

HENRY G. APPENZELLER: PIONEER MISSIONARY AND REFORMER IN KOREA

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Introduction

Historians acknowledge Henry G. Appenzeller as one of the paramount Protestant pioneer missionaries to Korea, arriving April 5, 1885.¹ Until recently scholars have tended to neglect Appenzeller's contribution.² The following is part of an endeavor to rectify that oversight.³

Henry G. Appenzeller, together with his wife, Ella, and in company with Presbyterian Horace G. Underwood, set foot on dry ground at Chemulpo (present day Inchon) on Easter Day, April 5, 1885. From that time until his tragic death in a steamship collision off the coast of Korea in June, 1902, Appenzeller participated in founding Methodist congregations, defended Korean independence from Chinese, French, English,

¹L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832-1910*, 3rd ed. (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1980), 97-117; Everett Nichols Hunt, Jr., *Protestant Pioneers in Korea* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1980), 17-30 (hereafter cited as Hunt, *Pioneers*); and Martha Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1984), 18.

²William E. Griffis wrote the first biography on Appenzeller in 1912, using Appenzeller's diaries, journals, and letters kept by H. G. Appenzeller's family (William E. Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea: The Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912) (Hereafter cited as Griffis, *Appenzeller*). The Appenzeller family deposited those papers in the Missionary Research Library, New York City, before 1922, where they remained boxed and unindexed until 1976.

At that time Everett N. Hunt, Jr., performing the first serious archival labor on Appenzeller's thought and life since Griffis, wrote his Ph.D. dissertation [Idem., "Protestant Pioneers in Korea: A Study of Propagation and Propaganda; Korea and America, 1884-1890" (University of Chicago, 1976), published in an edited version by Orbis Books, i.e., Hunt, *Pioneers*], recalling attention to Appenzeller. Paul A. Byrnes completed extensive indexing and filing of the Appenzeller Papers housed in the Union Theological Seminary Library Archives, providing easy access to scholars.

I am indebted to both Hunt and Byrnes for their ground breaking labors, facilitating my dissertation research on Appenzeller, Daniel M. Davies, "The Missionary Thought and Activity of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller" (Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1986), published in revised form as Idem., *The Life and Thought of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858-1902): Missionary to Korea* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988).

³H. G. Appenzeller's extensive archival papers present the richest source of primary documentation on the inauguration of Protestant missions in Korea. Dr. Edward Poitras, Professor of World Christianity, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, and I are preparing Appenzeller's writings for publication by The Edwin Mellen Press.

Japanese, and Russian imperialism, promoted democracy,⁴ and founded the first western educational institution in Korea, Paichai Hakdang. Appenzeller's school introduced western education to Korea and graduated many leaders of the Republic of Korea, including Syngman Rhee, the first president of the Republic. Ella Appenzeller assisted Mary F. Scranton in the founding of Ewha Women's University, an excellent woman's university in Seoul which conducted its centennial celebration in June, 1986.

In honor of the centennial celebration of Appenzeller's arrival in Korea, we will look back one hundred years and relive the experience of the Appenzellers' journey to Korea and their first impressions of Korea. We will permit the Appenzellers to speak for themselves from their diaries, letters and articles whenever possible.⁵

Background

Born in 1858 to fourth generation Pennsylvania Dutch parents, thirty miles north of Philadelphia, Appenzeller was the second of three sons. The Appenzellers followed the traditions of their Swiss and German ancestors, centered around the farming way of life. They also practiced the traditional religion of the Souderton area, the German Reformed faith, as had three generations of Appenzellers before them.⁶ Appenzeller received confirmation and baptism (his father rejected infant baptism) into the German Reformed Church at the age of fourteen.

At eighteen, while preparing for college at West Chester Normal School in West Chester, Pennsylvania (1876-1877), Appenzeller experienced a spiritual conversion during a revival meeting.⁷ He met Methodists shortly thereafter and grew to enjoy their company more than that of the

⁴I am indebted to Dr. Edward Poitras for encouraging me to investigate Appenzeller's anti-imperialistic, pro-democratic thought and activity. I am presently preparing a manuscript dealing with Appenzeller's activity in the Independence movement titled, "Henry G. Appenzeller and the Korean Independence Movement: 1895-1899." See also, Daniel M. Davies, "Henry Gerhard Appenzeller: His Contribution to Korean Independence, Democracy, and Modernization," *Journal of Korea Studies* (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University; March 1988), 197-230.

⁵Unless otherwise indicated, archival citations refer to Appenzeller's writings housed in the Union Theological Seminary Library Archives, New York City.

⁶"Parochial Register of Indian Creek Reformed Church, 1753-1851," in *Four Pennsylvania German Studies*, Frederick S. Weiser, ed., Publications of The Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 3 (Breinigsville, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1970), 117-172; Charles Price, Jr., *A History of Christ Reformed Church at Indian Creek (Indianfield)* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edward Brothers, Inc., 1966); Griffis, *Appenzeller*.

⁷Henry G. Appenzeller (hereafter abbreviated HGA), Diary, October 3, 1900, #4; Griffis, *Appenzeller*, 67; James S. Gale, *The Vanguard: A Tale of Korea*, 4th ed., (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904), 93; HGA in *Report of the Class of 1885 from Drew Theological Seminary*, ed. Horace Lincoln Jacobs (Madison, NJ: n.p., 1887), 3.

German Reformed community. Appenzeller commenced a shift from the German Reformed faith to the Methodist Episcopal Church at that time.⁸

In 1878 Appenzeller enrolled in Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, sent there and financially supported by his father to prepare for the German Reformed ministry.⁹ While a sophomore (1879–1880), prompted by a deepening sense of evangelical piety and attracted by the Methodists in Lancaster, Appenzeller decided to switch his membership from the German Reformed Church to the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁰ He became an assistant pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1880, pastoring, appropriately, the East Mission of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Lancaster.¹¹

Upon graduation from Franklin & Marshall in 1882, Appenzeller enrolled in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, to prepare for the Methodist Episcopal ministry. He attended Drew during the tenure of the “Great Five” (Strong, Buttz, Miley, Upham, and Crooks), and during a period of exceptional interest in the global missionary movement.¹² According to Appenzeller, the warmth of fellowship in worship with the

⁸Appenzeller’s rebirth experience and commitment to revivalism placed him directly in the current of German Methodism represented by Philip Otterbein’s United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Alliance. If Appenzeller’s birth had occurred a generation earlier, when German would have remained his native language, he might have joined with one of those German-speaking Methodist movements rather than allying himself with the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church. For treatments of German Methodism see J. Steven O’Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins*, ATLA Monograph Series, No. 4 (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1973); J. Bruce Behney and Paul H. Eller, *The History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church*, ed. Kenneth W. Krueger (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979).

⁹For treatments of Franklin and Marshall College during Appenzeller’s enrollment see Joseph Henry Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Franklin and Marshall Alumni Association, 1903); H. M. J. Klein, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Franklin and Marshall College Alumni Association, 1952); George Warren Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Rudisill and Company, 1952).

¹⁰HGA, Diary, April 16, 1879, quoted in Griffis, *Appenzeller*, 70–71. The location of Appenzeller’s pre-Korea diaries from which Griffis cited remain unknown.

¹¹John S. J. McConnell, *History of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, from 1807–1893* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing House, 1893), 18–20; HGA to Mrs. Cogley, East Mission parishioner, April 22, 1886, #11:181; HGA to Mrs. Dunham, East Mission parishioner, May 30, 1885, #11:44.

¹²For treatments of Drew Theological Seminary during Appenzeller’s enrollment see Ezra Squier Tipple, ed., *Drew Theological Seminary; 1867–1917* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1917); *Drew Seminary and the Missionary Enterprise* (Madison, NJ: Drew Theological Seminary, 1918); Charles Fremont Sitterly, *The Building of Drew University* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1938); James Richard Joy, *The Teachers of Drew: 1867–1942* (Madison, NJ: Drew University, 1942); John T. Cunningham, *University in the Forest* (n.p.: Afton Publishing Company, 1972).

Drew Community made the most lasting impression on him, creating bonds between faculty and students that lasted until his death.¹³

Appenzeller demonstrated his first serious interest in foreign missions at Drew. He submitted a request to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church for an appointment to Japan, but no openings existed. Instead, Korea opened as a mission field in late 1884 and the Board considered Appenzeller for the assignment.¹⁴

The Methodist Board lacked a clear plan for establishing a mission in Korea, but they knew that their missionaries would need to exercise extreme tact and caution.¹⁵ Although the king of Korea had agreed to receive Protestant missionaries who would start hospitals and schools, the Chinese-backed conservative faction in his government opposed the plan to permit their entry. The treaty of friendship and commerce signed by Korea and the United States in 1882 lacked a religious freedom clause. On the law books, any Korean converting to Christianity would be executed.¹⁶

In addition, the China-backed conservative party clashed with the Japan-backed progressive party, threatening to draw China and Japan into war on the Korean peninsula in late 1884 and early 1885. The political upheaval put even the safety and rule of the king of Korea into jeopardy. If the king died in a coup, the lives of the missionaries might be in jeopardy.

A key member of the Methodist Mission Board selecting the missionaries for Korea, the Rev. John F. Goucher, feared Appenzeller possessed neither the diplomatic skills nor the maturity necessary to build Methodist congregations in Korea. But the Board, noting both Appenzeller's experience as an educator (he taught in the Pennsylvania public school system from 1878–1880 while attending Franklin & Marshall College) and his training for the Methodist ministry at Drew Theological Seminary, on December 20, 1884 finally decided to send him and his bride, Ella, to Korea.¹⁷ They would join previously selected missionary doctor, William B. Scranton.

¹³HGA to Dr. S. F. Upham, Drew Professor of Practical Theology, July 10, 1886, #11:226; HGA to Abraham M. Viven, Drew Classmate, January 25, 1887, #11:337; HGA to Henry Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary President and Professor of New Testament Exegesis, January 14, 1886, #11:148.

¹⁴J. M. Reid, Corresponding Secretary for the Methodist Board of Missions, to HGA, September 5, 1884, #17.

¹⁵J. M. Reid to HGA, January 15, 1885, #25, copy in Financial Letters, Letterbook #208, United Methodist Archives and History Center, Madison, New Jersey. This letter represents the clearest exposition of Methodist strategy to missionize Korea, a strategy Appenzeller followed meticulously.

¹⁶See correspondence J. M. Reid and HGA, September 5, 1884, #17; October 27, 1884, #18; November 20, 1884, #19; December 1, 1884, #20; December 17, 1884, #21; December 20, 1884, #22.

¹⁷J. M. Reid to HGA, December 20, 1884, #22.

On to Korea

On January 14, 1885, the Drew Theological Seminary community sent the Appenzellers on their way to Korea with a spirit-filled worship service.¹⁸ They traveled across the United States by train, arriving in San Francisco on February 1, 1885. On February 2, 1885 Bishop C. H. Fowler ordained Appenzeller elder, and on February 3, 1885 the Appenzellers (in company with William B. Scranton, his wife, daughter, and mother Mary F. Scranton, missionary for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, all of whom joined them in San Francisco) embarked across the Pacific for Korea, arriving in Yokohama on February 26, 1885.¹⁹

Appenzeller described their trip across the Pacific in a letter to one of his closest friends at Drew, the Rev. A. M. Viven:

The blue sky (except when we had a storm) above us and from two to four miles of water under us; the ocean calm and quiet as a mill-pond in fair weather, rose to terrible grandeur and awful sublimity in a gale; wonders of spouting whales, flying fish, and schools of porpoises; the phosphorescence at night, ubiquitous gulls and the fun of burying a day, February 16 [1885], under the 180th meridian formed our chief sources of pleasure. But these would gladly be exchanged for a small patch of ground.²⁰

The Appenzellers and Scrantons stayed in Japan from February 27, 1885 until March 22, 1885, waiting for an opportune time to depart for Korea. When news of relative political quiet in Korea reached them, the Appenzellers boarded the Steamer Nagoya Maru on March 23, 1885, final destination, Chemulpo, Korea, leaving the Scrantons to follow later.²¹

Horace G. Underwood of the Presbyterian Mission, boarded the Nagoya Maru in the port of Kobe, Japan. Appenzeller wrote that Underwood "was told that 'the American Consul, Mr. Appenzeller, was on board on his way to Korea.' What next?"²² Better mistaken for a diplomat by Koreans than recognized as a missionary.

They changed steamships, boarding the Seirio Maru on March 24, 1885, reaching Nagasaki on March 28, and staying in Nagasaki until the morning of March 31 when they departed for that mysterious, dangerous, unknown land: Korea. Appenzeller expressed apprehension mixed with excitement at the same time in notes penciled in his pocket notebook:

¹⁸*The Christian (NY) Advocate*, January 29, 1885; George Adams, "Tidings from New Jersey," *The Christian (California) Advocate*, January 23, 1885, copied in HGA, Notebook #7; HGA to Professor Buttz, January 14, 1886, #11:13.

¹⁹[HGA], "Korea," in J. M. Reid, *Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. by J. T. Gracey, 3 vols. (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1896), 3:489-521 (hereafter cited as HGA, "History").

²⁰HGA to A. M. Viven, Drew Theological Seminary classmate, June 27, 1885, Notebook #7.

²¹HGA, Pocket Notebook, March 23, 1885, #8. This pocket notebook, carried by Appenzeller and used for notations while traveling, presented a candid and valuable view of the Appenzellers' first trip from Japan to Korea, March 23, 1885 through April 9, 1885.

²²*Ibid.*, March 23, 1885, #8.

On to the Hermit Nation!

Shipboard Seirio Maru

March 31, 1885 dawned brightly at Nagasaki. It was an eventful day to us. Up to this port brethren of our mission met us on board the steamer and took us to their homes, and kindly providing for our personal comforts. The path before us was untrodden by any Protestant missionary save by Dr. Maclay last spring and by Dr. H. N. Allen a little later, who now resides in Seoul. Truly we go to an unknown land. What is before us we know not save the usual experience of those missionaries who first enter a new field. May the Holy Spirit grant us his guiding, protecting and comforting power.²³

The ship stopped at two small islands on March 31, 1885. At the first island, Goto Island, the steamship docked in the port town Fukai Maru, and the Appenzellers went ashore. Appenzeller wrote of the experience:

Our guide said Mrs. Appenzeller was the first foreign woman the natives had ever seen. We visited a Buddhist temple. The newcomers had the same effect upon the inhabitants as "Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth" has in an American town. Hundreds came out and followed us. We sang "Sweet By and By," "My Redeemer," and a few other songs. . . . Left little after 6 p.m. Rather "chopped" sea during night.²⁴

The ship reached Izuhara, a port on Tsushima Island, in the evening of the same day, but heavy winds prevented unloading of cargo, forcing an unscheduled lay over that night. At 11:30 p.m. Appenzeller wrote: "Is raining 11.30, making the weather cold and disagreeable."²⁵

The Appenzellers and Underwood arrived in Pusan, "an open port on the southeastern coast of the country, on the morning of April 2."²⁶ That represented their first landing on Korean soil, but Appenzeller designated the landing two days later at Chemulpo on Easter Day, April 5, 1885, the historic date of the beginning of the Methodist mission in Korea.

He penciled his impressions of his first glimpse of Korea in his pocket notebook:

Anchor dropped in Fusan [Pusan] harbor at 12.30 night of April 1 [sic]. Mrs. Appenzeller very sick whole evening, I myself did not escape. Looked out of the port hole, saw for the first time the hills of Korea, and my heart was lifted in prayer that on those hills and in the valleys Christian churches might be built and upon the altars of the firesides be lighted the fires of charity and good works. Mrs. Appenzeller took medicine which quieted her nerves, and she had rest until morning.²⁷

The ship departed Pusan on April 3, 1885 for Chemulpo. Appenzeller wrote concerning the next two-day leg of the trip:

²³HGA, Pocket Notebook, March 31, 1885, #8.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶HGA, "Our Mission in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* (June 1885), 328, hereafter cited as HGA, "Mission."

²⁷HGA, Pocket Notebook, April 1, 1885, #8.

The day was cold, rain, disagreeable. This kind of weather continued the rest of the voyage, so that the speed was slow and the seasickness long and severe. We came around the southern extremity of the peninsula, up the west coast, entered the mouth of the han River at noon Sunday, the 5th instance, and at 2 p.m. dropped anchor at this port.²⁸

The presence of a United States man-of-war, the U.S.S.S. Ossipee, in the harbor reassured the party: "It did me much good to see our flag in these distant waters, as it insures us all protection needed," wrote Appenzeller at the time.²⁹ The Appenzellers rode a sampan between one and one half to three miles to shore, taking about one hour.³⁰ Upon arrival, Appenzeller wrote: "We landed upon terra firma, as yet untouched and unimproved by the hand of man."³¹

Appenzeller wrote: "Mrs. Appenzeller first stepped upon the bare rocks. Where to go? What to do?"³² They learned of a Japanese hotel, the Dai Butsu, "where we were comfortably entertained, in English and not Japanese style. I was surprised at this," wrote Appenzeller.³³ Ella, in a letter to her father, revealed that she found the accommodations at the Dai Butsu less pleasant.³⁴

The next day, April 6, 1885, Captain McGlensy of the Ossipee visited the Appenzellers, informing them that missionaries in Seoul might be considered beyond the protection of the United States flag. The volatile political situation in Korea, with the Chinese and Japanese troops facing each other in Seoul ready for war, endangered missionaries in Seoul. Captain McGlensy refused to promise the Appenzellers protection if they failed to heed his warning and depart Korea.

After several days, Appenzeller decided that the reluctance of the Captain to promise to protect them, and McGlensy's insistence that they leave Korea altogether, rendered entrance at that time too dangerous. Appenzeller expressed a willingness to take the risk, but refused to expose Ella, then two months pregnant, to the dangers. Horace Underwood, unmarried, decided to brave the dangers of political unrest, stay in Korea, and settle in Seoul. Appenzeller regretted his decision to return to Japan the rest of his life.³⁵ They departed Korea April 9, 1885 and waited at Nagasaki, Japan, for a more opportune time to re-enter.

²⁸HGA, "Mission."

²⁹HGA, Pocket Notebook, April 5, 1885, #8.

³⁰HGA, "Mission"; HGA, Pocket Notebook, April 5, 1885, #8.

³¹HGA, "Mission."

³²*Ibid.*

³³HGA, April 5, 1885, Pocket Notebook, #8; HGA, "Mission."

³⁴EDA to G. Dodge, EDA's father, June 23, 1885, #11:68.

³⁵HGA, "History," 3:497; HGA to Prof. George Crooks, May 1, 1885, #11:4; HGA, Address, "Korea: Our Field, Our Work, and Our Opportunity," delivered before the Philadelphia Preachers Meeting, January 21, 1901, #155, hereafter cited as HGA, "Korea: 1901".

Upon receiving news of relative political quiet in Korea in the middle of June, 1885, the Appenzellers departed Japan a second time for Korea, arriving in Chemulpo again on June 20, 1885. Ella described their second voyage to Korea in a letter to her father:

The first two days of our voyage was pretty tough: the second day especially; we did not pretend to hold our heads up, nor eat nor drink a mouth full from morning until night, when we dropped anchor and so got a little rest from our sickness. This sailing near the shore in a little fusty, musty, dirty, greasy tub of a boat is small fun. We had half state rooms enough and took turns sleeping outside in the cabin, but old Neptune was quite calm the last three days, so we were not much sick and reached here with no serious cause for complain.³⁶

They found temporary housing in shabby servant quarters, for which they paid \$25.00 a month, and waited to locate housing before proceeding to Seoul. On July 29, 1885, they arrived in Seoul and established permanent residence.

Korea: 1885-1887

The Appenzellers spent most of their first year of residence in Seoul remodeling their Korean house and studying the Korean language. Appenzeller found learning the Korean language an especially frustrating and difficult task because he knew of the existence of no Korean/English dictionaries or grammar books. Also, during the first year Ella gave birth to Alice Rebecca Appenzeller, the first American born in Korea. Alice Appenzeller later served as the president of Ewha University from 1922 to 1939.

After four months in Korea Appenzeller recorded his impression in his letter book. That entry provides the clearest exposition of his earliest impressions of Seoul, and he wrote many of his letters home using it as a reference:

We have been in Korea several months and it is about time to "write it" or it stands a fair chance of remaining undone. The longer one is in a country the less likely is he to write "all about it" in one letter.

The headquarters of the Mission of the Methodist Episcopal church is in Seoul, and it is, therefore, proper to begin at the Capital. Seoul is a walled city, rectangular or perhaps nearly square in shape, and surrounded by mountains on all sides. These mountains are round about this city as were the mountains round about Jerusalem, continual reminders that so the Lord is round about his people.

The population of Seoul is estimated at 350,000 though the exact number is not known. Architecturally speaking, Seoul has no attractions. The whole city is nothing but a mass of low tiled roofed and straw thatched houses. The houses of the higher classes are all built on the pang order. The pang is eight feet square, raised a few feet from the ground, the rooms are from eight to twelve feet high, peaked with wide overspreading roofs, giving the whole a very picturesque appearance. Their width is usually from one-and-a-half to two pangs, and built around an open space called a court.

³⁶EDA to G. Dodge, June 23, 1885, #11:69.

The most remote and best protected rooms in the house are occupied by the women. Here these poor souls eke out a miserable existence practically imprisoned for life. While purchasing our property, we looked at it several times, but we were always told to stop at the gate until the women could be securely shut up. But alas for women's curiosity! Though concealed from us, we could frequently see pairs of eyes peering from the many holes in the paper doors and windows. The women who go into the street always wear a covering over their heads concealing the entire face with the exception of the eyes. These are made of green silk and bordered with a bright red silk. Ask a Korean why he insists on the seclusion of woman and he will or cannot give you any better reason than: "It is a Korean custom."

The interior of our houses when we took possession of them was simply horrible. There is no adjective sufficiently strong to express the filth and stench. We are told that they are from 200 to 300 years old and one of our ladies is uncharitable enough to insist that they had not been washed or cleaned in the meantime.

Our Mission property is located in the western part of the city, close to the American Legation and adjoining the city wall. This last is a great advantage, as it gives us an opportunity to take walks outside of our own compound comfortably and safely.

The climate of Korea at this writing (September 25, 1885) is simply magnificent. During July and August it rains, sometimes pours, every day. But now that these rain clouds have rolled by the air has become cool, pure, exhilarating. Everyday is as nearly perfect as it can be, and at night the moon dispenses her silvery rays so generously as to cause us to exclaim: "What glorious weather we are having!"

As to the people, much might be said. Until we reached Korean soil we heard reports of others not exactly complimentary of them. One represented them as wild and barbarous, another was quite sure they would eat us up in a very short time. But we are disappointed in these respects. The Koreans are a simple, artless, kindhearted folk. The great mass of them care nothing for foreign ways and seem to be equally happy whether he has money or not. All Korea seems to be run on the poet's principle: "Man wants but little here below."

The average workman is indifferent about work. If it does not exactly suit him, he will walk off. The Koreans are large, robust, & well-developed due perhaps to their great care not to overwork themselves. They never seem to be happier than to do your work "nail" — to-morrow. The only thing he prefers doing to-day is to smoke and drink "syoul," wine made from barley.

That the Korean is lazy there can be no doubt. He hates work and despises those who labor. No matter how poor, he tries to make a good impression on the street. Here he is at home as he spends all his time here. To see him on the street with his spotless dress, which is washed every day, flowing idly in the breeze, his large horse hair hat, emblem of his manhood, his nice clean shoes, long pipe in one hand and a small fan in the other, seeing him thus attired, he impresses you as a man of much importance and exceedingly busy with affairs vastly above those that trouble ordinary mortals. There is nothing slouchy in his gait. He always walks with a firm, manly, dignified step because this is indicative of his rank.

I said above the great mass of people care nothing for foreign ways. This is true, but it must not be inferred from this that they are hostile to us; far from it. On the contrary we have received nothing but uniform kindness. The carpenters who work on our houses seem wonderfully interested when we show them an American saw, plane, &c. and the "choso" — good — are both many and hearty. Their own instruments are quite primitive, and they readily see the difference. It is really a matter of surprise that they build their houses as substantially as they do.³⁷

³⁷HGA, "Korea," September 25, 1885, #11:125.

Exactly two years later, Appenzeller sang a sweeter melody about Korea and the Korean people. His school, Paichai Hakdang, had received official recognition from the king and Bishop H. M. Warren formally had opened his new school building in September, 1887. The Protestant missionaries baptized Koreans. Hospital work flourished. Appenzeller concluded a safe and encouraging survey trip to Pyongyang during April and May, 1887, and Bishop Warren, during the first episcopal visit to Korea by a Protestant bishop in September, 1887, invigorated Appenzeller and the entire Methodist Episcopal Mission by stoutly supporting their educational, medical, and evangelical work.

Appenzeller's view of Korea changed from bitter to sweet in just two short years. In a letter to H. K. Carrol, editor of the *New York Independent*, dated September 23, 1887, Appenzeller vigorously rebutted an article written by the American Bible Society representative stationed in Japan, Rev. H. Loomis. The *Independent* published Loomis's article, entitled "Korea," in their August 4, 1887 edition. He wrote his first impressions of Korea gained during a trip in September, 1885, the same time Appenzeller wrote his first impressions quoted above. But Appenzeller's views of Korea had changed since 1885 and he forcefully stated his new views in the letter to Carrol. His optimism and hope for Korea shone through the letter:

Mr. Loomis visited Korea two years ago; since then there have been great changes going on here and Korea is better off to-day than she was then. His article has an antiquated smell about it I don't like and shows he has read faithfully articles on Korea published in Japanese papers. These generally so misrepresent the state of affairs here that one is surprised to find they are printed at all. . . . Korea undoubtedly has troubles, but it is unjust to the men who are seeking her elevation to magnify them. . . . The country is not "poor and badly cultivated" and . . . "the failure of any part of their productions" does not "result in the most bitter distress." . . .

I regard sending the Embassy to Washington as one of the most hopeful signs of the substantial progress of Korea. It is a proclamation to the world of her independence. The King expects to send representatives to every nation in treaty relation with his kingdom. What China will do is unknown, but Korea means to step forth among the nations of the earth.

Official corruption undoubtedly is prevalent here, but we Americans here must not talk too loud after reading the reports of the "boodle" aldermen in New York and Chicago. The less we Americans in foreign lands talk about "official corruption" just now the better.

"The present prospects of Korea are" not "gloomy indeed." The Royal College, taught by three Christian gentlemen from the United States, is sowing the seeds of a broad liberal education among the higher classes. Bishop H. W. Warren a few days ago "opened" the fine brick College Hall of the Pai Chai Hakdang which he aptly called "the gift of the United States to Korea." To this school all classes can come, and last year sixty-three students were enrolled in it.

Evangelistic work is going on quietly and many are seeking the way of life. I know of men who have walked hundreds of miles in order to find a missionary who can tell them of Jesus and the forgiveness of sins. As in the days of old "the common people hear the word gladly." A colporteur of mine was beaten or at least struck by Koreans twice in one day for offering to give them the gospel and our Catechism, but he has no idea of leaving his work.

I believe the future of Korea is hopeful and not gloomy. I believe this because I have faith in the gospel of Christ. The spirit of progress is not dead; it is growing daily and with the steady increase of trade, the introduction of schools and the spread of Christianity, young Korea will yet be heard from. . . .

I appreciate the burdens and troubles of this land and believe encouragement will do more good than writing up the dark side.³⁸

He wrote his rebuttal of Loomis's article in an apologetic fashion, but Appenzeller's hope and confidence in the Korean people rang throughout the letter. He believed the Korean people capable of creating a democratic, independent, and prosperous nation.

Appenzeller's confidence has proven well-founded, although the course has been far from easy for the Korean people. Since Appenzeller's untimely death in a steamship accident off the west coast of Korea in June 1902, Korea has had to pass through several trials by fire—the Japanese occupation of 1905–1945, the division of Korea from 1945 to the present, the brutal Communist dictatorship of Kim Il-sung in the north, and successive authoritarian regimes in the south. But today Appenzeller's dream of Korean independence, democracy, and prosperity—a Christian Korea—appears to be moving close to realization.

³⁸HGA to H. K. Carrol, Editor of the *Independent* (NY), September 23, 1887, #12:35.