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**An Early Koreanologist : Eli Barr Landis 1865-1898**

**by Richard Rutt**

In Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, the Landis Valley is the centre of a Swiss Mennonite community. Among the community’s founders was Jacob Landis, a pioneer farmer from Zurich canton who arrived at what is now called East Lampeter sometime about 1720. A century and a half later the same homestead was being farmed by his sixth-generation descendant, Peter Johns Landis (1833-1899). Peter married Martha Barr (1830-1911), and they had six children. One of their daughters died in infancy; the other two girls married farmers, and two of the boys became farmers, all in Lancaster county. The fifth child, born on 18 December 1865, was Eli Barr Landis, destined to be a pioneer scholar of Korean culture.

He seems to have been the only one of the family who was given a college education. In 1883 he matriculated at the State Normal School at Millersville, where he did two years of preliminary study for medicine. In September 1885 he went to Philadelphia, where he studied under ST. Davies in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania.

During his time in Philadelphia he came to know Father Charles Neale Field, the priest in charge of St Clement’s episcopal church. Field was an Englishman who had been living in America for only three years. He was a member of the Society of St John the Evangelist, an important Anglican religious order of mission priests which by 1885 was working in England, India, South Africa, and the United States. From its birthplace in England the society was (and is) commonly known as ‘the Cowley Fathers.’

The undergraduate Landis was baptized by Father Field at St. Clement’s, and soon afterwards confirmed by the Bishop of Pennsylvania, Ozi W. Whittaker. In May 1888 he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine and returned to Lancaster as resident physician at Lancaster County Hospital and Insane Asylum.

During the 1880s there was a strong missionary volunteer movement among college students in North America, and the Cowley Fathers’ missionary ideals must have inspired Landis to respond to this element in the spiritual climate of the age. Perhaps it was because of them that after little more than twelve months at the Lancaster hospital, he moved to a [page 60] church institution, All Saints Convalescent Home in New York. The fathers certainly knew of his missionary aspirations, for the Englishman, Father Arthur Hall, (a scholar of the society who was working in America and later became Bishop of Vermont) told Father Richard Meux Benson, the founder of the society, about him. Father Benson still lived in England and, like many high-churchmen, was much concerned about the appeals being made during the winter of 1889-90 for doctors and priests to volunteer for the newly founded Church of England Mission to Korea.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was then Edward White Benson (no relation to the Cowley father). Two years earlier he had been asked by the English missionary bishops in China and Japan to start a mission to Korea. It was an inauspicious time in England for a new overseas venture. The church of England’s missionary resources were stretched to the full, and level-headed men advised against the plan. Archbishop Benson, however,was a romantic. Five years earlier he had been called to Canterbury from remote and rugged Cornwall, where he had done creative work in establishing a new diocese. A more conventional prelate might have heeded the warnings and worried about organizing a sound administrative base. Benson had a vision of apostolic mission: he simply made a bishop and sent him to preach the gospel in Korea,trusting to God for men and money.

The man he chose was a 45-year-old naval chaplain named Charles John Corfe, a bachelor high-churchman of spartan habits who had earned the friendship of Queen Victoria’s admiral son, the Duke of Edinburgh. The archbishop could offer Corfe no financial support beyond an annual grant of £ 650 promised by the 200-year-old Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The new bishop must find his own staff. Corfe responded to the challenge with the gallantry expected of a naval officer. When an admiral disparaged the idea of the Korean project, he replied, ‘But if you had orders to attack a battleship in a dinghy, you would obey.’

Some called him quixotic. He was still the only member of his new mission when he was ordained bishop in Westminster Abbey on All Saints,Day, 1 November 1889. He went to the service carrying in his pocket a letter to the press appealing for men to join him. As he left the abbey afterwards, he posted the letter in the pillar box outside.

It was soon clear that the admiral had good reason to be disparaging. Corfe travelled all over England for six months before he recruited his first two volunteers. One of them was a 22-year-old student for the ninistry, Leonard Ottley Warner, who had been invalided home from Central Africa the previous year—not the most promising material for [page 61] pioneer work in east Asia. The other was a retired deputy surgeon-general of the army, Julius Wiles, who at sixty-two years of age offered to work in Korea for two years at his own expense. Then a group of nuns, the Community of St Peter at Kilburn in north London, promised to send nursing sisters after the mission was established in Korea. At the end of June a curate from Great Yarmouth, Mark Napier Trollope (the future bishop) volunteered. No one else came forward. The lack of financial support was equally discouraging, but Corfe’s old naval friends founded Bishop Corfe’s Mission Hospital Naval Fund to support the medical work that he was determined to begin by building hospitals in Seoul and the treaty ports of Korea. The Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge, oldest of all Church of England missionary organizations, had promised £50 for the passage of a medical missionary, £50 for instruments, and annual grants for two years of £50 for drugs and £80 towards the maintenance of the missionary.

It was, perhaps, hardly surprising that volunteer doctors did not rush to join Corfe. He was proposing to support six men with the £650 from SPG. The missionaries, both priests and doctors, would live a community life with a common purse, and the standards would be ascetic rather than merely spartan. That arch-ascetic, Father Benson of Cowley, was well aware of the situation and opined that the young doctor Father Hall was writing about from America would be the sort who would respond to Corfe’s call. In April 1890 Benson told Corfe of Landis; by the end of June Corfe had agreed to take Landis to Korea for five years, and arranged to meet him during August whilst the bishop was preaching his way through America on his way to Korea. It was odd that an American should join, sight unseen on both sides,an under-endowed fledgling English mission. The explanation lies in his contact with the two ascetic English immigrant priests, Field and Hall.

On 1 August Corfe met his new doctor at the Cowley Fathers’ mission house in Boston. With all the eagerness of twenty-four summers Landis was ransacking the community library for information about the Chinese and Korean languages. Corfe took to him at once, and hailed him as an answer to the prayers of the children in England who were supporting the infant mission. But Landis needed funds to prepare for the voyage. Fortunately Corfe had been given 133 dollars while visiting St Paul’s College, a school at Concord, New Hampshire; five dollars by someone at the Church of the Transfiguration, New York; and a ten- dollar marriage fee by Father Field. So Landis was kitted up at a cost of 148 dollars. [page 62]

The bishop continued his preaching tour of the United States and Canada. Landis joined him in time to sail in the SS Abyssinia from Vancouver on 28 August, 1890. They arrived in Yokohama on 14 September. The bishop went to visit friends in Tokyo,but Landis continued by sea to Kobe, where he stayed with the SPG missionary, Hugh James Foss (who eight years later became Bishop of Osaka). Corfe rejoined Landis in time for them to leave Kobe in the SS Tsuruga Maru on the 23rd. They arrived at Pusan at three in the afternoon of 26 September. Pusan was a treaty port with British officials running the Korean Customs Service, but it was virtually a Japanese town. Corfe the sailor appraised the nearly land-locked harbour with its backdrop of pine-clad hills (though he also noticed and deplored the denuded state of the nearer slopes). He rejoiced to see eleven Chinese warships riding at anchor—for him they were a sign of British naval assistance. ‘On the sandy beach’ near Ch’oryang and Pusan-jin ‘lay the Korean town, which... must not be called a town, being nothing more than a hamlet of mudhuts and matsheds’. Corfe went ashore to see James Hunt, the Commissioner of Customs, and enquire about the Chinese Anglican catechists who had been living there since the Archdeacon of Fukien had sent them in 1885. (In the event, the Chinese refused to see the bishop, and Hunt explained they were not only useless as missionaries, but untrustworthy as men. They left Korea, it seems,very soon after this.)

Corfe and Landis re-embarked that evening, but the Tsuruga Maru did not leave till next morning. They sailed through the island-studded seas round the west coast of Korea to Chemulp’o, the treaty port and point of entry for Seoul, where they arrived very early in the morning on Michaelmas Day, Monday 29 September 1890. The moon was at the full, so the tide was at its lowest, and it took some time to come to an anchor among those famous mudflats that gleamed so dazzlingly in the morning sun. That very day, shortly after disembarking, the bishop baptized the baby John Johnston, son of a customs officer,and the first English child to be born in Korea.

The two new missionaries stayed with James Scott, the British vice-consul. Next day the bishop set off in a coolie-borne box chair to Seoul. Within a few days he had returned to Chemulp’o and left again by sea to visit Bishop Charles Perry Scott in Peking. Meanwhile, on 10 October, Landis moved into the fairly large house that had been rented in advance by Scott for the bishop. Two rooms were at once set aside as dispensary and consulting-room. The next day the first Korean patient came, before [page 63] Landis was ready to start work. No medicines had yet arrived, but fortunately this was a case for minor surgery. By the end of the following week Landis had attended to thirty patients, securing the necessary drugs from a store in Chemulp’o. Korean cash was unwieldy, requiring huge quantities of coin for quite small sums, so most of the patients paid in kind, with eggs or fruit.

During the bishop’s absence, however, Landis spent most of his time with his Korean teacher. Corfe returned on 5 November, bringing Leonard Warner with him. Corfe wrote: ‘Having made wonderful progress with Korean during my absence, (Landis) rendered us most valuable assistance in disembarking.’ They all went into their domestic oratory and recited the Te Deum in thanksgiving. On the following morning, St Leonard’s Day, Thursday 6 November 1890, the bishop celebrated their first eucharist on Korean soil, using a dining table for an altar. After the service they settled down to an uncomfortable English breakfast of soft- boiled eggs without egg-cups or spoons.

A simple daily routine was devised for the little community of three bearded men. They said mattins at 7:30 and ate breakfast at 8. From 9 till noon they studied, chiefly learning Korean from the French fathers’ grammar, with the help of a Korean teacher who taught each of them separately. Tiffin and recreation followed. The teacher returned and they resumed study at 3, till evensong at 5. Dinner was at 7 in the evening. Corfe kept his spy-glass handy for scanning the harbour in case the Royal Navy came to show the flag. On Sundays they conducted services at home for the three or four members of the Church of England who were resident in the port. By 23 November the bishop noted that Landis had made ‘wonderful progress’ with the language and ‘could manage the house-boys’ In fact, Landis managed only the Korean ‘boy.’ Their cook was Chinese,and in theory the bishop, who was supposed to know a little Chinese picked up during his naval days,gave orders for cooking. In practice these were virtually restricted to such simplicities as ‘Make bread.’

Landis was also getting to know the town he was to love so dearly and to regard as home for the rest of his life. It stood on a hilly promontory pointing westward among the islands of the Yellow Sea. The original Korean seaside village of Chemulp’o nestled round two creeks on the sunny side of the main hill, where the local names *Paedari*, ‘boat quay,’ and *T’ongjin’gae*, ‘creek,’ still survive, though the water no longer comes so far inland.

The harbour had been an important trading point with China for [page 64] centuries, but to Corfe it looked as unprepossessing as Pusan. The erosion of the treeless hills, the squalid-looking thatched huts, the few ungainly brick buildings of the Europeans, the weather-beaten wooden junks at the landing-place, and the miles of mudflats were depressing, though the distant mountains were lovely. Three or four thousand Koreans were believed to live by the harbour and in the new Korean administrative town that had been built in the valley running inland northwards at the east side of the hill. The yamen of the Korean Superintendent of Trade was there, although the prefectural yamen and the confucian temple remained at Inch’on, five miles to the south-east, where they had been before the place became a treaty port in 1883. The new Korean town beside the harbour was also called Inch’on, but foreigners continued to prefer the old port name of Chemulp’o for half a century longer. The Korean vendors in the market street sold the usual necessities (dried persimmons, rice, garlic,tobacco, dried and fresh fish, earthenware and crockery, pipes, brassware and ironware) together with imported luxuries such as mandarin oranges, western calico, towels and matches, and a number of Japanese products.

Japanese numbering about 2,700, who referred to the place as Jinsen, had a neat settlement of houses and shops built in their own style,arranged on a gridiron pattern of streets above the harbour, to the west of the Korean town. Their consulate was built of wood, but in western style, and they had two banks.

The Japanese streets rose slightly at the western end, where the few hundred Chinese lived (and called the place Jen-ch’uan). Their houses were the most decorative, built of red brick, with shallow balconies and elaborate lattices. The Chinese operated several stores selling imported goods.

The foreign settlement, with its three rather sleazy hotels, was topped off, literally, by the score or so of Europeans and Americans who, coming last,had to live at the top of the hill, just below the ridge, also in red brick houses, but well spaced out. The British consulate was down on the waterfront in the godown area with the Korean Royal Customs, but the French and German consulates were up on the level of the European residences, where much of the hillside was still empty undeveloped land.

Near the northwestern corner of the Inch’on promontory, on the shore and in a geomantically unpropitious site half a mile from the town, was the cemetery for westerners, where there were already many Japanese graves. Such a cemetery was necessary, for Chemulp’o was the second most important international community in Korea. Yet there were no [page 65] missionaries there, and no church.

The Church of England mission, arriving late, found itself perched almost at the top of the hill, overlooking the harbour. Koreans,however, were soon willing to toil up to the residence of the *yak t’aein*, ‘western man of medicine.’ A few women came for treatment, one of them in a carrying-chair, conducted by her father,and so embarrassed that tears rolled down her face. None of the women permitted Landis to visit them in their homes. The foreign residents naturally welcomed the arrival of a physician, and he was soon appointed medical adviser to the British vice-consulate. His days were well filled, but within a month or two he had found time to accompany an Italian resident of some years standing on a visit to the old prefectural town, where he had his first experience of Korean hospitality, sitting cross-legged on an ondol, eating with chopsticks and smoking a Korean pipe.

On 8 December two more missionaries arrived: Richard Small,an English priest seconded from a Canadian Indian mission in Vancouver, and Sydney Peake, a lay candidate for ordination. On 19 December Peake and the bishop set off together to prepare Christmas services for the British community in Seoul.

Small stayed at Chemulp’o with Landis and Warner to give them their Christmas communion. The day after Christmas, St. Stephen’s day, Landis totted up the number of his patients so far. In the first three months there had been thirty-four new patients, with seventy-six visits to the dispensary and twenty-five visits by the doctor to patients’ homes— some of which were three miles away. Modest though the roll was, he was satisfied with his beginning.

On New Year’s Day 1891 the bishop walked back from Seoul, with ice on his beard and moustache. On foot the journey took seven to eight hours, but even when, as in this unusually cold winter, it was rumoured that tigers had come down from the high mountains to the north, walking was still more reliable than the river steamer and faster and more comfortable than any form of Korean transport or animal mount. Landis was often to walk the twenty-seven miles from Chemulp’o through Sosa and Oryudong to Noryangjin, where a ferry crossed the Han to Map’o and another couple of miles’ walk brought the traveller to the Great South Gate of the capital.

The day after the bishop returned, Small left for his permanent post in Seoul. Landis was to be the stable element in the staff of the Chemulp’o station. It was planned that a priest should be appointed to work permanently with him as soon as one was available. For the time being the [page 66] bishop remained to welcome the next group of new arrivals. Eventually he too intended to move to Seoul.

The house provided by Mr. Scott had been useful as a depot for coping with the first arrivals, but it was bigger than was needed for two bachelors. As soon as Small and Peake had gone, Corfe rented a much smaller house next door, to be used until they had a permanent house of their own. He and Landis moved. into it on 6 January, and called it the House of the Epiphany. They immediately celebrated the eucharist in their oratory. It was a ‘western-style’ house, consisting of four rooms, each 14 by 13 feet (‘smaller than a ship’s cabin’) and had a kitchen tacked on at the back. A central chimney served a stove at the inmost corner of each of the four rooms. There were no passages, only doors from room to room. Each of the front rooms had French windows opening on to ‘a bit of garden’ adjoining the road. The right-hand front room was Landis’s consulting room; the room behind it was both his bedroom and the household larder,where during that winter a basket containing pheasants, a leg of mutton and some salt beef was stored beside his bed. The other front room was the bishop’s bed-sitter. The room behind that was the oratory, normally large enough for the two residents at their daily services and for the regular tiny Sunday congregation. If ever there was an overflow, the extra worshippers could be in the bishop’s room and the door to the oratory left open.

Before January was out, a committee of well-to-do Japanese residents waited on Landis and asked him to take charge of an adult English-language class that was being formed at their consulate. Corfe permitted him to do so, thinking that the work might lead to evangelistic opportunities. The first classes were held on 1 February, with forty pupils in four grades, taught on six evenings a week, from 5 o’clock to 8, for an initial period of one month. Each pupil paid a dollar for the month. Some of them dropped out, and the number settled down at thirty-two, including six or eight Chinese. They studied—at least later on—from the American National Readers, and it was to prove arduous work. Very soon, how-ever, came lunar New Year’s Day. Everybody, including Landis’s patients, struck work for a fortnight, and he got a brief holiday.

The lunar new year weekend Corfe was in Seoul, delivering a Lenten pastoral charge to his main body of workers. While Corfe was in Seoul, Small came to Inch’on to celebrate Sunday communion for Landis. Small was a well-educated man, about five years younger than Corfe, to whom he had become a valued friend and companion. He must also have been good company for Landis. [page 67]

Towards the end of February Peake returned to Chemulp’o for ten days because he was unwell. He stayed with the vice-consul. When he walked back to Seoul on 2 March, Landis accompanied him. This was Landis’s first visit to the capital. He stayed only two nights, anxious,no doubt, to get back to his work. The Japanese and Chinese students had asked him to continue his evening classes for another month. Corfe realized how burdensome the classes were going to be, but had no idea how to provide help. He already saw the need for a missionary to do Japanese work only. One of the pupils had asked for an English bible-reading session on Sundays, Landis had concurred,and five Japanese men were attending. The rest of the Sunday programme was two Church of England services in English and a service for what Corfe called ‘dissenters.’

It was some relief to the bishop when four more missionaries from England arrived on 19 March. One of them was Trollope. The others were two students in their mid-twenties, Joseph Pownall and Maurice Davies, and an ex-bluejacket named John Wyers. These three were sent off to Seoul the day after they arrived, but Trollope was kept behind at Chemulp’o to discuss the mission’s affairs with the bishop, lodging meanwhile with Mr. Johnston of the Korean Customs.

Trollope, like Corfe, was an Oxford man. Corfe had a strong sense of class, and only Trollope and Small (who was a Cambridge man) shared his own social background. The rest were below the salt. Even when they were ordained they came under the Colonial Clergy Act and were there-fore underprivileged. Landis, as Americans generally do, stood outside the English class structure. He was a qualified doctor, gifted and pleasant; and if he did not precisely fit into Corfe’s social background, at least Corfe was happy to share a house with him,as he never did with the other Englishmen. They all teased Landis and called him Yankee, but said he might almost pass muster as an Englishman. He took their chaffing good-naturedly, though he did not enjoy it and retorted with spirit.

These days with Trollope in Chemulp’o were the beginning of Landis’s friendship with him. Trollope was by three years the elder. They shared an eager curiosity about Korean culture and came to respect and like each other deeply. Perhaps the only reason why Trollope is better remembered as a scholar is that he lived to publish more work than Landis had time to do. Landis, however, as we shall see, was more precocious.

After five days, on Lady Day, the bishop and Trollope left on foot to be in Seoul for Easter, which fell on 29 March. Peake was in Chemulp’o [page 68] again, and Small came to give him and Landis their Easter communion. By 13 April Peake was back in the capital unpacking a newly-arrived printing-press, on which he was soon at work printing an English-Korean dictionary compiled by Scott, the Chemulp’o vice-consul. That diplomat-lexicographer must have been a congenial neighbour for Landis, but he was transferred to Seoul in the autumn, and usually lived there for the rest of his service in Korea.

While the younger missionaries were thus agog with enthusiasm, the bishop was anxious because of his lack of funds and workers. Soon after Easter he had another burden: he learned that the Chinese province of Sheng-ching (in effect,the whole of Manchuria) had been added to his diocese by (curious as it may seem) the prime minister of Great Britain. All he could hope to provide in Manchuria was a church and oversight for the British community in Niuch’uang,the treaty port for Mukden; and even that would deplete his already inadequate man-power in Korea. Chemulp’o would not get its resident priest.

Two English ladies from a mission high school in Tokyo visited Korea after Easter and stayed in Chemulp’o with the Johnstons of the customs. One of them, Miss Burnett, stayed for a month and found time to help Landis with his school. The other wrote an acidulous letter setting forth her general disapproval of everything Korean. ‘The Bishop,’ she wrote, ‘doesn’t mind sitting down to teach two or three Japanese English .... I don’t think it is suitable for him to have to do it.’ In fact he was only teaching two of Landis’s clerks from the Japanese consulate for an hour a day, and taking the Sunday bible-class. it was perhaps an unusual task for a bishop, but,as the lady continued, ‘it is like a good captain to share in the general work, if it seems to need it.’

Both the bishop and Landis were also occupied with building plans. With the coming of spring and the possibility of starting construction, Corfe had bought a parcel of government land for 250 dollars, on the north-eastern edge of the foreign settlement. Building began on 20 April, and throughout the summer work progressed on a dispensary, a church, and a parsonage erected out of ‘the few remaining bricks.’ The dispensary was of grey brick, roofed with Japanese tiles, 32 feet by 15, divided into three rooms, one of which, 15 feet by 12, was designed as living quarters for the doctor.

A verandah ran along the south side,where Landis planted shrubs to make a garden, and along the east side, which abutted on the main road that ran northward from the harbour, dividing the Korean and foreign areas. On the opposite side of that road was the low wall of the kamni [page 69] yamen, where the brutal floggings and leg-twistings and other punishments of the old Korean judicial system were administered.

The new dispensary was paid for with fees Landis received from patients and pupils. The total cost was about £50.

The day before the work began,Corfe wrote home to SPG about Landis:

To show you how hard it is for us laggards to keep pace with him or absorb the work he prepares for us, I will tell you what he has done today, which is like all other days. The patients began arriving at 7, and by 11.30 he had received visits from 35. Then he had to go and see others, and after tiffin he had to go and see more, amongst them the principal Corean official of Chemulp’o. At 5 he went to his Japanese school until 8. After going to see one more patient, he came back to dinner at 8.30.

In fact he was doing too much. The evening school for the Japanese closed for the summer on 1 June, and before the monsoon season arrived, Landis transferred himself to his new dispensary. Corfe immediately set off on a fortnight’s visit to the east-coast treaty port of Wonsan. When he returned to Chemulp’o he was delighted with the quietness of his house. Now that Landis had ‘moved off with his bottles’ to the new dispensary, the day-long stream of ‘importunate visitors’ had followed him. And Corfe had room for a guest.

That monsoon season was the missionaries’ first. They found it trying, and most of them were ill. Landis himself had to take a week’s holiday, for which he walked to Seoul. The building programme, however, proceeded. On 12 August,while Landis was away, the church got its roof and the cross was set up on the east end. Though this meant no new work for Landis, the next development did. Late in August the bishop completed negotiations for the acquisition of a second plot of land, a hundred yards further up the hill beyond the church. This site, 60 feet square, cost 20 dollars (rather less than 4 pounds sterling). A condition was attached to the purchase: the place must be used strictly for medical work and no evangelism was to be done there. It was airy and healthy, on the very crest of the hill dominating the Korean town, and just outside the foreign settlement. (The present Anglican church in Nae-dong is on a southward extension of the same site.) Corfe regarded permission to make the purchase as a sign of official Korean approval of Landis’s good work—though he always coupled Dr Wiles’s name with Landis’s and insisted that the former’s work in Seoul was the more important. [page 70]

The building of the hospital began at once. Corfe had £100 from the Hospital Naval Fund to spend on the construction of a traditional Korean-style building, where the patients could be nursed on ondol floors. During September the bishop was advised to rest, so he went to Chifu for the inside of a week. Chifu was a popular watering-place. Bishop and Mrs Scott were on holiday there, and Corfe persuaded them to visit Korea for five days. Though they stayed at the Seoul consulate, when they were about to leave from Chemulp’o on 30 September, it occurred to Corfe that the church was practically finished, so he decided to open it by asking Bishop Scott to celebrate the eucharist in it that day. It was named in honour of St Michael and all Angels. The little House of the Epiphany could now be relinquished.

While the bishop was in Chifu, Joseph Pownall had been called to Chemulp’o to care for the church services. He had plenty to do, for about the same time a young Japanese named Murakami, who could read English well, arrived from Tokyo to join the mission. Pownall guided his theological reading; Landis looked forward to his help with work among the Japanese residents. Re-opening of the evening classes was deferred until 1 October. They had previously been held in a room provided by the Japanese,and run by the Japanese committee. Landis now took over the whole project, arranging for the Japanese committee to disband, and the school to function in his new dispensary.

Tables, benches and blackboard were provided, and an advertisement published in the *Jinsen-Keijo Kakushu Shoho*, the local business community’s gazette (just in process of becoming the *Chosen Jumpo*). The new venue, however, was less convenient for the Japanese. Only twenty men enrolled. Five Chinese students joined them as a separate class. Joseph Pownall remained in Chemulp’o through the winter, to help Landis teach the Japanese, because the bishop, now that the Chemulp’o buildings were all finished, had moved to Seoul. Pownall, slight and boyish in appearance, was only a deacon, so Landis was not able to receive communion every Sunday. It says much for Pownall that Corfe trusted him to live and work alone. He did not share a house with Landis; but he must have been a pleasant colleague.

On the day the school opened, Landis wrote a letter about his work which showed how he felt about the Koreans.

The Corean is very conservative, even more so than either of his neighbours (the Chinese and Japanese): he is, to all outward appearance, the same individual today as his ancestor Tan when he crossed the River Yaloo from China [page 71] 3,000 years ago. Oppressed for centuries by Japan on the east and China on the west, who usually made this country their battlefield, he is quite naturally suspicious of foreigners and all things foreign,and clings to old customs and traditions with a tenacity that would work miracles if enlisted on the side of the Cross. He is a superior man, physically and mentally, to either of his neighbours, and the Corean scholar has for centuries maintained the first place in the ranks of the students of Confucius. And yet,notwithstanding his exclusiveness, he has a warm and grateful side to his nature. Let me give an illustration. Last summer there was a strike for higher wages amongst the coolies who work in Chemulp’o, and for a week neither the Japanese, Chinese, nor Europeans were able to get any work done by them. Yet those coolies who were employed by the Mission in levelling and preparing ground for the school-house and hospital were the only ones who continued to work at the old rate of wages. These coolies all had at one time or another been treated at the dispensary for various complaints, and gave this practical proof of their gratitude.

The opening of the country to foreigners has not been an unmixed blessing to the people. Opium,the eating and smoking of which is forbidden by the law,was quickly introduced by the Chinese, and already there are at least half a dozen opium dens in this port alone. This,of course, means that the use of opium is privately carried on to a much larger extent. During the past year,eight cases of opium poisoning have come before me, two of which were fatal; also fifteen opium habitues have applied for relief from the chains of opium excess with which they were bound.

Prejudice in favour of Korea has already developed. Sell-induced infatuation with the country he lives in is a characteristic of the happy young missionary. It can ripen into deep affection,and flower in sacrificial devotion,but at its onset it is often more heady than profound.

On St. Luke’s day, 18 October, he moved into the new hospital. There seems to have been no formal dedication ceremony — there were not enough members of the mission in Chemulp’o to justify a ritual observance.

Landis described the construction: [page 72] The walls of the building consist of upright posts eight feet apart, with transverse timbers connecting them, in spaces between which split bamboo is fastened. This is coated with mud. After this has dried, another coating of a sandy material is put on. On the outside of this again is put a cement composed of lime,with which is mixed boiled seaweed to make it more adhesive.

The rooms were of the traditional single kan size (about eight feet square in Chemulp’o then) except for one double-Kan room. They were ranged round three sides of a square, open on the east, towards the Korean town. The main door was on the south side, in the wing that contained the waiting-room, dispensary, surgery, Landis’s quarters and the stores. The western range was the domestic section, containing servants’ quarters, kitchen, pantry, fuel-stores, and bathroom. The north wing contained the wards, all with ondol floors, planned to accommodate twenty-one patients, though Landis reckoned it full with fourteen. The windows were of paper; the walls decorated with paintings and calligraphy done by patients who had been healed at Dr. Landis’s former dispensary.

The date of the opening naturally suggested the name of the hospital, because St. Luke is the traditional patron of physicians; but only the westerners ever called it St. Luke’s. Landis declared that ‘St. Luke’s Hospital, would be ‘absolutely meaningless to a Corean,’ so he put up another board inscribed *Nak-sonsi uiwon*, which he translated as ‘hospital of joy in good deeds.’ At last he was living truly in Korea, outside the foreign enclave, and could sit cross-legged on his own ondol. In barely twelve months he had lived in four houses; now he could settle down, and get properly to work with his hospital. Corfe described him in his first days in the new building as waiting for patients ‘like the spider for the fly.’ His work increased so much that he even needed assistance for a week or two from Miss Gertrude Heathcote, a nurse who had just arrived from England to work in the mission’s Seoul hospital.

In spite of the Japanese school and the rising pressure of the doctoring, his real enthusiasm was for the study of Korea ana its language. He and Trollope were the potential scholars of the mission, but Trollope was so occupied in directing the theological and language studies of the younger men in Seoul that Landis, very much alone, and with six months’ start on Trollope, made more obvious progress. On 10 December Corfe wrote to SPG:

With regard to the progress we are making in the language, Dr. Landis is *facile princeps*. His constant intercourse with [page 73] Koreans all day long, and his excellent memory, have enabled him to speak Korean fluently and correctly. He is also well into Chinese, and knows a thousand characters more or less. I fancy Warner comes next — a long way after …

About the same time, Corfe was reporting to SPCK that Landis had required no more than £63 out of the £80 allowed for his living expenses during the first twleve months in Korea. The bishop asked whether he might keep the remaining £17 towards supporting Landis during his third year, when the SPCK grant would have run out. The Society agreed. The frugality of the arrangements is astounding.

The following year, 1892, was not eventful for Landis. He was in Seoul in the middle of February, escorting the woman doctor Louisa Cooke, and the bishop took him to see the Wongak-sa pagoda (though no foreigner then knew its name); but when Pownall went to Seoul later in the month to prepare for ordination to the priesthood, Landis wisely discontinued his English class for the Chinese. He must have been run down, because he had influenza and was unable to go to Seoul for the ordination. Pownall soon returned to Chemulp’o. The bishop went off to visit his new territory in Manchuria over Easter, and stayed in Niuch’uang till the end of June. He decided that he must station a priest in that town, and sent the newly ordained Pownall to work there for a couple of months. Landis was alone again.

The summer was unusually hot, though the rains were lighter than usual, and July was a dry month. The bishop intended to ordain Maurice Davies deacon as soon as he returned from Manchuria, but Landis refused to allow the bishop to travel to Seoul in the heat. Chemulp’o was cooler than Seoul, which was also plagued with mosquitoes. The ordination therefore took place at Chemulp’o on 24 July — the first major ceremony in the diocese to be attended by Landis.

Life in Chemulp’o was always liable to such interruptions. Korea had already become a place for discerning holiday-makers to visit, and they all arrived by Chemulp’o, where Landis had to do the honours. At the end of June, he was walking to Seoul with H. J. Veitch, a horticulturalist of the family that introduced *Viburnum carlesii* and other Korean plants to British gardens. Later, Cecil Spring-Rice, the poet and diplomat, came on holiday from Tokyo. In the middle of July came two lay missionaries, John Hodge and William Smart, who stayed in Chemulp’o for the hot season.

Smart was a widower, forty-seven years old, who had the rank then known in the Church of England as ‘lay reader.’He was destined to work [page 74] among the Japanese in Chemulp’o. He was unwell when he arrived. Landis cared for him till he began to get better, and then ordered him to be out of doors as much as possible. Smart was a solemn character but he had domestic skills. He made jam of the superfluous tomatoes in the bishop’s garden, and planted two hundred willow trees around the house — the object of this afforestation being to relieve the bleakness of the site and to combat the erosion of the hillside.

Both the new arrivals went to live in Seoul when Pownall returned from Niuch’uang in mid-August. Pownall was in better health than when he left, and was prepared to help Landis with the language school in the autumn term. That term, however, the school was to suffer badly. The bishop had intended to send Small to Niuch’uang, but Small was now withdrawn from the mission and plans had to be changed. Pownall returned to Manchuria at the beginning of October.

Landis’s work was twice distracted during November by arriving missionaries whom he had to accompany to Seoul: the first group of nursing nuns to come from the community of St. Peter; and,a fortnight later, the nuns’ old friends Canon and Mrs. Doxat.

Landis struggled alone with the language-school, but the pupils grew disheartened and irregular. Before Christmas the school was definitively closed. In December the bishop brought Smart to Chemulp’o, and that earnest teacher, not yet ready to re-start a school, nevertheless began taking Japanese as private pupils. Landis was freed once and for all of a work he had never really liked and had grown stale at. It is surprising that he and the bishop persisted so long in thinking that it was worth while at all.

About the same time Landis made another reckoning. He had cared for 52 in-patients, of whom only two had died Five of these in-patients were Chinese; more than half the Korean in-patients were from country districts, and had come from every province in the country. Some of his visits to homes had been to islands off the coast. There had been 3,321 visits to the dispensary.

Landis was by now a well-known figure in Inch’on. Like all foreign residents, he had a Korean name, because it was essential to have a name that could be written in Chinese documents. Such a name was usually a transliteration, according to the Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters, of the foreign name or surname. Care was taken that the first character should be one used as a surname in Korea, though the result was often barbarous in Korean eyes. Landis’s Korean name was typical of him in that it was not barbarous. ‘Landis’ could have been transliterated [page 75] in contemporary Korean orthography as Landisi, which would have been pronounced in the standard dialect as Nanjisi. Perhaps a Chinese friend helped him, for the name he adopted is pronounced Nan-de-shih in Chinese. In Korean it is Nam Tuksi. The surname happens to mean ‘south’; tuksi means ‘gaining time’ and carries the significance of ‘being fortunate.’ To Landis it doubtless suggested St. Paul’s ‘redeeming the time.’

After Christmas Landis and Corfe went to Seoul for a brief conference of the mission, and during January. Trollope visited them at Chemulp’o. Among the subjects they discussed was the project they called ‘Lumen.’ This was a plan to translate a catena of gospel passages into Korean for use until such time as an adequate translation of the New Testament was made. Corfe called this work *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, ‘a light to lighten the gentiles,’ from the Song of Simeon in Luke 2.32.

This translation work was soon begun. The missionaries did not yet consider themselves capable of translating directly into Korean from Greek. They worked, with the help of their Korean pundits, from the ‘Delegates’ Version’ Chinese bible. Landis might have been expected to take a hand in this project. All the other members of the mission—even Maurice Davies, who was to leave Korea in 1896 because he failed with the language—did their share of translation. Yet Landis appears not to have contributed. He thought the native script a waste of time, because the literature of educated Koreans was entirely in classical Chinese.

During the spring of 1893 he learned that SPCK, now that his initial two years were up, had decided to grant £50 a year for three years to meet his living expenses. His record for frugality, and the other sources of income he now had, must explain the reduction of the grant from £80 to £50, but SPCK seems not to have had advance knowledge of his appointment as medical officer of the Korean Customs Service in Chemulp’o in February 1893. Corfe, writing of this, says nothing of any emolument—if there was one, it cannot have been much—but notes: ‘His duties will in no way interfere with his work in the hospital. His sphere of influence will, indeed, be greatly extended by this fresh responsibility.’ On another occasion,however, Corfe admitted that this fresh responsibility tied Landis to the post and prevented him from ever itinerating with the other missionaries.

About this time, one of his female patients, a widow, died, and before she died entrusted her six-year-old son to Landis. The boy’s name was not recorded, though the bishop once referred to him as Koum Saik I [page 76] - which looks like a milk-name, Komsaekki, ‘bear-cub.’ Taking a child into the team must have appealed to Corfe, who set great store by the children in England and America who supported his work. He wrote ponderously dull letters to these children, printed in quaint leaflets with the forbidding title of ‘The Closed Door.’ The leaflets now began to contain brief references to ‘the orphan.’ So began one of the earliest children’s orphanages in Korea. Landis bore the emotional (and much of the financial) burden of the orphan’s care.

Komsaekki could not with propriety be accommodated in any of the mission’s bachelor bed-sitters, so, if what Corfe wrote in The Closed Door’ is to be believed, a house of his own was bought for him in February, across the lane from St. Luke’s hospital, where he was installed ‘in charge of a trustworthy coolie.’ Corfe was more truthful in *The Morning Calm* magazine. The Korean town was extending up the north and east slopes of the hill. To the south,west and northwest the hospital was hemmed in by foreign property-owners. If the bishop’s mission was ever to start evangelizing, he would need something bigger than the rather cramped hospital compound, so he hurried to buy a contiguous site before it was too late. He also hoped that by engaging a teacher for the orphan he would attract other Korean boys and collect the nucleus of a Korean school. A traditional Kulpang teacher of Chinese literature was engaged shortly after lunar New Year’s day.

At the end of May Corfe took advantage of the passing HMS Leander to take a passage to Taku, and sail on to see how Pownall was faring in Niuch’uang. The young priest was doing well, making friends with Presbyterian missionaries, and apparently planning to stay in Manchuria for good.

Parents in England who glanced at their children’s copies of *The Closed Door* for July 1893 must have been surprised to read that on his return from Manchuria in the middle of the month the bishop had moved into Komsaekki’s house. He described his room in this, his first Korean- style residence:

A native mattress laid on the floor,a Navy blanket on top of it, a net hanging from the ceiling to keep off flies and mosquitoes... in another corner, my bath, which, with its cover on, acts as a wash-hand-stand and has on it my basin, soap-dish, and hair-brushes. In another corner is a basket containing my clothes and a few books… nothing else.

Another such room the orphan has, and a third is the schoolroom. [page 77]

The children arrived at 6 a.m. They chanted over the previous day’s lesson, then repeated the new lessons of the morning, chanting each phrase after the teacher, about a perfect fourth below the pitch he used.

After about two hours of this there is a lull—I suppose for breakfast. The teacher seizes this opportunity to pursue study on his own account. The first morning I heard this, I was alarmed and thought he must be ill, so extraordinary were the sounds which came from him. He seemed to be groaning and wailing and screaming alternately, and always as loud as he could. I spoke to Dr Landis about it afterwards, suggesting that he should go and see him and give him some medicine to ease his pain. But on hearing my description of the symptoms, the doctor said, ‘Oh, I expect he was only reading poetry. He is generally like that when he reads poetry.’

The bishop’s attempt at wry humour was perhaps heavy-handed even for the Victorian nursery, yet any westerner who recalls his surprise on first hearing Cninese verses recited with relish by a Korean connoisseur of the old school will recognize the accuracy of the description.

Corfe went on to write that his own room was next to the kitchen and mentions the ‘verandah’—the *maru*. It seems that the school was conducted in the *sarang-bang*. By Christmas a second orphan had joined Komsaekki.

This year, 1893, was otherwise scarcely more eventful for Landis than when he escorted the newly arrived nuns, Sister Nora and Sister Alma, to Seoul in September and they were able to travel on the first journey of a new Chinese steamer. Unobtrusively, his knowledge of Korea grew and the work of the hospital continued. Most of his patients suffered from malaria, enteric fever, indigestion, or abcesses.

Two of his companions reached turning-points in their careers during the year. The irrepressible Warner, always liable, in spite of his asthma, to indiscretions and minor adventures, had abundant energy. The previous September the bishop had sent him to explore the upper reaches of the Han, as a result of which he obtained permission to live alone in a house by the waterside at Map’o, the river port of Seoul. In May 1893 he went on another journey, exploring the Taedong river in northern Korea, and on the way he took a fancy to the island of Kanghwa. Very soon he was allowed to move to Kapkotchi, the landing-place on the island for the regular ferries from Chemulp’o to Kanghwa town. At Kapkotchi he built a cottage on the mudbank by the water and tried to evangelize the ferry [page 78] passengers by conversation and Chinese tracts. From then on it was normally Warner who came and took Sunday services at Chemulp’o when the bishop was away. Thus Landis became interested in the rich history of Kanghwa.

The other turning point was in the life of Joseph Pownall. He had switched entirely from Korean studies to the study of Chinese and of Manchuria. Corfe proposed leaving him permanently at Niuch’uang. He contracted pleurisy, however, and was advised to withdraw to England. Disappointed beyond words, he accepted the verdict and left in October. (Corfe managed to keep the Niuch’uang mission faithfully staffed till 1901, when it was returned to the Chinese diocese.)

Corfe moved back permanently to Seoul during the autumn,but returned to Chemulp, for Christmas,when Landis presented him with a scheme for devising a Korean Braille alphabet. The bishop responded with enthusiasm, and confidently expected to have a machine in operation very soon. The system, like Braille, used six dots. Hodge, the mission printer, during a visit to Peking in October, had even discussed it with W.H. Murray, a specialist worker for the blind in China. But nothing more was ever reported. The idea almost certainly fizzled out for lack of funds. That it should have got so far is further evidence of Landis’s imagination and compassion.

The following year, 1894, began as a year of rumours and turned into a year of war. Landis, in Trollope’s words, was ‘interested and greatly excited’ by the Sino-Japanese war. Although some members of the mission had sympathized with the pro-Japanese party in Korea, during the spring and summer they all took the Chinese side. Alarm was greatest in Seoul, but Chemulp’o saw most of the Japanese troops. At first, in June, the townsfolk merely gathered to watch the soldiers disembark. Landis walked to Seoul and back soon after their arrival. During July and August he reported that Inch’on was half empty because so many of the Korean residents had fled. This was after the Chinese attempt to land a force at Asan. A Japanese man-o’-war sank the Chinese transport *Kao-sheng* near P’ung-do, an island about forty miles south of Inch’on. The gunboat *Kuang-chou* was also wrecked and when its survivors were brought ashore at Chemulp’o, Landis cared for them at St Luke’s Hospital. On 26 August he went to Asan in HMS *Porpoise* to look for survivors from the *Kao-sheng*.

The war ended with a decisive victory for the Japanese at P’yongyang on 15 August. After that the country quietened down. Lumen had at last been printed, and had appeared in July. Corfe deemed it wise to close [page 79] Smart’s school, because Koreans in general hated the Japanese so fiercely. Smart went to Japan to study the Japanese language properly.

Early in the autumn came news of Pownall’s death in Leicester on 14 July. His pleurisy had been the first stages of what was then called ‘consumption.’ A month earlier he had published in *The Morning Calm* one of the best general statements about the mission that was made in the decade. He had been one of Landis’s earliest and best collaborators.

Landis was now collaborating with others. Before the war he and Trollope had together produced a Korean version of the English prayers for the King of Korea that were used in the mission. In November he had a lame boy from Seoul brought to Chemulp’o to learn bookbinding, which the doctor had taught himself since coming to Korea. (Corfe called him ‘omnivorous.’) At the same time he was helping the bishop write some litanies in Korean, based on material from Lumen.

His work at the hospital was the ‘subject of congratulatory comment by that doughty traveller Mrs Isabella Bird Bishop, who mentioned it in her famous book on Korea. Details were given by Landis in his annual report to the Hospital Naval Fund. The dispensary showed a decrease in the number of treatments, which was 4,463. He attributed the drop to the evacuation of the town in July and August. The hospital had admitted 130 patients, 106 of whom had been suffering from imbyong in the spring and early summer. Landis translated imbyong as ‘pestilence’ and said it was common every year at the same season, but did not describe the symptoms.

Vaccination was becoming more popular. The older practice of introducing virus from a smallpox patient into children’s nostrils was as deplorable in its effects as was the treatment of a forming abcess by applying a sticky mass of centipedes and pine resin. A curious class of injury was perforation of the back of the throat by a tobacco-pipe. The stem of a native pipe is a long piece of bamboo, with a tapering mouthpiece of metal. If a man stumbles and falls while smoking, the stem of the pipe is forced through the tissues in the back of the mouth, often leading to fatal results.

Landis complained bitterly about sanitation and hygiene in Chemulp’o, saying that foreigners and Japanese were as careless as Koreans. The covered drains of the settlement were merely masked cesspools that were properly cleaned only when the monsoon rains came. ‘The coming year,’ he says ironically, ‘bids fair to be an unhealthy one.’ [page 80]

During the war many of the dead had been buried in very shallow graves and ‘large numbers of carcasses of horses and cattle were not buried at all, but left to decompose on the field’ after the battle of P’yongyang.

In the light of Landis’s later history, the irony of this report becomes poignant in the paragraph:

The large number of cases of malarial fever treated is easily understood when one sees the situation of native houses. No Corean will ever build on a hill if he can avoid it. The houses are usually near the rice-fields, which are under water for many months of the year.

His one case of leprosy was

that of a man who came from the South begging for relief. It being impossible to place him in the hospital, a small temporary place was obtained for him at some distance from the settlement. The case was one of the tuberosa form, and *leontiasis* was very marked. When he came the disease was already far advanced, with nodules scattered all over his face, and ulceration of the hands and feet already begun. He was treated with chaulmoogra oil and iodides, but without avail, and he gradually grew worse and worse, and finally died.

Landis was proudest of the fact that he had patients from every one of the eight provinces, and the islands of Quelpaert and Kanghwa. Only one third of his patients came from Kyonggi, the province Chemulp’o belonged to. That, he considered, proved the importance of his beloved port-town as a mission station where all Korea could be contacted.

In spite of the war and this hard work at the hospital, 1894 was the year in which Landis’s Korean studies began to show fruit. His translation of the Buddhist ‘Rosary Sutra’ was ready in time for publication at the beginning of 1895. His three other published translations of Buddhist writings were almost certainly completed before the end of 1895. It is more than likely that all the texts came into his hands on one occasion— probably during a visit to Pongwon-sa, between Seoul and Kwangju, whence he obtained his copy of the sutra. It is curious that having published these pieces he never gave Buddhism sympathetic treatment again. He seems to have assimilated himself to the attitudes of the orthodox Confucian. Buddhist texts, however, as Courant and Trollope discovered, were not easily obtained, and Landis lived only two years after the Rosary Sutra translation appeared. He may merely have lacked opportunity to collect further Buddhist material. [page 81]

1895 was the *kabo* year from which effective modernization of Korea has been dated. China had now lost her suzerainty over Korea. The Japanese were in control for the time being. In May the Koreans were forced to abandon their traditional white clothes and wear what Corfe called ‘sub-fusc.’ St Luke’s Hospital was crammed with patients suffering from the early summer pestilence, fifty to sixty men being crowded in at one time. There was a severe famine in Cheju, and many of the sufferers came from that island.

In June *The Korean Repository* published a note from Dr Landis about the first historical reference to the mariner’s compass.

In the journal of Su King, who was sent as ambassador to Korea in 1122 AD, it is stated that he left Ningpo and proceeded by ship to Korea. He describes the compass as a floating needle which was used to steer by on dark nights and cloudy days. Usually the course was guided by the stars, but when they were invisible, recourse was had to the compass.

Although this looks like a precocious discovery in Hsu Ching’s *Kao-li t’u-ching*, Landis undoubtedly found the reference in an article by Joseph Edkins in *The China Review* 1889.

The July rains were unwontedly heavy. In Chemulp’o the church was damaged and the cemetery wall came down. Early in August, Landis was cheered when he received the Imperial Chinese Order of the Double Dragon, Third Class, First Grade. The order was bestowed for outstanding services to the imperial throne, and the rank Landis received was that appropriate to foreign consular officials of the rank of army colonel or navy captain and above. It was, perhaps, ranked according to his consular appointment, but it did not justify the terms of the later reports in the newspapers of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, that said he had been ‘knighted by the emperor.’ The award must have been made on the recommendation of the powerful Yuan Shih-kai, later president of China and would-be emperor, who was the Chinese representative in Korea at the time of the war.

In October the queen of Korea was murdered. The Japanese were, not unreasonably, blamed for her death. All the missionaries were unsettled for a time, but they never doubted that their work would continue. Corfe abandoned his resolve to remain silent on politics, and published his abhorrence of the Japanese, their selfishness and their perfidy. He was hugely angered by the order for Koreans to cut their topknots in November. [page 82]

The five years of Landis’s contract were now completed. SPCK renewed its annual grant of £50 towards his stipend for a further three years, and it was time for him to go on furlough. In preparation for his departure he made arrangements for the three orphan boys who now lived in Komsaekki’s house. He sent his translation of the Tonghak scripture to the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai.

His systematic list of spirits exorcised by Korean shamans was published in Hong Kong before he sailed from Chemulp’o on 30 December. Mrs Bishop was in the same ship with him as far as Chifu. She asked him if he was looking forward to his holiday. He replied, ‘The greatest pleasure will be the next sight of Chemulp’o.’ He had already told his friends that after his return he hoped to give up all work for foreigners, in order to live and work strictly among Koreans.

While he was away his medical work in Chemulp’o was done by an English bachelor doctor whom Corfe obtained for the purpose from China, a shadowy character who seems never to have made friends in Korea. His name was Fullerton Boyd Malcolm. He had emigrated to Canada early in life and been educated first in Toronto, then at the University of Michigan, finally getting his MD at the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1893, at the age of forty-three, he joined the American Baptist Mission to China, and the following spring arrived with a group of missionaries to develop the hospital recently opened at Sui-fu in Szechwan. Sui-fu, also known as Hsii-chou, and now called I-pin, was a centre of trade with Burma, set at the confluence of the Min and Yangtze. Malcolm had scarcely been there a year when rioting in Szechwan caused him to leave. He worked briefly at the London Mission Hospital in Hankow before Corfe got in touch with him, and he went to Chemulp’o to replace Landis temporarily.

Meanwhile Landis travelled quickly. There is no record of his having done any public speaking during the month he spent in England, though he visited the mother-house of the St Peter’s sisters, which had transferred to Woking in Surrey. He also visited the Bodleian Library at Oxford and there indulged an American bent for genealogy by unearthing the blazon of a coat-of-arms for Landis. Another month was spent in America, where he visited his home in Pennsylvania without lingering there. All his letters to Korea were full of impatience to get back and of anxiety about the orphan boys.

While he was away events in Korea took a dramatic turn. The king escaped from Japanese surveillance in the palace on 11 February 1896 and took refuge in the Russian legation, where he was crowned as Emperor of [page 83] Great Korea at a fete in the compound during May. Koreans returned to wearing their traditional clothes and wore false topknots while their hair grew again. Russia was temporarily in the ascendant, and most of the English missionaries preferred Russia to Japan (though the English at home still feared Russian expansion).

Landis saw Chemulp’o again on 10 May 1896. Although Corfe had intended him to be away for six months, he had circled the world and returned in 133 days. Now, however, in spite of his volubly stated preference for Chemulp’o rather than Seoul, the bishop made him look after the Seoul hospitals, while Edward Baldock, the Seoul doctor, went on furlough. His early return meant that he had six weeks to spare before taking up this duty. He spent the time ‘visiting the interior.’ We have no idea where he travelled, but he seems to have made only brief excursions, for he was based on Chemulp’o and made three visits to Seoul during this period.

On 5 July, however, he took up residence in Seoul, taking his orphan boys with him, to live in a separate house in the Chong-dong compound. A month or so later Bishop Corfe was describing how the doctor took them twice a day to the Chapel of the Advent to teach them how to say their prayers. The bishop was also getting more translation help from Landis. In August the office for the admission of candidates was printed. It was translated from the North China diocese’s office by Trollope and revised by Corfe and Landis. Corfe insisted that his men should baptize no Koreans until the missionaries themselves were confident of their linguistic ability to teach. He had estimated they would wait for seven years before the first adult baptisms, and now that they had finished their sixth year, he thought the first catechumens might soon be made. Catechumens would have to attend public worship, so the next translation task was to provide the *missa catechumenorum*, or first part of the eucharist, in Korean. The same team immediately tackled that job, and Landis did his part of it in October.

Trollope’s participation, however, was hindered by his removal from Seoul. The bishop was astonished in August to receive a letter from Warner demanding independence from Corfe’s supervision. He must have known that Corfe was bound to refuse. Less than three weeks later the 29-year-old rebel had left Korea, claiming that he left to get married. (Always unstable, he worked in South Africa and as rector of Kirby Misperton in Yorkshire, where he died by his own hand in 1914.) Someone had to replace him, because of the importance of Kanghwa and because of his success there. Trollope alone was capable of coping with [page 84] the work. He moved to Kanghwa in September, and henceforward often had reason to pass through Chemulp’o when travelling between Seoul and Kanghwa. He frequently called on Landis.

The service for catechumens was used in the Chapel of the Advent at Seoul on Christmas Eve 1896. The bishop officiated in cope and mitre, with Trollope’s assistance, for the admission to the catechumenate of six Korean men. One man and two youths among them were from Kanghwa; the other three were the bishop’s language teacher and two men from Seoul. Immediately afterwards the bishop baptized five of Landis’s orphans, using the service for infant baptism in English. Landis himself held the brass bowl that served as font; and one of the boys was named Barnabas. He was Landis’s adopted son. It seems that he was not Komsaekki. Oral tradition suggests that he was the son of a concubine.

On Christmas morning at 8:30 the new catechumens attended the eucharist for the first time. The catechumens were separated from the missionaries and baptized boys by the low railings of the choir. The service began with the litany and continued with the eucharist. The missionaries had carefully practised Korean words to Doran and Nottingham’s setting of the litany and one of Croft’s plainsong masses. The catechumens and orphans, however, ruined the effect by joining in with their own unpractised chant, based on the recitation of Chinese classics and poetry, like that of the boys’ teacher at Chemulp’o. After the reading of the gospel, for all the world as though they were in the days of the early Church, the catechumens were dismissed. The eucharist was then concluded in English, because the rest of it had not yet been translated into Korean.

St Stephen’s, the day after Christmas, is a traditional holiday in England. The sisters gave a tea-party for all eight orphan boys, complete with cake and paper crackers. Happily, all the crackers contained paper hats, which the boys put on to give a drill display for the sisters. One of them, wrote a sister, ‘was with the soldiers for three months before coming to us.’ He acted as sergeant. The boys played up to their hosts, and the nuns had a merry time, but Landis slipped away from the fun for an hour to consult with an American doctor (presumably Scranton).

They could not know that Dr Malcolm in Chemulp’o had been ill with typhoid just before Christmas. On the very afternoon of the party he insisted on going up the hill to the hospital to care for his patients. Bronchitis set in, and in the darkness of the early hours of Sunday morning, 3 January 1897,the lonely and devoted doctor died.

Landis was there when he died but was not able to return to live in [page 85] Chemulp’o until Baldock returned from furlough. He continued in charge of the Seoul hospitals, helping the bishop and Trollope to produce a catechism in Korean. Corfe particularly stressed the value of Landis’s knowledge of Chinese. At the end of January, as the lunar new year festival approached, the recently arrived Arthur Turner (later to succeed Corfe as bishop) was walking into Seoul from Map’o and came upon one of the traditional community stone-throwing battles, with Dr Landis ‘looking on with interest not altogether unprofessional, as in the course of the week it gave him some experience in broken heads and how to bind them.’

At the beginning of March he was allowed to return to Chemulp’o. He at once set about severing his connections with the foreign community, but found it harder than he had expected. Undoubtedly the small financial advantage of his appointment to the customs department counted for something. The foreign residents urged him to regard them as his primary obligation. He resented these attempts to dictate where he should live and what his priorities should be, but conceded their point that he should continue his responsibilities to the customs staff. He insisted, however, on his right to move with his family of orphans to a purely Korean neighbourhood, away from the foreign enclave. At the hospital he had only two living rooms, no longer large enough for his expanding literary and scientific collections, and not secluded enough for him to study without interruption. He also wanted to keep his boys from the contamination of contact with the riff-raff of the seaport, where thievery and opium smuggling were rife and the coolies worked stark naked in hot weather.

The place he chose was a little more than half-a-mile—ten minutes’ walk across the valley—away from the hospital, in the hamlet of Songnim. It is difficult to guess why a sensible physician who had deplored the Korean custom of building houses close to the stagnant filthy water of the paddies should deliberately choose to live in just such a place himself. Even Koreans, it was said, considered Songnim malarial and its water supply bad. Yet when the spring building season opened he began to build two houses there: one for himself and the boys, and one where his adopted son, Barnabas, now aged about seventeen, could live with the fourteen-year-old wife who was found for him about this time, and with the couple who cared for the boys. Building went on from May to July, and they moved in at the beginning of August.

There were not so many boys now. Trollope had acquired a house and persimmon orchard in Kanghwa town, where he was joined by other [page 86] missionaries, and they had opened a school for boys at Kapkotchi, in which two of Landis’s bigger lads were enrolled. He took them to Kanghwa Island when he went there for the solemn blessing of the new establishment on St John Baptist’s day, 24 June 1897. There was a great gathering of the missionaries with Trollope presiding over the occasion, which turned into a mammoth picnic. Landis utilized the group by persuading them to spend the morning walking around Kapkotchi collecting snails for the study of molluscs in which he was then engaged. This must have been the practical side of his work on the Korean pharmacopoea, *Tongui pogam*, of which he translated the section on invertebrates. He may also at the same time have obtained the material he soon published as ‘Notable Dates of Kang-wha,’ based on unidentified ‘official records.’

During 1897 he published two translations of works on geomancy, one in Korea and one in Hong Kong; and some charming notes on children’s rhymes, where one suspects the help of his orphans. He was also now the Korean-language lay reader at Chemulp’o. Every Sunday at nine o’clock in St Michael’s Church he read Korean prayers with his orphans and others. (Smart did the same for the Japanese at ten o’clock, while the English reserved for themselves their own sacred hour of eleven.)

The year proceeded without further events in Landis’s life being recorded. Corfe was not present at the Kanghwa picnic because in March he had left for a conference of bishops in China before going to England for the Lambeth Conference in July, and did not return until October 1898. He was therefore away from Korea when the long awaited first baptism of Korean adults took place at Chemulp’o on Sunday 7 November 1897. Trollope baptized two men from Kanghwa, Kim Kunmyong (John) and Kim Huijun (Mark), immersing them in the great font in the floor. Bishop Scott of Peking was there to confirm them at once—in Chinese.

About the same time news came from London that SPG was to provide a considerable sum for the erection of better buildings for St Luke’s Hospital. Landis eagerly set about the planning and looked forward to starting construction work when the spring weather came in 1898. But he was not to see the event.

He felt ill on Lady Day, Friday 25 March 1898, and thought he had influenza. Trollope arrived next day from Kanghwa to celebrate Sunday eucharist at Chemulp’o. He found Landis confined with a fever, under the care of British naval surgeons from the fleet then in port. No one thought the illness was serious,though Baldock came twice from Seoul. [page 87] Landis, however, knew more of the local sickness and thought he might die. He begged Trollope not to leave him without a priest; so when Trollope had to go, Turner came to Chemulp’o. A week later, early in Holy Week, Landis was moved to St Michael’s parsonage. The Russian fleet had replaced the British in the harbour, and Dr Benezet of HIRMS *Mandjour* attended Landis, who rapidly got better. Trollope passed through the port on Maundy Thursday evening, pausing on the way from Seoul to Kanghwa, and thought Landis much better. On Good Friday there was a relapse. Turner sent to Seoul for Baldock and a nurse, who arrived at two in the morning of Easter day, 10 April. A little later Landis received *viaticum* from Turner, and at three in the afternoon appeared to be dying; but when Trollope got in from Kanghwa about four o’clock he had rallied and was able to talk a little.

The next day he received the Blessed Sacrament again, this time from Trollope, and asked that the cross which had been carried before it from the church might be left standing at his bedside. It was.

On Tuesday he seemed stronger, but scarcely spoke. He then slowly declined, occasionally able to communicate by moving his head, until half-past four in the afternoon of Saturday 16 April. Trollope and Sister Lois were with him. Trollope read the commendatory prayers, then took the crucifix which for years Landis had worn on a cord round his neck, and presented it to the dying man’s lips. A last flutter of consciousness seemed to pass over his face, and a few minutes later he died He was thirty-two.

Sister Lois laid him out in his silk turumagi, with hands clasped over the same crucifix. On Monday evening his coffin was placed in the church, covered with a pall but almost hidden by flowers, and flanked by two lighted candles. On Tuesday morning the missionaries sang a homely requiem. Trollope complied with Landis’s dying request that the eucharist should be celebrated every day for a week after his death.

The funeral was arranged for four o’clock on the Tuesday afternoon, so that the customs staff could attend. Most of the male members of the Anglican mission came from Seoul and Kanghwa. The little church was crammed with Koreans and foreigners. As the service began, the weather, which had been threatening all day, burst into a violent storm that lasted far into the night. Thunder and lightning, drenching rains, violent winds, and slippery mud roads made the procession to the foreigners’ cemetery doubly painful.

Eighteen months later a seven-foot white marble Celtic cross was set up at the grave with a Latin inscription: [page 88]

H(ic) s(epultum) e(st) quod mortale fuit medici carissimi Eli Barr Landis, cujus animae propitietur Dens. Natus prope Lancastriam apud Americanos A(nno) S(alutis) MDCCCLXV viii fere annos apud Coreanos commoratus obiit Chemulpo die xvio mensis Aprilis A (nno) S (alutis) MDCCCXCVIII

Behind the cross were carved the Chinese characters of his name: Nam Tuksi. The cross stands now in the cemetery at Ch’onghak-tong, whither all the graves of Inch’on foreigners’ cemetery were moved in 1965.

There was considerable doubt about the diagnosis of his last illness, but his death was attributed to a typhoid infection received from polluted water. He had been taking steps to improve the water supply to his house just before he fell ill. It was ironic that he should die of a version of the *imbyong* from which he saved so many. In their genuine sadness at his death his friends did not reproach him for exposing himself to risk. When a young man of high religious motivation dies in such circumstances, one is tempted to wonder whether he were not courting death and wanting, as so many missionaries have wanted to ‘give his life for the people’ and to ‘lay his bones in Korea;’ but there was too much vitality in his last months. He had just joined a number of scholarly societies; he was enthusiastically planning the new hospital; and he was working away at the water supply problem.

Just as the detailed accounts of his death underline the preoccupations and piety of the period, so do the memorials. Besides the cross, there were the ‘Landis windows:’ stained glass to fill the three lights of the east window of Chemulp’o church; a ward called ‘the Landis ward’ in the new hospital (the building of which was deferred until autumn 1898); and the Landis Memorial Library built up around the nucleus provided by his personal collection. The windows disappeared when the church was destroyed during the fighting over Inch’on in 1951; the hospital was discontinued in 1914, though parts of the building were still in use for other purposes sixty years later; the library has survived, at least in part. It was moved to Seoul and added to by Trollope. The western-language books in it were kept in the Bible Society building, where they were lost during the burning of central Seoul in 1951; but the Korean collection was kept in the Chong-dong Anglican compound until 1941, when it was confided to the care of Choson Christian College while the English missionaries were away during World War II. Bishop Cooper always grieved that the college refused to return the books to the mission after the war, the more so because the books that remained at the cathedral survived the Korean [page 89] War of 1950-3 unscathed, while the college library suffered loss and damage. Such of the Korean books of the Landis collection as now survive have been absorbed into Yonsei University Library.

A catalogue of the Landis Library was published by the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1903. It lists some 300 volumes, all in western languages, save for three maps of Korea. Since few of the titles were published before 1898, and Trollope wrote at the time of Landis’s death that he left 300 books, the bulk of the list doubtless represents Landis’s own collection. It gives some indication of his scholastic equipment. The standard sinological works of Legge, Moellendorf, and Mayers are there, together with nearly everything that had been written on Korea: Allen, Carles, Culin, Dallet, de Rosny, Gale, Gifford, Gilmore, Gutzlaff, Hall, Hesse-Wartegg, Hodge, Imbault-Huart, Miln, Oppert, Ross, Savage-Landor, Scott, Underwood, and Wilkinson. The Chinese dictionaries include Goncalves 1833, Giles 1892, Lobschied 1883, Medhurst 1842, Polette 1896, and the curious work of Philosinensis 1835. There is a standard collection on East Asian travel, Chinese culture, and Buddhism, including Eitel’s Handbook and Julien’s Methode pour dechiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanserifs que se recontrent dans les *Livres Chinois*. Botanical references include the Linnean Society’s *Index florae sinensis* by Forbes and Hensley 1886; *Catalogue of plants in the botanic garden of the Imperial University*, Tokyo 1887; and Yatabe Ryokichi *Iconographia florae japonicae* 1891.

A minor memorial is his ikon of the Mother of God. There is no record of how he obtained it, though a manuscript note by Trollope records that it belonged to Landis. When Trollope finished furnishing his splendid church of St Peter and St Paul in Kanghwa town in 1900, he set the ikon on the rood screen, above the central arch. Joan Rutt cleaned it in 1972, when it proved to be a repository article of a kind made by the tens of thousands in nineteenth-century Russia, with only the hands and faces of Christ and his mother painted on the wood where they show through the cut-away parts of the gilded cover. It was possibly given to Landis by one of the officers of the Russian navy visiting Inch’on, or by one of the many Russians in Seoul in 1896.

Sixty years after his death the memory of Nam Tuksi still lingered in Inch’on. He had been compassionate and patient. He had been unusually close to Koreans. In his own mission perhaps only Warner equalled him in this respect. The editors of *The Korean Repository* remembered that he was ‘an industrious student of Korean Chinese, and many an evening in passing the hospital we have heard him reading Mencius or the Analects [page 90] in true Korean fashion.’ Mrs Bishop wrote: ‘There will never be another Dr Landis, and twice when I had occasion to go to see him in his tiny room at Chemulp’o, and found him living like a native, surrounded by his patients and Corean and Chinese books, perfectly happy, I thought there had never been another Dr Landis.’

It is hard to descry the real man in the obituary eulogies. Clearly he was an attractive personality. I have found only two photographs. In one he sits with a foreign garden-party group; in the other he squats among his Chinese and Japanese pupils. One can see only a short, neat man with a dark pointed beard and bright eyes.

His attachment to the orphans tells most. He made himself entirely responsible for Barnabas’s expenses, but was detached enough to see that the boy married. All reports speak of his solicitude for the boys, and the Repository, sagely noting that ‘they were to him what a family might have been,’ described him as ‘a wise, kind, careful and loving parent.’ Corfe said he made the orphans ‘in a real sense... his own children.’ (After his death they were all taken to Map’o. We read of the baptism of Barnabas’s wife and the confirmation of the couple in June 1899. Barnabas was taught printing at the mission press. When the press was closed down in December 1900 he was given the machinery and a small sum of money, with which he was sent to Kanghwa to set himself up in business there by teaching some of the boys at the church school to work with him. Nothing is known of his success or otherwise, though he is said to have died in tragic circumstances about 1922. The orphanage moved to Seoul and eventually to Suwon, where it was finally closed in 1973.)

Corfe wrote of Landis’s modesty, common-sense, and never-failing good humour and courtesy. Trollope, though irked by the general air of canonization, found it hard to do otherwise than contribute to it. In praising Landis’s colloquial Korean, he wrote ‘I very much doubt whether he (or for that matter any other foreigner) could be said to speak like a native’—which was hardly a complaint. Trollope continued, however, But in one point, and that an important one, he failed us. He had all the Korean *syen-pai’s* distaste for mere *enmoun*, a distaste which, of course, greatly diminished his value to us as a translator, though he was always willing to lend a hand...’

This points to a facet of Landis’s character that belongs to youth. He was a whole-hearted enthusiast: not merely for Korea, but for Chemulp’o; not just for Korean, but for Korean literary Chinese. He must live like a Korean, entirely for and with Koreans; he must think and talk like a Korean. Perhaps he succeeded, as not all enthusiastic young [page 91] missionaries have done, in retaining his emotional balance; but certainly his enthusiasm generated prodigious energy in his medical work and his studies.

Seen in the context of his time, his scholarly achievement was formidable. Hulbert, never one to give praise where no praise was due (even to the dead, whose rivalry was no longer to be feared) wrote in 1906 that Landis was ‘one of the most finished scholars that Korea has seen... Had he lived he would undoubtedly have stood at the head of that small body of men who have made a special study of the Korean people.’

That ‘small body’ consisted of six men: Gale, Hulbert, G.H. Jones, Landis, Trollope, and H.G. Underwood. Three of them are shown in H.H. Underwood’s *Bibliography* of 1931 as having published more titles than Landis, but Gale’s writing career spanned forty years, and Hulbert and Jones each had twenty years of active writing, and all their lists of publications are swollen by quantities of missionary propaganda and reporting, by social and political comment. Landis, with twenty-two pioneer research papers in three years, compares well with any of them for quantity. In quality he is more accurate than Gale and Hulbert, though George Heber Jones—another American missionary scholar whose name deserves recall—was of comparable calibre.

Landis’s particular contribution was that he had been trained in the natural sciences. Where others were content with impressionistic observations, he collected specimens, he obtained and translated the handbooks of the geomancers and soothsayers, the pharmacopoea, the ritual books. His translations are notably accurate, and he was unusual for his time in that he translated Chinese names and Sanskrit words as such, not as Korean. Most of his contemporaries who studied Korean had a literary training that encouraged them to fill out their accounts with value-judgements and asides. Landis’s training led him to write unadorned diagnostic prose, sparing of comment. He did not strive for literary grace: though some of his writing is attractive, he concentrated on amassing and clas- siiying facts. Nobody else did the same at that time, and in some of his fields little or nothing more has been done by foreign Koreanologists since he died.

Trollope hoped to publish such of his manuscripts as remained unpublished at his death, perhaps even publish all Landis’s writings in a single volume. Had this been done, the little doctor’s contribution to Korean studies would have been easier to assess. In the event only two unpublished papers appeared posthumously: one in 1898 in *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which was published in Woking (where the [page 92] Sisters of St Peter now had their mother-house); and one in the last two issues of *The Korea Review* in 1906.

We may reasonably doubt whether he wrote much that was never published. He certainly planned more, but had completed very little. The last published sentence of his lifetime appeared in The China Review early in 1898 under the heading ‘Query:’

Could any readers of the *China Review* give me the corresponding date in the English Calendar of the first date of the year Im Chin (and here he inserted the Chinese characters Jen-ch’en) 1592?

This is intriguing for the light it sheds on the limitations of his resources; and for the hint it gives of what he was studying next.

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

Landis’s own writings and the principal obituary statements are listed in the appended bibliography. Further details of his years in Korea are to be found in the early issues of *The Morning Calm* (magazine of the English Church Mission to Korea); *The Closed Door* (Bishop Corfe’s letters to children, printed in Seoul; five issues 1891-93); the manuscript Log of the mission, kept in Seoul; the archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, both in London; in letters sent home by members of the Anglican mission, some of which were privately printed (specifically those of M.N. Trollope printed by his sister, and those of the St Peter’s sisters, printed for the associates of the community).

L.G. Paik’s *History of Protestant Missions in Korea* 1832-1010, P’yongyang 1929 contains inaccuracies on the Anglican missions. Paik depended chiefly on C.F. Pascoe *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, London 1915, PP. 712-715e, which is so condensed as to be misleading about details.

Likewise the information about Landis’s published papers given in H.H. Underwood ‘A Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature in Korea, from Early Times to 1930, (TKBRAS XX,Seoul 1931) is incomplete and inaccurate. Nevertheless, it was the indispensable starting point for my own work.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED PAPERS BY LANDIS

Abbreviations

JBTS Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India Calcutta

CR The China Review Hong Kong

IAQR Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review London and Woking

JAF The Journal of American Folklore Boston, Massachussetts

JAI The Journal of the Anthropological Institute London

KRP The Korean Repository Seoul

KRV The Korean Review Seoul

MC Morning Calm London

TCBRAS Transactions of the China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society Shanghai

TKBRAS Transactions of the Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society Seoul.

I. BUDDHIST TEXTS

1. ‘The Classic of the Buddhist Rosary’

KRP II, 23-5 (1895) and JBTS III, 1 ii-iii (1895). Reprinted in A.C. Clark Religions of Old Korea New York 1932, pp. 286-7, where the reference to KRP is given, but Landis is not named.

This is a translation of a sutra printed ‘in chart form’ which Landis claimed was ‘put on the walls of many of the Buddhist temples of Korea.’ He says that while visiting a temple he obtained a copy printed from blocks cut at Pongui- sa near Kwangju at the expense of ‘a virgin by the name of Pak.’ ‘Pong Eui Sa’ is translated by Landis as ‘the temple of the receiving of benefits,’ and is probably a misprint for ‘Pong Eun Sa’ (Pongun-sa).

Clark subtitles the translation Yumchoo kyung, i.e. Yffmju-gydng ‘rosary sutra.’ Most of the text is given in Ting Fu-pao Fo-hsueh ta tz’u-tien, Shanghai, 1921, page 2641 under the title Mu-huan ching (Korean Mokh wan-gyong; cf. op. cit., pp. 484-5).

The sutra is brief. In it King Virudhaka (Korean Piyuri, but rendered by Landis as Paruri) asks the Buddha how to cure the famine and disease in his kingdom, and the Buddha urges him to use the rosary.

As found by Landis the whole text was apparently printed within an oval border of large dots representing the 108 beads of the rosary. In KRP there is a fold-out sheet of Korean mulberry-back paper on which the oval string of dots is printed with the names of buddhas, bodhisattvas, paramitas, guardians, constellations, devas, hells, benefactors and rosary-carrier appended in Chinese appropriately outside each bead-dot, apparently in facsimile of the original chart. The space in the middle contains the same names in Korean script, romanized Sanskrit, and English translation.

Landis added a note containing a curious error: he said that the Korean rosary contains 110 beads. The mistake arose from the fact that the fifty-fifth [page 94] dot on the chart has the name of Ksitigarbha (Chijang posal) with two of his titles: Mudok kwiwang, ‘king of spirits, free of malevolence,’ and Tomyong chonja, ‘honoured one, light of the way.’ Landis has treated them as the names for three beads instead of one.

This would have given him two beads too many. But the chart itself contains another error: it contains 109 titles for 108 beads, because it has 20 hell- names for the 19 hell-beads. Landis, therefore, had 111 names to translate but for some unaccountable reason he omitted the name of Ksitigarbha, and so counted 110.

There is also a lacuna in the translation of the sutra, undoubtedly due to bad proof-reading in the first printing. Near the beginning there are said to be twelve divisions, but only eleven are named. The missing division appears to be that for buddhas other than Sakyamuni. Even so, the description given in the sutra does not tally with the names on the chart: but both agree in describing 108 beads. The chart differs from the sutra in giving five fewer heavens, one fewer deva, two fewer earthly localities; compensated by seven more bodhisattvas and two more hells.

It is clear that the woodblock print from which Landis worked represented a slapdash combination of two traditions. The reprint in JBTS exactly reproduces the KRP text, without the chart.

2. ‘Buddhist chants and processions’

KRP II, 123-6 (1895) and JBTS III, Prayers to be chanted by the Gautama, before retiring at night, monks in procession before the statue of on rising in the morning, and when benefactors offer gifts.

3. Three Buddhist tracts from Korea’

JBTS IV 1, 22-28 Translations of three texts:

(a) Precepts for young students’

A translation of Kye ch’o-simhagin mun by Moguja, otherwise Chinul (1158-1210). An edition of the text appears in An Chinho Sa chip happon Seoul, 1973, pp. 1-5.

(b) ‘Prayers and chants’

Prayers to be recited by monks at meal times in the monastery, of a character similar to those published earlier as ‘Buddhist chants and processions.’

(c) ‘Precepts for the cultivation of the heart’

Palsim-suhaeng chang, by Wonhyo, the great seventh-century monk of Silla. The text is available in Sa chip happon, pp. 6-9. It expounds some principles of the monastic state and forms a natural companion for the precepts of Moguja.

4. ‘Record of a vision of Avalokitecvara’

JBTS IV, 3, pp. 1-3 (1896)

A translation of Kwomum hyonsang ki by Ch’oe Hang (1409-1474) [page 95] describing how King Sejo, on an inspection tour of Kyonggi in 1461, received a vision of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara at Sangwon-sa near Chip’yong. The king ordered Ch’oe Hang to record the event and the royal acts designed to commemorate it.

II. FOLKLORE

5. ‘Notes on the exorcism of spirits in Korea’

CR XXI,399-404 (1894/5); MC Feb 1898, 16-25

An introductory study of the spirits involved in shaman kut ceremonies. Thirty-six types of spirit are classified, and twelve varieties of exorcism. At the end there is a description of how a woman becomes a sorceress (mudang). This paper is remarkable for its time in the degree of detail Landis was able to elicit about a sensitive subject.

6. ‘Folk tales of Korean children’

JBTS V,4, pp. 1-6 (1897)

Four folktales, probably retold by Landis after hearing them from his orphan boys or other children in Inch’on.

(a) The hunter’s three sons. A story of avenging the death of a father who was killed by a tiger. The tiger assumes the form of a buddhist monk.

(b) The tale of the poor nobleman. The poor yangban is kind to a fox, which shows him some buried gold. A man to whom the yangban has been kind envies him the gold and attempts to swindle him out of it. The magistrate solves the case correctly and serpents devour the false accuser. A moral is appended: ‘Of all living creatures, man is the most ungrateful.’

(c) The tale of the clever artist. A variation on the animated picture theme. A yangban paints a picture of a fruit tree that gives its owner real fruit, which increases the owner’s greed. The artist is eventually condemned to death for sorcery, but paints a picture of a donkey, which he mounts and rides away.

(d) The tale of the faithful bull. Another tiger story, climaxing in a fight between a bull and a marauding tiger, in which both animals are killed.

(e) The tale of the sun and moon. A tiger kills a poor widow, then goes to eat her children. The children escape up a cinnamon tree, which the tiger attempts to fell. A rope descends from heaven, and they escape; but when the tiger tries to climb the rope it breaks and he falls to his death. In heaven the girl becomes the sun and the boy becomes the moon. The story is well known, and one version is in Zong Insob, Folk Tales from Korea, London 1952, pp. 7-10.

7. ‘Korean Folk Tales’

CR XXII, pp. 693-7 (1896-7)

(a) The story of the demon and how it was killed. A demon kills a whole family, save one boy. When it returns, disguised as a girl, to kill the son, the boy brutally exterminates the demon.

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(b) The story of the nobleman and the slave. An inconsequential tale of tiger- [page 96] hunting and ingratitude, but with a happy ending.

(c) The story of the boy and the piece of rope. An impoverished boy manages to exchange his possessions in a sequence whereby he profits by each exchange until with the last exchange he obtains a wife, who brings him pros-perity.

(d) The story of the hunter’s son. A brief but rambling account, with a subsidiary revenge motif, of a posthumously born son of a hunter who kills a demon and gains a wife.

(e) The story of the three orphan boys. Three orphan boys grow up as adopted brothers: Yi becomes a scholar, Kim becomes governor of Tongnae, and Pak the chief of some bandits. Yi meets Pak and then reports to Kim about him. Kim, duty bound, tries to arrest Pak, but fails and dies in the attempt. In remorse, Pak mends his ways.

(f) The story of the ungrateful tiger. A tiger, freed from a trap by a passer-by, proposes to devour the man. The man appeals to a toad to dissuade the tiger, and the toad persuades the tiger to re-enact the story by entering the trap. The pitying toad releases the tiger, then has to hide under a rock to escape being eaten himself. The tiger rubs his nose sore, trying to get at the toad.

Zong has the same story (op. cit., p. 183). The stupidity of the tiger is a familiar folk theme.

(g) The story of the fox, the hare, and the toad. The three animals boast of the length of their ancestries. The toad wins. A tiger tries to humiliate the toad, but is made to look sill.. (Cf Zong, op. cit., p. 17).

8. ‘Rules for choosing a name.’ KRP III, 54-8 (1896)

A translation of a text more recently called Haemyong pop, ‘method for analysing names’ (e.g. in Kim Hyokche Myongmun kajong pogam, Myong- mun-dang, Seoul 1948 and later editions). The strokes of each of the two characters in a personal name are separately counted and both numbers divided by eight. The remainders provide a pair of digits in a series, 1-1 to 8-8, which contains sixty-four pairs. Landis’s translation lacks the last three pairs (8-6,8-7,and 8-8). Each pair is furnished with a runic Chinese couplet that needs a soothsayer’s skill to elucidate it. For example:

1-5 The body will be driven from a palace And flowers will fall in an empty room.

This oracle is referred to in the Chonju version of the Ch’unhyang story. Others are superficially decorative, but decidedly hermetic as predictions, such as:

2-2 The green jade stones will tinkle

And boats will face the river terrace. Others are less opaque:

8-5 The name of a man will be spread abroad; A virtuous way and a great scholar. All the couplets are assigned to eleven grades of luck, from Double Superior, through various degrees of superiority, luck, indifference and evil, down to [page 97] Great Evil.

The variant forms of this text have not attracted the attention of academics. Landis translates (as best he may) but adds no commentary.

9, ‘Some Korean proverbs’

KRP III, 312-16 and 396-403 (1896)

100 proverbs and proverbial phrases in Korean script with English translations and brief explanations. For the most part they are well known, but twenty-eight of them are not included (or are included with significant differences) in Yi Kimun Soktam sajon, Seoul, 1962. Proverbs exerted great attraction for early missionaries, and this is a careful collection—perhaps the best from the nineteenth century.

10. ‘Numerical categories of Korea’ KRP III, 431-8 and 464-8 (1896)

A collection of ninety-four numerical groupings which are peculiar to Korea, modelled on the ‘numerical categories’ listed in F.W. Mayers The Chinese Reader’s Manual, Shanghai, 1874. Most of them are literary or historical. For example:

Sam ka ‘the three celebrated calligraphers’ : Prince Anp’yong, Yang Saon, and Han Ho (alias Sokpong)..

Sam song ‘the three surnames (of Quelpaert)’: Ko, Yang, and Pu. O hyon ‘the five good men’: Kim KwaYigp’il, Chong Yoch’ang, Cho Kwangjo, Yi Onjok, and Yi Hwang.

This was Landis’s most original collection. It has the character of folklore in that the material was current in oral rather than written form, despite its literary character. Much of it is no longer current. (Cf. note in Hazard et al: Korean Studies Guide, Berkeley, 1954, p. 26.

11. ‘Geomancy in Korea’KRP V, 41-6 (1898)

Apparently translated from a manuscript manual, for which no title is given, it consists of three sections, all describing grave-sites.

(a) Thirteen positions and descriptions of the hills behind the grave, with their significance.

(b) ‘The instructions of the teacher To Syen.’ Fifteen paragraphs generally similar to those in the first section, but attributed to the fourteenth-cen- tury monk Toson.

(c) ‘The mysteries of the teacher Mou Hak.’ Fifteen further paragraphs, attributed to the early Yi monk Muhak, one of Yi T’aejo’s advisers.

12. ‘Korean geomancy,

CR XXIII, 37-45 (1898)

A translation of a manuscript booklet of the rudiments of geomancy. The text is independent of the text of 11 above. It is entirely concerned with grave- sites, but uses a more extensive symbolic vocabulary, and discusses the geological substrata as well as the configuration of the sites. It contains seven sections: [page 98]

(a) The earth’s skeleton. 20 paragraphs.

(b) On determining the site of a grave by observing the places of origin and exit of a stream of water. 24 paragraphs.

(c) Eight hills and their suitable times. 8 paragraphs. The ‘proper times’ for digging in hills at the eight points of the compass are determined by auspicious happenstances.

(d) The twenty-four dragons (the situation of the hill with the source and outlet of its stream and water). 7 paragraphs.

(e) The good luck or evil influence of the twenty-four dragons. 9 paragraphs.

(f) The rules of To Syen concerning the pulse of the hills. 9 paragraphs, different from 11 (b) above, but containing some of the same material.

(g) A discussion on rocks and stones

13. ‘Rhymes of Korean children’

JAF XI, 203-9 (1898); MC May 1899,87-91, Nov 1899,126-8. In many ways the most interesting of Landis’s writings, perhaps the only collection of children’s rhymes published before the twentieth century was well advanced. It contains twelve chanted rhymes and six counting-out games, given in Scott’s modification of the French missionaries, romanization and in English translation. One or two variants are recorded and there are liberal annotations. This paper still has the value of a primary source.

III CONFUCIAN RITES

14. ‘A royal funeral’

KRP IV, 161-8 (1897)

An article published in May 1897 in anticipation of the funeral of the miniscule remains of Queen Min that eventually took place 21-22 November 1897.

Landis worked from theoretical ritual. He described the rites under three headings: the leave-taking or farewell; the sacrifices on the road; the wailing as the coffin is lowered into the ground. He did not describe the order of the procession nor the accoutrements; but said that he had recounted ‘not a tenth part’ of the complete ceremonies. He did not indicate the source or sources of his information.

15. ‘Mourning and burial rites of Korea’

JAI XXV, 340-361 (1816)

A detailed description of the rites for scholar-class officials in the Koreanized version of Chu Hsi’s exposition of I li rites. Landis attributes the regulation of the Korean rites to Yi I (Yulgok). He quotes no text, but includes tabulated material of a typical Korean kind.

16. ‘The capping ceremony of Korea’

JAI XXVII, 525-31 (1898)

A treatment of the capping ceremony performed for boys at puberty, treated in a manner similar to that used in presenting the funerary ceremonies in 15 above. [page 99]

IV HISTORY

17. ‘The Tonghaks and their doctrines’

TCRAS XXXI, 123-9 (1896-7) ‘Proceedings’

This is not the complete paper, but extracts from the parts of it read to the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai on 5 February 1896, printed as part of the minutes of the occasion. Landis had sent the Society a translation of the first three chapters (P’odok mun, Nonhak mun, and Sudok mun) of Tonggyong taejon, the proscribed scripture of the Tonghak movement. He worked from a manuscript copy surreptitiously obtained. In 1894-5 it was probably not very difficult to get. Bishop Corfe said it was impossible at that time to know who was Tonghak and who was not.

Landis’s work was read in Shanghai by the Reverend Joseph Edkins. Edkins was in his seventy-third year and had been in China for forth-eight years, originally as a missionary of the London Missionary Society. He had published many books and articles about China, especially on religion and philology. These minutes contain rather more of Edkins than they do of Landis—which is a pity because Landis’s paper dealt with interesting material, selected with characteristically imaginative flair and industriously translated.

18. ‘Notable dates of Kang-wha’

KRP IV (1897), 254-8

Chronological notes on the history of Kanghwa ‘from the official records.’ The first two entries refer to AD 793 and 1018. The remaining forty-eight notes span the period 1232 to 1743. The source is not identified.

19. ‘A pioneer of Korean independence’

IAQR VI (1898), 396-408 (Printed posthumously)

A slightly expanded translation of a biography of Im Kyongop 1600-1646. The original was Im Changgun chon in the longer Seoul woodblock version. Cf. Nasonjae Kim Tonguk Ko sosol p’an’ gak pon taejip, 1973, pp. 431-44 or 445-55.

Im Kyongop is the subject of many Korean legends, some of them very localized. He was a general in the struggle against the Manchu in the early seventeenth century, and Landis accurately discerned his importance as a folk- hero.

20. ‘Biographical notes of ancient Korea’

KR VI (1906), 412-18, 441-6 (Printed posthumously)

The Korea Review was Homer B. Hulbert’s magazine, and these two instalments of material prepared by Landis nine or more years earlier were published in what proved to be the last two issues of the magazine. As the second instalment was published, Hulbert was forced to leave Korea and The Korea Review ceased to appear. The remainder of Landis’s ‘Biographical notes’ was lost.

The part printed consists of a brief introduction followed by a single paragraph each on thirty-three personalities in Korean history, beginning with Tan’gun and’ Ch’i-tzu and ending with the Mahan general Chugun of the first [page 100] century AD. The complete work was probably three or four times longer, for the introduction states that it concluded in AD 932, and a reference to Taru, son of Onjo (founder of Paekche, first century AD) indicates that Taru was dealt with in paragraph 59.Landis’s principle source may have been Tongguk t’onggam or Tongsa kangmok. The latter work contains most of the material, including the suggestion that Tan in Tan’gun was the name of a line of rulers; Kwon Kun’s disapproval of Queen Unyong; and Kim Pusik’s strictures on King Yuri of Ko- guryo.

V SCIENCE

21. ‘Notes from the Korean pharmacopoea’

CR XXII (1896-7), 578-88 Reprinted posthumously as The Korean pharma- copoea, in KRP V (1898), 448-64

This paper is subtitled ‘Remedies derived from the invertebrata.’ It contains sixty-nine items. Of these sixty-three are derived from the original ninety-five items in Tongui pogam ‘T’ angaek p’yon; ch’ung pu’(insects, molluscs and reptiles division of the section on infusions in Tongui pogam ‘the precious mirror of Korean medicine.’ Snakes, tortoises, and terrapins are omitted — perhaps because they are vertebrates. Landis has changed the original (ap-parently random) order to a zoologically taxonomic one, and divided two of the items. His items 63-68 are taken from ‘T’angaek pyon; o pu’ (fish division). The reprint in KR has been lightly edited, but contains additional misprints as well as onmun transcriptions of all the Chinese characters.

Tongui pogam, a pharmacopoea compiled by royal order at the turn of the sixteenth century which was reprinted in China and is considered a classic of traditional Oriental medicine. Although this article is fragmentary, it again shows Landis identifying important materials.

22. ‘Native dyes and methods of dyeing in Korea, JAI XXVI (1897), 453-7

Landis noted that only a dozen years after the opening of Korea to western commerce native dye-stuffs had been almost supplanted by imported aniline dyes. He lists three traditional red dyes, two brown, four blue, two grey, five yellow and two black, with five fixatives. He adds notes on ten traditional pigments used in paint-making, and seven cosmetics.