



Healing and Exorcism

Christian Encounters with Shamanism in Early Modern Korea

Many scholars have argued that Anglo-American missionaries destroyed shamanism in the name of Protestant monotheism, Western rationalism, and modern civilization in early modern Korea. However, in the process of confrontational power struggles—between the Christian Holy Spirit and shamanistic “evil spirits,” and between Western germ theory and “superstitious” views of diseases—Anglo-Saxon missionaries accepted a premodern view of demon possession, and many female missionaries practiced Christian exorcist healing rituals in contradiction to their rationalism and the official doctrine of the church on miracle and faith healing. On the other hand, the missionaries’ appreciation of the Koreans’ premodern world view revealed their Christian Orientalism, which regarded Korean religions and spirituality as primitive and obsolete for modern civilization. As a result, paradoxically and liturgically, shamanic spirits were able to exist in the burning of fetishes and exorcism rituals, and shamanism and its spiritism, at the turn of the twentieth century, survived by being included in Protestant missionary discourse on demonology.

KEYWORDS: Korean Christianity—American missionaries—germ theory—Bible women—shamanism—demon possession—exorcism

IN 1890 Horace G. Underwood (1859–1916), the first American clerical missionary to Korea, defined a “witch” as *mudang* 무당 (shaman), *mynyŏ* 무녀 (sorceress), *masyul hanan nyŏp’yŏnnye* 마술하는녀편네 (wretch of magic), and *yosul hanan nyŏp’yŏnnye* 요술하는녀편네 (wretch of witchcraft) in his *English-Korean Dictionary* (UNDERWOOD 1890, 289).¹ Like Confucian *yangban* elites and French Catholic missionaries, Underwood despised the *mudang*, putting their shamanic ceremonies on a par with Western witchcraft and all of its stigmas. He rejected Korean shamanism, just as other Christian missionaries rejected magic and wizardry in different mission fields. In the process of iconoclastic encounters with Korean folk religions, however, Anglo-Saxon missionaries took over the *mudang* role of casting out devils and “evil spirits.” Like French Catholic missionaries, on the one hand North American Protestant missionaries attacked Korean folk religions, and on the other accepted Korean shamanistic belief in the existence of spirits, demon possession, and exorcism (see KIM 1994; WALRAVEN 1998).

The conversion of Koreans to Protestant Christianity, therefore, signified more than a one-way push towards enlightenment, modernization, and the Christianization of centuries-old beliefs. Even though Protestant missionaries attacked shamanism, burned down fetishes and talismans dedicated to household spirits, and inspired people to abandon “superstitious” beliefs and behaviors, many Korean Christians retained their traditional animistic world view. In turn, the biblical literalism and field experiences of Protestant missionaries led them to accept a Christian version of exorcisms, although their rationalism and the constitutions of the churches did not acknowledge miraculous healing in modern times. In this sense, their field experiences overrode their backgrounds in modern science and theology. In the case of Korean shamanism, an overt Christian-modernization nexus went hand in hand with a covert Christian-indigenization nexus.

The syncretistic fusion between shamanism and other world religions was characteristic of Korea’s multi-religious identity, and Protestantism at the turn of the twentieth century was no exception. A major point of contact between shamanism and Protestantism was a kind of power encounter in healing. Korean people lived in fear of constant afflictions from diseases, disasters, and other imminent misfortunes, and believed such phenomena were connected to “evil spirits,” over which they had no efficacious means of control. When people saw that the missionaries’ medicines

could be effective against epidemics like cholera, some joined the church believing that the missionaries had alternate methods of fighting evil spirits unknown to the *mudang*.

According to the traditional shamanistic world view, diseases and disasters were caused by a breakdown in the cosmological harmony between spirits, human beings, and nature. A female mediator, a *mudang*, would perform *kut* ceremonies to repel disasters and call for blessings. For example, a healing ritual, *ulwan kut*, attempted to release the anger of household gods or malevolent spirits of ancestors by appeasing them with sacred dancing and singing, and offering sacrificial food on behalf of the patients and their family members (KENDALL 1985). The ceremony was intended to restore the relationship between spirits and human beings, between the dead and the living, and between the body and the cosmic order. *Mudang* and their clients usually treated the spirits with due respect. Sometimes, however, *mudang* threatened evil spirits in the name of more powerful spirits, using weapons or animal icons. In contrast, a blind *p'ansu*, a male practitioner, cast out demons from the afflicted by chanting incantations borrowed from Daoist and esoteric Buddhist sutras.

The coexistence of female shamans and Daoist/Buddhist male exorcists in dealing with diseases and demon possession represented the highly negotiated and syncretistic nature of Korean religions (J. Y. LEE 1981, 1–10; GRAYSON 1984, 193–94; WALRAVEN 2000, 178–206). Although the private and public spheres were not completely divided, the roles played by Korean folk religions and Confucianism generally clustered in these two fields. Both domestic ancestral veneration and official governmental ceremonies were under the Confucian liturgical hegemony. However, *mudang* and *p'ansu* had spiritual leadership in the private sphere through household *kut* rituals. The privatization of Buddhism and Daoism by *p'ansu* reveals that subordinate religions took root in the private realm via syncretistic ceremonies in order to survive under a dominant religion. The encounter of Christianity and shamanism and the survival of the latter in the former followed a similar pattern.

MISSIONARY ICONOCLASM AGAINST SHAMANISM

One of the features of nineteenth-century evangelical mission theory was iconoclasm. Missionaries condemned traditional Korean beliefs, including shamanism, as idol or demon worship. The missionary attacks on shamanism were rooted in the propounded dichotomies of Christian monotheism against polytheism, and Western rationalism against “superstition.” Missionaries defined “superstition” as “an immense body of traditional belief” lying outside the realm of systematized religions like Confucianism and Buddhism, and comprising “a vast number of gods, demons, and semi-gods, the legacy of centuries of nature worship” (JONES 1891). Missionaries and Korean Christian leaders attributed the prosperity of Anglo-Saxon nations to their belief in one God, and they maintained that the poverty, political weakness, and numerous disasters of Korea were divine punishment

for the continued existence of idol worshippers (*KH*, 14 April 1897 and 23 March 1898; *KS*, 8 July and 6 August 1897; 5 May 1898).

STRICT PROHIBITION OF SPIRIT WORSHIP

The Korea Protestant missions adopted an intolerant stance towards spirit and ancestor worship from the existing policies of the Chinese missions. Vernacular evangelistic tracts railed against the superstitious worship of Buddhist images, Confucian ancestral spirits, Daoist Jade Shangdi, shamanistic spirits, and Roman Catholic icons. This notion of exclusive monotheism, derived from the First and Second Commandments, was incorporated into the baptismal requirements. In 1895 the Presbyterian missions adopted the seven rules set by John L. NEVIUS's *Catechism for the Candidates for Baptism* (NEVIUS 1895, 22a–24a), the “Rules for the native Church in Korea.” The first rule was: “Since the Most High God hates the glorifying and worshipping of spirits, do not follow the custom, even the honoring of ancestral spirits, but worship and obey God alone” (SPEER 1898). Devil worship, ancestor worship, polygamy, and *chusaek chapki* (drunkenness, sensual pleasures, and gambling) were regarded as “enemies of the cross” (REYNOLDS 1899, 464–66). The Methodists set similar rules for the probationers from 1895 when they prepared a catechismal system in Korean.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 sounded the death knell of Sinocentrism, the traditional world view of East Asia. Religiously, the war served as a great conversion tool for Christian missionaries as doubt grew about the effectiveness of traditional spirits and Chinese gods against Japanese spirits and Western gods. Robert E. Speer, who visited Korea in 1897, stated: “Japan’s victory over China made a profound impression in Korea, and made Western civilization and religion more highly esteemed. It also demoralized spirit worshippers, killed the worship of Chinese gods, and cut away some of the remaining props of Buddhism” (SPEER 1897, 7). Samuel A. Moffett (1864–1939) in P’yŏngyang believed that the political and social changes had made it far easier for Koreans “to discard their former superstitions and to neglect the former ceremonies which have now lost much of their importance and significance” (MOFFETT 1895). Missionaries emphasized faith in Christ, who delivered people from fear of the hostile unseen. The message of the powerful Holy Spirit, who provided guidance and empowered believers to fight against the devil’s continuous temptations, appealed to some Koreans who lived in fear of evil spirits. In 1897, *K’ŏrisŭdoin Hoebo*, the Methodist weekly, editorialized that the promise of the fullness of the Holy Spirit at the ascension of Christ was not only for the Jews at the Pentecost, “but also for the Koreans who believe in Jesus” (*KH*, 31 March 1897). Moffett preached the following simple message to people who came to markets: “I am not afraid of your evil spirits.” Many people at the markets, who themselves may have been afraid of evil spirits, stood around him to listen. “I’m not afraid of the spirits,” he went on, “because I know the Great Spirit, Hananim.” The people in the market liked the familiar Korean: “I’m

not afraid of little evil spirits because Hananim loves me,” he continued, “and if he loves me, no other spirit can hurt me. And the proof of his love is that he sent his only son, Jesus, to die for me and save me” (MOFFETT 1990, 17). It was this kind of culturally accommodating message that aided Christian conversion.

During his visit to Methodist churches in China, Korea, and Japan from 1896 to 1898, Bishop Earl Cranston (1840–1932) preached at Sangdong Church in Seoul in October 1898. His topic was the power of the Holy Spirit. “I heard here that there are many people who are afraid of evil spirits. I have never seen the evil doings of evil spirits, but those of evil persons.” He continued, “Why do people do evil things? The devil lets people do those things. What is the Holy Spirit according to the Scriptures? He is the spirit who gives us love and peace and empowers us to do good things” (*KH*, 5 October 1898). In a pastoral letter, Bishop Cranston and Superintendent William B. Scranton (1856–1922) emphasized the importance of the baptism of the Holy Spirit that showed believers the path to heaven and provided them with the power to fight against the devil (*KH*, 2 November 1898). Bishop Davis H. Moore (1838–1915), who sailed to China and resided in Shanghai with jurisdiction over China, Korea, and Japan until 1904, visited P’yongyang in April 1901. He preached that Koreans shared many similarities with the Jewish people: Koreans were the descendents of the Semites according to the books of history; Koreans were of the same race as Jesus; Korean Christians became one body with Jesus, and therefore they should sincerely revere the Heavenly Father (*Sinhak Wölbo*, June 1901, 241–42). His message was well received by the Korean Christians, who believed that in ancient times their ancestors had worshipped only one God, not evil spirits.

BURNING FETISHES AND DESTROYING DEVIL HOUSES

When a Korean decided to believe in the “Jesus doctrine,” she was instructed to burn all fetishes dedicated to household spirits. Sometimes she took them to the edge of the village and threw them as far as they could be thrown. In the eyes of missionaries, new converts needed to cut themselves from the past in a symbolic manner—by destroying the fetishes, which the Christians associated with evil spirits and old beliefs (MOORE 1896; COLLYER 1901; C. A. CLARK 1903; HOUNSHELL 1905; CARROLL 1906; OWEN 1908). When one particular *mudang* in 1899 gave up her sorcery and decided to become a Christian, she gave the “spiritual garment and little brass implements” to female Korean evangelists in P’yongyang (FISH 1899).

When Methodist missionary Charles D. Morris (1869–1927) visited Hyech’ön, near P’yongyang, in 1902, “a Christian burned up all the paraphernalia of his devil worship, and instead of what we destroyed we pasted on the walls of his home the Lord’s Prayer, Apostles’ Creed, and Ten Commandments in the Korean language. Since then regular Sabbath and midweek services have been held in that house” (BFMMEC 1903, 363). In 1905, Methodist missionary Elmer M. Cable (1874–1949), together with his colleague Charles S. Deming, spent a Sunday afternoon

“destroying and burning the fetishes in a number of the homes where the families had decided to become Christians” at Kyodong, Kanghwa Island (BFMMEC 1906, 326–27). New converts often transferred ideas from old belief systems onto Christianity, including the idea that Christianity simply had more powerful magic, with its own talismans and spirits. Evidence of remnant animistic ideas can be found in the hybrid belief that a piece of a Christian leaflet or a copy of the gospel, which had the smell of Western ink and contained the “Jesus doctrine,” could be a powerful talisman. Such believers put copies of the gospel under the fetishes to cast out their evil influence when they burned the fetishes.

Methodist missionary Ella A. Lewis, who came to Korea in 1891, experienced a typical case of a burning ceremony in December 1905. With a Korean Bible woman,² Miss Lewis visited many Christian homes in Suwŏn. She listened to stories “well worth hearing of their zeal in the devil’s cause, and how he had tortured them when they gave up his service.” She witnessed the tearing down and destroying of fetishes, and visited “three people who were said to be possessed with demons.” In the village of Changjaenaec, she taught women at a Bible class and visited several neighboring villages with them, and helped “make way with more fetishes.” This time quite a crowd gathered to see the performance. Martha, the wife of Pak the patriarch, took the lead; she called for a gourd, took down a double bag from the wall, emptied the rice into it, and handed it back, saying “This is enough for your evening meal”; then she went out to a corner of the yard and pulled down a little straw roof which covered a crock half-filled with barley chaff (the rats had eaten the grain). She emptied this in the fireplace and burned the whole chaff. The woman of the house called out that there were more fetishes in the closet, being a little afraid to bring them out herself. Pak’s wife lost no time in doing so and revealed a basket of summer garments. She tore off the parts that had been nibbled by mice and threw them in the fire (LEWIS 1906). Then the Christian women sang “I Need Thee Every Hour” (*Ch’anmiga* [hymn book], #91)³ and another hymn, “My Soul be on Thy Guard” (*Ch’anmiga*, #90), believing that these hymns had great power over evil spirits. After prayer and another hymn, Miss Lewis delivered a short sermon and emphasized: “We will have no gods but one.” Then she moved on to another house, where they performed the same ceremony. In 1906 a large number of women had been persuaded by Sarah, a Korean Bible woman, “to destroy the various things in their houses connected with devil worship,” and now when they were sick it was an established custom to send for a Bible woman to pray with and for them instead of sending for a *mudang* (BIBLE COMMITTEE OF KOREA 1906, 27).

Sometimes Christians destroyed idols, pictures, and fetishes in the shrines. In 1897 a group of Presbyterians in Seoul saw a few blind sorcerers in a shrine revering a statue of Buddha and some pictures of spirits. The Christians exhorted sorcerers not to be the servants of the devil but to be the worshippers of God. The sorcerers, fearing the wrath of the gods, hesitated to destroy the images. Thus, with their consent, Christians broke the statues in one blow and burned all the pictures.

They encountered another shrine on their way home. Several women were bowing before the pictures of a Buddha, Buddhist gods, and spirits, and *mudang* were dancing. They preached the message of repentance and salvation to the women. They pointed out that the government also prohibited people from performing superstitious ceremonies. The sorceresses were “quite at a loss and begged to be saved.” The Christians tore down all the pictures and burned them (*KH*, 21 July 1897).

A similar incident happened in Seoul on 18 July 1897. Some Christians went to *Namsan* (South Mount) and entered Kuksadang, a semi-official shrine of shamanism, which enshrined the picture of T’aejo Taewang, the first king of Chosŏn, and many other pictures of spirits.⁴ They called the owner of the temple and explained to him the evil of spirit worship. As he agreed, Christians took down all the pictures and burned them except that of T’aejo Taewang.⁵ *Tongnip Sinmun* praised them for doing their civic duty (*Tongnip Sinmun*, 27 July 1897).⁶ The year of 1897 was the acme of the enlightenment movement, which emboldened some Christians to invade the shrines and destroy the icons of spirits (*Tongnip Sinmun*, 19 August 1897).

WESTERN MEDICINE AND GERM THEORY DEFEAT EVIL SPIRITS

Western medicine and missionary discourse on hygiene crusaded against Korean ideas concerning fate and superstitions, which held that diseases were caused by the “entering” of *kwishin*—bad spirits—into the body, and that their “leaving” or “going out” meant curing and healing (*KS*, 9 December 1897; ALLEN 1908, 203–204). “Koreans attributed every ill by which they are afflicted to demonical influence” (BISHOP 1898, 405). People believed that *kwishin* caused malaria, typhoid, smallpox, cholera, measles, and the like. Smallpox was so frequent that it was called *mama* (your majesty) or *sonnim* (guest).⁷ Both smallpox *kwishin* and measles *kwishin* were raised to the status of gods and worshipped in shamanic rites. A principal income source for *mudang* was the *mama-baesong-kut* (a ceremony for sending off the smallpox spirit). Also, indicating the influence of geomancy, many people believed that some diseases and misfortune were related to the inauspicious site of a house or ancestor’s tombs.

Missionary doctors competed with local sorceresses as well as herbal doctors for the medical market. Many Koreans became interested in Christianity through the treatment of their diseases by Western medicine and surgical skills. Christians advised their neighbors to see a great Western physician rather than a sorcerer. In 1897 Dr. E. Douglass Follwell, who had been sent to P’yŏngyang in 1895, met a man who was suffering from emphysema. He had spent twenty Japanese yen for sorceresses to heal his disease. The sorceresses said his trouble had come because his father and mother were buried in poor ground, and not until their remains were removed to a better location would the disease abate. He did as they told him, spending a large sum of money, but the disease grew worse. At last, after all his resources were exhausted, a friar told him if he came to P’yŏngyang the foreign doctor might heal him. Dr. Follwell performed a surgical operation; the man left in good health and with a public

confession of faith in Jesus Christ (BFMMEC 1897, 244). In 1901 there was a case concerning a *mudang* in Suwŏn who had failed to cure her own sick child for three years. She finally brought the child to Severance Hospital in Seoul where the boy soon recovered. She became not only a believer but also a voluntary evangelist in her village, converting all of her family members and gathering together a Christian congregation of seven women and six men (*KS*, 2 January 1902).

Germ theory was an especially effective weapon in destroying people's belief in the dominion of evil spirits over diseases. The first thing missionary doctors emphasized was boiling water to kill invisible *migyun* (bacterium). They taught that drinking contaminated water caused diarrhea, dysentery, cholera, malaria, indigestion, fever, and so on (WELLS 1907, 5–12, 61–62). There were several cholera epidemics in Korea at the turn of the century. In the summer of 1886, cholera swept through the country. The government did not take proper precautionary measures and those who fell ill were uncared for. “Booths were erected, at considerable expense, about the city, and the cholera god was prayed to. Battalions of soldiers fired off charge after charge to scare him out of the palace grounds” (ALLEN 1886, 5). Koreans called cholera *chwit'ong* (rat-pain, rats) believing that the rat spirit brought the disease, and the afflicted *hoyoltcha* (tiger-torn people). Dr. John W. Heron formulated “cholera medicine,” composed of sulphuric acid, opium, camphor, and capsicum, and the officers of the government hospital (Chejungwŏn) distributed it to the people who came there for treatment, as many as a hundred a day (HERON 1886). However, in Seoul alone more than six thousand bodies were carried out for burial in two months (ALLEN 1908, 207).

When cholera reached Seoul in 1895, the government let Dr. Oliver R. Avison (1860–1956) take responsibility for the government cholera hospital. Many foreign doctors and missionaries volunteered to assist in this work and tried to enforce sanitary regulations and disseminate germ theory to reduce the number of victims. The plague wiped out five thousand people in Seoul and its vicinities in a few months. The missionary staff saw as many as two thousand cases at the hospital and the shelter. Because people believed that cholera was caused by the rat spirit's entrance into the body, they posted pictures of cats on the front doors of their houses. Dr. Avison and his staff prepared large posters, which began: “Cholera is *not* caused by an evil spirit. It is caused by a very small particle of living matter called a germ” (CLARK 1979, 106). Proclamations were posted on the walls of the city gates, telling people to go to the Christian hospital. When the plague was over, the government sent a letter of gratitude to the missions. The hospital work of the committed missionaries and their extreme emphasis on “the germ” both helped the choleric victims and the publicity campaign against animistic ideas tied to disease (LEE 1896, 866; UNDERWOOD 1904, 136–45).

Cholera swept through the country again in 1902. Although some of the most fervent Christians perished, they demonstrated their heroism and faith even at death. “The heroism with which the Christian met the disease was in strong contrast with the terror that it inspired among the non-Christian communities. Frequently our

people died with a prayer or a word of exhortation on their lips” (BFMMEC 1906, 361). At the same time, Christian women gave the following types of testimonies: “Formerly we believed that evil spirits were angry with people and sent the scourge of cholera as a punishment; but this year the doctor preachers have taught us that it is little insects that get into the water, enter our bodies, and destroy the body; they have no power over the soul.” Another testified: “We know that Satan, going about among us, is more to be dreaded than any cholera germs. I pray to God that we may be as diligent in escaping from sin as we tried to be in cholera time” (NOBLE 1903). When Western medical science was able to kill the cholera germs, it eased the minds of Korean converts who no longer felt they were being punished by spirits or helpless in the face of disease. The fear of evil spirits was replaced by the fear of Satan, and germs were painted as physically and spiritually microscopic.

The cholera scourge in 1903 opened up opportunities for “the Jesus doctrine” and missionary doctors to challenge the Koreans’ belief in the power of shamanistic spirits. As Dr. William B. McGill (1859–1918) stated, “The doctors in Korea are holding the tail of the cow while the missionaries are sucking the milk” (GRIERSON 1904). Medical missions had prepared the soil for more than a decade, and evangelistic missions could now gather converts. Missionaries presented Jesus as “the divine physician” who was able to cure the disease of not just the body, but also the soul (VINTON 1896). Jones stated:

Nevertheless, missionaries were well aware of the duration of the shamanistic idea of spirituality, even after the destruction of the visible fetishes. The force which shamanism opposes to the Korean Christian is negative rather than positive. A Korean will early throw away the absurd fetishes which adorn his home and come to regard with intense disgust the superstition he once held; but he finds himself for a time almost unable to rise to the spiritual conceptions and ideas which are the very essence of Christianity. (JONES 1895, 149)

Missionaries emphasized that it was not human effort but the help of the Holy Spirit that could overcome the power of evil spirits. The power encountered between the Holy Spirit and evil spirits, which will be discussed later, and the defeat of the latter led many Koreans to turn to Christianity. The shamanistic views on spirits and demon possession made a point of contact with the biblical view of these concepts.

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY STUDIES OF KOREAN SHAMANISM

Starting in 1894, Protestant missionaries began to use “shamanism” as a general term to describe all Korean folk religions.⁸ Here I track down the genealogy of this neologism of North American missionaries who pioneered the semi-scientific study of Korean religions, and focused on folk religions. Missionaries began to use the single term “shamanism” to refer to the various folk beliefs and religions. They also used other popular terms such as superstitious fetishism, devil/demon/spirit worship, animism, and sorcery, in order to replace “backward and primitive”

Korean religions with Protestant Christianity. It therefore is not surprising that in the missionaries' discourse, shamanism emerged as a significant "other."

In the Protestant missionary circle, the barely explored terrain of Korean shamanism was mostly mapped by five missionary scholars of Korean studies—George H. Jones, an American Methodist minister; Eli B. Landis, an American Episcopalian medical doctor; James S. Gale, a Canadian Presbyterian minister; Homer B. Hulbert, an American educator and journalist; and Horace G. Underwood, the first American Presbyterian clerical missionary to Korea. The following comparison of their discourses and definitions of the terms "shamanism," "shaman," *kut* (a shaman's ritual performance), and various "spirits" will demonstrate the missionary origins of Korean shamanism.

GEORGE HEBER JONES

Jones (1867–1919) began his work in Seoul in 1888 as one of the youngest missionaries.⁹ When he was teaching at Paejae School from 1888 to 1893, he studied Korean language, culture, and history with a Korean teacher, Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn, who became one of the first *yangban* Christians in 1893.¹⁰ Jones was appointed to Chemulpo as a pioneer missionary to the port city in 1892. He edited the *Korean Repository* from 1895 and by 1900 had become one of the foremost scholars on Korea. He was regarded as the authority on Korean shamanism in 1901 (HULBERT 1901b, 269). He founded *Sinhak Wŏlbo* (A biblical and church monthly) in 1900, and he returned to the US in 1909. As 1910 was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Korea Mission, he campaigned for "the Korea Quarter-Centennial Movement" until March 1912, and was appointed secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He taught mission studies as a visiting professor at Boston University School of Theology and at other universities (WHITE 1922, 263; NOBLE 1919, 146).

His early study of Korean folk religions was influenced by French Catholic missionaries' terminology such as demonolatry, demon worship, exorcism, and superstition, and their notion of "no religion" (DALLET 1874, ch. XI). For a female shaman *mudang* he used the term "witch," which appeared in Underwood's dictionary.¹¹ Jones emphasized the phenomenon of "pagan toleration" or syncretism in Korean religions. In 1892 he established a new mission station at Chemulpo and worked among the people in the port and on Kanghwa Island, and his direct contact with these people acquainted him with their shamanic practices. He argued that the belief that household gods dwelled in the fetishes was the religion of Korean homes (JONES 1892).

In 1894 Jones began to use the term "shamanism" and focused more on household gods and fetishes. His basic understanding of shamanism was that it was a form of "nature worship" and "demon worship," and his attitude was that of a triumphant power encounter. He viewed the Korean term *kwishin* (spirit) to be equivalent to the Greek term *daimon* (demon) (JONES 1894). In 1895 Jones

asserted that Confucianism and shamanism were entrusted with different roles in the realm of Korean religious life. Because Confucianism ignored “the divine and supernatural side of religion” and reduced it to a series of regulations to govern human relationships, Koreans found spiritual fulfillment in “the system of spirit worship which is technically known as shamanism.” Confucianism took charge of morality and shamanist spirituality. Thus when a Korean man turned to Christianity, he had to cope not only with “opprobrium and scorn among friends” and “violent opposition of family and relatives,” but also his mental and spiritual shackles. Jones was concerned with shamanism’s negative influence on Korean Christians. Jones believed that only divine help could break Koreans’ mental and spiritual shackles and make them “free men of God” (JONES 1895, 146–49).

In 1901 Jones classified the spirits of Korean nature worship as “the shaman pantheon.” He did not pay much attention to the content (dance, prayers, and songs) of the ceremonies of *mudang*, nor female *mudang* and male *p’ansu* themselves. He listed seventeen spirits: his eyes moved from the outside shrines dedicated to the spirits (Obang Changgun, Sinjang, Sansin, Sunghwangdang, Tojijisin, Chonsin, Toggaebi, Sagwi, and Dragon) to the household gods dwelling in the fetishes in the house (Sungju, Toju, Upju, Kulip, Munhojisin, Yoksin, Cheung, and Samsin). “This is the religion of the Korean home and these gods are found in every house ... their ubiquity is an ugly travesty of the omnipresence of God” (JONES 1901, 58). He particularly mentioned “the ritual of exorcism” in relation to *toggaebi*, which was “a counterpart of the Western ghosts” that haunted “execution grounds, battlefields, and the scene of murder and fatal disaster.” He believed that *toggaebi* stories or *toggaebi* folktales were a feature of Korean shamanism. Regarding *ŭpju* (a snake spirit in charge of the fortune of the family), he argued, “This is the symbol of one of the cardinal features of shamanism, namely luck,” and compared the Christian idea of blessing with the lower level of luck in shamanism (JONES 1901, 58).¹²

Jones regarded shamanism as the real religion of the Korean people, but criticized its lack of strict morality. He argued that Confucianism, Buddhism, and shamanism coexisted for ordinary Koreans, overlapping and even deeply interpenetrating. Buddhism accepted Confucian ethics while absorbing shamanism. In turn, shamanism freely accepted the transcendental objects of Confucianism and Buddhism. What was lacking in shamanism was the ethical dimension. Although Koreans theoretically distinguished the three, in practice they believed in all of them. A Korean man received a Confucian education but sent his wife to a Buddhist temple to pray for descendants; if he became ill he often sought out a shaman or soothsayer. A Korean attained happiness through the combined help of these three religions. Shamanism was the oldest and most dominant religion in Korea, and spirit worship and fetishism were at its core. Jones asserted that Koreans were very religious because they had a tendency to spiritualize all natural things, they had a sense of dependence on an existence superior to themselves, and they had established an inter-communicative dimension between humans and spiritual entities. He appreciated this spirituality of Korean shamanism, which was able to pave the way for the Christian idea of divine-human communion (JONES 1901, 37–41; 1908, 11).

ELI BARR LANDIS

Landis (1865–1898), a medical doctor and graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, joined Bishop Corfe’s Korea Mission of the Church of England in 1890, and worked in Chemulpo until he died of typhoid in 1898. “From the day of his landing till his death, he gave himself up to his medical work and to studying the Chinese and Korean languages and the people of the country, their history, customs, beliefs, and lines of thought” (JRASGBI 1898). With diligent studying, he became proficient in Korean history, folklore, and religions. He had a background as a member of the Church of England, which had an exorcism ministry tradition, and he soon became interested in Korean shamanism and its healing ceremonies.¹³

In 1895 Landis claimed that Japanese Shintoism was a development of Korean shamanism.¹⁴ The major difference was “whereas in Japan the exorcist is a Shinto priest, in Korea a woman is the chief actor in the scene.” Landis classified thirty-six spirits of shamanism into three categories (LANDIS 1895). This was the first comprehensive classification of the spirits of Korean shamanism. Of those in the third category, most were wandering spirits of the dead who died of tragic accidents or social injustice. In many cases a *mudang* was invited to conduct an exorcism ceremony for spirits in turmoil.¹⁵ Landis classified two types of *mudang*—the possessed (destined) and the hereditary (educated). As he lived in Chemulpo, he could see both types because the possessed *mudang* were prevalent in the area north of the Han River, and the hereditary ones in the south. He was also aware of *yang-ban mudang*, who practiced only for the higher-class families (LANDIS 1895, 404). Landis was the first missionary to describe the sickness of a *mudang* during the initiation period. The process of becoming an exorcist was as follows: (1) possession by the spirits and sickness; (2) dreams of peach trees, a rainbow, a dragon, or a man in armor; (3) oracles; (4) an announcement in the name of three messengers from heaven, earth, and lightning; (5) an offering of flowers; (6) obtaining the clothes of a deceased sorceress; (7) exorcism of the donor’s house; (8) obtaining rice at neighboring houses; (9) writing names on a tablet and placing them in a little house to invoke blessings; and (10) going to other houses to exorcise them.

JAMES S. GALE

Gale (1863–1937) arrived in Korea in 1888 as a volunteer missionary of the YMCA of the University of Toronto. He joined the Korea Mission of the PCUSA (Presbyterian Church, USA) in 1891. He married the widowed Mrs. Heron in Seoul in 1892. The couple then moved to Wŏnsan, an open port on the East Sea. In 1895 two Korean families became Christians because they heard that the name of Jesus was sufficient to save every believer from the attacks of evil spirits. Gale said, “The idea of possession and demon influence has a great place here in life. The Tonghaks, who had raised such a commotion in the south last year, professed to have power to cast out devils, and that was one cause of their popularity. We rejoice that the name of Jesus is sufficient” (GALE 1895, 230).

From 1893 Gale used the terms “*kouisin* (*kwishin*) worship,” “devil worship,” or “spirit worship.” He believed that *mudang* were sorcerers, and that their ceremony represented a sacrifice to a demon or unclean spirits (GALE 1893 and 1894). Before the Wönsan station was transferred to the Canadian Presbyterian Church in 1899, GALE published his first book, *Korean Sketches*, in 1898. He differentiated between *p’ansu*, a blind fortune-teller, and *mudang*, a sorceress (GALE 1898, 73–81). In Wönsan, when a family converted to Christianity through the work of a Korean Christian, they gathered “their idols of demon worship and piled them in a heap in the middle of the room.” There were paper gods, rolls of cotton goods, embroidered garments, and trinkets that had been given in sacrifice to evil spirits. “With this gruesome heap between us we bowed in prayer and gave the home up to the Saviour.” Gale carried the bundle home with him and kept it “as evidence of Koreans turning from idols” (GALE 1899).

In 1900 Gale moved back to Seoul and introduced a new monotheistic meaning of Hananim. Hananim was a supreme “god of Heaven” in Korean shamanism, but Gale claimed that Hananim was the “One Great One” whose etymology came from *hana* (one), and not from *hanäl* (heaven). He adopted this new meaning from a Korean man named Chu, who argued that the Christian God and the traditional Korean Hananim were identical (GALE 1900). According to Chu, what was added was not the idea of monotheism, but the unconditional and sacrificial love of God. But Gale highlighted the monotheistic etymology of Hananim, which became the view of the Protestant missionaries.

In his book *Korea in Transition*, Gale again emphasized that many Korean converts believed in Jesus as the great exorcist and “wonder-worker.” Many missionaries also came to believe, after consistently performing exorcisms, that “there are demons indeed in the world; and that Jesus can cast them out; to learn once more that the Bible is true, and that God is back of it; to know that his purpose is to save Asia, and to do an important part of the work” (GALE 1909, 89). They were now on a mission, not only to “save” the Koreans, but also to drive out existing “demons” in the form of forcefully dismantling shamanistic practices.

In 1913 Gale translated and published *Korean Folk Tales: Imps, Ghosts, and Fairies*. He mentioned Daoism as a major religious background to the stories, although many others were related to Buddhism, Confucianism, and shamanism. The story “Ten Thousand Devils” describes how the devils were under the control of a poor male hermit, and “The Honest Witch” showed that a true *mudang* could bring out the spirit of a dead friend of a magistrate (GALE 1913, 104–110; 125–29).

HOMER B. HULBERT

Hulbert (1863–1949) graduated from Dartmouth College in 1884, and New York Union Theological Seminary in 1886. He arrived in Seoul in 1886 with two other Americans, Dalzell A. Bunker and George W. Gilmore. These three served as teachers at the government college Yugyöng Kongwön. Hulbert was then appointed as a Methodist missionary in 1893. He edited the *Korean Repository* from

1896 to 1898 and the *Korea Review* from 1901 to 1906. He was deeply involved in Korean studies and politics. Emperor Kojong appointed Hulbert as a secret envoy to the United States to protest the illegality of the Japanese Protectorate Treaty in 1905. The Japanese government forced him to leave Korea in 1907.

Concerning “shamanistic superstitions,” in 1895 Hulbert wrote, “The existence and immanence of supernatural beings corresponding to the old Greek idea of the demon is an article of firm belief to the ordinary Korean.” He found that “the most prominent idea in connection with these superstitions is the idea of luck. Lucky days, lucky hours, and lucky moments; lucky quarters, lucky combinations, lucky omens; luck or ill-luck in everything.” Like Jones, Hulbert regarded the ubiquitous idea of luck among the people as a serious obstacle to Christianity (HULBERT 1895, 71–72).

In 1897 Hulbert began to publicize cases of demon possession and reported cases of exorcism through the prayers of Korean Christians (HULBERT 1897 and 1901a). In 1899 he stated that because Koreans belonged to a different intellectual and imaginative species than the Chinese or Japanese, in the realm of religion Korea had not committed itself to either materialistic Confucianism or mystical Buddhism. “In other words, when a Korean makes any genuine religious demonstration, he reverts to his aboriginal shamanism, though it be thinly veiled behind a Buddhistic cowl” (HULBERT 1899, 218–219). Hulbert thought that spiritual shamanism helped Koreans maintain a balance between materialistic Confucianism and mystical Buddhism. Thus he insisted that Korea’s real religion was shamanism, though it was mixed with Buddhism.

In 1903 Hulbert misunderstood the writing of *mudang* in Chinese characters as 巫黨 (deceiving crowd), and correctly defined *p’ansu* as 判數 (decider of destiny). He viewed *mudang* as a sort of medium who could move the spirits through her friendship with them, but a *p’ansu* as an exorcist rather than a medium. The service most in demand was driving out the spirits of diseases. But why should spirits torment people in this way? Hulbert’s answer was that there were “hungry” spirits (HULBERT 1903a). He argued that in the exorcism or propitiation of the spirits, “the most malignant spirits of all are the disembodied souls of those who have met a violent death or who have been grievously wronged and have died without obtaining revenge.” Before these spirits could “get rest,” argued Hulbert, they “must be laid” by the ceremonies of *mudang* (HULBERT 1903b). Hulbert acknowledged the *mudang*’s role in healing diseases through various ceremonies such as a disease *kut*, a *mama paesong kut* (a ceremony for sending away the spirit of smallpox), or a *kut* for sending away the soul of the dead. His idea that the troubled spirits of those who died a sudden death or a death of injustice should be “laid” and “get rest” was an important advancement in the missionaries’ studies of shamanism and its social role in Korean society.

In his book *The Passing of Korea*, Hulbert remarked, “As a general thing, we may say that the all-round Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophizes, and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble”

(HULBERT 1906, 403). This was one of the best summaries by a missionary of the multi-religious condition in Korea.¹⁶ The “mosaic of religious beliefs” that was held not only by different individuals but also by any single individual, he argued, demonstrated the antiquity of Korean civilization. Hulbert concluded that “the underlying religion of the Korean, the foundation upon which all else is mere superstructure, is his original spirit worship,” since one’s practical religion would come out when an individual was in trouble. Hulbert included animism, shamanism, fetishism, and nature worship in the category of spirit worship. Philosophical Buddhism and political Confucianism, he asserted, “eventually blended with the original spirit worship in such a way to [*sic*] form a composite religion.” He added, “Strange to say, the purest religious notion which the Korean today possesses is the belief in Hananim, a being entirely unconnected with either of the imported cults and as far removed from the crude nature-worship” (HULBERT 1906, 403–404). Hulbert separated Hananim from the circle of the other various gods and indigenous spirits because he felt that ancient Koreans were “strictly monotheistic” in their belief in him. Hulbert supported the Protestant missionaries’ identification of Hananim with Jehovah. Like Gale, Hulbert invented Hananim as a Christian term based on the idea of “primitive monotheism” and fulfillment theory (OAK 2002, 56–61; 2009, 41–50).

HORACE G. UNDERWOOD

Underwood (1859–1916) arrived in Seoul in April 1885 as the first Presbyterian clerical missionary to Korea. He did not distinguish shamanism from Daoism, and called the former “demonism” for a decade. He did not use the term “shamanism” until 1905. He repeated that Korea was a land without a religion in the sense that all religions were degraded. Buddhism, Confucianism, and demonism seemed to be losing their power over people. In 1893 he declared that “a kind of mental revolution seems to be in progress throughout the land,” and that the time had come to hear the voice of God saying to his Church, “Go work today in my vineyard in Korea” (H. G. UNDERWOOD 1892). This was a declaration of spiritual war against the Korean religions.

Underwood expounded on Korean shamanism in his seminal work *The Religions of Eastern Asia*. Like Landis, he compared the historical path of Korean shamanism with that of Japanese Shintoism. As Buddhism entered Korea in the fourth century, before shamanism developed into an organized religion, the latter became subordinated to the former, even without temples and an organized priesthood. In contrast, Buddhism entered Japan from Korea in the sixth century after nature worship had developed into Shintoism and both were synchronized (H. G. UNDERWOOD 1910, 95).

Underwood argued that Korea had a pure monotheism before the entrance of Buddhism. He found that the religion of the state of Puyō in Manchuria and northern Korea was “the worship of the heavens, and *absolutely no mention of any other spirits or lesser deities is made*” (italics in author’s original version). It was Kija who came in the year 1122 BCE to Korea and introduced “geomancy, sorcery,

divination, and spirit worship” to the Korean people. In the Tan’gun legend, he argued, “there is a strong probability of a primitive pure monotheism” (H. G. UNDERWOOD 1910, 104–106). He adopted the terms “monotheism” or “henotheism” to describe the original shamanistic beliefs of the Korean people.

Underwood, however, was very critical toward the doctrine and pantheon of contemporary shamanism. The shrines were mutually independent, and consequently the doctrines held by one sorceress differed from those of others. The main belief system of Korean shamanism was a polytheism that had originated from nature worship: (1) belief in Hananim, his supremacy and providence; (2) belief in the efficacy of the *Sam shin*, the “three Gods” of childbearing; (3) belief in local deities, whose chief was the *Obang changgun* (Five-point general); (4) belief in a host of other deities; and (5) belief in the ghosts or spirits of the dead. Underwood claimed that the gods of shamanism had “wandered from their old monotheism and even to a certain extent from the pure henotheism of later times.” He accepted the theory of the degradation of Korean religions and their fulfillment through Christianity (H. G. UNDERWOOD 1910, 114).

Underwood was interested in the methods of worship in shamanism. He argued that the worship of the Heavens was “a remnant of an ancient henotheism.” Thus in “all the worship of the Heavens, the *mudangs* and *p’ansus* are not allowed to participate in their official capacities.” Underwood accepted Hulbert’s definition of a *mudang* as a female sorcerer or “deceiving crowd,” and *p’ansu* as an exorcist and “destiny decider” or fortune-teller. Yet Underwood still called them “witch” and “wizard” in a broader sense (H. G. UNDERWOOD 1910, 140–41). He noticed that a *mudang* was always female, generally from the lower classes and of a bad reputation. She was considered to be a sort of spiritual medium, capable of rapport with the spirits, and able to be possessed. However, such possessions were preceded by a series of incantations and rituals and a sort of self-hypnotism in which the *mudang*, having by her performances thrown herself into a trance (pretended or real), became the mouthpiece of the deity. Underwood claimed that the *mudang* had nothing to do with divination; her chief business was the healing of the sick through the *kut* ceremony (H. G. UNDERWOOD 1910, 115–35).

The Protestant missionaries in Korea began to use the term “shamanism” in 1894. Aside from H. G. Underwood and a few others, most of them accepted the term around 1900. Thus we can say that there were individual differences in their understanding and definition of Korean shamanism. Overall, their rationalistic iconoclasm, millennialism, revivalism, and theory of religious degradation consistently projected the negative aspects of Korean shamanism. They paid much attention to the house gods and fetishes, and one of their main concerns was the negative influence of shamanism on Korean Christians.

Most missionaries understood the *kut* as a ritual of “inducement offering” to the spirits, and some *kut*, including those of *p’ansu*, as ceremonies for the exorcism of evil spirits, wandering spirits, or disease spirits from the victims. The Korean *kwishin* was identified with the Greek *daimon* used in the New Testament. The

spirits were good, bad, or indifferent, but most were evil, unclean, malicious, hungry, and sometimes revengeful. However, some of the spirits, especially household spirits related to prosperity and fertility, were regarded as good or kind.

After a decade of missionary work in Korea, the missionaries were well versed in the religion of Korea and the role they served in society. The Tonghak Uprising and the Sino-Japanese War provided them with opportunities to experience the multiplicity of the religious identity of the Korean people. When the missionaries were allowed to enter the *sarangbang* (a room for male guests) and *anbang* (an inner room for women), they began to perceive the tenets of shamanism and its importance in everyday life. When D. L. Gifford saw the “superstitions” of Koreans “in a spirit of sympathy” and from “their angle of vision,” he confessed that he could understand that “the fear of demons is the cause of frequent and intense mental suffering” (GIFFORD 1898, 118).

Behind these Protestant missionaries’ encounters with a very different religion, however, there was a hidden process of transformation in their theology and world view. They identified the supreme god of shamanism, Hananim, of primitive monotheism, with the biblical God. They also accepted the Korean shamanistic idea of spirits, demon possession, and exorcism which was similar to that of the New Testament Palestine. (The next section deals with the Christian practice of exorcism in detail.) Although the female missionaries did not contribute substantially to the academic study of Korean shamanism, their practice of burning the fetishes and exorcism had a great influence on the lives of Korean women who lived with shamanistic spirits every day.

On the other hand, paradoxically shamanic spirits were able to find a dwelling place in the Protestant missionaries’ discourses on shamanism. In the same way that shamanism and its rituals continued to function by being incorporated into the Confucian scholars’ discourses on spirits and liturgical hegemony during the Chosŏn period, so too did shamanism and its spiritism at the turn of the twentieth century survive by being included in the Protestant missionaries’ discourses on demonology.¹⁷ During the colonial period, shamanism survived in a similar manner in Japanese scholars’ discourse concerning the highly developed nature of Japanese Shinto versus “primitive” Korean shamanism. Japanese ethnologists justified colonial rule by expounding on the superiority of Japanese Shinto over Korean superstitious shamanism (WALRAVEN 1999, 224). A further study on the continuity in the logic of assaulting shamanism by Neo-Confucian *yangban* elites, Protestant missionaries, and Japanese ethnologists, would reveal an important aspect of the history of Korean religions.

DEMON POSSESSION AND CHRISTIAN EXORCISM: NEVIUS AND DEMON POSSESSION IN SHANDONG

John L. Nevius, who worked in China from 1854 to 1892, had experienced cases of demon possession from the beginning of his work in Shandong. He was absorbed by the question of whether demon possession still existed in the

later nineteenth century. He had carefully investigated these cases and gathered the facts and testimony of missionaries and Chinese Christians on the incidents in which they expelled spirits and set the victims free. The result was his posthumous book, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*. Not only was the “Nevius Method” adopted by the Korean missions, but his theory of demon possession and Christian exorcism also influenced the missionaries in Korea. The people of Shandong Province fully believed in demon possession; the belief was a part of Chinese animism or spirit worship. Physical suffering and violent paroxysms attended the victims’ ordeal. When the narratives of demonic possession given in the New Testament were read, therefore, Chinese Christians recognized the correspondence at once. Nevius and other missionaries proceeded with great caution in this matter. As Secretary F. F. Ellinwood said in the preface of the book,

They have avoided any measures which might lead the people to suppose that they claim the power to cast out devils even in Jesus’ name. Nor does it appear that any native minister has claimed any such power. The most that has been done has been to kneel down and pray to Jesus to relieve the sufferer, at the same time inviting all present to unite in the prayer; and it seems a well established fact that in nearly or quite every instance, the person afflicted, speaking apparently in a different personality and with a different voice, had confessed the power of Jesus and has departed. (NEVIUS 1896, v)

Nevius argued that cases of demon possession actually existed in China. He describes those supposedly cured by Chinese Christians, not by the old methods that exorcists had used such as burning charms, frightening with magic spells and incantations, or pricking the body with needles, but by singing hymns and praying to God. Some missionaries testified that they felt themselves “transported back to the days of the Apostles” and were “compelled to believe that the dominion of Satan is by no means broken yet” (NEVIUS 1896, 71). Nevius insisted that the phenomenon on demon possession could be explained not by contemporary evolutionary and psychological theories, but only by the Bible. In 1930 Charles A. Clark mentioned Nevius’s book on demon possession:

Exorcism of evil spirits by Christian workers caused much discussion and divided opinion among the missionaries and the church workers. It is mentioned in the 1895 *Report about Wönsan* particularly. Dr. Nevius could have found much more material in Korea for his book on demon possession. (CLARK 1930, 99)

The aforementioned controversy occurred in the early 1920s when Rev. Kim Iktu healed various cases of chronic diseases by prayer at revival meetings (MIN 1984, 411–14). But before the debate in the 1920s, many reports of miraculous healings and exorcism occurred at the turn of the century.

CHRISTIAN EXORCISM IN KOREA

As mentioned above by Clark, James S. Gale reported the prevalence of demon possession in Wönsan in 1895. His work was interrupted by the “special development of spirit worship, or rather of demoniacal possessions.” People came to him complaining that “the quiet of their households was disturbed by nocturnal visitations of spirits.” Many were possessed by demons. In all such cases exorcists plied their trade. “To the people,” said Gale, “these demons are as real as the earth beneath their feet and I am thankful that we have a Gospel that can take away their fears” (BFMPCUSA 1895, 161).

In Korea, according to missionary sources and Westerners’ travelogues, the belief in demon possession or possession by “unclean” spirits was common (GILMORE 1892, 194; BISHOP 1898, 399–426). It had a peculiar and tenacious grip upon the people; one writer called Korea “the haunted house among the nations, afflicted with the delirium tremens of paganism.” A missionary stated that “thousands of people are slaves to evil spirits, in bondage to His Satanic Majesty” (LAMBUTH 1907). Gale wrote that the Tonghaks, who raised a great commotion in 1894, “possessed power to cast out devils, that was one cause of their popularity” (GALE 1895). A spiritual *mudang* was believed to be possessed by a powerful spirit, and by means of her incantations could induce this indwelling spirit to evict the one that was causing the sickness by aiding her exorcism. The people in the northern provinces called the possessed mudang *manshin*, a legion of spirits, as her superior spirit brought with him a legion of other spirits under his control. She performed a *kut* to drive out evil spirits from the afflicted person with music, dance, and incantations (GILMORE 1892, 194; GALE 1895; ALLEN 1896). Korean miners also practiced a ceremony for driving out evil spirits. For example, whenever a Korean miner was killed in an accident at the American gold mines at Unsan in northern P’yongyang province, the Koreans supposed that his death was “caused by some spirits of the earth who feels himself aggravated,” and that his wife was possessed with those spirits. No sooner did the accident occur than all the miners came flocking from the shaft, offering chickens and pigs to the spirits, and beat their wives severely to exorcise the spirits (HULBERT 1901a).

Protestant missionaries in Korea testified to numerous cases of demon possession and their exorcism by prayers to Christ. Such “miracles” proved to the missionaries that some Koreans were still possessed by demons in the same way that the people in Palestine were in the time of Jesus. Both North American missionaries and the Korean people needed to change their world view regarding the power of God in exorcism. Missionaries were required to transform their modern, rational, and scientific view of evil spirits and miracles into a first-century biblical view. In contrast, Korean people were challenged to accept both the modern medical theories of body and disease and the biblical view of the power of the Holy Spirit over evil spirits.

In P’yöngyang, Samuel A. Moffett found that the “real and practical religion of the people, so far as they have any at all, is a species of animism or spirit wor-

ship” (BFMPCUSA 1895, 121). His colleague, Graham Lee, traveled to the Sunan circuit and visited five places in 1897. He baptized sixteen adults and one baby, and received one hundred and nine catechumens. He witnessed a case of healing a demon possession at Sunan Church and observed half of the villagers throwing out their evil spirits. At Chajak he met a blind man and his father who had given up the demon exorcism business (LEE 1897).

The majority of those who believed themselves to be possessed were women, and the Christian claim of expelling the evil spirits in their bodies appealed to these women and their families as a last resort. For example, Mrs. Yi Künsön in Inch’ön apparently revived after the prayers of Christians in early 1899. She had been sick and mentally ill for ten years. A great deal of money had been spent on medicine and shamanic ceremonies, yet all efforts toward a cure had failed. When her husband heard that the “Jesus Church” had the power to overcome the devil, he voluntarily came to the chapel to believe in Jesus. “Believers visited his house, and found that the insane woman broke the wall frantically and was hiding and shivering in the bed. After they sang a hymn and prayed, they removed the blanket. She drank three bowls of cold water, and prayed together with them. In less than two weeks her insanity disappeared. Now she is a sincere believer” (*KH*, 23 May 1900). Such stories were spread and encouraged others to seek the church.

In 1905 a Bible class was held in the village of Pup’yŏng, Kyŏnggi. There was a new believer who had been a sorceress for five years—“an obedient servant of Satan” (MILLER 1906). The Christians prayed for and with her, going to her home every night. The woman said, “I cannot tell how peaceful I felt when those hymns were being sung.” On one memorable night, just before being set free from the power of the “great devil,” she rolled on the floor in agony of mind, beat her head with her hands, and pulled out locks of her hair. Repeatedly and in measured tones she said, “Depart from me! Depart from me!” All night long the Christians prayed and sang with her. By dawn she had become a supreme example of missionary exorcism, claiming the devil had left her. Miss Lula A. Miller, who joined the Methodist mission in Korea in 1901, asked her how she knew that it was Satan who had been leading her. She answered, “You know, teacher, when we believe in Jesus, He gives us the Holy Spirit and we know when He is leading us, though we can neither see nor hear Him. So it is when Satan is in our hearts. We know it is he who is leading us. Oh! I am so happy now, and all my family believes in Jesus, the Savior of the world” (MILLER 1906). In this way, belief in the power of Christianity to exorcise evil spirits shifted slightly in rhetoric to the belief in exorcising Satan and his demons.

At the end of 1905 Dr. W. B. Scranton and Rev. George M. Burdick visited a little mountain village, Omoi, in the Suwŏn circuit, where a local doctor was the leader of the Christian group. There was one believer, an intelligent scholar from upper-class society who had been the owner and keeper of a mountain spirit house, following his grandfather and father before him. At about the time of his father’s death, the man had become interested in the new faith. His sister went insane

or was possessed by the devil. “She grew violent; and the believers in the group met daily to pray for her; but for more than a week there was very little improvement. At last she grew better; and thereupon the family gave over to the church, as mementoes of the victory, all the garments and various fantastic decorations connected with this spirit worship” (BURDICK 1906). The man also gave the house to the church.

Another case was reported as follows: “During the revival the feeling was so intense that one man fell into raving insanity, his violence and superhuman power breaking to pieces even the iron chains that bound him and snapping an iron bar like glass, evidencing demoniac possession no less real than that of the man in the country of the Gadarenes. The devils were trying to frighten us and our converts into silence.” Prayer was successfully used. The spirits left him and he came to himself. Missionaries continually came into contact with “the most extraordinary cases of apparent demoniacal possession and cure, containing all the phenomena that characterized demonized minds in the days of Christ” (LAMBUTH 1907, 287).

KOREAN BIBLE WOMEN AS EXORCISTS

In a gender-segregated society, among the Korean men the Bible societies or mission societies employed colporteurs and helpers in the distribution of Christian literature and biblical instructions; they employed Bible women for the same work among the women. Most Bible women were widows or old women since younger women were neither respected enough nor allowed the freedom of movement necessary. But a Bible woman was more than just a colporteur. As an itinerant evangelist she taught the vernacular language and the doctrine of the Bible by the example of her own self-sacrificial and happy life. She helped a tired mother, cared for sick children, and penetrated into remote country districts where foreign missionaries had never reached. A few Bible women began to be trained at Bible classes from 1892 and engaged in evangelism as the helpers of a female missionary (OAK 2004, 188). As the number of male Korean pastors and helpers was negligible by 1910, a Bible woman could be in charge of an unorganized local church and preach every Sunday. Thus earlier Bible women, who were less educated, had more spiritual authority than those who were trained with the regular curriculum at the Women’s Bible Institutes established in the major cities (BEST 1910).

In many cases, a female missionary, her Bible woman, and other female members would together visit the house of a possessed woman and hold a prayer service for her. For example, a possessed woman was healed by a Bible woman in P’yöngyang in 1903:

There is out at the Waysung a young woman who became possessed of devils. Her family called in an exorcist and the most extreme measures were resorted to to rid her of the unwelcome intruders. She was beaten with clubs till she was a mass of bruises from head to foot and a perfectly sickening sight. At this point some Christian neighbors interfered, declaring that they would be witness

no longer to such cruelty, and persuaded the husband to take her in to leader Choo's. Here she remained a week or two, being visited daily by Sin Si and others of the believing women. I wish that I might give in detail the conversations as reported by Sin Si, between these Christian women and the devils. They would be interesting to students of demonology. Suffice to say, that after agreeing several times to leave the woman at a certain hour, and begging each time when the moment came for a longer limit, they finally yielded to a loud and stern adjuration from old Sin Si and took their departure, leaving the woman in her right mind. (BAIRD 1903)

In March 1907 Miss Mamie D. Myers of Wönsan heard from her Bible woman Naomi about a possessed woman. She had learned "witchery" at a "heathen temple" yet had been abused as a "crazy" woman by crowds in the street all day. They visited her house at South Mount, eight miles away from the mission house, with Naomi's sister and other school girls. During their second prayer service, the "crazy" woman fell down on her knees and said: "Your God has driven the *marque* (devil) out of me, and I want to believe in your God." The news of her restoration "spread like wildfire" among the people. Christian girls insisted that "the crazy one" should have a name, so Miss Myers gave her a new name, "Poktai-gee" meaning "Received Blessings" (MYERS 1909).

Many Bible women conducted Christian exorcism prayer meetings. Some of the Bible women were former *mudangs* and they became Christian exorcists. Mrs. Sim was one of these crossover *mudang* in P'yöngyang. After some training with Bible study, basic theology, and practical ministry, she was appointed a Bible woman. Her healing ceremony in 1906 of a young female victim was a typical case of Christian exorcism, composed of the following seven elements:

- (1) Confrontational dialogue with the possessed in her own room: Mrs. Sim asks, "Are you possessed of a demon?" She repeats until answered. The spirits beg to stay.
- (2) Praying for the woman who hisses, spits, and strikes at Christian women.
- (3) Congregational hymn singing repeats until hatred on the woman's part subsides into a low crying.
- (4) Mrs. Sim orders the spirits to come out, yet they resist.
- (5) Congregational prayer and hymn singing continues.
- (6) Around midnight Mrs. Sim finally orders the spirits to go away: "Thou foul spirit, I adjure thee in the name of Jesus Nazareth, come out of her!"
- (7) The spirits are cast out and she is healed. (BAIRD 1909, 95-106)

The correspondence between the biblical stories of exorcism and Mrs. Sim's case was the conversation and struggle between demons and the exorcist while the demons were being exorcised from the possessed person. The demon first defied the exorcist, but eventually yielded to her. The possessed were healed by the faith of the exorcist and brought back to normal sanity.

Christian exorcism provided the Bible women with opportunities to become new spiritual leaders. Mrs. Mary F. Scranton thus praised them in 1907:

These women are highly respected and are believed to have the ability to offer up prevailing prayer. If anyone is in trouble of any sort, in mind, body, or estate, the Bible woman is sent for to pray and sing Psalms. When anyone gets tired of trying to propitiate the evil spirit, it is the Bible women who must come and take down the fetishes and burn them. They are called upon to cast out devils, as well as to offer the fervent effectual prayer for the healing of the sick. Their faith is often greater than that of their teachers, and the all-loving and compassionate Father rewards them accordingly. (SCRANTON 1907)

A Bible woman's spiritual power was sustained by the Christian ceremony of faith healing or exorcism, and through home visitations with new female members. Her best weapon was "prevailing" and "fervent effectual" prayer. Protracted prayers of intercession for the possessed were sometimes accompanied by fasting. Mrs. Yi, the first Christian woman in the city of P'yongyang, became president of the missionary society and a Bible woman. She cured a woman of "demon possession through the prayer of a company of women of the Fourth Church" (BERNHEISEL 1910, 250).

However, negative shamanistic spirituality—fetishism, spirit reductionism, fortune-centered fatalism, and earthly blessing-oriented materialism—also entered the church through these crossover female evangelists, of which some missionaries had warned.

THE MISSIONARIES' EMBRACEMENT OF THE PREMODERN VIEW OF DEMON POSSESSION

In 1907 Professor David Lambuth of Vanderbilt University conducted a special study on the relationship between Korean evil spirits and Christian missionaries, based on the letters and reports of American missionaries in Korea. He maintained that "missionaries in Korea display a sense of the presence of evil spirits markedly in excess of that manifested in other countries where demonology had no such popular hold. The spirit-saturated air has with insidious power waked in the missionaries all the dormant demonology with which the Christian religion was at some time furnished forth" (LAMBUTH 1907). He stated that the point at issue, which was "the unconscious and insidious tendency of the foreigner to accept the native point of view," was prevalent in the writings of the Korea missionaries. North American missionaries not only influenced the individual and social life of Korea, but they were influenced by the mental and physical environment of Korea, especially by shamanism. Their testimonies about the phenomenon of demon possession epitomized the interaction of religious conceptions and modes of thought.

The great revival of 1907¹⁸ confirmed both Dr. Lambuth's analysis and the experiences of the missionaries regarding the mutual relationship between Christianity and Korean shamanism and the conversion of the missionaries. One typical case was that of Charles A. Clark of the Central Presbyterian Church in Seoul. Initially, Clark was uncomfortable with certain similarities between Korean folk religious practices and what he witnessed at the revival meetings. During his education at

McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, he had belittled the idea of demon possession, chalking up the symptoms to psychosis or nervous temperament. In 1906 when he read an account of a missionary casting out demons in China, he regarded it as nonsense, maintaining that there had to be a medical or scientific explanation. But his experience during the 1907 revival changed his view. One man at the meeting disrupted the service with his raving and lashing out at anyone who tried to control him. Clark and Kil Sön-Ju left the platform and led the disturbed man to an outer room. There he began to rage like a wild beast. He smashed his own hat and ripped off his coat, tore open his leggings, and started to demolish the room. He fell to the floor on his face and prostrated himself before the ancestral box. The veins in his neck swelled until it seemed they would burst:

Finally I became convinced that it was a devil's manifestation.... So I went to him, took firm hold of his shaking hands, and ordered him in Jesus' name to be still.... Then I prayed and almost at once he became quiet.... The Holy Spirit was doing so great work that I firmly believe the devil entered into that man to make him break up the meeting.... As sure as I believe there is a Holy Spirit who can "convince men of sin and righteousness and judgment," I am convinced that the devil can work now in opposition to Him exactly as he did 1900 years ago. (D. N. CLARK 2003, 39-40)

Clark revised his views on the idea of casting out the devil, and was convinced that the man was an agent of Satan and possessed by a demon. His colleague James Gale also confessed:

Into this world comes the missionary with his Book and its stories about demons. The Korean reads and at once is attracted. Plenty of demons in the New Testament, thousands of them, but they are all on the run; down the slopes of Galilee they go; away from Christ's presence they fly.... Never before in the history of Korea was the world of demons seen smitten hip and thigh. This wonder-worker is omnipotent, for verily he has issued a reprieve to all prisoners, all who will accept of him, and has let them out of hell. Throughout the land prayers go up for the demon-possessed in his name, and they are delivered; prayers for healing, and the sick are cured; prayers for the poor, and God sends means. (GALE 1909, 88-89)

In 1911, after ten years pastoral experience in P'yongyang, Charles F. Bernheisel confessed that he changed his view on miraculous healing after witnessing many cases of demon possession being cured by the prayers of Christians. The supernatural "gift of miracle" was considered to have been bestowed on the early church for providential purposes and to have ceased with the death of the Apostles. But experiences in the mission field caused him to reexamine the biblical teachings on the subject, and to harmonize what he had been taught at the seminary with what he saw and heard in Korea. He argued that Koreans distinguished between a *mich'in saram* (insane person) and a *makwi tūllin saram* (demon-possessed person). He testified that all the characteristics of demon possession as recorded in

the New Testament, like a demon speaking through the lips of the possessed one, are all present in Korea. He explained the curing procedure as follows:

The method of cure is unique. The Christians call for volunteers and then they divide themselves into bands which may consist of one or two or more persons, and then these bands take turns staying with the patient so that at no time, day or night till recovery is complete, is the patient left alone. Each band spends its watch in prayer for the afflicted one, in singing Christian songs, in reading the Scriptures and having the patient repeat Scripture verses and in exhorting the demon to leave. Sometimes this is kept up for as long as several days.... This continuous cannonade of prayer, Scripture reading, song, testimony, and exhortation finally prevails and the demon promises to leave, sometimes giving the very hour on which he will take his departure. (BERNHEISEL 1912, 9)

Bernheisel concluded that the gift of miracles was not confined to a few individuals and to a certain time period, but a general power to be exercised, and that demon-possessed people were cured by the prayers of Christians.

The first generation missionaries and Korean Christians accepted Nevius's view on demon possession and Christian exorcism. The Korean belief in shamanistic concepts and a vivid sense of demonical presence provided the missionaries and the Korean people with a point of contact and interaction. North American missionaries accepted the Korean point of view on possession by evil spirits, and the Korean people experienced the power of the Holy Spirit. Power encounters provided evidence of Christianity, and Christian exorcisms continued after the Korean Churches experienced the great revival movement in 1904–1907.

Not only did the missionaries introduce and represent Korean shamanism to an English audience, but their own initially rationalistic and modern world view was transformed by shamanism. First, they accepted the premodern Korean view of spirits, which became a factor of Protestant success in Korea. Second, many missionaries and Korean leaders, especially Bible women, practiced Christian exorcism of those possessed by demons. Third, the missionaries accepted a god of Korean shamanism, Hananim, as the term for the Christian God, based on the idea of primitive monotheism. We need to see their overall meaning in terms of the “conversion” of the missionaries. One missionary confessed that when he read of devil possession in the Bible in the United States, he knew how Christ had dealt with such cases, but he seldom saw a person possessed by demons. But when he came to a mission field, his doubts regarding “devil possession in the latter days” were completely vanquished. That the devil at times made his home in the bodies of men and women, especially in heathen lands, was “a matter of unmistakable evidence” (CRAM 1905).

CONCLUSION

The result of the powerful encounters between Protestant Christianity and shamanism in early modern Korea was neither a wholesale destruction of the latter nor a unilateral conversion of Koreans to the former. The first generation of

Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Korea condemned shamanism as a “primitive” and “superstitious” form of spirit worship. As most scholars have argued, missionaries attempted to destroy Korean shamanism in the name of Protestant monotheism, iconoclastic rationalism, medical science (germ theory), and Western civilization. On the other hand, their field experience led them to embrace John L. Nevius’s theory of demon possession and Christian exorcism as spiritual and supernatural phenomena in modern East Asia, not just in first-century Palestine. Protestant missionaries adopted the premodern Korean view of spirits, and thus they practiced Christian exorcist rituals—burning fetishes and communal prayers for the patients—in contradiction to the official doctrine of their home churches on demonic possession and miraculous faith healing.

Culturally, this theological compromise implied that, though based on Protestant biblicism and their field experiences, the appreciation of Anglo-Saxon missionaries for the Koreans’ premodern world view revealed their orientalism, which regarded Korean folk religions and spirituality as primitive and obsolete for modern civilization. The missionaries equated turn-of-the-century Korean society as being similar to first-century Palestinian society. One of the similarities was the ubiquitous existence of demons and exorcisms. The missionaries’ orientalist ethnography emphasized the vacuum of religions in Korea because it viewed shamanism not as a religion but as a superstition. The missionary iconoclasm misled the Korean Protestant churches to neglect the serious study of Korean folk religions.

Liturgically, shamanic spirits could exist in the Christian fetish burning and exorcism rituals. Both missionaries and Koreans recognized the existence of shamanic spirits. The iconoclastic assault of the spirits paradoxically identified the numerous locations of spirits and their functions in the Korean household and family life. One of the major differences between the Christian exorcist ceremony and the shamanic *kut* was the protracted communal prayer meetings of the church members for the victim.

Ecclesiastically, Korean Bible women, especially those who were former *mudang*, performed Christian ceremonies of exorcism among female members and non-members in a gender-segregated society. Their spiritual leadership complemented the male-dominant Confucian patriarchal structure of the church in its early period, yet gradually became subordinated to the latter from the first decade of the twentieth century when seminaries produced many educated male ministers. The emergence of male revivalists, who performed miraculous healing through prayer in the first decade of the twentieth century and early 1920s, paralleled the degradation of the status of Bible women in the Korean Protestant Church.

Theoretically, shamanic spirits could exist in the Protestant missionary discourses on Korean shamanism. A semi-scientific study on this topic was launched by missionary scholars, including E. B. Landis, G. H. Jones, J. S. Gale, H. B. Hulbert, and H. G. Underwood. In the same manner that shamanism and its rituals continued to function during the Chosŏn period, through being embraced by the

Confucian scholars' discourses on spirits and subordinated to Confucian liturgical hegemony, so too did shamanism and its spiritism survive by being incorporated into the Protestant missionaries' discourses on demonology at the turn of the twentieth century. In colonial Japanese scholarly discourse, Korean shamanism was painted as an inferior precursor to Japanese Shinto, as part of the Japanese superiority complex that justified the colonization of Korea. Therefore, the significant lack of study of the encounter between Protestantism and shamanism must be remedied as it bridges the discourses of the premodern and colonial periods, with parallels and comparisons to be explored.

Theologically, in the process of the encounter with power, Christ was represented to Koreans as the most powerful shaman *mudang*—both a mediator and a spirit—and the missionaries and Korean Bible women were represented as his agents. The interaction between two world views—Western Christian rationalism and Korean shamanistic spiritism—resulted in mutual religious grafting. At the turn of the twentieth century, Protestant missions integrated a medical mission for the human body with an evangelistic mission for the human soul. The priority of the salvation of the soul included the salvation of the body, though the latter was regarded as a means for the former. Doctors and nurses of mission hospitals and clinics, as agents of Jesus, “the great physician,” worked for the salvation of the whole being through physical healing. Taking care of lepers was a good example of their holistic approach to human beings. The modern Western dual system of “body to science and soul to religion” (CHUNG 2000, 312) was not a dilemma for them. The cases of faith healing in “demon possession” presented both medical missionaries and evangelistic missionaries with a solution for this dichotomy.

The adjunct existence of “premodern” Korean shamanism within the boundaries of “modern” Anglo-American Protestantism was one of the most notable features of indigenous Korean Christianity. This symbiosis, however, existed in a precarious state. Above all, like first-century Jewish people, Koreans sought miraculous signs and healings (Matthew 12: 39) without faith. Missionaries worried about the resilient hidden influences of shamanism on newly converted Korean Christians, especially among female believers.

Around 1910 some Presbyterian missionaries, like Bernheisel, accepted the possibility of miracle healing in modern times. Yet when the Korean Church experienced Kim Iktu's revivalism and faith healing in the early 1920s, missionaries rejected the revision of an article of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, which stated that the supernatural gift of miracles was bestowed on the early church for providential purposes and ceased with the death of the Apostles (MIN 1984, 354). The missionaries had to face the faithless Korean Communists' attack on Christianity as a “superstitious” religion, and Korean Christians' blind faith in miracle healing as well.

A continuing problem was their shamanistic ideas on “luck and ill-luck” and *kibok sinang* (the belief that luck can be achieved by prayer and faith in prayers for blessing). The popularity of “prosperity theology” and the “three-beat salvation” (spiritual salvation, material success, and physical health)—as well as recur-

ring scandals and the persistent materialism of the Korean churches—reveal that Korean Christians have still failed to cast out the spirit of *kibok sinang* and materialistic fetishism from the minds of the leaders and members of the church, although they had once succeeded in exorcizing demonic spirits. The public dimension of Protestantism that fought against “superstitions” and idolatry to promote national enlightenment and modernization at the turn of the twentieth century has deteriorated into the private *kibok sinang* that seeks worldly fortune and personal prosperity.

NOTES

1. Korean scholar Song Sunyong, who helped compile RIDEL (1880), assisted Underwood’s linguistic work. Song transmitted studies of the Korean language that had been done by French Catholic missionaries to American Protestant missionaries.

2. Bible women were hired by Bible societies or mission societies in the distribution of Christian literature and biblical instruction. Under the supervision of female missionaries, Bible women worked as colporteurs, booksellers, evangelists, Bible teachers, or preachers, mainly among women. One of their major contributions was the increase in literacy among women.

3. The Korean hymn translated “temptations” of the second verse into “evil spirits.”

4. For the status of Kuksadang in the nineteenth century, see WALRAVEN 1998, 57–58.

5. Walraven interpreted the veneration of the picture of King T’aejo, a national symbol, as an “early form of modern national consciousness” (WALRAVEN 2000, 199–200).

6. 독립신문 (*Tongnip sinmun*, 1896–1899) was the first Korean daily newspaper founded by Philip Jaisohn (Sŏ Chae-p’il) in July 1896. The Tongnip Hyŏphoe (The Independent Club) and the newspaper worked for the people, and for independence from Chinese and Russian influences.

7. Chi Sŏggyŏng introduced the cowpox vaccination to the Korean public in 1879. In October 1895 the Korean government issued an ordinance on smallpox, Korea’s first act of modern vaccination. By 1908, it was reported that nearly all people under the age of thirty were immune to smallpox due to the widespread use of the cowpox vaccine.

8. Before the end of the eighteenth century the word “shaman” became a common term in the West. Yet most enlightenment scholars depicted shamanism negatively. The word “shaman” was included in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1875. “Studies on shamanism as a scholarly concept date back to the late nineteenth century ... a heuristic term in the West” that covers all the various magico-religious activities (FRIDMAN and WALTER 2004, xvii, xxi, 142). French Catholic missionaries in Korea did not use the term “shamanism” in the nineteenth century.

9. Jones was born in Mohawk, NY, in 1867 and educated in the public schools of Utica, NY. He joined the Utica YMCA in 1883 and worked for a telephone company from 1883 to 1886. He worked as assistant secretary of the Rochester YMCA from 1886 to 1888.

10. During these years Jones took college courses through correspondence and received a “correspondent B. A.” from the American University at Harriman, TN, in 1892 (JONES 1990).

11. French missionaries translated “malin esprit” as *kwisin*, “sorcière” as *paksu*, and “sorcière” as *mudang*. See FÉRRON 1869, 286.

12. The Altaic etymology of *kut* (Turkic *kut* and Mongolian *kutung*) is luck, good fortune, or fate.

13. For his research on Confucian rites, see E. B. LANDIS (1896, 1897, and 1898) .

14. In 1885 Percival Lowell wrote that Korean “demon worship” and Japanese Shinto were related “forms of the common aboriginal superstitions” (LOWELL 1885, 207).

15. Landis mentioned the exorcism of the following spirits: goods and furniture (chief of all exorcism), ridge pole, the Yi family, mountains, the attendants of the Yi family, ancestors, smallpox, one’s own self, animals, jugglers, trees and hilltops, and spirits which take possession of young girls and change them into exorcists.

16. Hulbert defined religion as “every relation which men hold, or fancy that they hold, to superhuman, infrahuman or, more broadly or extra-human phenomena.” And he included in the category of extra-human the spirits of human beings that had died (HULBERT 1906, 403).

17. For Neo-Confucian discourses on (ancestral) spirits and their social implications, see KOYASU 2002, 145–90.

18. The revival movement started in 1903 in Wönsan and reached its peak at the P’yöngyang revivals in January 1907. The revivals swept most of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in 1907 when Korea was losing its independence to Japanese imperialism.

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