in the letters from France and here, I have lost my memory of them. However, I wanted to set up the persecution of 1846, but fatigue prevented me from doing so all summer and today it is too late for me to be able to do so. There are at the beginning some lives for which I refer to the notebooks sent previously, if you had not received them you should let me know and I will try to send them to you again, with two or three documents not yet ready. Some notes on the productions and customs of the country also remain without being able to be written, moreover I have some paintings which could form a small album, attached to the history: they should be explained and it would be a part of the customs of the people, but I do not have the time and besides it is difficult to pass on, besides that I do not know the price that one would attach to these very common paintings; finally the chronology of the kings of the various dynasties, it seems too dry to be of interest in your area and then it would be necessary to copy it, which frightens me. So that is all and when I know that you have received the body of the history I will have a great relief, because all this has been going on for a long time. I have also almost finished the collection of Chinese and Korean documents, which forms seven or eight volumes of this country, a little more time and I will find myself free, on that side, this thought alone makes me leap for joy, there is so much work on the job without the end being seen.

That is quite enough on this subject, I will stop therefore, I have even said too much. You will know elsewhere the details of our position and some of the worries that are caused to us.

Our colleagues have supported almost everything a little difficult this first campaign, it is quite natural, one must get used to the climate and the regime of the country. Mr. Landre suffered a serious illness probably typhus, but there is no trace of it left. Mr. Ridel was consumed by a very long intermittent fever, we hope however that he will be able to devote himself to the administration; Mr. Petinicolas spent the whole year in suffering and without being able to do anything, the others were only tired, more or less. Bishop de Capsus, almost always suffering in the summer, resumes his work in the autumn; while lowering His Grandeur still does an enormous amount of work, pray to God to preserve him at the Mission which will prosper under his administration. Pray also I pray for all and in particular for me, I also remember the good memory of all our Gentlemen and end by giving you the assurance of the respectful attachment in Our Lord.

Of Your very humble Servant

+ Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria

Korea September 1863

My very venerable Lord,

Having to set out early on the campaign trail, I hasten to take up my pen to reply to the honored letter that Your Highness addressed to me on the date of last January and at the same time acknowledge receipt of the edicts to the Dragon and newspapers that you were kind enough to send us, they were not received with indifference, believe me and I cannot express to you how much we were sensitive to this attention on your part. According to the details that you give me, freedom puts the missionaries at ease; but the door is hardly more open for the populations, or at least they are not very eager to take advantage of the opening, the progress does not seem to be brilliant, what pain to think that nothing can make these people come out of their apathy, even more their pride revolts against the arm that chastises them to make them enter the path of salvation, it is very sad.

Your country of Leaotong, on the shores of the sea and not far from the Europeans did not dare to lay a hand on you, but it is not the same everywhere, and the era of martyrs seems to have to begin with the era of freedom, what a strange country! Your savages of the North are also not very fervent and show few vocations for the religion of Jesus, however we must not lose all hope. The paths now known, we will be able to make new attempts and perhaps they will gradually become tamed, the first steps are always the most difficult and I expect to see some new expedition whose success can compensate for the first setbacks. As for the Russians, it will be even more difficult to obtain something from them, their tyrannical policy could well render all efforts null and void.

I fear greatly for our Korea, they seem to be watching it and as soon as they would be the masters here, our poor Christians will not be at ease, let us nevertheless put our trust in the Lord, he is powerful enough to snatch the sheep from the wolves' mouths. And truly this little Korea is not a land without resources, our mission continues to give some consolation, the progress without being notable is real and things are getting on a footing which, with the help of God, will be able to take great developments. And to speak only of the distant Christian communities near the Sea of Japan that I had to visit again last winter, they are increasing considerably, are being well trained in the practice of the duties of Christianity and promise much for the future. Without being very numerous yet, our Christians are spread over a large number of districts, most of them mixed among the pagans and have thereby facilitated the propagation of religion, each year we gradually gain some new lands and soon small groups are formed that grace will one day make more considerable. This state of affairs is quite inconvenient for the administration, but the great goods of which it can become the source compensate for the difficulties and we do not encourage them to unite more. This year again I had the happiness of conferring more than two hundred adult baptisms in this part. If it continues on this basis, it will soon be a strong missionary district, only we need people to take care of all that. The Bishop, if he has the time and strength to do so, will be able to tell you himself about the progress taking place in the North-West provinces; it is a beginning but one that looks good, and seems likely to take on great developments. Also His Highness has decided to go there on a tour although the Christians are not yet numerous there. He must be there at the moment I believe. The Bishop of Capsus was very tired this year from his summer. Since the return of the cool weather he is I believe a little relieved, but it is clear that every summer things go downhill; on the contrary, business multiplies more and more

without seeing the means to relieve His Highness, I do not know where we will arrive; because often this good Bishop really cannot take it any more. You will know from other letters that the good Mr Joanno was taken from us by a chest illness in the month of April. I had written the above lines when a letter arrived and forced me to interrupt in order to immediately rush to the aid of our dear colleague Mr Landre, whose condition was causing concern. Alas! all the remedies were useless; the dysentery, which attacked him, consumed him and he gave up his soul to God on the 15th of this month of September, leaving us all in the greatest regrets; his virtues and all his good qualities made us base great hopes on him, everything has vanished like smoke.

It is therefore after fifteen days that I continue this letter, but my soul is sad, God allows many trials to our poor mission, his goodness takes away the workers from us when they seem to be most necessary, how to face everything? Ask the Lord for me for more resignation to his holy will, yes I mean generously fiat voluntas, because God loves us very much and knows what we need. After that we are going to be very embarrassed, MM. Féron and Calais, weakened this spring by a violent illness, will need to take care of themselves and will barely be able to fulfill their task of last year, and the districts of two deceased remain on our hands, by the grace of God! It is through the cross that everything must be done, and here it is hovering over our little mission, so let us believe that God has designs of mercy. Besides, it is God alone who will take charge of our affairs, the letters received last winter convince me more and more that there is nothing to hope for from men and that secular interventions have no effect. Poor Cochinchina, poor China and also poor France which refuses the beautiful role that God offered it and makes itself the plaything of other nations by its hesitations, its half-measures, its weakness and its inconstancy. And then Italy! my heart is broken when I think of the sovereign Pontiff, will God have allowed one to lay a sacrilegious hand on his Christ and his heritage, I fear it all the more since the role of France would still be very shameful. However, God who always protects his Church will spare us, I hope, from such great excesses; ah let us pray, let us pray for the Church.

Already very tired from my year, these last fifteen days have exhausted me. I am however on the eve of my departure and must necessarily finish my letters for Europe before going south, so please excuse my brevity and do not see it as bad will on my part. Please accept again the assurance of the feelings of respectful attachment with which I have the honor to be of your Grandeur the very humble servant

+ Antoine Bishop of Ancones Coadjutor

P.S. Several times I have learned that the letters or packages sent from here had been unsealed before reaching their destination; The Jesuits have been accused on this point on several occasions, rightly or wrongly, but I did not think that such impudence could take place in our dear congregation. However, I know today without a doubt that a package sent and sealed by me last winter to the address of Mr. Libois was unsealed and read at the Leaotong, thus violating all the rules of good faith and the law of nations. Although I do not know the hand that dared to infringe all the principles in this way, it is impossible for me to pass over such facts in silence, the consequences would be too serious. I therefore beg Your Highness to be kind enough to inform you of this affair and to be kind enough to take measures so that such infractions cannot be repeated. The matter should not be difficult, as our letters do not have many stops to make at the Leaotong. Forgive me, Monseigneur, if I take the liberty of asking you to take care of this matter, but it is too serious not to try to put it in order, both for the honor of the Society and for the guarantees of communications.

Copy of a letter from Mgr Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary

Korea September 1863

Dear Superior,

Your honored letter of July 1862 fortunately reached me by winter courier, and it is always with the same joy that I read it, when after a whole year of waiting finally arrives the time for dispatches from abroad. My last letter seems to have distressed you, it is true that I am sorry not to receive any piece from year to year, my intention was to put some reproaches in it, I do not know the terms then flowed from my pen, but I would be very angry if I had overstepped the mark and am quite ready to send you my apologies. Besides, this whole affair is over and I do not think of returning to it. This time you were kind enough to send me the catalog of the pieces existing in your archives. I am very grateful for this sending, although in fact it will hardly be of any further use to me. My letters of 1862 will have announced to you and perhaps you have already received all my notes for the history of the Martyrs. I have decided to send you everything because on the one hand it is absolutely impossible for me in my current position to try to write them, having neither the time nor, above all, the strength. And on the other hand they are in great danger of being lost here either in persecutions and pillaging, or in fires, as in the fact I lost in the fire in the spring of this year, a large box where were gathered all my notes, papers and work books, so that the history of the martyrs has lost all its original and most complete titles; only a selected collection in the language of the country remains and God granted that my notes in French, except for a certain number, were not found at that time in their rightful place in the box and were largely preserved.

I understand that you have always retained the desire that I write this story myself, however it is absolutely impossible, business crushes me on all sides and writing especially disappoints me; when I find some time a little less pressed my strength seems to return somewhat, then carried away by the flow of business I fall back into a real languor where any work of this kind is impossible. So please do not think about it any more and if this story must appear for the public, please entrust it to some fervent writer who can take advantage of my notes and make the faithful enjoy it. Louis Veuillot especially should do this work well; but do not forget what I said last year; I forbid in the most absolute manner to publish this story in whole or in part, without the writing having been reviewed and approved by myself; that if these conditions cannot be realized it will remain unpublished in your archives, because I will not accept any composition in this regard. In the early years of the story and also I believe for 1846, I refer a few times to the separate lives that I had sent you, but since you have not received most of these lives, if we take care of the writing, I would have to know the lives that are missing from the story, to be able to send them to you, there are few, but I cannot know them. Please therefore be so kind as to look for which lives are missing and to indicate them to me to complete the whole.

This year I enclose with my letters a more exact and more complete life of Nim Joseph martyr in 1846, it is this one which must serve as a basis and not the one sent previously. The happy arrival of Mr. Aumaître in June greatly rejoiced us all, and he arrives very opportunely to help us, unfortunately he will not be able to be ready this year to be of service to us and we will have to wait until next year. God allowed us to go through trials, and many illnesses have hindered the administration; Mr. Petitnicolas requires continual care;

Fathers Féron and Calais were seized violently and remained for a long time unable to go out; Mr. Landre frequently indisposed, and to close the crown of thorns Mr. Joanno died of consumptive disease after six to seven months of languor. It takes so much to put us behind schedule and unable to cope with everything, so some parts have remained unvisited. Moreover, the cross which hardly leaves us, also shines forth its virtue: despite all this, Christianity is doing well and the grace flowing abundantly on the pagans always attracts a good number of them to us, as you will see in the report, of which I am not, it is true, aware, but I know that there is no cause for complaint.

Others will tell you about what concerns them, I will limit myself to a few words on the part that I visited. Forced to go again this time to the distant communities of the South East, I began my pilgrimage of last year again, but fortunately more oratories could be prepared and I could see almost all the dispersed Christians, I also pushed my course two days further into the East and was accompanied everywhere by divine protection, which sustained my strength and spared me the bad times in a more than providential manner. I found all these good people in good condition; the body is very poor, persecutions are their daily bread, but the faith remains firm, they are fervent, assiduous in seeking to learn, are gradually forming themselves in all the practices of Religion and promise to become a beautiful community. Already their number is considerable and if we had the means it would be desirable for a priest to settle there and stay in some center among them, he would find something to occupy himself with, but besides the fact that there is no safe place to receive him, we are also not in a position to be able to leave a confrere there, there are so many needs elsewhere. This year again the increase of these Christians was two hundred baptisms that I happily conferred on people scattered over a very large radius. If all are faithful, as one can hope, they will spread Religion around them and becoming new centers, Christianity will grow more and more. You will therefore bless Providence with us for these small successes which are also repeated in other parts of the Mission.

We remain alone, far from European influence, and God seems to make us realize that his protection alone is worth more than that of cannons, when they are fired by people without faith, to say nothing more. Let us therefore leave Providence alone, it will know how to make its glory shine forth, and if freer days are reserved, let us wait for his goodness to make them shine according to his designs. Bishop de Capsus had a more tiring summer than last year, the return of the cool weather has relieved him a little, but His Highness is too overwhelmed with business, without seeing any way of relieving him. I received from Mr. Aumaître various altar ornaments, linen, chalice. It is a pious association, they say, which sent them to me, please convey to him the expression of my deep gratitude and the assurance of a very special memory in my weak prayers. I have not received the method of teaching the Deaf and Mute that I requested two or three years ago, it is greatly lacking to me and I desire it as soon as possible. Please accept, Mr. Superior, the assurance of the devoted sentiments of Your very humble servant and confrere

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

With all the new offices and the numerous particular offices of the Society, the old Ordo are useless, could you not therefore have a new Ordo perfectius printed to which the specific offices of the Society would be added on each page, or each month. This is a more than desirable thing.

I do not know if the offices granted to our Congregation must be transferred when they one day fall prevented, it is not that I desire the translation. I only want to know on what basis the concession is in order to confirm myself in it.

I beg you to send me twelve bottles of Arnica alcoholate, the general deposit of which is at Mr Mure, pharmacist in Pont St Esprit (Gard). The bottle costs 2 francs. and he

sends requests for ten bottles accompanied by a money order postage paid. They would be paid from the funds that my family gives you each year.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy

to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions

Korea September 1863.

Dear Superior,

This separate letter is only for you, however after having read it, I authorize you to communicate it to the Council if you deem it appropriate.

We noticed several times that our letters had been opened before reaching us (you?) and without knowing exactly by whom; it was sometimes allowed to suspect that it was at the Leao tong; last winter I addressed a large package to Mr. Libois and I sealed it carefully and in such a way that it could only be opened by a very determined will to break the seals and violate good faith, against universal usages. Now I know from Mr. Aumaître that my package was unsealed and read at the Leaotong. Not knowing who is the culprit who thus loses all modesty, I write to Bishop Verrolles to be so kind as to inquire about it and put an end to such scandalous acts whose consequences can be so serious; but I also ask you to be so kind as to act and take the necessary measures to suppress this abuse and prevent such dishonorable acts in our Society. It is with pain that I speak thus, but the matter seems to me very serious in view of the consequences to which it can lead.

Here is what was not only said, but written, and by a person who is not without being able to have information on a part of the Missions of our Society; now speaking of the Apostolic Vicar of our Society: "There is an Apostolic Vicar who has chased away his European missionaries and lives with native Priests who lead a course of conduct, good God! The majority of the Christians have apostatised from Religion Another Apostolic Vicar leaves everything in disarray, each missionary is Apostolic Vicsr, also peace reigns there as between dog and cat Another chases away his good missionaries to keep the concubinaries who no longer say the breviary and forget to confess..... Another feeds animals and no longer takes care of his Mission and all is not said."

Charity obliges me not to give credence to such things and yet there is no smoke without fire, I cannot not show you these distressing accusations having no data on the places and the names I limit myself to these lines and deliver them to your prudence to try to discover the evil whatever it is, if it exists more or less, and to remedy it as soon as possible, God help us.

Accept the assurance of my entire devotion in Our Lord

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Libois Archi-procurator, Hong Kong.

Korea September 1863.

My Very Reverend Procurator,

August 21, 1862 was certainly a fortunate day since it brought me a beautiful letter from your hand that I received with all the joy you can imagine. When our annual mail arrived, I would have liked to find more consoling news from China, Cochinchina, etc., but what can you do; it is a lesson that cries out to us that all our consolation and especially our hope must be in the cross, the Cross alone, may we never forget it. Because the cross is also in Korea, it is there to test us, as we were by the serious illnesses of our colleagues fathers Petitnicolas, Féron and Calais, and the very painful loss of the good Mr. Joanno, who died of consumptive illness in April, not to mention the local persecutions, vexations, etc. which were not lacking either, as usual. But the loss of this dear colleague is much more sensitive and has great consequences for all of us by the difficulty of meeting all the needs. The Cross is also in Korea to make its virtue shine forth and to bring us pagans who are now worshipers of the crucified Jesus.

If we therefore have sufferings and fatigues, we also have consolations, our business is going well, the union is among us, and with the grace of God seconding us, we are not left behind. Without having any very brilliant successes, we are taking advantage of the calm to support our old Christians and open our arms to the Neophytes who are coming to us. I do not know the number of baptisms because all our affairs are behind this year, but I dare to hope that it will not be much lower than that of last year, which is quite comforting for us. As for the south-eastern district that I visited again this time, I found it progressing, these new Christians are gradually being formed, they are fervent, zealous in learning, firm in the faith and promise to form a beautiful Christianity, whose developments are quite rapid, if we compare them to other parts of this kingdom. I gave there this time more than two hundred baptisms to people scattered over a vast radius which seems to favor the propagation of the Gospel.

You will also know from other letters that the part of the North, which has been late until now, seems to want to provide us with its contingent, and its progress in the midst of a thousand vexations has required a visit this year that our Bishop is making I believe at this moment. Here again everything is scattered and if the fire continues there will be an extension, we must therefore bless Providence which makes all these fruits germinate, and we hope that it will grant us reinforcements to suffice for everything. I sent you last winter the collection of my notes for the history of our martyrs, I sealed it at your address and I know that the package was opened at Leaotong, I do not know by whom, but it is very violent, I will doubtless learn this winter that you have received it and perhaps sent it to France as I asked you if there was some sure opportunity. Here we cannot answer for anything, and I have suffered very significant losses during my absence in the spring, my most precious chest perished in the fire, the most complete notes on the martyrs have been consumed. Fortunately, by chance I had put some historical packages elsewhere, otherwise nothing would have remained of seven years of research, but what I have lost will not be found again, fiat voluntas. All the more reason not to lose what I sent you.

Mr. Aumaitre arrived in June, he is very welcome and the two young students, God grant that we can make the most of these children. I have not seen this dear colleague, many good things are said about him and he will be of great help to us next year. I learned that Mr. Osouf has finally arrived, it is a joy for me, he will relieve you a lot, in your little old age. Take care to train him well for the glory of God and the interest of the missions, give him your double spirit and do not forget to make him heir to the Capote, the matter is serious.

There is talk of having you established in Shanghai; we have spoken here in this sense, probably we will end up there, is it a question of making the establishment immediately?

I have here an incomplete work translated from Chinese, but I do not know the title, it is a selection of lives of the Saints. The 1st vol. includes the life of the Apostles, another the life of 12 doctors and Bishops, another the life of the Fathers of the desert, the others are unknown to me, there must be 5 to 7 vol. I think, would you have this work in Chinese, or could you get it for me?

I had the opportunity to do some work on the life of the saints in Chinese, coming from Sutchuen, the criticism and the composition are more than weak in certain places and do little honor, to say nothing more, towards Christians; but what is unforgivable is to have falsely given the story of Tobit in the article of St Raphael. We should have respected a story that is written in the Holy Books. Read it and compare, I urge you to do so; it is not to you Father Libois that I address reproaches, but I believe that it is easy for you to obtain that we rectify at least this story of Tobit, which is distorted and consequently is a shame for us in the face of all those who will read it. This is the reason that leads me to speak to you about it here, and if we wanted to review all the work I believe that it would be a good work, because scripta manent, and with regard to the Christians as with other societies we will have no face. My paper is filled and business awaits me, I therefore have the honor to greet you for this time, while waiting for another opportunity to show you again, the sincere attachment of your very humble servant

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Try to pass my letter to Mr. Sire by Suez with the Korean translation of the bull, it is already too late.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Osouf Procurator

Korea September 1863

Dear Sir and Dear Brother,

I received from Mr. Aumaître in June the kind letter that you sent me upon your arrival in Hong Kong and in which you offered to render us the services that will be in your power. It is with great satisfaction that I know that you have finally arrived at the general procuratorate and I congratulate myself and our missions on the choice that our Messrs. of Paris have made of you for this important position. Without having the pleasure of knowing you, I am not without having heard of you, and everything makes me augur well for the services that you will render in this post to all the missions. Rev. Father Libois, our worthy Arch-Procurator will therefore finally find some relief to which, moreover, his respectable age and his long service give him some rights. Our affairs will therefore go better and better and to thank you in advance for the good care that you will take of them, I promise you a large part in my weak prayers and Holy Sacrifices, because that is all that I can do.

Accept the assurance of the sincere attachment in Our Lord that you always retain

Your very humble servant and colleague

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar

Korea October 1864

Monsignor,

The letter that your Grandeur was kind enough to send me at the end of last December was as always welcome, with the few newspapers that you had it accompanied, it is a very kind courtesy that all our missionaries are pleased with and for which I thank you very sincerely.

Our mail was also poorer than ever, no letter from Mr. Libois, not from Paris, it is truly incredible. Since the service from Europe to China has been on a regular basis, we are less favored than in the past; the passage from Leaotong to Shanghai should also be less hampered. Could it be shipwrecks that each year and this time even more have lost a number of letters announced and not arrived? We must admit that we have very little luck and, without speaking of the delayed affairs, without the kind letter of your Highness, we would not have had any news even of the Sovereign Pontiff, let alone from Mexico etc. The news from the latter country was very consoling, but will it last? At the time in which we live, things and minds are so changeable that one dares not trust anything.

As for your Leaotong, I congratulate you on your tranquility and the progress that seems to want to begin, however I dare not speak too loudly, because on the one hand hostilities in China are arising on all sides and also thieves have their heads raised, as you notice; very unreassuring rumors have circulated here about serious troubles that have taken place in your Leaotong and even in Peking, without giving much credence to them there must be some foundation behind it and will you not have been a victim in the midst of the storm? The fact is that China is in a very critical position and which is turning to the great detriment of our Holy Religion; the iun-nan, the Koeitsiou and all that we do not know, what matter for reflection and sorrow. Will we be better off here? God alone knows the secret.

For many years we had a government which without being friendly, was moderate and tolerant, now it has been overthrown. On the 12th moon, the king died childless, and an old widowed queen, by adopting a prince of 12 to 13 years old took the regency - now do you want to know who this queen is, she is a Tsio (tchao) daughter and niece of the two most ardent persecutors of 1839. Since she has had authority all the high dignitaries have been more or less renewed and as is right, she surrounds herself with those who share her ideas, so that the current Court represents quite well what it was in 1801; what can we augur from all this? I leave the work to more clear-sighted people, but humanly speaking, nothing good for us; this spring, several councils were held to act against us, the resolution was even taken, they say, and it seems to be the prince, father of the current young king, who stopped everything, because he does not seem hostile to religion, but he is not the master; since then there have been more bad rumors, but less well-founded I believe, so that while hoping for peace, we do not dare to flatter ourselves too highly about it. This could well depend a little on the Chinese ambassador who has just arrived here, but I have no news. If Mr. Berthemi had had the good sense to accompany this ambassador, his arrival would have been most opportune. Besides, why desire such things. Napoleon persecutes both the Catholics of France and their supreme leader; how can we hope that he has given his minister in China instructions that could be really advantageous to us. Besides, your Highness is in a position to be able to probe what could make it, and I am quite sure that if there were a real chance of success you would intervene, with all your strength to make it succeed.

What intrigues the government here a lot are the Russians, today our neighbors to the North-East; they always pretend to want to enter into relations with Korea and thus cause panic at Court. I fear that they will do something against this country. If through Peking we could get some wind of their designs, you would do us a favor by being kind enough to inform us of them. To speak now of this mission, it was on the same footing as in the past; our Bishop was to speak to you about it; I will limit myself to telling you that I was again in the Christian communities near Japan. I found everything on a good footing, the new Christians full of fervor, getting used to the practice, forming themselves in the Christian life and eager to learn; I entered many places where I had not yet been and several districts were opening up for the first time to religion, this journey although very tiring gave me much consolation. Our Christians are located in 24 or 25 districts and everywhere there is hope, more or less; I confessed them all, with very few exceptions, and the number of adult baptisms was, for this distant part, 270. You see that this is progress. Yes, but the overly jealous demon comes to disturb it. The satellites having been launched from all these sides to seize the followers of a kind of new religion, took advantage of the opportunity to pillage and devastate our Christians; then other bad characters taking their example, gathered in bands to also plunder our neophytes, and both were quite sure of impunity, because a mandarin does not dare to take the side of the Christians.

From there resulted a storm which dispersed, ruined and reduced to begging half of these beautiful Christian communities, I do not yet have all the desirable details. But if there are still fine traits of courage, I fear that there are also miseries, and will not the nascent faith of these neophytes be shaken? because for four years they have really had no security, and they could well tire of so many vexations which reduce them to the last misery. It is really very painful, and the story makes one groan. Let us hope, however, that grace will prevail and preserve them. I then went to do half of the district of the regrettable Mr. Landre and everything happened without anything remarkable. You see that despite my weakness, I was still able to render some service; I am almost always without illness, but worn out and without strength either physical or intellectual, I lose even my common sense and have become incapable of mental work. Where will all this end? Do not believe, moreover, that I do not take precautions, on the contrary I take many; some will perhaps say too many; but it is to precautions that I owe my continued life. I also use comforting medicines, and in particular the Jenseng that your Grandeur is kind enough to advise me, cultivated Jenseng passes through my house almost like bread. Finally, to the grace of God, because there is an end to everything. I end this letter here by asking your Highness to send our dispatches to Europe as soon as possible to avoid business delays and I reiterate to you the assurance of the sentiments with which

I have the honor to be, Monseigneur, Of your Highness The very humble servant

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand. Superior Paris

Korea, October 13, 1864

Dear Superior;

I do not know if you received the letter that I had the honor of addressing to you last year, but not only have I not received the news of it, no letter from Paris has even reached me, and this accident being common to me with the other confreres of the Mission, we think that one or more packages have been mislaid or lost on the way. It is very surprising that since the establishment of regular services from Europe to China, there are more letters lost than in the past and yet the fact is certain at least as far as I am concerned and I cannot explain it.

You will know from various letters that our year has passed without anything very remarkable, we are always torn between the hope of a fairly considerable good and the fear of unfortunate events and our Christians always in this position also give us alternately consolations and sorrows. For example, I made a very consoling tour in the South East and soon after my departure from these places a squall came to disperse and reduce to misery half of these dear Neophytes who have not yet been able to meet, or even settle in any place; these are the anxieties; all this happens moreover without orders from the government, but this government itself, recently changed being very suspect, one does not know what to think of the future and a great malaise works the minds, what will result from it? I have not had to complain of illness, forced by the lack of a priest, I had to do a strong administration and despite the fatigue, nothing serious has followed; but when I then wanted to start working on books, I realized that all work becomes almost impossible, it is to give up the profession: no memory of facts and words of language, no possible reflection, much less discussions based on reasoning, where will we come to then? and all this without illness. Incapable after that of directing anything

I often have the thought not of leaving the Mission, but of laying down a burden which constantly requires reflection and reasoning in all my relations with the confreres, I have again had the thought of taking this step this year, but certain considerations mean that I have not yet made a definitive decision. About this I will admit to you that I am not without anxiety about the future of the Mission. As long as Providence is willing to keep the Bishop of Capsus for us, things will go very well, and we have only to congratulate ourselves, but His Grandeur while supporting himself more or less will probably not be there for many years, and after that, what to do? I really do not see into whose hands the Mission could be placed, and if I were called to give my opinion, I would not dare to give any. I saw with joy Mr. Landre training for the ministry and said to myself: "Perhaps he would be suitable?" God has taken him from us and that's it! Do not think from this that I have to make complaints about anyone, if you were to take my letter in this sense, I would tear it up immediately, but I want to say that with good missionaries, I do not see who could be put at the head of the Mission and I would very much like you to reflect on what I have just said in choosing who to send to try to send us some confreres who could, if necessary, take charge of everything in the near future; this seems very important to me, although it is my personal thought and has not yet been communicated to others.

Last year I sent you all the notes I had on the history of the Martyrs, the documents in Europe could complete them a little; I added that if someone wrote them, I absolutely want

to see this writing before any publication takes place. If these notes are lost along the way like the previous ones, I must give up everything, because I can never try to copy what remains here; I even have some notes on the country and its productions that I have neither the strength nor the leisure to write. In God's care.

It is said that liquid silver is now being made which can easily be used to silver plate copper etc. If this is the case I would like you to send me enough to silver plate five or six chalices, with the method of doing this operation. Today the Society almost always supplies silver chalices, but I do not understand how anyone has thought of changing the old practice, of giving chalices which unscrew and fold into very small cases; the new practice is here very inconvenient for the brothers, it would be much better to return to the old form. I will say the same of most of the candlesticks that the brothers bring, when it would be so easy to have more convenient forms which are easy to unscrew. And since I am on the subject I will add that the Missals brought by several brothers are not only large, but with crowds of ridiculous references. Before taking an edition for the missionaries, could we not examine it to avoid these inconveniences?

Please send me the Manual of the Retired Priest by Father Valuy, it is in the bookstore of Poussielgue. I wrote to my parents the story of my winter trips, to console their old age. Unable to copy it, I send you this open letter so that you can read it, if you wish, but please pass it on to my family immediately. I therefore limit myself to these words and end by reiterating to you the assurance of the respectful attachment with which I have the honor to be

Sir Superior, Your very humble servant and colleague,

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

I still dare to hope that if there is still talk of revising the regulations, this will be done by a project first drawn up in Paris and sent to the discussion of the Missions and that any project of a general assembly will disappear. Please do not make known to everyone indiscriminately what I have told you above about me and the Mission and make sure that Bishop Berneux does not find out about it through Paris, it is I myself who must speak to him about it when the time comes, because in general there is no secret between His Highness and me.

P.S. Finally, this year again I am not writing to the Sacred Congregation, especially since in fear that my letter will be opened before arriving in Paris, I will not be free to detail everything that concerns me. By the grace of God, his Providence will watch over me I hope.

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Libois procurator. Shanghai

Korea October 1864

Very reverend procurator,

Among the very small number of letters that I received by our usual mail I had the good fortune to receive from Father Libois, guess how many? One minus one, here we are at zero; that's a lot isn't it? Again, if the mail from others had been richer, we would know if the Great Procurator is still in his place, but there again, the same disappointment, and we are looking for the cause of this silence or the obstacles that have opposed the arrival of this much-desired news.

Paris is also on the same footing, absolute silence; has a ship therefore sunk? It is an easy thing, even probable, we console ourselves by thinking that God has allowed it thus, and it is over there. So let's not talk about it any more. Last year I sent you to send to Paris a large notebook of notes on the history of religion in Korea and its martyrs, I wonder if you received it and have been able to send it safely to its destination? I dare not flatter myself, because the large number of letters lost each year seems to indicate frequent shipwrecks on the part of the trunks, and my notes could well have had the same fate as so many other papers. In the inability I am to deal with this work henceforth, my decision is more or less made, to leave the past to the grace of God, and if this time all is lost, I will conclude that probably Providence does not want our Society to enjoy this collection, made at the cost of such considerable time, and it will be over there.

Besides, as incapable of work as I have become, I am quite well, that is to say, I have no illness, I am always more busy than ever, either by the administration which increases every year, while our numbers decrease, and above all the strength of each one disappears in a frightful way. I must therefore also pay with my person, but I am not at the level of the others. On the other hand, there is very great work to be done for the education of the Christians and there too we are very late; up to now it is only I who directly deals with the books. But what to do when one can only devote to it the time supposedly intended for rest and especially when all lucid ideas have disappeared from the brain. Everything is rushed and nothing is done, that is how the machine is always jammed and does not work according to our desires. Such are human things, and yet life goes on.

All this says nothing about the Christians, you will say, well this time I do not want to talk about it, I made my parents a little account of my winter shopping and did not seal it on purpose so that you can read it if you like. I also intend that Mr. Albrand read it, so as not to copy it twice. So I ask you to send it to him also unsealed so that he can see it in passing. You will see the state of our new government that God holds in his hands like all others and from then on why worry? Humanly speaking our position has become more precarious than in the past, but God will know how to draw his glory from it. I am sending you a list of some Chinese works that are not in our Mission, if you can get them I ask you to send me a few copies of each. When our Koreans went to Shanghai, we were busy with a work of interpretation of the Chinese book entitled 周易 This work was already advanced, and one of them copied a small extract; if this work was finished, do not fail to send me a certain number of copies. It would be very useful here, especially for a certain class where we are trying to penetrate and which has offered some opening for some time. I am stupefied by the work of my letters and do not know where I am, consequently do not know what to say to you, except

to pray for me. The great day is approaching and I am far from being prepared for it, I dread it more than ever, help me with your prayers as I do for you. My friendships to Mr. Osouf and to you the assurance of my invariable attachment.

Your very humble servant and colleague

+ Antoine Bishop of Acônes Coadjutor

Could you tell me if the brave Mr. Jandart Lazariste is dead, because despite several letters sent by me, I no longer receive news from him.

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar Leaotong

Korea April 25, 1865.

Monsignor,

I am not in the habit of responding to correspondence by spring boats and I have even less thought of it this year, when my return from a long and tiring administration takes place just at the time of the departure of our boat to go and meet the new confreres, so you will be so kind as not to regard these few lines as a response to your letter of the end of last November; however, I cannot help but hasten to immediately address a word to Your Grandeur to repair the painful impression left by my postscript of last year. Charity prevails over everything and the charitable advice, which fills your good letter, proves to me how much this virtue prevails over the mood that dominated me when I wrote these few regrettable lines.

Yes! Your Highness says it very well, I should have limited myself to simply asking for an explanation of the facts that had happened so as not to be led to retract today all the form that I put there and to apologize to Your Highness. Fortunately your letter entirely inspired by charity is a guarantee to me that you have already forgotten everything and my task becomes easier. Moreover, to remain within the limits of truth, it must be said that in complaining of having had several letters opened in the past before their destination, I never said that they had been opened at Leaotong, I had not even been able to stop my suspicions on anyone; I also add that for the fact of the history of the martyrs, there was not here, as Your Highness seems to think, any indiscreet person. I only knew that it had been read by several in Leaotong, and without having checked with anyone, by whom and how the package had been opened, I acted without speaking to anyone. So no one else is guilty but me and me alone, please do not keep any doubt about it, and I alone need to claim your charitable indulgence.

Too tired for the moment and still having my head too much in disorder, I end this little letter here with the intention of resuming my usual correspondence in the autumn since your Grandeur seems to authorize me to do so.

I was confused to see in the newspapers the handwriting of your Grandeur who is kind enough to send me in particular a sheet on the curiosities of my country. This fact reveals to me entirely the bottom of your heart and could I be insensitive to it? Please accept my sincere apologies and the assurance of the respectful sentiments with which I have the honor to be

Monsignor
Of your Highness the very humble servant

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Paris

Korea April 25, 1865

Dear Superior,

Our boat leaving to meet the Missionaries that you were kind enough to send us, I take this opportunity to acknowledge receipt of your letters of Nov. 1863 and May 1864, but too dejected as a result of the administration that I finished two or three days ago, the thought of answering you in detail cannot come to me. Just a word on the point that you specifically point out to me, the Martyrs. All my notes on the martyrs seem to have reached you, Deo gratias! You speak of printing them as is, allow me to tell you that this thought is too little thought out; all that you tell me in your letter of the judgement of the auditors makes no impression on me, our Seminary in its enthusiastic fervor only takes the facts, which are beautiful, and has no time to think about the form; moreover these readings listened to while eating and in small portions of a few pages each day, do not allow one to make a judgement. A more continuous and attentive reading would show the trivial, the monotony, the same thoughts and the same words constantly repeated etc, etc. nothing that arouses and sustains attention, how could a man of the world sustain the reading of it. Also I do not change my feeling and continue to think that the publication as it is is impossible, it would be a disservice to our Society. We must therefore think about recasting it for the form and the style and that is why I fear seeing it take on a colour quite different from its own, and that is why I have vetoed it.

Your insistence and that of Mgr de Capsus force me to yield, and I can no longer oppose your wishes and yet the fear of seeing these notes appear under a physiognomy which is not that of this country, this fear, I say, does not leave me. I therefore implore you to watch and recommend to change only the style and the form and not to change the physiognomy. It seems to me that it would be good to make divisions into chapters. The few notes which are separate, were in my intention to be merged into the body of the work, as well as much of what will be sent in the autumn, some could be placed at the end as supporting documents. I had some stories too (I don't know if I sent them or if they disappeared in the new fire I just suffered) I also wanted to insert them in the work, as much to break the monotony, as by the thought that nothing paints a people better in the natural than such stories, even if they are not authentic.

Finally in my old correspondence I had written a number of details or small descriptions that I no longer remember and that I do not have here. If you want to write up, you can ask someone to try to bind all that together, while waiting for the new notes that you ask me for and of which perhaps I will send you something in the autumn, but broken as I am and harassed by our printers, I do not hope to do much. Above all I do not see any way of writing up the stay of our colleagues from 1836 to 39, and the years of my stay. All the documents are in France and nothing here; and then having lost all memory and the notes taken seven or eight years ago on the orders of Bishop de Capsus, I am paralyzed.

In summary, while admitting the opportunity to publish these memoirs without too much delay, and the edification that can result from it, I will always have the regret 1° of not having been able to take advantage of the documents that are in Europe on the first persecutions and where I hoped to find many clarifications - 2°- of not being provided with the documents on the years 1836-39 and on the end, to make the sketch of these stories

myself. 3° of not being able to write anything on the customs, usages etc and the few notes that we will send, written by another hand are well exposed to change nature. Despite all these regrets and inconveniences, which my position prevents me from remedying, if you deem it useful to hurry up the writing and to advance, I abandon my own sense and leave you free to act while not forgetting the above considerations.

I hardly know what I am writing; after a few days of rest I will set to work for the summer, and will try in the midst of so many other urgent things, to do something to send you in the autumn a shadow of what you ask of me. Pray that the good Lord will support me and allow the entry of some reinforcements, because we are overwhelmed on all sides by the demands of the work.

Accept, Monsieur Superior, the new assurance of my respectful devotion in Our Lord.

Your very humble servant

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Libois, Procurator, Hong Kong

Korea, April 26, 1865

My reverend Procurator

Having only just arrived here, at the moment when our boat is leaving, I do not have the thought of writing to you and not wanting to let the expedition leave before my eyes without a sign of life, I am sending you this visiting card without even a photographed portrait, my signature will tell you that although tired I am still alive and wish our Arch-Procurator all the goods of soul and body that he can desire

+ Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar

Korea, October 15, 1865

Monsignor,

I received last winter the letter with which Your Highness was kind enough to honor me last November, to which I replied in a few words only in May by sea. And in the conviction that this letter will have faithfully reached you, I do not repeat here the apologies that I addressed to Your Highness with the assurance of my gratitude for the charitable advice that you were kind enough to address to me concerning the affair of 1863. A subsequent letter brought by our colleagues this summer is also a pledge to me that you have forgotten everything, and so why should I return to it? I am very sensitive to the health advice that you have been kind enough to give me in detail and I intended to try the effects of this magic remedy, when it is taken appropriately, but the too cramped position in which I found myself, sleeping several in the same room, having made me miss the whole good period, I do not dare to begin in the late season and put off the test until next year.

What you are kind enough to tell me about your dear Mission does not announce a very marked change in your position, and it is painful to think that in the first moments of a solemnly proclaimed freedom, there are so few people who are moved by it. Your small progress leaves us to hope that a few more souls will take part in the merits of redemption and the heart of the missionary cannot be entirely insensitive to it, everywhere much fatigue and work to obtain ultimately very little. God has foreseen it thus and has not ceased to spread over the world his benefits and the riches of the merits of his divine Son. As for your Northern Missions, I have only learned of the return of the two brothers who undertook this expedition, without knowing whether, happier than their predecessors, they have found some pledge of hope or more. Moreover, the domination of the Russians in these parts will always have to offer more obstacles than the barbarity of these savage peoples. I do not forget to pray for all these peoples entrusted to your care.

In our little Korea, we are also far from being able to sing songs of victory and yet we are a little less stationary. To tell the truth, it is the status quo of previous years, the same tolerance of the government which turns a blind eye to us, the same vexations on the part of certain mandarins, satellites, praetorians who proprio modo persecute or plunder our Christians, well assured that no one will want to take their defense, and these vexations were especially regretted in the South-Eastern countries that I visited in previous years, then in some other localities and they are real obstacles to the propagation of the Gospel; moreover we can say that we have enjoyed tranquility and all our confreres have more or less made their annual visit, even Mr. Calais whose luggage was stolen on the way by bad characters and which we finally removed from their hands almost entirely after five or six months.

Everywhere things have been their usual routine, little enthusiasm, no momentum or considerable increase, and despite this a small progress which is proclaimed by the 907 adult baptisms, the result of the sum of all the districts. If we must now speak of the two provinces which lead from our capital to your Leaotong, there is real progress there, conversions are numerous, preaching is done almost publicly, no one hides and people are getting on a footing unknown until now in Korea. We are promised a large number of baptisms for this winter, if the visit can take place there, and little by little we have the hope of reaching the borders of your vicariate, how wonderful that would be! But it is not yet for this year. The Bishop of Capsus, who visited this part, will doubtless have spoken to your Grandeur about

it, but will he be able to write to you this year? The greatest test of this Mission is the critical position of His Grandeur, exhausted by the work. Bishop Berneux has been consumed for two months by a fever from which he cannot be rid and the exhaustion seems to have reached its final term; There are fears that His Highness is quite at the end and I must go there these days to try new ways to save our Vic. Ap. Alas! If God asked us for this sacrifice, what would become of the mission? But let us hope that it will not be so...

This spring Mr. Ridel had a serious illness, then Mr. Aumaître was also attacked but less severely, it is a common plague in the country; this autumn Mr. Féron was struck down by a long dysentery, and although it is supposed to be over, he still cannot drink. You see that God is testing us. Everyone's strength is fading and we are still crushed. Fortunately 4 new confreres have arrived, but for the moment they cannot help us, and even if they were in the ministry we would still be overloaded. These dear confreres who came down to my house reported to me all the kindness and attention they have received from Your Highness, please accept here the sincere thanks that I address to you on behalf of the Mission, it will not forget the care you take for it. Despite this, we still dare to ask for the help of your prayers, first for Bishop Berneux, then for the health of our brothers, so that we can cope with so many tasks that press us and that God's mercy seems to increase even more, we have sorrows, fatigues, but also consolations, deign to pray in particular to the Lord so that I know how to bear the former well, profit from the latter and not remain useless in the midst of so many needs. Deign to accept the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honor to be

Monsignor, of your Grandeur the very humble servant + Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

November - I came to see the Bishop, since my arrival the fever has stopped, will this be the end? Besides, his Grandeur is so exhausted that he can do absolutely nothing, and will not be able to do so soon, pray for us please. I am going to leave again for the administration which is very pressing

Mr Albrand Superior of the Foreign Missions

Korea
October 17, 1865 *

Dear Superior,

Two letters from your hand have fortunately reached me this time (Nov. 1863, May 1864) and all the details they contain on the Seminary of Paris make me greatly thank the good Lord for the blessings he deigns to spread on our work. I sincerely pray him to be so kind as to continue them for the extension of his glory. In June, I also received from the new confreres the books I had asked you for and the bottles of Arnica. But I have not had any news of the pictures that my family tells me they asked you to buy to send me, are they lost or delayed, that is what the sequel will let us know.

This time I believe I guess that you have received all the notes on the martyrs, if any are missing it would be very few and I cannot make the distinction from here, we will therefore no longer have to speak of it, I find my heart relieved, our very precarious position always made me fear losing the results of so much research, which every day becomes more difficult. I still have a heavy burden on my heart, it is the collection of the oaths of the witnesses, a unique copy, and which Providence has allowed to be removed from the ashes of my house, burned down this spring. Part of it is no longer readable, but the greater part is still so especially for me. It would be necessary to write up these remains and send them to you, that is my desire, but where will I find the time? Anyone other than me will have difficulty getting out of it; now I can only think of doing it in the summer, sacrificing other work, but writing at this time having become almost impossible for me, I groan and do not know when it will be done.

I had almost promised His Highness to put my hand to it this year at any price, and now the whirlwind has brought me to this day without having started. It is enough to give up. I was on my way in June to try to find a lodging to replace my deceased palace, and had not yet found it, when suddenly our 4 new confreres who were to be taken directly to the Bishop, were announced to me as having landed on my coasts, I ran there and took them with all the baggage to a safe place, but where nothing was prepared. What a ruckus it was! and our small means of action did not allow me to be able to send them off immediately, including the baggage. I spent a month in this ruckus which the circumstances made very mild, but nevertheless no work, and also no rest. Then it was the height of the heat, one cannot write the martyrs, I set to some other pressing work and also gave some time to the completion of some volumes broken up and started by the fire, the leaves fell into pieces from day to day, and to delay this work was to lose my labors of three summers, I spent a few weeks there then the current work, then a volley of Extreme Unctions of all kinds for fifteen or twenty days, then this and that, in short, without having rested a quarter of an hour (sic) here I am on the eve of leaving for the Bishop whose exhaustion and persistent fever give us too serious worries - we should begin the administration immediately and my retirement is not done. In a word, even if his Highness's illness were better, the visit of the Christians is already delayed by a month - while I still have a good dose of it this year for my part and three colleagues weakened by illness are waiting for my help rather than I can think of unloading on them. Where will we end up then? the administration, late and hurried, is killing on the one hand and less useful to the Christians on the other, but what remedy? It is not that I want a rest doing nothing, but in this perpetual hubbub I lose my common sense, harm (?) what I do and this becomes a habitual state that makes me too incapable of fulfilling my task.

I realize that I have gone further than I wanted, that is to say that with the real desire to do something for the martyrs, I cannot. In May I wrote you a few lines, did they reach you? On the advice of the Bishop, I withdrew my veto and left the use of the notes I sent more or less to your discretion. Did I do the right thing? I doubt it, there are some in the mission who do not approve of this concession, and I still have a heavy heart about it; because leaving the notes as they are, in my opinion, would be to miss the success of this publication, which, if well-directed, could have its usefulness and its edification; on the other hand, changing it as it seems to me urgent to do, would be to expose oneself to falling into falsehood and consequently attract blame and dishonor; my thoughts on this are still the same and I beg you not to lose sight of them. I also promised you then to work on the additions to these notes, in the sense you spoke to me about, that was my intention then, and the circumstances that arose did not allow me to keep my promise this time. There is much to do, and for the satisfaction of the public I had engaged several colleagues to give me some articles on the customs of the country: Mr. Féron, always full of zeal for what concerns publications on the martyrs, promised me wholeheartedly, but a long dysentery, which kept him on the sidelines, has doubtless not allowed him to do it, because I have no news. Mr. Pourthié, who could do it in a very interesting way, flatly refuses. He excuses himself on the grounds of his occupations and what is more he does not approve of the insertion of articles that he has already written, one among others on the topography of Korea. Would he prepare some separate publication, I do not know, but you see that circumstances do not support me in fulfilling your wishes. However, to publish something, it is necessary to mix in details on customs, this can only be little by little and when God permits.

Moreover, it is necessary that I redo a work to mark more distinctly the martyrs on whom we have very notable proofs and testimonies and to distinguish them from those who, having no negative proof against them, nevertheless have little positive proof. This seems very serious to me. In history I believed I could cite them all and I still believe it, but I do not have, on all those who are mentioned, strong enough proof to dare for example to present them in Rome. It therefore seems important to make the reader feel, more than I have done, this difference, so as to have nothing to fear until the end. Another thing: I wish to change the spelling of all the Korean names, to put them more in line with the manner of writing that will be adopted here and consequently more in line with all subsequent documents. This has its seriousness still, for the clarity of the different stories that can come out of this country, but I do not know too much with what success a foreign hand will be able to make these changes on more or less obscure indications that I will make myself.

The chronological sketch of the history of Korea, which I have translated and on which I intended to attempt a little work to send you, was more damaged than I thought in the fire of my house this spring; removed from under the ashes, it is in a state that would require more work from me than I had thought. When will it be done? Having no memory and no longer knowing what details I sent you about the country, I am completely disoriented; I once expected to recall all this by the attentive view of my notes here, but the fire having mutilated and partly destroyed everything, I am left with nothing but confusion, without seeing a way out of it. I had to send you a few stories. In my opinion, this is not childishness. My intention was to insert them appropriately in the other stories to break the monotony and then in my opinion nothing paints the customs of a country better than such stories when they are appropriately placed and well presented; I do not know what I have been able to send you in this genre. I probably told you that the memoirs should be divided into chapters and interspersed with as many things as possible to break the monotony, the main defect of this work. This is where we must aim above all, and it is in my opinion impossible without recasting almost all the notes and reworking them under a new brush. I cannot escape this idea and it is also the one which makes me fear that the background and the stamp of the

country are too counterfeit. I am emphasizing this article too much, excuse me, but all these changes seem to me to be of prime necessity, as much as they are delicate and dangerous. According to this, when your wishes and mine will be fulfilled, I do not know, and if it is necessary to speak of my share of contribution, I dare not give any more word or time, because I am too carried away by the currents which will only increase according to all appearances.

Our Bishop, exhausted by his work, is at this moment completely reduced by a violent tertian fever which cannot be got rid of. This forces me to go up to His Highness, when it would be necessary to begin immediately the administration of which I still have a strong dose to bear this year. We are seriously fearing that God will take away our Apostolic Vicar at this time when his presence seems more necessary than ever and then what will become of me? But I want Our Lord to have pity on us again, and to deign to preserve it for us, it is obvious that the current position of His Highness brings down on me a number of burdens which I do not need to find myself encumbered. In all, the will of God, is it not? If he worsens my position, he will doubtless deign to give me strength and help accordingly, this thought alone sustains me a little, but you know that already I feel too incapable of facing the gravity of the task imposed on me. You will therefore be so kind as to pray to him very particularly for me so that he may direct me on a safe path and not lead me away from the path of salvation, *ne forte cum aliis predicaverim*.... this thought overwhelms and agitates me.

You propose to send me the notes from the Archives that could be useful to me, there are doubtless some that would help me a lot or clarify obscure points, but how can I know exactly which ones I would need? A few years ago I had asked for copies of the main documents that you possess and they would have been of great value to me then. Today, when the bulk of my work is done and already sent to you, I see fewer advantages; however, it would not be a bad thing if these documents were in the mission, but asking you for them en masse is useless. If the colleague you intend to charge with the writing of the martyrs, in taking care of his work, could note what is obscure and that we seem to ignore in your documents, we could thereby make a choice to send us a copy. I especially wanted the article on Korea from the *Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes* and the documents that their editor must have had on hand; but today I must limit myself to asking the editor of the martyrs to take careful note of all these documents, to see the gaps or obscurities or contradictions in my research with the old documents and we can perhaps remedy them by correspondence. Enough on these matters, if I have time before the couriers leave, I will add what I have.

I have received your response to my confidential letter. Would you like to speak again about the meeting to revise the Regulations and insist on its necessity. That there are changes and additions to be made to the Rules, I am far from denying it and in particular for facts like those I was talking to you about, the Rules seem to be lacking, but is it a meeting that will do that? Or rather we ask ourselves first of all what will be the questions and proposals submitted to the meeting? Now until now we have only been able to know a very small number of them, several of which are not major matters. Would it not be appropriate, if we want a meeting, to first do some work that makes known what we feel the need for so that each representative knows when going there the way of seeing his mission in this regard. Without these preliminaries we do not see the need for the meeting and we easily think that for some additions or changes, they can be done by way of votes of the missions, without resorting to the disturbance, loss of time and money, that a meeting will require. In a word, a detailed and reasoned program of the changes required by the circumstances would enlighten everyone and if the thing seemed to require a meeting, this statement would be appropriate to decide the unanimity of the votes. What I say here is moreover only my personal thought, but

it could well be shared by many of the members of this mission. Will you not then take this course, which could advance things either by the meeting or without it?

Excuse the confusion of this letter, my ideas have always been confused for some years, and even at this moment I find my head quite free. These lines will only prove to you how much I desire to respond to the different things you have spoken to me about and to make them succeed according to your wishes.

Pray to God that he may help us and grant us his graces in great number so that we may place fewer obstacles to the propagation of his holy name and the accomplishment of his holy will. In remembering all our confreres, I reiterate to you the assurance of the feelings of respectful attachment with which I am

Sir Superior, your very humble servant and confrere + Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

You are still speaking to me about the writing of the stay of our confreres in 1835 and following, but I have already answered that the few documents that there are are in Paris and not here, I really have nothing. Then the writing of these last 20 years, but all my letters are in France and my memory ad Patres, I do not see any way of trying. For that to happen, I would have to be able to focus my ideas there for several months, to get into the completely forgotten subject, but when will I have this time, besides the fact that any composition no longer seems possible to me with my lost intelligence and memory - except in extraordinary circumstances on which one cannot count, I believe that it must be abandoned.

Mr Albrand Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions

Korea 22 Nov. 1865.

Dear Superior,

To you alone this confidential letter. After much hesitation I have this time taken the decision to take the step I spoke to you about last year and I am writing to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. Whether I have done well or badly I do not yet know, but engaged in a path that does not seem to be able to lead me happily to my end, I believed I had to take the ordinary means to get out of the bad situation. I should have first submitted my resignation to the hands of the Apostolic Vicar perhaps, but certain that it would not be accepted and fearing that on this occasion he would leave the country immediately I did not do so. Besides, you will see my letter, I speak frankly in it, and if I did not see myself exposed to seeing the whole burden fall on me from one moment to the next, I would try to hold the post again, but to tell the truth the chief administration of this Mission seems to me impossible for my strength. I do not know what his Eminence will think and say and it could well happen that I will be answered in an evasive manner, no matter.

His Eminence will know that if God were to call the Bishop of Capsus to him, the burden must be placed somewhere other than on my shoulders and it is good to know this in advance, even if my letter had only this advantage, I believe that it is one for the Mission and for me and that will give me some peace of mind. I spoke the truth when I said that if it is found good that I remain here, I will remain. I have no thought of leaving the Society and as long as Bishop Berneux is there, the very intimate union that exists between his Grandeur and me, is a guarantee that my presence would not be onerous to him. So, here it is, and I await a decision, if you would be so kind as to send my letter to its destination without noise. As for the miracle that could restore my health and my moral and spiritual strength, I cannot hope for it, my approach is therefore not without foundation, it is up to God to arrange the rest.

Always believe, Monsieur Superior, in the sincerity of my feelings, and do not seek to find other reasons for my conduct, nothing is hidden underneath, the rest will be proof of it to you whatever happens.

Before, during and after I like to call myself Your very devoted servant and colleague,

+ Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

Mr Albrand

November 1865

Dear Superior,

A few words from your letter of May make me take up my pen again. These few words would seem to insinuate that the Apostolic Ladies who were kind enough to send a considerable consignment two years ago, are offended that I did not express my thanks by a direct letter. If this is the meaning of your sentence, I am very sorry that without any indifference on my part, there was reason to let me be suspected. Not having seen until now that any particular correspondence was maintained on the occasion of the charitable aid that many good souls are kind enough to send to the missions, I have limited myself as in the past to asking our Procurator to kindly acknowledge receipt of these different objects and to be at the same time the interpreter of my feelings of gratitude towards the benefactors, then finally of the assurance that a frequent remembrance before God would be for me the only way to try to compensate for the sacrifices made by these generous souls in favor of our Christians. The thought of writing directly could not therefore come to me, and if my conduct based on the precedents could have been taken in bad part, I dare to hope that you, our representative in Paris, will not neglect to show things from a true point of view and then all suspicion would fall of itself. Please have the charity to keep us well informed of this association. It is not that after such a considerable dispatch I have the thought of recommending myself to benevolence again; but there are other confreres in the Mission, who could then well reveal their needs to you and request the help of this Association through you.

In renewing to you the assurance of my respectful affection I recommend myself again to your holy prayers.

Your very humble servant and confrere

+ Antoine. Bishop Coadjutor

Copy of a letter from Bishop Daveluy to Mr. Aumaître Apostolic Missionary

Seoul, February 4, 1866

Dear Sir,

I received the letter that you were kind enough to send me at the time, and that time is already long gone; the lack of opportunity did not allow me to reply to you at the time, and since then I have always thought about it, without being able to carry it out. Today that I am in the city of delights, I cannot leave without giving you a sign of life and friendship, and the opportunity to send you these lines will doubtless present itself a little sooner or later.

But why, in the midst of a hurried administration, did I dare to leave my Christians to run the roads and pass my time? Public rumor will have already answered you, no doubt, that the Bishop of Capsus having been recalled from his tour of Hoang Hai by the Prince Regent to have an interview relating to Russian affairs, I was myself invited by high-ranking people to approach to cooperate more or less directly in the solution of these serious questions and I let myself be told: From there comes freedom of Religion, an honorable position and all the rest that you think. - Yes, but on condition that everything had gone well and now that everything is ready, the Prince Regent declines or at least postpones the famous conference and we do not yet know what will become of this whole affair.

In any case all these facts are published and as a result the whole city and even the provinces know in a quasi-official manner that the Bishop has been recalled by the Prince, i.e. that our presence is published on the rooftops. Will it still be said that we are hidden? As a result of this we are supposed to be accepted in the country and would there not be other consequences, that we have this seems to have gained ground. For the conference, not being able to know whether or how it will take place, I return to my marshes and will set to work under the protection of God. And you, where are you? How are you? That is what I want to know. Is your administration going well? I would like to be able to meet you to discuss it with you and also to participate in the graces that God grants you. Circumstances do not always allow us to meet, but let us try to create good opportunities in order to be more in touch and not to remain strangers to each other. That is my strong desire and I hope that the future will be happier than the past, because truly we have seen each other too little. I pray to God for this purpose and for want of anything better for the moment I reiterate to you the assurance of my very affectionate feelings in Our Lord.

Pray for me Your very humble servant

+ Antoine Bishop Coadjutor

Bishop Verrolles Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria.

Korea March 10, 1866

Monsignor,

A few days ago I wrote a letter to Your Highness to inform you of our position, but fearing that this letter would not reach you, I am writing this one by another means. We are in persecution, the Bishop of Capsus was taken on February 23 and since then five colleagues Messrs. Pourthié, Petitnicolas, de Bretennières, Beaulieu and Dorie. All the others will be taken immediately, impossible to escape. There is already talk of executing the six Europeans taken and I believe that it will be so, despite the Chinese-French passports: insult to France, insult to the Emperor of China. Whatever it may be, fiat voluntas. My turn will come too and I pray to God to support me in the arena, all for his glory. The Bishop's house has been pillaged and if all the objects of the Mission are taken, it will be a loss of nearly 100,000 francs.

My regret is to see this dear flock desolate and without a pastor. There was a surge in the Northern provinces, we were hoping for more than 1,500 baptisms this year, here it is all collapsed and without resources, not to mention the extreme suffering and misery of our Christians as a result of the famine. God, have pity on these poor sheep.

I hope that the Society will not forget this Mission, but how can we give it back pastors? Pray and make an effort please, but I do not see any way. I expect that the embassy will do nothing or not much; if we wanted to ask for compensation, we would have to go to personalities and have a number of ministers and troublemakers caught, otherwise you will not obtain anything in this country that is lasting. Besides, I know well that France will not take much notice of us and that is what makes me deplore the misfortunes of our Christians.

In all, the divine will.

I am preparing myself for martyrdom. Tomorrow morning (it is midnight) the satellites are to visit this village, will I be taken or not?

I do not have time to say goodbye to these gentlemen of Paris or to my family; God will provide.

Farewell My very Reverend Lord, forgive me the pain I have caused you and pray for me if you please

Of your Greatness the very humble servant

+ Antoine Bishop Coadjutor