Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton: Brothers in Different Guises

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For anyone who lives in another culture over a long period of time, or is seriously engaged in cross-cultural studies, it soon becomes apparent that there are numerous similarities which can be identified among widely diverse cultures. Among these similarities are persons who seem to have the same concerns, interests, and intentions. Indeed, some of these persons even seem to have parallel careers. Two such persons are Han Yong-Un (1879-1944) and Thomas Merton (1915-1968). Although they quite literally lived on opposite sides of the earth and were totally unaware of each other's existence, the similarities between them are so striking that it seems almost natural to say that they were brothers in different guises.

At first glance, there could be no two persons whose background and life experience seem so different. Han Yong-Un was a Korean Buddhist and Thomas Merton was an American Catholic Christian. Although Han was, during much of his life, a Buddhist monk, he did marry twice. Merton never married and was a Cistercian (or Trappist) monk for all of his adult life. Han was actively involved in the politics of his time and even suffered imprisonment for his views. Merton retreated to a hermitage where he resisted active participation in the political events of the day. Although Han travelled widely for a man of his time, he preferred to be in his native land of Korea and died of natural causes in his Seoul home. Merton took a vow of monastic stability, yet he always longed to visit faraway places and he died of accidental electrocution in Bangkok, Thailand. Today it is Christians, especially minjung theologians, who look to Han for inspiration, while Buddhists, including the Dalai Lama, travel to the Abbey of Gethsemani in Kentucky to visit Merton's tomb and dialogue with the monks on the critical religious and social issues of the day.

Yet both Han and Merton were deep religious thinkers, and both championed monastic and theological reform. Both were concerned with politics and both had an uncanny ability to dis-

cern the signs of the times. Han and Merton were literary figures and they left behind a legacy of penetrating essays and deeply moving poetry. Both edited magazines which were noted for a progressive stance on cultural and religious issues. Their personal lives were similar in that Han loved three women and Merton loved two, and for each there was one woman (who remains publicly anonymous in both instances) who inspired their best poetry. Today these two men are remembered as towering figures in the cultural, political, and religious life of their respective countries. It is entirely fitting, therefore, that we see them together—a Korean Buddhist and an American Christian—as examples of the triumph of the human spirit in the service of the Ultimate who transcends all cultures, political systems, and religious traditions.

The Context of Their Lives

Han Yong-Un was born during turbulent times and his entire life and career must be understood in terms of his opposition to the Japanese occupation and colonization of Korea.[1] He was born into poverty as the family fortunes had greatly declined due to the turmoil of the times, and he lost both parents and his older brother while still a comparatively young man. However, at an early age he showed extraordinary ability and was able to study in a private academy where he learned to read and write Chinese characters as well as study the Confucian classics. In 1897 he became involved in the Tonghak rebellion, a popular uprising of farmers and peasants against the injustices of the upper classes. According to many accounts his father and older brother were both executed for their roles in either the Tonghak rebellion or a later popular uprising in 1906. The Tonghak rebellion was eventually put down by government forces with the help of both Chinese and Japanese troops.[2] Han was forced to flee to the mountains where he stayed for a time at Paektam Temple before going on to Vladivostok in Russia. It was his plan to travel across Siberia and central Europe and then take a boat to America as part of a projected world tour. However, while in Vladivostok he and two other monks were suspected of being Japanese sympathizers and narrowly escaped being murdered on two occasions. Han returned to Korea and Paektam Temple and became a Buddhist monk. He also visited Japan where he came into contact with Buddhist move-

ments there and saw first-hand the results of Japan's modernization brought about by the Meiji Restoration.

As a result of his experience and his international travels, Han became a champion of Buddhist reform and political independence for Korea. When Korea was formally annexed by Japan in 1910, Han chose voluntary exile in Manchuria where he worked with others to restore the political independence of his homeland. While there he was shot by two Koreans who mistook him for a Japanese agent, and as he lay bleeding from his wounds, he had a vision of Avalokitesvara in which she urged him to return home and work for reform. Upon his return to Korea he resumed his efforts for the reform of Buddhism and in 1919 became one of thirty-three signers of the Declaration of Independence. Following this action he was arrested by the Japanese authorities and served a three-year prison sentence. Following his release he once again returned to Paektam Temple where he wrote his famed collection of poems entitled *Love's Silence*. For the remainder of his life he engaged in editing several journals, writing essays for newspapers and other periodicals, working on numerous publishing projects related to the Buddhist reform movement, and taking part in movements opposed to the Japanese, one of which resulted in his being imprisoned for a second time.

Han's life was characterized by considerable instability during his childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood, and it was not until the last decade of his life that he finally settled down in a home that he could call his own. He was an "on again, off again" Buddhist monk who alternated between periods of quiet contemplation in remote mountain temples and frenzied political activity in the city of Seoul. His two passions were the reform of Buddhism and opposition to the Japanese colonization of Korea, and he expressed his view concerning both through his voluminous writings.

Thomas Merton was born of artist parents in France, and much of his youth was spent in Europe as his parents wandered from place to place, finally settling in New York City.[3] His mother died of cancer while he was still young and his father died of a brain tumor when Merton was at a boarding school in England. From then on he was under the care of his maternal grandparents and a physician friend of his father's who served as his legal guardian. Prior to beginning his university studies, Merton took the "grand tour" which included visits to many of the religious sites of Italy.

Merton spent a disastrous year at Cambridge University and was then forced by his guardian to leave England. He returned to New York and completed his studies at Columbia University with a major in English literature. While at Columbia he became a regular on the party circuit, flirted with communism (a popular thing to do during the Spanish Civil War), had his first contact with non-Christian religions, in this case Hinduism, and underwent a dramatic conversion to the Catholic Church. He visited Cuba where he had a mystical experience in a Havana church, began writing book reviews and essays for New York newspapers, and completed his M.A. at Columbia with a thesis on nature and art in William Blake. He then began working on his doctorate at Columbia and later was teaching English literature at St. Bonaventure College in upstate New York. Following a spiritual retreat at the Cistercian Abbey of Gethsemani in Kentucky, Merton felt called to the monastic life and he entered Gethsemani on 10 December 1941, three days after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into World War II. In 1943 Merton was informed that his younger brother was killed in action when his military plane crashed into the English Channel. Merton remained a monk at Gethsemani for the remainder of his life until his untimely death in Bangkok on 10 December 1968—exactly twenty-seven years from the day he entered Gethsemani.

Merton's years as a monk were anything but calm, however, for Merton was first of all a writer and his autobiography *The Seven Storey Mountain* brought him instant fame, and brought the monastery much-needed income. The abbot recognized Merton's literary talent and allowed him the freedom to continue on with his writing. His earlier works were mostly on spiritual themes, but following a trip outside the monastery to the nearby city of Louisville, Merton underwent a kind of conversion experience, and he began to write on topics of social and political significance. These included the Cold War and the arms race, the use of nuclear weapons, the problem of racism in American society, and above all, the Vietnam War. Following Vatican Council II, Merton increasingly turned to the issue of religious and theological reform with a specific focus on the reform of the monastic life. Needless to say, he fought a running battle with his monastic superiors, the censors of the order, and others who believed that the proper task of a monk was prayer and not writing essays on social criticism. Even as his social criticism became more intense, Merton himself longed

for a more contemplative life, and he began to express a desire to live as a hermit, a wish that was finally granted in 1965.

In his later years Merton became deeply involved with both the ecumenical movement and interfaith dialogue. This latter involvement culminated with his Asian journey in 1968 and his meeting with the Dalai Lama in northern India. Throughout his life he had always been searching for a true spiritual home and he even expressed a desire to live as a hermit somewhere in Asia. However, once he came to Asia he realized that his true home was the Abbey of Gethsemani, and in a postcard to a friend, he expressed his desire of returning home to his hillside hermitage.

The Desire for Religious Reform

Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton were first of all, deeply committed to their respective religious traditions, so committed in fact, that for varying lengths of time both took monastic vows and lived in a monastery. Han spent most his monastic life at Paektam Temple located in a remote valley in the inner area of the Sorak Mountains. He also spent some time at nearby Yujom Temple. It was while meditating at Oseam Hermitage high above Paektam Temple, that Han experienced sudden enlightenment when he heard the sound of an object being blown to the ground by the wind. Han alternated between periods of meditation in Buddhist temples and the active life of politics. Merton, on the other hand, spent all twenty-seven years of his monastic life in one place—the Abbey of Gethsemani. It should be noted that this difference in monastic stability between Han and Merton is due in part to several important distinctions between Buddhist and Christian monasticism. Buddhist monks often wander from temple to temple while Christian monks tend to remain in one monastery for their entire lives. Also Buddhist monks sometimes alternate between periods of monastic life and public life in a way that, in Merton's time, was not allowed for Christian monks. What is significant about both Han and Merton is that their religious commitment and vocation lay at the very center of their lives and the way in which they lived their lives in the world.

When Han first went to Paektam Temple, Buddhism in Korea was at its lowest ebb, for it had undergone over five hundred years of suppression under the Chosun dynasty. Furthermore both domestically and internationally the political situation of Korea was

precarious at best. Han believed that the salvation of the country lay in a renewed and revitalized Buddhism. At the outset there was in Han's thinking the belief that religious faith and sociopolitical action are necessarily related.[4] Religious faith forms the ground out of which sociopolitical action grows, while at the same time effective sociopolitical activity is rooted in a deep sense of religious commitment. During the experience of his vision of Avalokitesvara while in Manchuria, Han related how Avalokitesvara threw flowers at him and said, "Why don't you stir in this critical moment?"[5]

Han did stir and he began a lifelong struggle to bring about the reform and renewal of Korean Buddhism. Two works which caused an immediate sensation were an essay advocating the allowance of married monks and a collection of essays entitled "On Revitalizing Korean Buddhism." In this latter work he wrote:

> Revitalization of Buddhism must be preceded by destruction. What is revitalization? It is the child of destruction. What is destruction? It is the mother of revitalization. Everyone knows that there is no motherless child, but no one knows that revitalization cannot take place without destruction.... Destruction does not mean destroying and eliminating everything. Only those aspects of the traditional customs that do not suit contemporary times are to be amended and given a new direction.[6]

Han was convinced that true reform did not consist of cosmetic changes here and there. Rather, true reform meant sweeping away those rituals and practices that were holding Buddhism back and not allowing it to take its rightful place in contemporary society. Han wanted to see Buddhism at the center of the great sociopolitical changes that were taking place in Korean society; he was not content to see Buddhism at the margins.

Han's call for reform focused first of all upon the education of monks. He believed that they should have a general liberal arts education prior to beginning their theological studies. He also advocated educating the monks in teachers' colleges so that they could learn how to teach not only Buddhist subjects but also teach general knowledge and thus place Buddhism more in the center of current affairs. Finally, he advocated that monks spend some time studying abroad in India, China, and even in Europe and

America. He was deeply concerned that traditionalists were advocating a narrow viewpoint and that this was causing Buddhism to lose ground in the modern world. Han went so far as to say, "Those who obstruct education shall end up in hell, and those who promote education shall attain Buddhist enlightenment."[7]

Han went on to emphasize that Buddhism was the religion best suited to give humankind hope for the future, for it is a religion of wisdom and awakening. Thus it is inappropriate to simply withdraw to the temple or hermitage and forget what is happening in the world. He also believed that Buddhism was based on egalitarianism and thus in harmony with democratic liberalism. Therefore "to look at the world from the viewpoint of equality means to escape the bondage of the inequality of phenomena, and to look with the eye of truth."[8] In addition Han espoused a view which he called "salvationism." By this he meant that salvation in Buddhism is not primarily individual, but rather, is social. Han pointed out "that the preaching of Buddha was full of mercy for the unawakened mass."[9] It was not enough so see salvation purely in terms of the awakening of the individual, for this leads only to self-interest and individualism. Salvation is corporate in nature and cosmic in scope.

At the same time, however, Han also favored a renewal of Son (Chinese—Chan, Japanese—Zen) Buddhist meditation. He believed that meditation was important and he himself continued to practice meditation at remote mountain temples and hermitages. However, he always returned to the world of sociopolitical affairs renewed and refreshed and even more committed to the cause of religious and political reform. He was concerned that many Buddhists used Son meditation as an escape from the harsh realities of life; thus he advocated moving temples from the mountains to the cities and establishing meditation halls in urban areas.

One of the main ways in which Han encouraged reform was through the use of the Korean vernacular script, Hangul.[10] Traditionally virtually all Buddhist literature was written in classical Chinese characters which most of the common people were unable to read. Han undertook numerous translation projects, both of Buddhist literature and general literature, and he also edited *A Dictionary of Korean Buddhism*. In preparing this latter work, Han studied over 1,511 documents and 6,802 Buddhist woodblock tablets.[11] At the time of his death he was researching a work to be entitled *A History of the Tongdo Monastery*, the same temple where

he did most of the editorial work for *A Dictionary of Korean Buddhism.*

Finally Han's commitment to interfaith cooperation and dialogue should be mentioned. Unlike many Buddhists of his time, he was open to other religions and was willing to work together with them on common concerns, especially those concerns related to Korean national independence and sovereignty. He joined with Christian and Chondogyo leaders in signing the Korean Declaration of Independence in 1919, but his interfaith activities went beyond political action. In 1935, for example, he helped to publish the posthumous writings of Chol Na, the chief priest of the Tangun religion, a native Korean religion which worships Tangun the mythical founder of the Korean people. In 1936 he organized a seminar for the centennial anniversary of Chong Yak-Yong, a secretary in the royal court who was exiled because of his conversion to Catholicism. Although deeply committed to Buddhism, Han was able to see that ultimate truth and value was not confined to any one religion but was, in fact, greater than any single expression of that ultimate truth and value. At the same time, he realized ultimate truth and value must be lived out in a particular concrete religious tradition, and for him, that religious tradition was Buddhism.

Unlike Han Yong-Un, Thomas Merton spent his entire monastic career at one monastery, and with the exception of several brief trips away for medical treatment and trips to meet important religious leaders such as D.T. Suzuki in New York and the Dalai Lama in India, Merton's struggle for religious and monastic reform took place in almost total physical isolation from the world around him. The order to which Merton belonged, the Order of the Cistercians of the Strict Observance, commonly called Trappists, was one of the most austere of all Catholic monastic orders. When Merton became a monk in 1941 the order observed strict silence, and most communication took place by means of sign language. Monks slept in small unheated cells on thin straw mattresses and there was a strict regimen of fasting and hard physical labor. This proved too much for Merton, however, and he suffered several psychological and physical breakdowns and he was plagued throughout his life by serious gastritis. As a result he was allowed to eat meat and eggs, which were not part of the regular monastic diet, in order to strengthen his overall physical condition.

The succession of abbots at the Abbey of Gethsemani recognized Merton's literary gifts and he was given time for writing and study. He was also allowed a certain amount of free time for prayer and meditation. As mentioned above, in the final years of his life Merton was granted permission to make retreats at a nearby hermitage, and the frequency and duration of these increased to the point where the abbot finally recognized his vocation to live alone as a hermit.

Several turning points can be identified in Merton's struggle for religious reform. He entered the monastery, of course, to get away from the world. But in the late 1950s he made several trips to the nearby city of Louisville for medical treatment and to take care of details relating to the publication of postulant guides and other related work. He writes of one such trip in 1958:

> In Louisville, at the corner of Fourth and Walnut, in the center of the shopping district, I was suddenly overwhelmed with the realization that I loved all those people, that they were mine and I theirs, that we could not be alien to one another even though we were total strangers. It was like waking from a dream of separateness, of spurious self-isolation in a special world, the world of renunciation and supposed holiness. The whole illusion of a separate holy existence is a dream. Not that I question the reality of my vocation, or of my monastic life: but the conception of 'separation from the world' that we have in the monastery too easily presents itself as a complete illusion: the illusion that by making vows we become a different species of being, pseudoangels, 'spiritual men,' men of interior life, what have you.[12]

This was the beginning of Merton's turning toward the world. He began to notice, living as he did in the American south, the problem of racism in American society. From the forests and fields of the monastery he could hear the guns from nearby Fort Knox and he became aware of the ongoing Cold War. He began to read widely and friends sent him books and magazines as gifts. His correspondence with like-minded people began to increase as did his awareness of the world and its many problems. Merton came to the realization that contemplation in the monastery and action in the outside world were inseparable.

Another turning point for Merton was the involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War. Merton was strongly opposed to U.S. involvement in the war and he began to write essays and edit books on the subject of pacifism. Forbidden to publish anything on the subject of war and peace, Merton privately circulated a collection of letters under the title *The Cold War Letters* and an increasing number of his pacifist and anti-war essays began to appear in numerous magazines and journals. A "Prayer for Peace" written by Merton was read in the U.S. House of Representatives and in 1962 Merton joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In the years to come his writings on the subject of war and peace would fill several volumes.[13] More than any other event, the Vietnam War solidified Merton's commitment to a sociopolitical living out of his Christian faith.

Still another turning point was Vatican Council II (1962-1965) and its accompanying openness both to the world and to change within the Church. Life at the Abbey of Gethsemani underwent radical change. The monks were given private rooms, sign language was abolished, the daily diet improved, and there was a great deal more personal freedom allowed. The monastic orders were encouraged to undertake self-study with a view toward the reform of outdated practices. The abbey chapel was remodeled to reflect the changes in the liturgy as the use of the vernacular replaced the use of Latin. With these changes Merton began to write extensively on the need for reform in the religious life.

Merton's views on religious and monastic reform can be seen to center around several important ideas and interrelationships. First of all, Merton was thoroughly convinced of the necessity for the vocation of the monastic life with its commitment to prayer and contemplation. Second, Merton was equally convinced of the fact that the truly contemplative life by necessity bears fruit in the world of sociopolitical activity. The spiritual and social dimensions of the religious life cannot be separated or placed in opposition to each other. Both are equally necessary. Thus all true religious reform and revival bears fruit in the world, and all true social and political movements for good have their roots planted firmly in the spiritual life.

In speaking of this interrelationship Merton often uses the phrase "contemplation and action" or "contemplation in a world of action."[14] The idea is that there is a place for what Merton refers to as "disinterested involvement." One observer explains

Merton's views this way: "He viewed the monk as the man who takes distance from his society, who because of his commitment rejects the prevailing structures of society and can, as the result, function credibly as its critic. Therefore, he did not see how an oppressively disciplined, rigoristic system which dehumanized the monk could be much better than the oppression that characterizes the technological society that the monk rejects today."[15] As an outspoken advocate of reform, Merton was opposed to a legalistic form of religion that was dehumanizing. Therefore, both religion and society are in need of reform.

The monk, because of his detachment from the world, is able to see things in perspective and avoid the sense of fadism that so often accompanies movements for social reform. Merton was skeptical of mass movements and asserted that "masses indeed may be called, but only individuals are chosen because only individuals can respond to a call by a free choice of their own."[16] He saw that many persons are sucked into a movement without really knowing what they are doing. He also understood that many social activists suffer from "burnout" because they have no spiritual foundations to sustain them. Thus Merton made a careful distinction between activism (where one follows the crowd) and action (where one freely chooses a particular course of activity). Says Merton, "We must learn to distinguish between the pseudo-spirituality of activism and the true vitality and energy of Christian action guided by the Spirit."[17]

It should come as no surprise, therefore, to discover that as Merton's contemplative life deepened, his involvement in sociopolitical affairs became more intense. Indeed, following his retirement to the hermitage, Merton became even more trenchant in his social criticism and his circle of friends and correspondents around the world became ever more enlarged. Merton counted among his circle many of the leading religious figures, social critics, literary personalities, and political dissidents of his time and his published correspondence fills five hefty volumes with perhaps at least four or five more volumes of correspondence waiting to be edited and published. And yet, this man was a cloistered monk and in later life a hermit. Certainly his life was an example of contemplation in a world of action.

Merton was, unlike many of his contemporaries, deeply interested in religious and monastic renewal in non-Christian religious traditions. He was especially interested in Islam, Hinduism, Tao-

ism, and Buddhism. He read widely in the thought and theology of these religions, corresponded with scholars and leaders of these religions, entertained many non-Christian visitors at his hermitage, and explored the various dimensions of both the divine and human personalities in an interfaith context.[18] Merton was especially drawn to Zen Buddhism and he engaged in a series of exchanges with the famed Japanese Zen scholar D.T. Suzuki.[19] On his last journey—the journey to Asia—Merton met with Hindu and Buddhist scholars in Sri Lanka, India, and Thailand. While it would seem that the culmination of this journey was a meeting with the Dalai Lama in northern India, what actually moved Merton the most was a visit to the large Buddha images at Polonnaruwa in Sri Lanka. He wrote at length concerning this experience:

> Looking at these figures I was suddenly, almost forcibly, jerked clean out of the habitual, half-tied vision of things, and an inner clearness, clarity, as if exploding from the rocks themselves, became evident and obvious.... All problems are resolved and everything is clear, simply because what matters is clear. The rock, all matter, all life, is charged with dharmakaya ...everything is emptiness and everything is compassion. I don't know when in my life I have ever had such a sense of beauty and spiritual validity running together in one aesthetic illumination. Surely, with Mahabalipuram and Polonnaruwa my Asian pilgrimage has come clear and purified itself. I mean, I know and have seen what I was obscurely looking for.[20]

Although a Christian, Merton was able to discern the presence of the Ultimate in and through these Buddhist sculptures and thus affirm the universal presence of the Divine.

The Struggle for Political Freedom

The political involvement of both Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton can be summarized in two significant events—the March First Independence Movement of 1919 for Han, and the November 18-20, 1964 retreat at Gethsemani on the theme of "Spiritual Roots of Protest" for Merton. These two events firmly placed both Han and Merton in the political vortex of their times.

Han had, of course, been involved in anti-Japanese activities since his youth. He was firmly committed to justice for the op-

pressed masses of people and was especially opposed to Japanese efforts to influence Buddhism in Korea. His brief period of exile in Manchuria served to solidify his opposition to the Japanese colonization of Korea. In addition his publication of essays with an anti-Japanese theme contributed much to the independence efforts. It was, however, his involvement in the Independence Movement of 1919 that really brought him to the forefront in the political arena. It was through Han's efforts, along with those of his close friend and ally Choe In, that the thirty-three signers of the Declaration of Independence were brought together. As one observer writes of Han's efforts, "By embracing the willing, cajoling the lukewarm, and threatening the reluctant, he demonstrated his leadership."[21]

It was no easy task bringing the signers of the Declaration of Independence together, for as one writer puts it, "they were a motly lot religiously and with dispositional differences...but all were preachers of humanity, justice, and peace."[22] Of the signers fifteen were members of Chondogyo, a religious movement which continued out of the Tonghak popular peasant movement and rebellion. Fifteen were Christians, of which the majority were Presbyterians and Methodists. However, only three were Buddhists and one of these was Han himself. That such a small number of Buddhists were willing to affix their names to such a document serves to illustrate the need for reform and Han had considerable difficulty in persuading any Buddhists at all to join him in this important effort. Once the group was assembled there was then considerable controversy over who should sign first. The Christians favored putting the names in Korean alphabetical order while the more traditional Chondogyoists insisted on having the names in a order that reflected age and position in Korean society. Eventually a compromise was reached with each group putting forth one or two names based on traditional hierarchy and the other names being in alphabetical order. Han proposed that the abbot of Haein Temple, Paek Yong Song, sign first for the Buddhists. After considerable discussion it was finally decided to have the document signed and presented to the public on March 1, 1919.[23]

The Declaration of Independence was written by Choe Nam-Son but then Han, as a literary figure, read it through and added several finishing touches. Han also added the Three Pledges at the end of the document. These were provided so that the public, after reading the one-thousand word document, could pledge

themselves to action. The Three Pledges which Han wrote and affixed to the declaration were:

> One: What we undertake today is the demand of the nation for justice, humanitarianism, prosperity and existence; display, therefore, only free spirit; do not vent exclusivist ill-feelings. Two: Express willingly the rightful intention of the people until the last minute. Three: Respect the order most in all actions; make our claim and attitude fair and upright to the end.[24]

It should be noted that the Independence Movement was totally nonviolent, and that nonviolent action was a main theme of Han's Three Pledges. Indeed, the signers of the Declaration of Independence did not participate in the public demonstrations. After signing the document in a downtown Seoul restaurant, not far from the present-day Pagoda Park, they quietly awaited their arrest. The group presented a three-point resolution which said: "They shall not take legal recourse; they shall not accept private meals; and they shall not petition release."[25] In other words, Han and his fellow independence leaders knew that they would be arrested, but they asked for no special favors.

The response of the Japanese authorities to the issuing of the Declaration of Independence was both swift and brutal. All thirty-three signers of the document were immediately arrested and given prison terms. Han himself served a three-year sentence. Throughout the country 7,509 persons were killed, 15,961 were wounded, and 9,400 were given prison sentences.[26] The Independence Movement was not successful in terms of securing the political independence of Korea from Japanese rule, but it was successful in galvanizing the Korean people to political action, and from then on there was strong resistance to the Japanese

The fact that Han's prison term was so light can be explained by two factors. First, his actions were totally nonviolent and at no point did he act to incite others to violence or encourage violent actions. And second, there were a number of Koreans who were sympathetic to the independence cause but who also served under the Japanese administration. Undoubtedly some of these persons spoke out for him. Han himself, however, never accepted those who served with the Japanese, and when a group of them offered him money to buy a piece of land and build a house, he refused the offer. On another occasion when one of these persons

gave his daughter a monetary gift, he walked through the rain to return it, and on still another occasion when Han met one of his former friends on the street, he refused to speak to him and said only that "you are not the same man I used to know." Han was so strongly opposed to the Japanese, that when he finally did get enough funds to buy a piece of land and build a house, he built the house facing north so that he would not have to look down the hill at the Japanese capitol building. He named his house "Ox-searching Hall" after the famed Buddhist series of paintings of the ox herder. Since Han was a well-known figure in both literary and Buddhist circles, the Japanese undoubtedly believed that he could be compromised and thus used to further their own ends. They failed, however, to correctly observe that Han was a man of absolute integrity who would not under any circumstances compromise his firmly held beliefs.

Following his release from prison, Han continued his efforts for religious reform, became involved in still other movements opposed to the Japanese, and served yet another prison sentence for leading a movement among Korean Buddhists who were opposed to an amalgamation of Korean and Japanese Buddhism. In all of these anti-Japanese activities Han remained nonviolent and never wavered in his commitment to peaceful sociopolitical change.

Following his decisive trip to the city of Louisville in 1958, Thomas Merton increasingly turned to more secular topics in his writing and the tone of his essays became more and more focused in the area of social criticism. This approach toward the world in Merton's work seemed to blossom and flourish in the 1960s, for this was a time of great intellectual and social ferment in the United States. The Catholic Church under the leadership of Pope John XXIII demonstrated a new openness toward the world and the spirit of reform was in the air. With the increasing involvement of the United States in the war in Vietnam and Indochina, the peace movement began to grow and large demonstrations took place in American cities. The civil rights movement too, was well underway, and it was obvious that there would be significant changes in race relations. Then too, a movement among youth spread throughout the nation and the "hippies" became a force to be reckoned with. Although the hippies were often associated with the use of drugs and the practice of free love, there was also an obvious searching for spiritual values and for new forms of the com-

munal life. As all of these various movements were unfolding in the United States, Merton was quietly meditating in his hermitage and taking it all in. He read widely, corresponded with men and women throughout the world, and had a steady stream of visitors—mostly intellectuals and cultural leaders—coming to his hermitage for advice and counsel.

All of these various strands came together in a retreat held at the Abbey of Gethsemani from November 18-20, 1964. The retreat was organized by Merton around the theme "Spiritual Roots of Protest."[27] It was perhaps Merton's intention to bring together a number of leaders of what was then known as "the new left." The group was very much like the signers of the Korean Declaration of Independence—they were an extremely varied group in terms of temperament, ecclesiastical background, and political affiliation, but they were all concerned with the issues of war and peace and social justice. Included were such leaders in the peace movement as A.J. Muste of the Presbyterian-Reformed tradition, Mennonite John H. Yoder, and the Catholic brothers Daniel and Philip Berrigan. In his brief planning notes for the retreat, Merton wrote that "We are hoping to reflect together during these days on our common grounds for *religious dissent and commitment* in the face of the injustice and disorder of a world in which total war seems at time inevitable, in which few seek any but violent solutions to economic and social problems more critical and more vast than man has ever known before."[28] Merton went on to point out that the purpose of the retreat was to seek out and deepen the spiritual roots that inform peaceful protest and that these roots are "in the 'ground' of all being, in God, through His word."[29]

Moving on to the question of protest, Merton pointed out that one had to identify who or what one was protesting against, be certain for what one was protesting, and by what right one was protesting. Also considered was the how and why of protest. Involved here was the negative (protesting against...), the positive (protesting for...), and the issue of legality. Once these three issues were covered, Merton then moved on to methodology—which methods were appropriate and why. Other issues covered in the retreat included the nature of technological society, mass communications and the free flow of information, and the role of the interior spiritual life in protest. This latter point was especially important for Merton and he raised a question concerning "The mean-

ing of *metanoia*, total personal renewal, as a prerequisite for valid nonviolent action?"[30]

The actual contents of this retreat have never been made public, in part perhaps, because of legal actions taken by the United States government against a number of the participants. It is significant that in the months following this retreat a number of the participants were arrested for nonviolent acts of protest at various government military draft boards. These included Daniel Berrigan and Philip Berrigan of the "Baltimore Four" and the "Catonsville Nine" and Robert Cunnane and James Forest of the "Milwaukee Fourteen."[31] In each of these instances of protest, the protesters entered draft boards and scattered files and poured their own blood supplanted by animal blood to increase volume on the files. They then calmly waited for the police to arrive and arrest them. Another participant in the retreat, Thomas Cornell, publicly burned his draft card as a protest against the Vietnam War, after which he too, remained at the scene and awaited his arrest. The trials of these protesters received considerable media attention and generated controversy in the churches. Merton himself wrote on occasion that he was disturbed by "the almost total lack of protest on the part of religious people and clergy, in the face of enormous social evils" and that religious people and clergy are "no longer capable of *seeing and evaluating* certain evils as they truly are, as crimes against God and as betrayals of the Christian ethic of love."[32]

It will perhaps never be known just how much influence the November 1964 retreat had on the peace movement, but it was undoubtedly considerable and it gave Merton an opportunity to actually have a say in the formation of public policy, albeit a kind of alternative public policy of protest. It also gave Merton the occasion to stress that effective political protest must have deep spiritual roots, and where Merton thought that those roots were absent or had been betrayed, he was known to take swift and decisive action. On November 9, 1965 when a young member of the Catholic Worker movement immolated himself on the steps of the United Nations in protest of the Vietnam War, Merton was shocked and two days later requested that his name be removed as a sponsor of the Catholic Peace Fellowship.[33] On another occasion Merton referred to an outspoken Catholic woman supporter of nuclear weapons and war as a "devout she-wolf." Merton continued to oppose racism, nuclear weapons, and the Vietnam war while at

the same time waging a struggle for peace, and did so until his untimely death in Bangkok.

The Gift of Writing

Although both Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton were religious figures and indeed, ordained monks, they were known to the public primarily through their literary efforts. It was through their books, essays, poetry, and editorial work that Han and Merton got their ideas across, for both were gifted writers and a steady literary output issued forth from their pens. Both men had amazing powers of concentration and they were able to accomplish a great deal of writing under less than ideal conditions. Han was an organizer and thus a busy man, yet he found time to write. Merton had almost every hour of the day planned out with monastic activities, yet he too found time to write. Han struggled against the Japanese censors who were always looking over his shoulder. Merton was threatened by the censors of the Cistercian Order who were concerned lest he stray too far from the traditional ideals of the monastic life. Both men were aided by sympathetic friends and colleagues in the literary world although neither was ever a member of the literary establishment. Both men also wrote under different names. Han Yong-Un was known by his pen name of Manhae meaning "Ten Thousand Seas." To his readers Merton was known by his given name of Thomas Merton, but within the monastery he went by his religious name, Fr. Louis.

Han's most common form of literary expression was the essay, and he wrote hundreds of essays on the topics of religious reform and political independence. The following sample of essay titles gives one an idea of the wide range of Han's interests: "Theism in Korean Buddhism," "Joan of Arc and Women's Hair Style" (on allowing women to wear short hair), "Korea Youth and Self-Mastery," "Free Yourself from Your Own Fetters," "A Letter on Korean Independence," "The Awakening of Women," "A History of Life after Death," "Chinese Buddhism Today," "Buddhism in Thailand," "Zen Buddhism and Life," "The Religious Movement in New Russia," "The State of Self-Detachment," "Zen Buddhism Beyond Zen," "The Anti-Religious Ideology of Communism," and "Patience." In addition Han wrote newspaper editorials on such topics as "The Resolution of Farmers under Tenancy Contracts" and other social concerns. He undertook translations

such as "The History of Three Kingdoms" and "Prenatal Education." Most of Han's essays were published in vernacular newspapers and in smaller specialized magazines and journals of religious and cultural interest. Some were written for intellectuals and religious specialists and others were written for the general public, but all were written from the heart tempered by a keen and critical mind.

Although not his best work, Han also wrote several novels and novellas which were serialized in the newspapers. These included *Death* which was not published until after his death. Those that were published (although not always completed) included *Black Wind, Remorse, The Iron Lady,* and *Misery.* Critics have given Han's fiction mixed reviews with the overwhelming majority agreeing that "Han the novelist does not rank high in modern Korean literature."[34] Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that Han was intentionally trying to reach a popular audience with his ideas and he believed that the serialized novel was the best way to do this. Because of this Han used his novels as vehicles for his ideas with the result that literary style was often sacrificed.

Han is best known as a poet and it is here that he has made his literary reputation, a reputation that is largely built upon on small book of only eighty-eight poems. The title is variously translated as *The Silence of My Beloved* or *Love's Silence.*[35] On the face of it, this is a book of love poems which it almost certainly is, as Han is reputed to have had a relationship with a women at the time the poems were written. However, it is much more than this for "Han's poetry operates on several levels at once.... They do indeed cut across many levels: literal, allegorical, symbolical, and mystical; they can be read as lyrical, patriotic, and religious poems...."[36] It is common in Korean poetry to use "the beloved" as a symbol for that which one longs for, be it the nation, political independence, a reformed Buddhism, or whatever. This is certainly the case with *Love's Silence* for there are numerous symbolic references throughout the poems and these become clear when the entire context of Han's life and work is taken into account.

Han was also a writer of nonfiction and compiled *A Dictionary of Korean Buddhism* and collected research for a history of Buddhism during the Koryo period and a history of Tongdo Temple; however, neither of these two works was ever completed.

In addition to his own writing, Han was the editor of several progressive journals of literary and social criticism and religious

reform. One of these—*The Spirit*—was discontinued after only three issues, but this was a magazine founded and edited entirely by Han. Later Han was asked to take over the editorship of another magazine called *Buddhism* which ceased publication due to financial problems. Several years later he was again asked to revive *Buddhism* and once again he became the editor, a position which he held until his second period of imprisonment.

Han found it virtually impossible not to put his thoughts down in writing. Indeed, several of his most successful series of lectures were based upon ideas that were first expressed in some of his essays. Although he spent long periods in meditation at mountain hermitages and equally long periods of organizing political movements, Han always seemed to be able to find the time to write, and it is because of this that we know so much about him today.

Thomas Merton was also a compulsive writer who did much of his work early in the day between the 2:30 morning services and 7:00 breakfast. He wrote so much that it was said that "Merton literally meditated on paper." Like Han, Merton was primarily an essayist and the vast majority of his books were in fact collections of essays that had been published earlier in an odd assortment of journals and magazines both religious and secular.[37] Most of these books were compiled by Merton himself although since his death others are now editing similar collections of his work. The subject matter of Merton's essays was also quite broad and ranged from purely religious and spiritual topics to matters of social, political, and cultural concern. He wrote extensively on literary topics and carried on a lively correspondence with such well-known writers as Boris Pasternak and Czeslaw Milosz. Although a monk, Merton also tried his hand in founding and editing an experimental journal called *Monks Pond* which ceased publication after only four issues.

One of the possible reasons that Merton wrote essays was to get around monastic censors who were acting under ecclesiastical custom to stop him from publishing on issues such as war and peace. Some essays appeared in obscure avant-garde journals which may have escaped the eyes of the censors, and still others were circulated privately and published without Merton's expressed knowledge (though almost certainly with his tacit approval). Once these essays appeared in print they eventually found their way into a collection that was published in book form.

Among the hundreds of Merton's essays the following selected titles show the wide range of his concerns: "Christian Ethics and Nuclear War," "Gandhi and the One-Eyed Giant," "Ishi: A Meditation," "Letters to a White Liberal," "Monk in the Diaspora," "Nhat Hanh is My Brother," "Poetry and Contemplation: A Reappraisal," "Religion and the Bomb," "Significance of the Bhagavad Gita," and "Vietnam: An Overwhelming Atrocity" as well as his talk "Marxism and Monastic Perspectives." One can see how he juxtaposed contemplation and action so that the two were always related. These two concerns were always expressed in Merton's work as an essayist.

Merton did, of course, write books but only one, the autobiographical *Seven Storey Mountain*, ever had immense commercial success. Some, like *New Seeds of Contemplation*, have been reprinted many times. A number of the others were written at the direction of his monastic superiors and he considered them to be vastly inferior to his later works. Merton was also a novelist but only one of his novels has ever been published, *My Argument with the Gestapo: A Macaronic Journal* and it was published posthumously. [38] Several other novels exist only in manuscript form including *The Labyrinth, The Man in the Sycamore Tree,* and *The Straits of Dover.* It is doubtful that these will ever be published as they were written when Merton still a student and his writing skills were unpolished.

Merton wrote several volumes of poetry which have firmly fixed his position in American letters as a minor poet. Three of his poems have become quite well-known both because of their subject matter and because of the depth of feeling that is evoked. The first, "For My Brother Missing in Action" was written shortly after Merton had been informed that his brother's air force plane was down in the English Channel. The second, "Elegy for the Monastery Barn" was written following a fire which destroyed one of the barns on the monastery farm. The third, "Chant to be Used in Processions around a Site with Furnaces" is a meditation on the death camps of the Holocaust with special reference to those who designed and built the crematoria. Merton also experimented with free verse and two of his books, *Cables to the Ace: or Familiar Liturgies of Misunderstanding* and *The Geography of Lograire,* continue to puzzle readers with multiple levels of meaning.[39]

Merton wrote at least fifty books during his lifetime and there have perhaps been as many collections of his writings edited by

others to appear since his death. He wrote hundreds of essays, thousands of letters, thousands of pages of notebooks, and left behind a number of unpublished manuscripts. The Merton literary corpus is so great that a special committee—the Merton Legacy Trust—has been set up to oversee the publication of it all. Merton's former monastic secretary, Brother Patrick Hart, has made a lifetime vocation of editing and publishing Merton's work, and in a recent article has pointed out that there is still much, much more remaining to be published.[40]

What is most remarkable about the literary Merton is that he was, at the same time, a contemplative monk who made the life of prayer his primary vocation. Through the gift of writing he has shared that vocation with others, both in the past and, most significantly, in the present.

The Search for Love

Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton shared yet another common life experience—the search for love. Both were involved in early loves that proved less than successful, and both met women in later life who satisfied their search for love and inspired them to write some of their best poetry. Yet in both cases, these women have remained anonymous and the affairs did not come to fruition in marriage.

Han was married in his teens to a young girl from a village about one-hundred kilometers from his home town. It was an arranged marriage, and from all indications the two were not at all compatible. Shortly after the marriage Han was forced into exile in the mountains due to his involvement in the Tonghak rebellion. Then he went to Paektam Temple and from there on his ill-fated journey to Vladivostok. Upon his return he went not to his home, but back to the mountains of Kangwon Province. When he finally did return home for a few months his wife gave birth to a son whom he named Po-Guk meaning "Defend the Country." After about a year he left home again to return to Paektam Temple and from then on there is no further mention of his wife and son. According to one scholar, Han remained cold toward both his first wife and his son throughout the remainder of his life.[41] Indeed, Han never returned to his hometown again, and when in later life his son sought him out, he showed him little emotion. It is obvious that the marriage was a mistake and that Han had a son sim-

ply to fulfill his filial duty to his parents by providing them with a descendant.

It was not until middle age that Han really fell in love for the first time in his life. Little is known about who this woman was except that reference is made to "the author's alleged intimacy with a certain Buddhist lady at the time."[42] At the time Han was at Paektam Temple living as a monk. Since Buddhist monks were expected to be celibate and remain unmarried, the relationship with this woman was technically forbidden. It was clear that if Han were to continue in his monastic vocation this love affair would have to end, but it did give rise to inspire Han to write his literary masterpiece, *Love's Silence*. Certainly the critics are correct to see in this work many levels of interpretation, but one cannot ignore the depth of emotion found in this collection of poems. In "Seeing Her Off" he wrote:

> She goes against her wishes
> and against mine,
> Her red lips, her white teeth and delicate eyebrows
> enchant me, but more charming
> is her cloud-like raven hair, her willow-slender waist
> and her jade-smooth ankles.
>
> She goes farther off till almost out of view.
> The farther away, the closer the heart;
> the closer the heart, the farther away she goes.
> I thought it her handkerchief waving in the distance
> but it was a cloud sailing, and smaller than a seagull.[43]

Although the relationship came to an end, it cut Han to the very heart and out of his pain he was inspired to literary greatness.

Later at age fifty-four Han married for a second time and this marriage produced a daughter whom he named Yongsuk. The family lived in Seoul in Ox-searching Hall and the marriage was a success. Han's search for love was fulfilled during the last eleven years of his life and he found the stability of a home which had been denied him in earlier years.

Thomas Merton's first experience of love was an absolute disaster. It happened while he was an undergraduate at Cambridge University. He became involved with an unmarried women, she became pregnant, and had a baby. He was then presented with paternity issues which he escaped by leaving Cambridge and the

United Kingdom for refuge in the United States. His legal guardian in London handled the legal affairs and worked out a settlement with the woman. In his will Merton stipulated that a portion of his assets be left to his guardian "to be paid by him to the person mentioned to him in my letters."[44] That person was, of course, the mother of his child. When Merton became a monk the unofficial story that was circulated by Ed Rice was that the young woman and her child were killed by a German bomb during the war; however, there is no evidence that would support such a story. Today nothing is known concerning the woman and the child and Merton made no mention of her. Once he entered the monastery and took his final vows all possibility of feminine love passed from his mind.

In 1966 at the age of fifty-one, Merton had serious back surgery at a hospital in Louisville, and several days following the surgery a young student nurse came to care for him. At first Merton resented her presence, then came to look forward to her coming, and finally fell in love with her. The feelings of love were mutual, and thus began an affair that continued over a period of a number of months.[45] Since Merton was a cloistered monk it was an affair that was carried on mainly through clandestine phone calls made at night when the other monks were asleep and letters smuggled in and out of the monastery by sympathetic friends. Perhaps friends arranged for Merton and the nurse (whom Merton identified only as M in his journals) to meet at a secluded pond deep in the woods on monastery property. In one journal entry Merton wrote, "Now I see more and more that there is only one realistic answer: Love. I have got to dare to love, and to bear the anxiety of self-questioning that love arouses in me, until 'perfect love casts out fear'."[46] It was, of course, an affair that eventually had to end, but through it Merton learned for the first time in his life what it meant to love and to be loved. His love for M also enabled him to overcome his fear of the erotic, a fear that had been with him since his youthful indiscretions at Cambridge many years earlier.[47] Throughout it all Merton was inspired to write some of his best poetry in a book entitled *Eighteen Poems* which he wrote for M but which was not published until seventeen years following his death. When it was obvious that their love would not come to full fruition he wrote:

If only you and I
Were possible.[48]

He too suffered the frustration of unfulfilled love and the wrenching pain of parting, but in the process he was freed to pursue his vocation as a monk and as a hermit knowing that he had learned, at long last, how to love and to be loved.

Conclusion

Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton—brothers in different guises—continue to inspire others. Their collected writings are read, studied, and debated. Seminars are held in their honor. In August of 2000 a three-day Manhae Festival was held at Paektam Temple drawing scholars and admirers from around the world. In July of 1996 an interfaith dialogue of Buddhist and Christian monastics met at the Abbey of Gethsemani to continue the work which Merton had started.[49] Both men have made an indelible impact upon their respective religious traditions and societies through their desire for religious reform, their struggle for political freedom, and their gift of writing. And, through their search for love, they have shown that they are normal human beings with both strengths and weaknesses.

But both men were also visionaries, who, while remaining loyal to their respective religious traditions and national identities, were able to take the cosmic viewpoint. When asked whether a Buddha born into modern Korea might not be a staunch nationalist, Han replied: "Buddha transcended not just life and death but also the living and the inert, time and space. His ideal being to revolutionize the entire cosmos, he wouldn't busy himself just with Korea."[50] Merton wrote words that were strikingly similar when he pointed out that "the saint does not represent himself, or his time, or his nation: he is a sign of God for his own generation and for all generations to come."[51] Truly Han Yong-Un and Thomas Merton were brothers in different guises.

Notes

1. There are only brief biographical sketches of Han Yong-Un available in English. Those currently in print include a "Chronology of the Life and Work of Han Yong-Un" in Yong-Un Han, *Love's Silence and Other Poems*, trans. Jaihiun Kim & Ronald B. Hatch (Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale

Press, 1999), pp. 13-18 and Beongcheon Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp. 37-53. The definitive studies are Im Chung-Bin, *Han Yong-Un Iltaegi [The Life of Han Yong-Un]* (Seoul: Chongumsa, 1974) and Paek Chol et al., eds., *Han Yong-Un Chonjip [The Complete Works of Han Yong-Un]* (Seoul: Singu Munhwasa, 1973).

2. Yom Mu-woong, "The Life and Thought of Han Yong-woon" in International Culture Foundation, eds., *Buddhist Culture in Korea [Korean Culture Series 3]* (Seoul: Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publishers, 1982), p. 99. According to Yom many of the details of Han's early life are unclear and scholars are divided on which version of events is most accurate. For example, the chronologies of Yom and Jaihiun Kim and Ronald B. Hatch are somewhat different concerning Han's involvement in the Tonghak rebellion and the dates of such events as the trip to Vladivostok.

3. The definitive biography of Merton is Michael Mott, *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984). A more popular biography is Monica Furlong, *Merton: A Biography* (London: Collins, 1980). A biography which sets Merton's life against the sociopolitical events of the time is William H. Shannon, *Silent Lamp: The Thomas Merton Story* (New York: Crossroad, 1992).

4. For an extensive discussion of Han's views on religious faith and socio-political action see Kim Yong-Bock, "Messianic Buddhism and Christianity in Korea" in *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia,* eds. Mark R. Mullins & Richard Fox Young (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), pp. 81-94.

5. Cited in Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature,* p. 41.

6 Han Yong-Un, "On Revitalizing Korean Buddhism" in *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization, Vol. II: From the Seventeenth Century to the Modern Period,* ed. Peter H. Lee et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 497.

7. "On Revitalizing Korean Buddhism," pp. 499-500.

8. Yom Mu-Woong, "The Life and Thought of Han Yong-Woon" in *Buddhist Culture in Korea,* p. 103.

9. "The Life and Thought of Han Yong-Woon," p. 103.

10. See Kim Yong-Bock, "Messianic Buddhism and Christianity in Korea" in *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan,* p. 87.

11. Jaihiun Kim & Ronald B. Hatch, "Chronology of the Life and Work of Yong-Un Han" in *Love's Silence and Other Poems,* p. 14.

12. Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 140-141.

13. See for example, the following works by Merton on war and peace: *Breakthrough to Peace* (New York: New Directions, 1962); *Seeds of Destruction* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1964); *Faith and Violence: Christian Teaching and Christian Practice* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968); *Gandhi on Non-Violence: Selected Texts from Mohandas K. Gandhi's 'Non-Violence in Peace and War'* (New York: New Directions, 1965); and *Original Child Bomb: Points for Meditation to be Scratched on the Walls of a Cave* (New York: New Directions, 1962).

14. See Thomas Merton, *Contemplation in a World of Action* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971). See also Daniel J. Adams, *Thomas Merton's Shared Contemplation: A Protestant Perspective* [Cistercian Studies Series: No. 62] (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979) for an in-depth study of Merton's views on contemplation and action.

15. James F. Andrews, "Was Merton a Critic of Renewal?" *National Catholic Reporter*, 6 (February 11, 1970), Lenten Supplement, 14.

16. Thomas Merton, *Disputed Questions* (New York: Mentor Omega Books, 1965), p. 104.

17. Thomas Merton, *Life and Holiness* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), p. x.

18. See the following books on interfaith relations by Merton: *The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton*, eds. Naomi Burton Stone, Br. Patrick Hart & James Laughlin (New York: New Directions, 1973); *Mystics and Zen Masters* (New York: Dell Books, 1969); *The Way of Chuang Tzu* (New York: New Directions, 1965); and *Zen and the Birds of Appetite* (New York: New Directions, 1968).

19. These exchanges are recorded in *Zen and the Birds of Appetite.*

20. Thomas Merton, *The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton*, pp. 233, 235-236. For a study of Merton's spiritual quest in relation to Asia see Alexander Lipski, *Thomas Merton and Asia: His Quest for Utopia* [Cistercian Studies Series: No. 74] (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1983).

21. Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature*, p. 44.

22. Wanne J. Joe, *A Cultural History of Modern Korea*, ed. Hongkyu A. Choe (Elizabeth, NJ and Seoul: Hollym International, 2000), p. 808.

23. See *A Cultural History of Modern Korea*, pp. 808-812 for an extensive discussion of how the Declaration of Independence was written, signed, and presented to the public. The text of the document is included here as well.

24. *A Cultural History of Modern Korea*, p. 811.

25. Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature*, p. 44. The reference to private meals refers to their imprisonment; they resolved to eat the food of the common prisoners.

26. These figures are given in Shin Yong-Ha, "Re-evaluation of the Samil Independence Movement" in *Main Currents of Korean Thought*, ed. Korean National Commission for UNESCO (Seoul: Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publishers, 1983), pp. 280, 285.

27. Thomas Merton, "Retreat, November, 1964: Spiritual Roots of Protest" in *Thomas Merton on Peace*, ed. Gordon C. Zahn (New York: McCall Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 259-260.

28. *Thomas Merton on Peace*, p. 259.

29. *Thomas Merton on Peace*, p. 259.

30. *Thomas Merton on Peace*, p. 260.

31. Gordon C. Zahn, "Original Child Monk: An Appreciation" in *Thomas Merton on Peace*, p. xiv. References here are to the cities in which the acts of protest took place.

32. Cited by Zahn in *Thomas Merton on Peace*, p. xiv.

33. When it became obvious that the Catholic Peace Fellowship did not approve of this kind of self-immolation, Merton rescinded his action.

34. In Kwon-Hwan cited in Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature*, p. 72.

35. See Yu in *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su* for an extensive discussion of Han's poetry on pp. 55-72.

36. *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su*, p. 61.

37. See, for example, the following two books by Thomas Merton, *The Literary Essays of Thomas Merton*, ed. Brother Patrick Hart (New York: New Directions, 1981) consisting of essays published in literary journals, magazines, and newapapers and *Honorable Reader: Reflections on My Work*, ed. Robert E, Daggy (New York: Crossroad, 1989) made up of prefaces and introductions which Merton wrote for foreign translations of his works. *Monks Pond* (1968) has been published in a facsimile edition; see Robert E. Daggy, ed., *Monks Pond: Thomas Merton's Little Magazine* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1989).

38. Thomas Merton, *My Argument with the Gestapo: A Macaronic Journal* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).

39. Both books were published in New York by New Directions, *Cables to the Ace* in 1968 and *The Geography of Lograire* in 1969.

40. Patrick Hart, OCSO, "Thomas Merton's Literary Estate: What Is Left to Be Published?" *The Merton Seasonal: A Quarterly Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Fall 2000), 18-19.

41. Yom, "The Life and Thought of Han Yong-Woon" in *Buddhist Culture in Korea*, p. 100.

42. Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature*, p. 56.

43. Han Yong-Un, *Love's Silence and Other Poems*, p. 66.

44. Cited in Shannon, *Silent Lamp: The Thomas Merton Story*, p. 74; see also p. 73.

45. See *Silent Lamp*, pp. 200-201 for a brief description of this affair. Merton's own account is found in his journal *Learning to Love: Exploring Solitude and Freedom [The Journals of Thomas Merton: Volume Six, 1966-1967]*, ed. Christine M. Bochen (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1997), especially pp. 35-176.

46. Merton, *Learning to Love*, p. 44.

47. See Anthony T. Padovano, "The Eight Conversions of Thomas Merton," *The Merton Seasonal: A Quarterly Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Summer 2000), 13-14 where he suggests that Merton's love affair with M was in fact a conversion experience for him opening him up to the possibility of love and to an acceptance of the feminine in his life. See also Bonnie Bowman Thurston, " 'The Best Retreat I Ever Made': Merton and the Contemplative Prioresses," *The Thomas Merton Annual*, Vol. 14 (2001), 81-95.

48. Cited in Shannon, *Silent Lamp: The Thomas Merton Story*, p. 201. See also Thomas Merton, *Eighteen Poems* (New York: New Directions, 1985).

49. See Donald W. Mitchell & James Wiseman, OSB, eds., *The Gethsemani Encounter: A Dialogue on the Spirit Life by Buddhist and Christian Monastics* (New York: Continuum, 1998) for a complete account of this seminar.

50. Quoted in Yu, *Han Yong-Un and Yi Kwang-Su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature*, p. 52.

51. Thomas Merton, *The Last of the Fathers: Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and the Encyclical Letter, Doctor Mellifluus* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), p. 27.