

Preface to Charles Dallet's *History of the Church of Korea*

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Charles Dallet is today mainly remembered, if at all, for his two-volume *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée* (History of the Church of Korea) which was published in Paris in May 1874, just 150 years ago. It was the first full-length book about Korea to be published in Western Europe, apart from various texts and translations based on the report written in Dutch by Hendrick Hamel after his escape from Korea in 1666. Apart from an obscure translation of the Introduction published as *Traditional Korea* in the USA in 1954, it has never been translated into English, or annotated in any language except Korean. Translations of parts of the Introduction into Russian and Japanese were made soon after the 1874 publication. The late Gari Ledyard (1932-2021) of Columbia University began to prepare a translation of Book One of the History but was unable to continue. A copy of his text which he gave to Brother Anthony is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Most of the Introduction in this edition was translated by the Canadian David Gemeinhardt. Brother Anthony wishes here to acknowledge the constant help and guidance he has received from Professor Cho Kwang (Korea University, Seoul), Dr. Kwon Yeong-pa, and Professor Pierre-Emmanuel (University of Paris).

In translating Dallet's work into English for this edition, we have modernized his rather opaque and at times incorrect or partial romanization of Korean names, a confusion which Dallet inherited from the varying spellings used by the missionaries in Korea. Scholars wishing to see Dallet's original romanization have easy access to online images and transcripts of the French original. We have above all added a comprehensive set of footnotes, which include fuller identifications of the persons he names, together with indications of the sources on which he was drawing, when he was not simply following Bishop Daveluy's *Notes pour l'histoire des martyrs*.

This work has led us to collect all the main documents available from the period covered by Dallet, whether used by him or not, translating many of them into English for a separate Anthology. In addition, we have translated a large selection of letters from Korea written by various missionaries, as well as all the texts and letters written in Korea by Saint Antoine Daveluy. The writings of Bishop Daveluy are now in the archives of the IRFA in Paris, in the form of eight volumes containing certified copies (the originals used by Dallet are lost) catalogued 5C-MAR/067-074. In the notes that follow, these eight volumes are designated "Archive Daveluy." Volume 3, *Notes pour l'Introduction*, contains multiple notes about Korea; Volume 4 contains his narrative history of the Church, *Notes pour l'Histoire*; Volume 5 contains his *Choix des martyrs* and other texts related to individual martyrs. All these volumes have also been translated into English by Brother Anthony.

Charles Dallet: A Life

Until now there has been almost no reliable information available about the family origins and life of Charles Dallet. The recent research of Pierre-Emmanuel Roux has finally produced a full picture, which can be summarized as follows: Claude Charles Dallet was born in Langres (Haute-Marne) on October 18, 1829. His parents, Nicolas Dallet and Catherine Paillet, had married on January 14 that same year. Four other sons were born in the following years. Nicolas Dallet was a cooper by profession. By 1842 or so, Charles was attending the Minor Seminary in Langres and on October 28, 1847, he entered the Major Seminary. He had received Minor Orders before he entered the Seminary of the Foreign Missions Society in Paris on October 5, 1850. In 1851 he learned to cast type in the celebrated printing house of

Firmin Didot in Paris. At the same time, he became close friends with two future missionaries in the Seminary, Théophile Vénard, who was soon to be sent as a missionary to what is now Vietnam, where he was martyred in 1861, and Joseph Theurel (1829-1868), the future Apostolic Vicar of Western Tongking (now part of Vietnam). On April 29, 1852, the song which Dallet had written for the ceremony of the Departure of Missionaries was sung for the first time, set to music by Charles Gounod, who was in charge of music at the Seminary Chapel. It continued to be sung regularly until 1962.

On June 5, 1852, Charles Dallet, Joseph Theurel and Théophile Vénard were ordained priests in Notre Dame Cathedral and on August 20 Dallet left for Asia with three other new missionaries. After arriving in India, Dallet went to study the local language in the parish of Blackpally (Bangalore), in the Apostolic Vicariate of Mysore. After a time of ill-health, which made him unable to work, he had a first attack of epilepsy in February 1856. At this time, he began to write in English his *Controversial Catechism*, designed to refute the errors of Protestantism. This book was finally published in November 1859 and was then reprinted four times in Dallet's lifetime, a final, sixth edition being printed in Hong Kong in 1921. In mid-1858 Dallet's bishop recommended that he be called back to Paris to serve as Director at the Seminary but when Dallet was informed of this in September, he refused, wishing to remain a missionary. He continued to be sick and on August 25, 1860, despite his wishes, he was instructed to leave India for Paris, where he arrived in October.

It was soon after his arrival in the Paris Seminary that he established a close friendship with Fr. Jean-Joseph Rousseille (see below), a priest who had recently returned after five years at the Hong Kong *Procure* (Procurator house) to act as Director of the Seminary, and had also begun to teach there. Rousseille then also became Librarian and was the Society's first Archivist. In 1862 and 1863 Dallet spent time at the Imprimerie impériale helping cast sets of characters for Tamil and Kanada scripts. On May 19, 1863, despite not having completely recovered, Dallet set off to return to India. He was determined to die there rather than in France. From 1865 he began suffering severe epileptic attacks every 4-6 weeks. In October 1866 news of the death of the nine French martyrs in Korea reached him in India. At some point soon after this Fr. Rousseille asked him to write the History of the Korean Church, using the writings of Bishop Daveluy. Dallet was determined to remain in India but in June 1867 he had been ordered by his Bishop to return to Paris because of his poor health.

He finally left India on a British ship in October and reached the Seminary in Paris on November 28, 1867. He soon began work on the History. In May 1869 he composed the *Cantique pour l'anniversaire de nos martyrs* in honor of Théophile Vénard, again set to music by Charles Gounod. On November 10, 1869, he arrived in the Rome "procurator house" of the Society and until June 1870 was in charge of it with Fr. Rousseille while the official Procurator, Fr. Libois, received treatment in Paris. The Vatican Council had just begun. Late in June 1870 Dallet returned to Paris and resumed work on the History. From September 1870 Paris was under siege by the Prussian army. Dallet remained at the Paris Seminary and on October 26 wrote that he had completed the first draft of the History. The Paris Commune began on March 18, 1871, and on March 27 Dallet left the Seminary to take refuge in the Society's house in Meudon, a suburb in the South of Paris. He returned the Seminary a few days after the end of the Commune, on May 31.

In June 1871 it was decided to send Dallet on a fund-raising tour of North and South America, since the Society was in financial difficulties as a result of the war and the Commune. He left Paris on July 20, 1871, and only returned in February 1873. Arriving in New York, he headed for Canada, where he stayed until October, visiting Montreal, Quebec etc. before returning to New York. Leaving New York on October 20, he visited Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, then turning the Cape he arrived in Valparaiso (Chile) on February 6, 1872, from where he headed for Santiago. Staying there until May 6, he then visited Peru,

where he spent a month in Lima. Leaving there on September 23, he headed for San Francisco, where he arrived on October 19. On October 30 he arrived by train in St. Louis, where he stayed until November 26. He then returned to Quebec, where he gave a number of lectures. On January 17, 1873, he left for Montreal, where he also gave some talks.

On January 25, 1873, he left New York for France. By February 6, 1873, he was back in the Paris Seminary, where he began to revise and complete his History, adding for example a mention of the American attack on Ganghwa Island in 1871. Dallet's History was published in May 1874, then reprinted in October 1875 with an additional preface by Pope Pius IX. Dallet now began to ask to return to India but in September 1874 he had suggested writing a history of the revival of the Church in Japan and in June 1875 the Society appointed him to be a missionary in Japan, since he had insisted on the need to collect materials there. In January 1876 Dallet finally turned down the nomination to Japan since although he hoped to die in his mission, he realized that he would have to return to Paris after a short time in Japan in order to write the history. Missionaries normally remained for ever once they arrived in their appointed country. Vietnamese missionaries also requested him to write a history of their Church. Dallet reflected and soon realized that the Vietnamese mission represented one half of the entire work of the Society. He therefore decided that it would be better to cover the Society's history as a whole. On October 23, 1876, the directors in Paris agreed that Dallet should write a history of the entire Foreign Missions Society. At the end of December Dallet sent a detailed, 40-page long questionnaire to all the Apostolic Vicars of the Society in preparation for the project.

Dallet was granted permission to spend three years visiting all the missions, meeting all the missionaries, and then to return to Paris to write up his History. He left Marseille on February 25, 1877, to visit the missions. In April he was in Hong Kong, in May he reached Japan, where he stayed until he sailed for Shanghai on July 19. From August 1 until September 8, Dallet was in Niuzhuang (called Newchwang by the British at the time), in Manchuria. There he had hoped to meet Bishop Ridel and Fr. Coste, missionaries attached to the Korean mission. At that time, Dallet was too ill to travel further inland, while Bishop Ridel was busy preparing to enter Korea (he finally succeeded on September 22, 1877). Fr. Coste too could not make the journey to see Dallet. Dallet arrived in Beijing on September 22 then returned to Shanghai on November 9, physically weak and hardly able to walk. After resting he left for Hong Kong on December 7, spent two weeks in Hong Kong and then on December 30 arrived in Saigon. He began to travel through what is now Vietnam, visiting many mission stations before he arrived at Kê Sở (Sở Kiện) in Tongking on March 30. There he fell ill and died of dysentery on April 25, 1878. He was forty-nine years old.

The Origins of Charles Dallet's *Histoire*

A brief glance at Dallet's *Controversial Catechism* and his questionnaire show that he had an extremely methodological, analytical mind. This is also the impression given by the way in which his *History* brings together, arranges and transmits the often very scattered information and material at his disposal. However, since it is clear that he had never been in or near Korea, the more important question is the source of the information about Korea and its Church which Dallet's two-volume *Histoire* transmits. The answers can be found mainly in the archives of the Foreign Missions Society housed in what is now the IRFA (Institut de Recherches France-Asie) in Paris. Today the Society is known as the Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP, Paris Foreign Missions Society, but the 'de Paris' was only added in 1921 so we will not use it here).

One starting point for Dallet's work came very soon after the end of the history which Dallet relates, which virtually concludes with the withdrawal of the French naval forces from Korea's Ganghwa Island in November 1866. A naval expedition had been organized by Admiral Roze to avenge the execution by the Korean authorities of nine French missionaries in the spring of 1866. Just as the French were preparing to sail away, the frigate *Laplace* arrived from Shanghai, bringing Fathers Féron and Calais. They, together with Fr. Ridel, had escaped capture and execution in Korea. Fr. Ridel had sailed across to China first, bringing news of the persecution, and had accompanied Admiral Roze's expedition as an interpreter. Later the other two priests had also sailed to China from where they set off to join Ridel on Roze's expedition. When they arrived, they discovered that the French force was withdrawing, and by November 26 they were all back in Shanghai, still hoping to be able to return to Korea very soon.

On May 15, 1867, Fr. Féron wrote to Charles Dallet, who was in India, from Shanghai. His letter is on f. 1335 in the box labelled Volume 579 in the IRFA archive. He begins by thanking Dallet for his letter dated March 10, 1867, in which he says Dallet had told him that he has agreed to write up 'in (good) French' the 'work' (travail) of Bishop Daveluy. He expresses gratitude although remarking that Bishop Daveluy was always convinced of the quality of his French and did not like to be corrected. He encourages Dallet to respect scrupulously the facts that Daveluy reports. These few words have a considerable importance as we try to trace the origins of Dallet's work. Dallet and Rousseille had both arrived back in Paris in 1860 and they soon established a close relationship based on their shared love of scholarship. By the time Dallet left to return to India in 1863 most if not all of Daveluy's texts must have reached the Paris Archive. During Dallet's second time in India he and Rousseille continued to correspond. We know from Dallet's letter to Fr. Féron that before he returned to Paris from India (in November 1867), Dallet was already fully aware of the writings by Bishop Daveluy about Korea and its Church in the Archives, especially his *Notes pour l'Histoire*, and had been invited by Fr. Rousseille to edit them for publication. This was less than a year after the execution of Bishop Daveluy and his companions on March 30, Good Friday, 1866, and only a few months since the arrival of Fr. Ridel in Chefoo brought news of the persecution to the world at large.

News of the martyrdom of Théophane Vénard in 1861 had clearly touched Dallet deeply, enough to inspire his *Cantique pour l'anniversaire des martyrs*, at least in part because it reflected the sentiments Dallet had already expressed in 1852 in his *Cantique du Départ des missionnaires*. The missionaries of the Society knew that in many countries they might face death by persecution while many other priests would die of malnutrition or disease, indeed, that was their hope. The ceremony of the Departure held in the seminary chapel before new missionaries set off for their region, when teachers, seminarians and family members kissed their feet and embraced them in what was seen as a final farewell, had inspired that *Cantique du Départ*.

At the end of Chapter 2 of Book 5 in Volume 2 of his *Histoire* (page 557) Dallet evokes the scene in France when news of the death of the 1866 Korean martyrs arrived: "In the month of September, 1866, a letter from Fr. Ridel was received at the Seminary of the Foreign Missions Society, which gave the first details of the events (the executions) which we have just related. The aspirants were in Meudon, in the seminary's country house. In the evening, the superior announced to them that in Korea, in the space of a few days, nine confreres, including two bishops and seven missionaries, had shed their blood for Jesus Christ. At this glorious news, a cry of joy issued from their hearts; and immediately, improvising an illumination in the branches of the great maples which protect the statue of the Blessed Virgin, they sang a *Te Deum* of thanksgiving, with the invocation, repeated nine times: Queen of martyrs, pray for us. What other words could have more worthily celebrated

such a triumph? What others could better end the story? Yes, we praise you, O God! you whom the army of martyrs sings with spotless garments; you whom the holy Catholic Church confesses and glorifies to the ends of the world!”

Dallet had arrived back in France for a second time on November 28, 1867, so seriously afflicted by epilepsy that it was felt to require a second return to France. Two other members of the Society had returned prior to Dallet’s return, under very different circumstances, and each was to play a vital role in his work on the history of the Korean mission. The first is Jean-Joseph Rousseille, already mentioned, who was directly responsible for introducing Dallet to the materials found in the Archive. Born on August 1, 1832, in the parish of Saint-Louis, in Bordeaux (Gironde), he studied at the minor and major seminary of his hometown. Entering the Seminary of the Society as a deacon on December 30, 1854, he was ordained a priest on December 22, 1855, and left for the Procurator house in Hong Kong on January 23, 1856. For four years, he assisted Fr. Libois, who had been in Macao then Hong Kong since 1837. He saw one or two of the later missionaries to Korea when they passed through Hong Kong. In 1860, he was recalled to the Seminary of the Society in Paris as its Director. He taught Sacred Scripture and the liturgy, was actively involved as the first Archivist to classify and organize the archives of the Seminary, and also searched the public archives for documents concerning the Society.

Appointed Procurator in Rome in 1872, again in 1874 and 1877, Fr. Rousseille acquitted himself very well of this office. On July 4, 1880, he was elected Superior of the Paris Seminary replacing Fr. Delpech, who had just completed his twelve regulatory years. However, in 1883, the Seminary Council entrusted him with the task of founding an establishment in the Far East for those priests of the Society who would like to spend a few days or weeks in retreat. He finally established it, in 1885, in Hong Kong, under the name of the Holy Family of Nazareth. In 1899, he was recalled to France to direct the Immaculate Conception Seminary (philosophy and first year of theology) in Bièvres; but his health was very shaken, and after a short illness, he died on January 22, 1900, in Bièvres.

The other major figure, not so directly acquainted with Dallet, was Napoléon-François Libois. He was originally from Chambois (Orne), where he was born on December 14, 1805, and attended the seminary of Séez. After his priestly ordination which took place on September 18, 1830, he became professor of philosophy in the same seminary. He entered the Seminary of the Foreign Missions Society on July 29, 1836, and left on February 20, 1837 for the missions; he served first as Deputy Procurator in Macao. In 1842, after Fr. Legrégeois returned to Europe, he became Procurator. Fr. Libois, together with Fr. Legrégeois, had been responsible for the education of the two young Koreans sent to Macao by Fr. Maubant in 1836, Fr. Andrew Kim Dae-geon and Fr. Thomas Choe Yang-eop, and both had received letters written by them in Latin after they left Macao to return to Korea. Fr. Libois had also met many of the missionaries sent to Korea and corresponded regularly with them.

Fr. Libois took up the project of his predecessor Fr. Legrégeois and transferred the Procurator house from Macao to Hong Kong. This transfer was carried out in the first months of 1847. In 1866, Fr. Libois was called back to the Seminary of the Society in Paris, was received as Director on May 7 of the same year, but, only a few months later, was appointed Procurator of the Society in Rome. Fr. Libois died there on April 6, 1872.

The documents, mostly letters from the missionaries in Korea, in the IRFA Archive contained in the boxes labelled Volumes 577 and 579 include over one hundred letters addressed to Fr. Libois by most if not all the Korean missionaries as well as a number of translations into French of letters written to him in Latin by (Saint) Andrew Kim and (the Venerable) Thomas Choe. The originals of those letters were also in the Archive. It seems

likely that most if not all of those letters were already in Paris for use by Dallet, although the full Archive of the Hong Kong Procuration House was only sent to Paris in 1877. A number of the letters were certainly sent to France at once, for they were published in the review *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*.

Fr. Rousseille was surely the main guide for Fr. Dallet to what was in the archives. It was he who had first set about arranging all the documents for each country's mission in chronological order. Dallet's letter to Fr. Féron of March 10, 1867, already mentions the writings of Bishop Daveluy, almost certainly on the basis of information he had received from Fr. Rousseille. The writings were quite unique by their nature and extent. Bishop Daveluy, despite his very poor health, had clearly enjoyed translating and research. It was Bishop Berneux, soon after his arrival in Korea, who had charged him with writing up a full account of individual martyrs and the History of the Korean Church. By a great stroke of good fortune, he had sent off to France in the years before and after 1860 a considerable collection of texts he had written in French. In 1863 he lost many of the original Korean and other documents still stored in his house in Seoul in a fire. Among the writings he sent to Paris were translations of letters written to their families by Korean martyrs, translations of the official death sentences of many martyrs, an attempt to revise the list of martyrs (with details of their lives) in order to eliminate those found not worthy of inclusion and correct misinformation, as well as multiple notes on a great variety of aspects of Korean society, culture and history, and, most significant, an incomplete narrative history, "Notes for the History of the Korean Church." It was surely this last which made Rousseille think that Dallet might prepare something for publication using Daveluy's materials.

Fr. Féron in his reply to Dallet of May 15, 1867 not only encouraged Dallet's plan, he also pointed to a book he had come across: *Relation de l'établissement du christianisme dans le royaume de Corée* (An account of the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Korea), written in Latin by Mgr. De Gouvea, Bishop of Peking and addressed on August 15, 1797, to Mgr. De St Martin, Bishop of Caradre and Apostolic Vicar of the province of Sichuan in China. This was a translation of a copy received in London on July 12, 1798, published in 1800 in London. Féron indicates ways in which such a book could help correct and improve Daveluy's text, giving precise examples. He then adds a note on the way the names of the Koreans were spelled in Daveluy's documents and provides a list of what he considers the best spellings, implying that Dallet should correct Daveluy's spellings of personal names and only retain his spellings of place-names. He stresses the need to systematize the spelling of names as much as possible.

In a letter to Fr. Rousseille written a year later, dated April 7, 1868, (IRFA Archive Volume 579 ff. 1415-1420) Fr. Féron writes: "since your occupations leave you so little time, as I understand it, I am very happy to know that the history of Korea is in hands as good as those of Mr. Dallet. Without having the honor of knowing this dear colleague personally, I have heard much about him, and in such a way that I am sure that he will do something worthy of the subject –as a reward for his good work, may our martyrs restore his health and... and send him to Korea, were it not for this unfortunate infirmity, for which we must nevertheless also bless God who sent him (back to France), and who might otherwise have been the worthy successor of Bishop Berneux?"

Dallet's Chapter on the Korean Language

On January 6, 1870, Fr. Féron is in Paris and writes to Dallet, who was already in Rome (Volume 579 ff. 1711-1713). He knows that Dallet wants to include a chapter on the Korean language and is in touch with Fr. (now Bishop) Ridet about this. To Dallet he writes:

“Mr. Guerrin (one of the Directors of the Seminary) tells me that he sent you Bishop Ridel's Korean grammar. Now on the one hand, Mr. Calais (another of the three who escaped in 1866) who saw it there writes to me that it is very defective, to say nothing more, however as it is it must contain good information. On the other hand, taking advantage of your good advice I have developed my work which is already quite considerable.”

Fr. Féron had arrived in Korea in 1857 and had undertaken considerable study and research into the Korean language, whereas Fr. Ridel only arrived in 1861 and had been much less intense in his Korean studies. It is clear that there must have been other exchanges of letters which have not survived, for on January 28, hearing nothing from Dallet, Féron writes again (Volume 579 f. 1722): “As for Mr. Ridel's Korean, naturally you are not in a position to appreciate it, but it is very suspicious: in addition to what Mr. Calais told me, I remember that he communicated to me his table of endings of the verb *hata* and that I corrected a dozen barbarisms, not to mention numerous translation faults and when I asked the Koreans who worked with him how they let words slip through that they knew were not Korean, they answered me: but the Father wants to put them in!... you see then that I am right to be distrustful and that I will not let it be printed without looking closely.”

It was only much later, in July 1873, that Fr. Calais replied (Volume 579 f. 1801) to Dallet's similar request for help, probably sent soon after his arrival in France, if not before, pleading great ignorance: “it would be an indescribable happiness for me to spend myself for the Korean Church, and to give Her all my blood. I praise Your Wisdom and your great prudence in wanting to knock on all doors, before entrusting your knowledge to the printed paper; but after the lights and the abundant sources of Bishop Ridel, and of Mr. Féron, you will find here in all truth, and to my great regret, only a dry cistern; of the three who escaped persecution, I was certainly the least educated about the language and the country; I am the only one of the three who has not devoted serious time to the study of this very difficult language. I repeat, it is to my great and deep regret of not being able to serve this very dear and always loved mission and of not being useful to you, that I declare my incompetence and my ignorance.” Much later, on August 18, 1873, Fr. Calais sent a brief note (Volume 579 f. 1805) explaining a few details about the spelling of Korean.

There is only one chapter in Dallet's *Introduction* that is not based on anything in Daveluy's notes. Chapter 7 on the Korean language includes an extensive account of the Hangeul writing system and the basic Korean grammar. Dallet does not specify who provided the information. We have already seen how Fr. Féron in 1870 mentions that Dallet has received “Fr. Ridel's Grammar” from Fr. Guerrin, a missionary in China who had returned to Paris. On August 14, 1869, Fr. Ridel (already appointed Apostolic Vicar of Korea) wrote from Manchuria to Fr. Lemonnier who was Procurator in Shanghai that he was sending him a small roll to be forwarded to Fr. Rousseille containing notes that Dallet had requested. This might have been about the language. When Dallet published his *History*, he notes at the start of Chapter 7 of the Introduction: “Bishop Ridel, Apostolic Vicar of Korea, and his new confreres have redone, in part, the work (Dictionary and Grammar) of the martyrs their predecessors, and prepared, with the help of some very educated native Christians, a grammar and a dictionary of the Korean language. These works will be published soon, if circumstances permit.” He does not indicate any link between those texts, finally only published in Japan in 1880/1881, and his much shorter chapter.

On January 6 1870 Fr. Féron in Paris wrote to Dallet (who was in Rome as Fr. Féron's letter of February 26 tells us) (IRFA Archive Volume 579 f 1711): “Mr. Guerrin tells me that he sent you Bishop Ridel's Korean grammar. Now on the one hand, Mr. Calais who saw it there writes to me that it is very defective, to say nothing more, however as it is it must contain good information. On the other hand, taking advantage of your good advice I have

developed my work which is already quite considerable. If you were good enough to send me what you have, I believe that something passable could be made from the two. I came to Paris precisely to give myself a little leisure and to complete this work: if I had found Mr. Ridel's work on arrival, it would have given me a good advance."

Dallet did not reply or send him Ridel's text and on January 28, clearly vexed, Féron repeats his request, saying he is leaving Paris for Normandy (IRFA Archive Volume 579 f 1722). On February 26, Féron writes to the Directors of the Paris Seminary (Volume 579 f 1726): "if Mr. Dallet has finally sent from Rome the manuscript of Bishop Ridel, I will want to complete our common work, for the usefulness of future missionaries." There is no further information about all that. Finally, on August 18, 1873, Fr. Calais sends to Dallet a few lines on the Hangeul alphabet, which Dallet seems to have asked him for. On June 8, 1874, Bishop Ridel writes to Dallet about his Dictionary and Grammar, which he feels still need more work. Dallet might have offered to take charge of printing them. When they were finally published in Japan, Bishop Ridel was not named as the author, perhaps indicating some degree of collaboration with other missionaries and maybe some Korean assistants.

Dallet's Introduction

As he is beginning his *Notes for the History* in what is now Volume 4 of his Archive (IRFA Archive 5C-MAR/070 f. 2), Bishop Daveluy mentions what he considers a problem: "We have been strongly urged to mix with the history of the martyrs, some documents on the history and customs of this country. We admit our ignorance on this point which would require separate work that we have neither the time nor the means to carry out. The customs of a country are learned by ear and by eyes. However, our position as men proscribed in this country and the constantly rushed work of the ministry do not allow us to use these two senses. We can see almost nothing for ourselves, cloistered as we are, our relationships are almost never with educated people who could make us aware of customs and customs and, moreover, our relationships even with practicing people are always in passing and as if by stealth. What hope with this of forming a clear and precise idea about this country?"

However, he qualifies this: "We could, if we wish, precede the history with a few words on the ancient dynasties and divisions, then on its current civil and military organization. The few pages that we have translated on the succession of kings and the table of the different mandarins or prefects could, if necessary, provide something, but very dry and very bland. As for the few details on morals that we put down on paper, we do not dare talk about using them, so as not to compromise ourselves."

Dallet disagreed and used those 'few details on morals' together with material drawn from numerous letters by the missionaries to compose the fifteen concise chapters of his *Introduction*, describing multiple aspects of Korean culture and society. Naturally, there were also many aspects which were not covered by any of them. They could not, for example, provide the exact dates for the reigns of Korea's kings. The missionaries had very little contact with educated Koreans who might have provided in-depth information.

Dallet's Other Sources Beyond Daveluy

It is easy to identify the main sections in Dallet's *Histoire* which are not based on Bishop Daveluy's *Notes pour l'Histoire*. They are, first of all, as we have seen, the entire Introduction, 15 chapters filling almost 200 pages devoted to the history, society and culture of Korea. Then comes the opening narrative of the History, covering the Korean-born Christians who suffered martyrdom in Japan in the years before and (mainly) just after 1600. After that, Dallet had almost no sources allowing him to add to what Daveluy had written at

the start of his *Notes* about the impact of Christianity in Korea through books before 1784. As Fr. Féron had noted in 1867, Bishop Gouvea's long letter published in French in London in 1800 provides additional information on the first martyrs. Most of Dallet's account of the Church from 1784 until 1830 follows more or less closely Daveluy's *Notes*.

However, Daveluy's *Notes* are silent from 1830 until 1839 and Dallet is obliged to compose the entire story of the choice of the Foreign Missions Society to take charge of the Korean mission, the journey of Bishop Bruguière, his death, the arrival of Fr. Maubant, Fr. Chastan, Bishop Imbert, the sending away of Fr. Pacific, the choice by Fr. Maubant of three young men to study... He then has Daveluy's detailed account of the 1839 Persecution, based largely on a text written by Bishop Imbert before his arrest and execution. The same martyrs had also been covered by Bishop Ferréol in his *Acts of the Martyrs* compiled in 1846. After the end of that persecution, in 1840, Daveluy's *Notes* end and Dallet is completely on his own until the end of 1866 and beyond, with the death of the nine French missionaries followed by the autumn expedition of Admiral Roze. Finally, he mentions briefly the American attack on the forts of Ganghwa Island in 1871.

Where Daveluy's *Notes* provide a narrative, Dallet usually follows his text reasonably closely, but not always exactly. One minor difference is at once striking. Daveluy always places a Korean Christian's family name before his (French) baptismal name while Dallet always puts the baptismal name first. Daveluy is following Korean usage while Dallet follows the European order, which he probably chose following the model of Bishop Ferréol's *Actes des Martyrs*. The French missionaries usually only knew the family name and baptismal name of their converts, and did not use or write their Korean given names, which were mostly only discovered later, often thanks to the official government records of their trials and execution, or using the Sinitic texts of the 1801 Silk Letter or the 1811 Letter to the Bishop of Peking.

Dallet not only drew on the manuscript letters in the Paris Archive, but also probably on the texts related to Korea he could find published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Publication of this periodical review, destined for the pious general public, had been begun in Lyon in 1822 by L'Œuvre pour la propagation de la foi under the title *Nouvelles reçues des missions*, the title being changed to *Annales* in 1825. Prior to this, the Jesuits had occasionally published *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* to which he also had access. Faced with the need to compose a narrative for those places in which Daveluy failed to provide a basis, Dallet displayed great skill as a compiler, using multiple sources to provide as much information as clearly as possible.

A History Without and With Missionaries

There is a strong contrast between the story told in Dallet's first volume and that found in Volume Two. The first volume, based almost entirely on Daveluy's *Notes*, evokes the story of the Korean Church prior to 1830. The only priest present in Korea at that time was the Chinese Fr. Zhou Wen-mou, from 1795 until 1801, who lived a very hidden life and left no written record. The Church was entirely run by the Korean Christians, who in the early years had included some outstanding scholars of *Yangban* class. Dallet's account of this period includes lengthy quotations from letters and documents written by the Korean martyrs themselves, translated by Daveluy.

Dallet's Volume Two begins in 1830 with preparations for the entry of French missionaries. This period had not been covered by Daveluy. The opening 127 pages of Volume Two are a compilation by Dallet of 25 texts, mostly letters from French missionaries, including almost the entire account which Bishop Bruguière wrote of his arduous journey across China, that was published in the *Annales*. We hear almost nothing from the Korean

Christians. This section covers the arrival of Fathers Maubant and Chastan, followed by Bishop Imbert and the departure of three young Koreans to study for the priesthood in Macao. As the 1839 Persecution begins, Dallet is able once again to follow Daveluy's *Notes pour l'Histoire*, which rely mainly on Bishop Imbert's account of the early stage of the persecution.

Volume 2 Book 3 Chapter 2 is the start of Dallet's compilation covering the history after the end of the 1839 persecution, where he is again left without help from Bishop Daveluy. It begins with the adventures of Andrew Kim Dae-geon prior to his entry into Korea and his return from China across the Yellow Sea with Bishop Ferréol and Fr. Daveluy in 1845. Before it ends with the French expedition to Ganghwa Island in the autumn of 1866, and the American attack of 1871, Dallet has quoted at length from more than seventy letters, almost all of them written by French missionaries.

The result is therefore a very clear difference between Daveluy's narrative in his *Notes pour l'Histoire*, which name multiple individual Koreans, relates their lives and their trials and their deaths, and includes direct quotations from translations of letters or texts written by them, and Dallet's additional missionary-centered section of text, where the individual Koreans often fade into the background and the main focus is on the activities of the French priests and bishops. After the death of Andrew Kim Dae-geon in 1846, almost the only Korean voice heard clearly is that of Father Thomas Choe Yang-eop, and he died of exhaustion in 1861. Details of the 1866 Persecution were limited to a few letters naming those known to have been executed. The publication in 1925 of Bishop Mutel's translations of official court documents for the year 1866 provided much information that was not available to Dallet.

Korea's Church after 1866

When Dallet's work was published in 1874, the situation of the Church in Korea after 1866 was still largely unknown. No missionary had been able to enter and little news had been received from the scattered Christians. A new generation of French missionaries first reached Korea with Fathers Gustave Blanc and Victor Deguet in 1876. Bishop Ridel then returned as Apostolic Vicar late in 1877 but was caught by the authorities early in 1878 and expelled. In 1882 Fr. Blanc was appointed to serve as his coadjutor Bishop, and was able to receive consecration in Nagasaki in 1883. In 1884 Bishop Ridel died in France and Bishop Blanc automatically became the Apostolic Vicar. In June 1886 a treaty was signed between France and Korea which effectively gave *de facto* tolerance to Catholicism and Bishop Blanc had begun to oversee the establishment of the Catholic Church in Korea before dying of typhoid fever in February 1890. It was his successor, Bishop Gustave Mutel, who was responsible for the development of an openly practising Church and before he died in 1933 he had the satisfaction of seeing the Beatification of seventy-nine Korean and French martyrs in Rome in 1925, for which he had worked so hard.